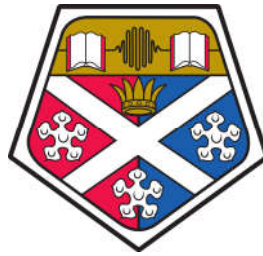University of Strathclyde
Department of Computer and Information Sciences

Navigating Social Systems:
Information Behaviour in Refugee Integration

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A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
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Declaration

This thesis is the result of the author's original research. It has been composed by the author and has not been previously submitted for examination which has led to the award of a degree.

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Signed:

Date:

To my husband and children

Acknowledgements

Abstract

This thesis reports on an information behaviour investigation into refugee integration, undertaken to understand how refugees navigate complex integration processes and systems. The aim was to find person-centred information needs, relationships and sources that could inform the design of person-centred integration systems. The study was carried out through an interdisciplinary synthesis of academic literatures and professional practice. Theories of information behaviour were synthesised with principles in refugee integration into a theoretical framework founded on Dervin's sense-making methodology.

The research data were collected by interviews and observations, such that the observation data substantiated interview findings. A diverse population of refugees were interviewed directly and observation of service provision was recorded during a volunteer role with the Scottish Refugee Council. The data analysis was process-driven and dynamic, using an iterative process of thematic coding. This resulted in pertinent institutional dimensions being factored into the identification of information needs.

The research findings culminated in an information needs matrix – a navigational guide with implications for research, policy and practice. The study found connections between people, information and sociological needs as refugees navigate integration processes and systems. In addition, the experiences of navigating integration systems were tied to specific times, places and human conditions. This relationship resulted in the information needs matrix, which encompasses the complexities of navigating integration systems and points to refugee integration being as much an information issue as it is a sociological one.

Publications

Oduntan, O. and Ruthven, I. (forthcoming). The Information Needs Matrix: A navigational guide for Refugee Integration

Oduntan, O. and Ruthven, I. (2017). Investigating the information gaps in refugee integration. *Proceedings of the Association for Information Science & Technology*, 54: 308–317. doi:10.1002/pra2.2017.14505401034

Oduntan, O. (2017). Information Behaviour of Refugees: Viewing Refugee Integration Through an Information Science Lens. *Bulletin of the Association for Information Science & Technology*, 43: 63–69. doi:10.1002/bul2.2017.1720430320

Oduntan, O. (Producer) (2016). Information Behaviour of Refugees: Doctoral Student Research Video Competition. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=961C4Q6o2bk

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Glossary

Accompanied	A person with children, family or is pregnant.
Ad hoc provisions	Improvised provisions made available by the government or additional provisions by humanitarian/voluntary organisations including local charities.
Asylum seeker	This refuge-seeker has arrived in the host country on their own. They have applied for protection and are awaiting a decision.
Benefits	Specialist provisions and support provided for underprivileged citizens accessible only to the refuge-seeker with refugee status
Card allowance	This is a card load equivalent of £36, currently called an azure card. The card can only be used for spending in certain stores and cannot be used for cash. It is only for the refused asylum seeker.
Cash allowance	This is a cash sum of £36 provided by the government weekly for feeding and other basic needs.
Community centres	These are local council venues that facilitate community cooperation in a local area.
Detention centres	The place where asylum arrivals are kept on arrival or application for asylum. The place where refused asylum seekers are detained for deportation back to their home countries.
Dispersal	The way host country maintains economic balance by distributing the protection-seeking population across the country so that no one area will be overburdened with the obligation of supporting them.
Education	The information needs around education of the refuge-seeker including English Language.
Employment	The information needs on the provision for employment.
ESOL	English as a Second Language.
Family reunion	Those who have been given protection status or a visa from their home countries through spouses.
Health	The information need around the provisions of health for refugee integration.
Home Office	UK immigration authority.
Home-moves	The transfer from one accommodation to the other: it can be a transfer between asylum accommodation and refugee accommodation or because of change in status i.e. temporary accommodation to permanent accommodation.
Housing	The information needs around the provision of accommodation for refugee integration.
Humanitarian	Those who have been given protection status or visas from their home countries.

Ideal Situation	The situation around the standard application of the UN convention.
In-country	Those who have been in the country for other reasons and now cannot go back to their home countries for fear of persecution.
Individual	Any adult in the protection system.
Integration networks	Service providers acting in a more cohesive manner by running cultural programmes or emotional support programmes amongst many others.
Integration system Protection system	The system in place in a host country for operationalising the UN refugee convention.
Inter-state travel	This is movement within geographical areas in a host country. It is required for higher-level administration that is not conducted locally.
Legal	The information needs around legal protocols and provisions for the refuge-seeker.
Local travel	A requirement to fulfil integration administrative obligations such as attendance at meetings with the immigration authorities and service providers amongst others.
Arrival route	How the refuge-seeker has arrived in the country.
Minor	Those persons under 18 years of age.
Mobility	The information need around transportation and movement within the host country.
Personal decision	The settlement-related choices when the refuge-seeker has reached the stage of deciding on location of settlement in the host country.
Primary information sources	Individuals or media personal to refuge-seekers and/or their situation.
Port of entry	Those who travelled by air into the host country and applied for asylum at the airport.
Protection	The asylum offered to anyone fleeing persecution.
Length	The length of time a refuge-seeker has been in the host country.
Refuge-seeker	**A term coined to bring together all persons seeking protection from persecution; i.e. refugee, asylum seeker or refused asylum seeker.**
Refugee	The refuge-seeker who has been accepted for protection either after an asylum application in the host country or by selection from refugee camps, including those in home countries.
Refuging	The entire process involved in seeking protection according to the UN 1951 Convention.
Refused asylum seeker	The refuge-seeker whose asylum application has received a negative decision and who has been given the chance to appeal.

Refugee integration	Refugee integration is a complex and gradual process with legal, economic, social and cultural dimensions and imposes considerable demands on both the individual and the receiving society.
Road travel	Those who travelled by road through countries, including those who journeyed through the Mediterranean Sea.
Secondary information sources	Public communal places (aka information grounds) that are external to the refuge-seekers.
Social	The information needed for building networks and connections in the new society.
SRC	Scottish Refugee Council.
Statutory provisions	The standard provisions provided by the government.
Status	The immigration status of the refuge-seeker; i.e. asylum seeker, refused asylum seeker or refugee.
Support	The information needs around financial, physical and emotional support provided for integration.
Unideal Situation	The situations around the appropriation of the UN convention.
UN Refugee Convention (1951)	A refugee is someone 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".

Part One: Introduction

1.1 Background to the study

Refugee integration is of global concern, with over sixty-five million forcibly displaced persons reported by the United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR, 2017). This is an 8% rise from 2014, a 50% increase in five years and an increase of more than 75% in the last two decades. Over 80% of the forcibly displaced live below the poverty line in host countries. These figures are unprecedented and are at an all-time high.

The expanding global economic divide is responsible for the escalated migration for both economic and protection seeking reasons. This further advances the widening divide between the rich and the poor, the haves and the have-nots in adopting countries, thereby placing new burdens and increasing pressures on locally provided social services, such as housing, unemployment benefits and health services. As a result, marginalisation is promoted within the society, particularly for refugees (Wilson, 2010).

The "divide" is unlikely to disappear quickly, whether within developed countries or between the developed and the developing world. This implies that migration might continue to escalate and there might always be an imbalance. However, continuous holistic multidisciplinary research will reduce the economic effects on societies, in turn fostering social inclusion during integration and promoting economic development (Case, 2012; Wilson, 2010).

1.2 Research context

Refugee integration is a complicated phenomenon that cuts across legal, economic and socio-cultural dimensions (UNHCR, 2018; Oduntan, 2016). Globally, seeking protection is a legal right, but such migrants often end up being placed among the disadvantaged in the society, a situation often influenced by the challenges of navigating the processes involved in protection seeking and transitioning. Refugees arrive as asylum seekers (persons who have made a claim to be considered for refugee status and whose claims are still being considered) until they are granted the opportunity to stay as refugees.

In practice, refugee integration is operationalised as an all-inclusive integration service with numerous processes, which are complex and complicated for the refugee in an unfamiliar country. Refugees find it difficult to integrate with little or no information on relevant hows and whats to navigate through the processes and systems for sustainable living in their new countries. Research has since highlighted the need for person-centred framework (SRC, 2013, 2014).

> *"Developments of statement of requirements with a new person-centred framework and guidelines to ensure high quality planning, policy, and practice for all asylum applicants housed in Scotland; the recommended framework and guidelines should ensure person-centred practice" (SRC, 2014).*

The problem is not only the lack of information, but also its inadequacy and inappropriateness. It is highlighted that those with extensive networks, including formal institutions where information can be shared and received, are more likely to be "housed, healthy, hired and happy" (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000).

> *"The quality of information and one's efficiency in acquiring and processing it is critical for adjustments to stimuli deriving from internal and external environments; which if not available leads to distortion with possibility for settling in the wrong settings with potentials for gangsterism and hooliganism" (Antonovsky, 1987, Savolainen, 1995).*

This implies that inability to meet refugee needs for integration not only relates to accessibility but also to preparation of information. It is therefore reasonable that the availability and accessibility of information in structured, predictable and explicable ways within the extensive networks encountered during integration are potential delimiters of marginalisation of the refugee. This outlook gives rise to a need to investigate information behaviour during refugee integration, as the outcomes of such studies are person-centred information needs and sources that could guide intervention strategies in a given context (Bates, 2010).

Although there have been information studies of the forced displaced, those investigations have focused on the individual in an informational context. It is

highlighted that demographics alone are not enough for a general understanding of information, and the user should not be investigated independently of context (Dervin, 2005). However, the tendency of information studies to focus on information rather than on the phenomena surrounding the studied is still observed (Cibangu, 2013). For information studies of the forced displaced, this indicates a need for operational understanding of information with respect to societal processes and systems. This can be achieved through an information behaviour investigation.

Information behaviour is an interdisciplinary field of scientific research and professional practice that investigates the properties and behaviour of information, the forces governing the flow of information, and the means of processing information for optimum accessibility and usability in any context (Bates, 1999). The outcomes are person-centred information needs and sources (Bates, 2010), and such studies are undertaken to support progress in human life and global improvement, thereby adding details to studies in the social and behavioural sciences of humans in general (Sonnenwald and Iivonen, 1999). Information behaviour can therefore be investigated in the area of refugee integration to arrive at person-centred information needs and sources involved in navigating refugee integration processes and systems.

In this interdisciplinary study, refugee studies was used to scope the research problem investigated and from the understanding gained, produced an information needs matrix. Even though information needs are what is primarily reported, the needs were uncovered by studying the information behaviour. Investigating information behaviour as a whole, rather than limiting the investigation to individuals' information needs, allowed the complexity of integration processes to be factored into the investigation. This resulted in an expanded understanding of information needs that potentially addresses issues of accessibility and availability of information for the forced displaced and ensures the preparedness of the host society. In other words, the outcome was of informational and operational benefit.

1.3   Research Aim

The aim of this study was to understand how refugees navigate complex integration processes and systems and identify person-centred information needs and sources, which can be used to enhance the design and delivery of integration provisions and systems. The study explored refugees' experiences of navigating integration systems, in order to specifically answer these research questions:

a.   What are the information gaps during refugee integration?

b.   Does a connection/relationship exist between the information needs?

c.   What are the sources of information during refugee integration?

To address these questions, the study drew on research and refugee integration practice and identified the persons navigating the refugee integration systems, the provisions and the situations surrounding the provisions. In addition, the information gaps, and how the information gaps were bridged during refugee integration, were identified. Through uncovering these, the study revealed how well the integration process and systems match the actual needs of refugees during integration.

1.4   Thesis Outline

This thesis is divided into six main parts. Part one is the introduction, which comprises this chapter. It provides the background, the research context and aims of the study. The remaining parts are organised as follows:

Part two presents the literature review across professional practice and academic discourse. First, refugee integration in practice and academic research were examined and an information problem was established. This was followed by a review of previous information behaviour studies, and a research gap was defined. Finally, information behaviour concepts were examined and the investigation was contextualized. The output by the end of this part was the research theoretical framework. At this stage, it would be beneficial to watch the research video https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=961C4Q6o2bk

Part three discusses the research methods and population. This part begins with chapter four and a discussion of research paradigms in information science, followed by an elaboration of the chosen methodology – sense-making, and the research design. The output of chapter four is the data collection guide. Chapter five proceeds with a discussion of demographic and contextual characteristics of the research population. It is a prerequisite for understanding the study's findings.

Part four is an extensive discussion of the study's main findings. It begins with chapter six, an overview of findings using the information needs matrix, followed by an in-depth account of individual information needs on the journey, from chapters seven to nine; chapter ten discusses the information sources. This part concludes with chapter eleven, which discusses validation of the interview findings, using a secondary study conducted at the Scottish Refugee Council. The glossary of terms will be useful in reading these chapters.

Part five concludes the thesis with a review of the study and discussion of the findings. In addition, it enunciates the implications for research, policy and practice.

Part Two: Literature Review

2. Refugee Integration

Refugee integration is a complex and gradual process with legal, economic, social and cultural dimensions and imposes considerable demands on both the individual and the receiving society (UNHCR, 2018). It is "individualised, contested and contextual" (Robinson, 1998), but fundamentally concerns the changing relationship between refugees and the host society. It is an attempt to deal with the sociological and psychological consequences of forced displacement. Globally, seeking refuge is legal but integration is political, as a result, refugees frequently end up being placed among the most disadvantaged in society.

This is often influenced by the processes involved in transitioning into the new societies. Refugee integration is divided between policy and practice, in that the host society's policy determines the acceptance of refugees and is accompanied by numerous processes in practice. Integration is then measured through the refugee's experience of social indicators that include employment, housing, education and health. In this chapter, refugee integration practices and research are explored to contextualise this investigation.

2.1 Who is a Refugee?

The conditions for being granted refuge are underpinned by the 1951 UN Convention which identifies as eligible 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"* (UNHCR, 2010).

War, ethnic, tribal and religious violence are leading causes of people fleeing their countries, but generally refugees are victims (or are afraid of becoming victims) of extreme violence of one form or the other, and as a result may be unable to return home or afraid to do so. They are therefore not necessarily poor and could be influential citizens in their home country. Nonetheless, the sociological and psychological implications of forced displacement are consistent for both the poor and the influential (Castles et al., 2002).

Refugees have long been categorised by evolving characteristics. Joly et al. (1992) outlined five types of refugee in Europe in terms of legal status and the differentiated sets of rights attached to them:

a. **Convention Refugees:** recognised based on the 1951 Geneva Convention relating to the status of refugees.

b. **Mandate Refugees:** the category which indicates that refugees are recognised by the UNHCR but not by the host government.

c. **Humanitarian Refugees:** are those granted the right to stay on humanitarian grounds, which implies fewer rights than those accompanying refugee status or "convention status".

d. **De facto Refugees**: the category which refers to those who are refugees in practice, but have not sought refugee status for various reasons; and finally,

e. **Refugees in Orbit:** those who move between different European countries in search of a more permanent status.

Castles et al. (2002) described one category based on the immigration restrictions placed on persons from less developed countries coming into the EU, particularly the United Kingdom:

1. **Asylum migration:** a mapped category for the *blurred boundaries between economic migrants and refugees* resulting from the changing characteristics of international migration.

Zetter et al. (2002) identified two principal categories or statuses in the UK in terms of welfare and work entitlements:

1. **Convention status:** for which a standard letter is issued explaining that the person has full rights to live and work and to claim benefits in the UK. In addition, Convention refugees are entitled to grants and to home fees as students. Persons with Convention status are granted a travel document – the Convention Travel Document –and a residence permit giving indefinite leave to remain (ILR).

2. **Exceptional Leave to Remain (ELR):** is granted at the discretion of the Home Office in those cases where return to the home country is ruled out on

humanitarian grounds. ELR is granted outside the immigration rules, usually for a period of four years, after which the applicant can apply for ILR. Those issued with ELR are expected to continue using their national passport or are issued with a travel document.

Dwyer (2008) defined categories around routes to refugee status in the United Kingdom. These routes were defined according to different elements of the asylum system, but mainly varied in terms of access to specific packages of support and the right to remain permanently in the United Kingdom.

1. **"Asylum Process" refugees:** people who fled their country of origin and were subsequently granted status as refugees following a successful application for asylum under the New Asylum Model (NAM) in the United Kingdom. They are given up to five years' temporary leave to remain in the first instance, with rights to access the new integration services.

2. **"Gateway" refugees:** are granted refugee status prior to entering the United Kingdom following a period of living in a refugee camp outside their country of origin. The groups with a shared ethnic background, or country of origin, are usually resettled together in a common location. They are granted indefinite leave to remain and take part in an orientation programme prior to arrival. They have access to dedicated support services on arrival in England.

3. **"Case Resolution" refugees:** long-standing asylum applicants (previously referred to as "legacy" cases), families who in the first instance are granted indefinite leave to remain under the government's Case Resolution scheme. This categorisation seeks to resolve the backlog of old asylum applications. They have no access to dedicated integration services.

The observed categories are evidently in place for different reasons; however, they are related. They represent characteristics accompanied by numerous processes for integrating into the host society. Together, the categories with their associated processes present avenues through which to investigate holistic information behaviour during refugee integration. But first, fundamental principles surrounding the integration of refugees were examined.

2.2   Principles of Practice

Refugee integration covers a very broad spectrum that includes economic, social, political, legal and institutional dimensions, and as a result is surrounded by controversies. This study deliberately exempts itself from controversies in the field and instead explores the core principles of integration in order to situate this investigation. The assumption is that integration can be specific to the refugees; hence, "migrant" is interchangeable with "refugee" for purposes of a refugee integration discussion. Thus, refugee integration deals with the changing relationship between refugees and the host society.
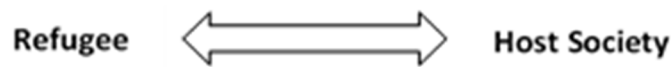
Figure 2. 1 – Refugee Integration

The refugee integration literature is a subset of the broader migrant discourse that bridges theory and practice. There is friction between the "*who"* and the "*in what*" of integration, but there is consensus that both are critical for achieving clarity in integration studies and practice. The "who" revolves around the term "migrant" which is commonly presented as a broad one consisting of many categories, classified by mode of entry and shaping the migrant's rights and opportunities (Spencer and Cooper, 2006).

Therefore, migrants could be wealthy investors, migrant workers (economic migrants), family members, asylum seekers, or political refugees, amongst other types. Integration processes for each type of migrants are likely to follow significantly different paths. As a result, questions of "whose integration is to be examined" arise. Does "integration" suggest a personal and cultural change which is not expected of all newcomers and migrants, such as wealthy business people, or Japanese or American immigrants (Council of Europe, 1997; Spencer and Cooper, 2006)?

The "what" revolves around questions of where the migrant integrates in the host society; does it refer to integration into a local community, a social group, an under classed ethnic minority group, various sub-sectors of a modern society, or perhaps a holistic society? Sigona (2005) argued that because of society's eventual

multiculturalism there cannot be a single mode of integration. Castles et al. (2002) highlight conditions that compound the "into what" situations that immigrants may be found in. They may have access to the labour market but be excluded from or disadvantaged in the welfare and education sectors (or vice versa). They may be included in both of these but excluded from political membership. Alternatively, they may be included in these sectors, but excluded in terms of culture, identity and everyday forms of social interaction.

Research shows that economic migrants are generally able to plan and prepare their migration. They are likely to have some resources to help them settle and can likely navigate the system better; as a result, they are more likely to integrate successfully. However, it is recommended that the dissimilarities not be overstated, as many migrants face hardships similar to those of refugees (Castles et al., 2002). Refugees, by contrast, do not/cannot plan their migration and may suffer considerable trauma, loss and dislocation amidst other misfortunes during their flight. Such experiences can leave them traumatised, a condition which can be worsened by their experiences in transitioning to the new culture (Sigona, 2005; Korac, 2003). However, despite individual and exclusive conditions, integration discussion is bounded by principles.

Integration is conceptualised as a process(es): that is relative and culturally determined and is approached in one of two ways. It could be treated as a one-way process of assimilation for the immigrants, in which they are expected to discard their culture, traditions and language without any reciprocal accommodation (Spencer and Cooper, 2006). Or it can be seen as a complex two-way process of acculturation or adaptation and multiculturalism or pluralism, in which immigrants adjust to new cultures while maintaining their cultural identity, actively supported by the host society so as to enable their participation in the larger societal framework (Berry, 1980).

It appears that the consensus favours the latter construction, judging by the analysis and comparison in these studies (Martin, 2015; Sigona, 2005; Spencer and Cooper, 2006; Korac, 2003). However, Favell (2001) and Sigona (2005) argue, on the basis of other factors, that integration as a two-way process homogenises the two subjects. Spencer and Cooper (2006), for their part, summarised integration as dealing with the changing relationship between relative newcomers to a country and the new society in

which they live. Castles et al. (2002) proposed that integration for the refugee concerns identity, belonging, recognition and self-respect. It can therefore be concluded that refugee integration is a two-way process between refugee and host society (Figure 2.1).

Integration is multidimensional: is a notion supported in governing bodies' descriptions of integration. The European Council on Refugees and Exiles (ECRE) defines integration as a process of change that is dynamic, two-way, long-term and multidimensional (ECRE, 2002). The Council of Europe describes integration as a dynamic and multifaceted two-way process which requires effort by all parties concerned (Council of Europe, 1997). In addition, the Council of Europe described two fundamental dimensions as underlying the other dimensions: the *private dimension* – the individual one, and the *public dimension* – the societal one, across which integration occurs.
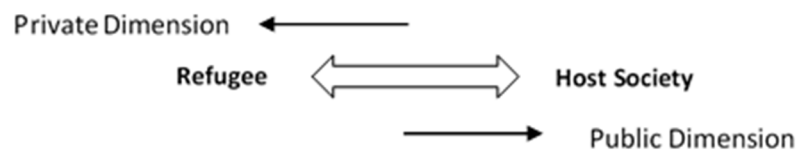
Figure 2. 2 – Integration Dimensions

They further explained that the societal and public dimensions include the juridical provisions, social values and economic and political environment in the host country; while the private dimension is the migrant's actual experience of these circumstances in the new society. In context, the refugees can be seen as the private dimensions and the host society's processes as the public dimensions highlighted in the previous sections. The use of dimensions explicitly delineates all actors and processes in the integration of refugees (Figure 2.2).

Following from this, it can be inferred that Favell's (2001) and Sigona's (2005) descriptions of integration could refer to movements in the public dimension, while Castles et al.'s (2002) description of refugee integration could refer to movements in the private dimension. This suggests that the governing bodies' description covers both ways, indicating an objective stance.

Integration is a normative term: that reflects differing perspectives on the desired end goal (Spencer and Cooper, 2006). This is because concepts vary between countries, change over time, and depend on the interests, values and perspectives of the people concerned. Sigona (2005) simply presented it as an expression of diverse agendas and interests in continuous, policy-oriented interaction.

Globally, there are two extreme ways of integrating immigrants and both may be considered synonyms for or descriptions of integration (Spencer and Cooper, 2006). "Assimilation" (Culturalism) requires a cultural change in which migrants assimilate into a homogeneous majority culture and perhaps lose aspects of their heritage. "Multiculturalism" (Ethnic Pluralism) acknowledges cultural difference which allows migrants to retain their own culture while integrating (Martin, 2015; ECRE, 2002). The two extremes are responsible for the contrasting policies across nations.

Heckmann et al. (2001) highlighted that neither is evidently more "successful" than the other. For instance, the US adopts the two extremes to encourage naturalisation and political participation, with a particular focus on language, education and social policy (Martin, 2015). The United Kingdom's multiculturalism focuses on anti-discrimination and race relations in order to provide access to services and opportunities for achieving one's full potential and contributing to the community (Castles et al., 2002). France emphasises assimilation through policies which promote integration but do not specifically target minorities (Spencer and Cooper, 2006).

Germany's approach is multicultural, but with a focus on the general welfare state and social policy (Heckmann et al., 2001). Sweden's approach to integration is focused on equality, freedom of choice and partnership (Castles et al., 2002). Australia was highlighted as inconsistent in its approach, moving between assimilationism and multiculturalism in its encouragement of cultural diversity and social justice, with an emphasis on welfare and education systems; whilst Canada's principle of freedom is a form of multiculturalism (Castles et al., 2002).

It is evident that refugee integration phenomenon concerns the actions of and interactions between the two bodies (refugee and host society) with many intricately related aspects to be considered. On the one hand, it requires preparedness on the part of the refugee to adapt to the receiving society without having to forgo his/her own

cultural identity (Heckmann et al., 2001; Castles et al., 2002). On the other hand, it requires a corresponding readiness on the part of the receiving communities and public institutions to welcome refugees and meet the needs of a diverse community (UNHCR, 2005). Nevertheless, together, the dimensions present avenues through which to investigate information behaviour.

2.3   Refugee Integration Systems

Refugee integration is the target outcome for policy and practice. The refugee integration systems are influenced by notions of nationhood, along with concepts of citizenship and participation which are fundamental for building social capital (Castles et al., 2002; Sigona, 2005). However, there exist numerous national integration policies with disparate purposes and approaches (Zetter et al., 2002): a situation made more complicated by the inconsistency and variations in classifications at entry and decision points.

> *"Not everybody who has come from abroad is formally recognized as refugees likewise not everybody who is a refugee has migrated from abroad"* (Council of Europe, 1997).

There is a consensus however, that refugee integration starts on arrival in the host country. This was evident in the consistency of practical application of refugee integration policies globally (ECRE, 2002; Castles et al., 2002; Zetter et al., 2005a; Marks, 2014). A consistent feature was that the host society makes provisions for social and functional aspects of the society to be included in integration. For instance, in the United Kingdom, refugee integration is defined as

> *"The process that takes place when refugees are empowered to achieve their full potential as members of British society, to contribute to the community, access public services and to become fully able to exercise the rights and responsibilities that they share with other residents in the UK"* (Home Office, 2004).

Although the United States of America does not have a definition of refugee integration, its refugee resettlement policy includes a statement of a similar aim:

> *"to assist refugees in obtaining the skills necessary to achieve economic self-sufficiency; and to provide specific needs such as health services, social services, educational and other services* (Refugee Act, 1980).

This means that refugees require access to public services in order to integrate. The access to services may be through practitioners, which typically includes refugee charities and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), whose roles include providing links to the host society and filling the gaps in state provision. The practitioner roles may extend to policy development and dissemination of expertise. However, it is also likely that the NGOs may be the sole service provider, as in the United Kingdom (Ager et al., 2002).

The Council of Europe recommended that integration be measured, on the grounds that measuring it will be effective not only in promoting successful integration but also in enabling the evaluation of integration policies and practices in host countries (Council of Europe, 1997). However, the Economic Council on Refugees and Exile (ECRE) pointed out that, as a result of the obvious complexities surrounding the refugees, it is impossible to take a single physical measurement of progress (Council of Europe, 1997; ECRE, 2002). This led to the proposal of an indicator of integration for the measurement of integration by comparing experiences of access to public services.

2.3.1 Measuring Refugee Integration: The Indicators of Integration

Refugee integration is measured using indicators of integration to compare experiences of access to public services that are accessible to both refugees and the host community. The indicators are commonly agreed social criteria for assessing the quality and effectiveness of integration interventions. The aim was for the indicators to become a kind of language understood and interpreted, through which all actors in integration can learn and communicate with a wider audience (Council of Europe, 1997; ECRE, 2002; Castles et al., 2002; Korac, 2003; UNHCR, 2013).

The Council of Europe defined indicators of integration as identified facts that give an impression of all dimensions of the migrants' state, or actual experience of these indicators in a given society at a given time, plus the ensuing changes over time. Initially, six potential indicators were identified as crucial for measuring integration, although this is not an exhaustive list. They included access to the labour market for employment; housing and social services; education; participation in political processes and in decision-making; mortality, fertility, demographic changes and judicial indicators.

It was also suggested that the indicators provide evidence of successful integration. However, Castles et al. (2002) argued that measuring social behaviour and social phenomena is a challenging task and that successful integration is rarely achieved. Successful integration should therefore be a descriptive term for the state of the refugee with respect to the indicators of the society. They highlighted that this gives room for the discovery of additional indicators with which to measure integration.

The indicators of integration have since been widely adopted. Host countries contextually apply them in relation to policy aims and goals, while practitioners use them for evaluating services and measuring refugee progress. The applicability of indicators in policy and practice highlights the importance of the indicators for investigating refugee integration. However, there are significant differences in the indicators of integration across host countries (Castles et al., 2002; Korac, 2003).

It is evident that complexities surround both policy and practice. Host country policy creates categories of refugees, as a result of which numerous processes exist for refugees to navigate. The indicators of integration identify facts that give an impression of all these dimensions through the refugees' conditions or actual experience in each society. However, since there are significant differences in the identification and development of indicators of integration across host societies, it is necessary to examine the host countries' specific practices and their indicators of integration: in this case, those of the United Kingdom – the location of this study.

2.4 Refugee Integration in the United Kingdom

Refugee integration in the United Kingdom is a transitioning process that involves investigation, orientation and sometimes reunion. This implies that the availability of advice and support that are structured, predictable, and explicable is essential at all points in the process. Da Lomba (2010) described transitioning for refugees in the United Kingdom as taking place in two stages: the "Asylum period" – when refugees wait for a decision with restrictions, which can include a refusal; and the "Grant of status" period – when status is granted with restrictions removed. This emphasises that integration starts on arrival and continues when status is granted.

The refugee services in the United Kingdom are highly devolved and practitioners operate in specific different capacities. As a result, numerous charities and NGOs exist to provide support and advice to refugees through the transitioning period, but this produces inconsistencies (Castles et al., 2002; ECRE, 2002). Furthermore, since there are no guarantees of requests for asylum being granted, the length of the transitioning period will vary and it can be expected that refugees' access to information and services will be highly unpredictable.

In Glasgow, Scotland, there are additional numerous support systems for refugees during their integration. Practitioners provide a disparate range of support with general and specific facilities. For instance, the Scottish Refugee Council is a major service provider, offering services to all kinds of refugees. Others, however, have specialities, an example being the British Red Cross, which particularly works to reunite refugee families (SRC, 2015).

In addition, there are local independent charities and organisations that address specific issues of destitution and homelessness among refugees. Such organisations include the Refugee Survival Trust, the Glasgow Asylum Destitution Network, the Glasgow Night Shelter, Bridging the Gap, Destiny Angels, Glasgow City Mission, Govanhill Free Church, Positive Action in Housing, and the Unity Centre, to name a few. Also, there are area integration networks for creating community connections within specific geographical boundaries, such as the Govan Craigton Integration Network and the Maryhill Integration Network, amongst others (SRC, 2015).

Despite the numerous sources of support available, the lack of cohesion between policy and practice makes the support systems ineffective. The main problem arises from the uncertainty attached to the refugee's request for status. How long a person awaits the status decision has enormous repercussions on his/her integration. In fact, there was consensus in the literature that the whole process might breed segregation (Favell, 2001; Zetter et al., 2005b; Zetter et al., 2002; Sigona, 2005; SRC, 2011; SRC, 2013; SRC, 2014).

This establishes the fact that transitioning requires advice and support that are structured, predictable, and explicable. It is evident that the events in transitioning include interactions with the society in order to gain access, since it has been found that social connections mediate access. It can therefore be understood that social connections mediate access to the society through information.

Furthermore, refugee integration takes place in phase(s), since there are changing refugee statuses and integration is intrinsically linked to the length of the asylum and resettlement process. This means that each status must be accompanied by advice and support that are structured, predictable and explicable, for successful integration to be achieved However, it seems that this is currently unavailable (Robinson, 2010; Mulvey, 2009; SRC, 2010, 2014).

On the other hand, ECRE (2002) advocated for a policy whereby, in a host country's decision on the request, a full and inclusive interpretation of the refugee definition in the 1951 Convention and its Protocol should be adopted and no lesser status should be granted. However, the United Kingdom's "refused asylum" decision appears to confer a lesser status. Either way, whether the status is granted or rejected, refugees are faced with unfamiliar systems and a different culture in an unfamiliar country whilst transitioning towards integration.

It is evident that refuge-seeking is a cumbersome process. Unfortunately, the need to seek refuge is not declining but rather escalating with the increasingly regular occurrence of humanitarian and natural disasters. Refugees must navigate unfamiliar processes and systems in the new society. However, the humanitarian efforts expected to provide relief are bounded by continuous policy-oriented interactions and diverse

agendas and interests. This turns the refugees into pawns in the humanitarian protection process.

As mentioned, the literature has pointed out that measuring social behaviour and social phenomena is challenging and successful integration is rarely achieved (Favell, 2001; Heckmann et al., 2001; Sigona, 2005; Castles et al., 2002; Zetter et al., 2005b). Castles et al. (2002) also warns that conceptual issues compound any investigation into refugee integration. Nonetheless, an interdisciplinary investigation into refugee integration could provide new insights through which to promote successful integration in the long term.

There is a need for information that is structured, predictable and explicable in order to promote successful integration. However, given the complexity surrounding the refugee in policy and practice, the question arises of how the complexities of refugee integration can be factored into an interdisciplinary investigation. It is necessary firstly to examine the processes of transition during integration in the United Kingdom. An understanding of transitioning will show how the refugee status changes, along with the numerous systems associated with it. This understanding will provide a clear pathway for investigating refugee integration from an information behaviour perspective.

2.4.1   Indicators of Integration in the United Kingdom

The integration discourse in the United Kingdom ultimately concerns strategies to combat exclusion and facilitate integration of refugees. Zetter et al. (2002) summarised the policy and practice of refugee integration in the United Kingdom as shaped by race relations, accompanied by an anti-discrimination policy to emphasise equal opportunities and outcomes, social justice, and cultural diversity in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance.

The United Kingdom indicators of integration, implemented in 2004, are part of a framework which divides the concept of refugee integration into four parts with ten distinct but interrelated domains. The actual indicators are called markers and means (Figure 2.3). As a framework, each part is a preparation for the eventual measurement of integration. The first part is the foundation, the basis for integration, and it includes

rights and citizenship. The second part consists of the facilitators, the agents of integration, who will facilitate integration. The third part is social connection, the means and method of connecting to the society. Finally, there are the markers and means, which are employment, housing, education and health, and which are used to measure progress (Ager and Strang, 2004).
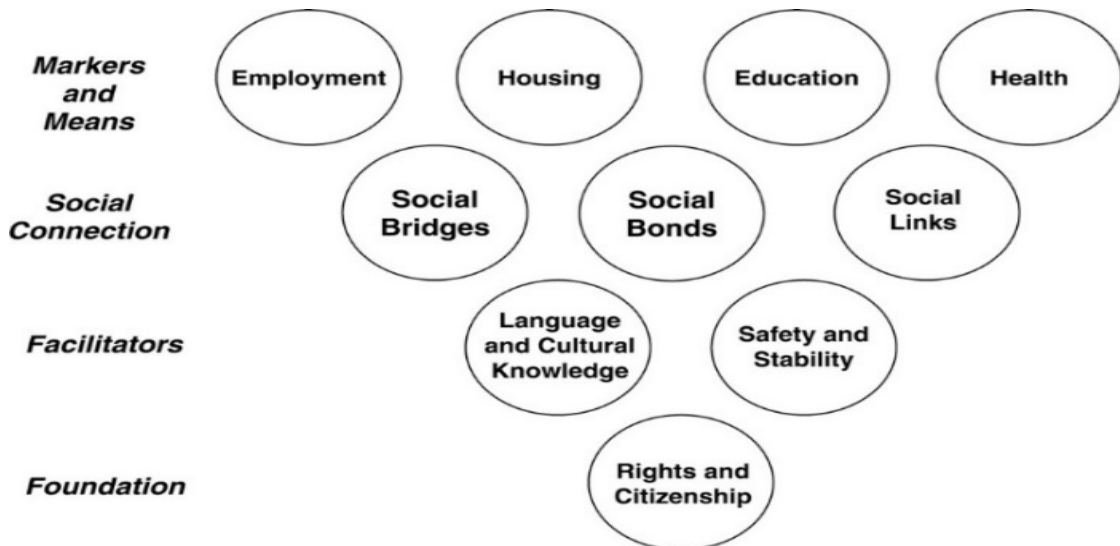
Figure 2. 3 – UK Indicators of Integration

Ager and Strang (2008) explained that the framework's emphasis is on the social connections; i.e. the three dimensions of social capital which are the likely ways for refugee to relate and interact with the society in order to be integrated. These include the bonding social capital within a refugee's own community, the bridging social capital with other communities, and the linking social capital to institutions of power. Thus, social connections can be understood as the avenue along which to access society's services. The framework has since been empirically tested and applied in numerous dimensions for refugee-related research and practices in the United Kingdom. SRC (2010) and Mulvey (2009) report its extensive use. Although there are systems in place, but the lack of cohesion between policy and practice, made integration difficult for refugees.

2.4.2 An information problem

Refugee research in social sciences has found that refugees in United Kingdom experience poverty and disadvantage similar to or worse than those of other marginalised groups (Mulvey, 2009). This is a result of the challenges of the integration processes and systems highlighted in previous sections, which give rise to complex needs. Kofman et al. (2007) found that the key needs of migrants revolved around issues of housing, destitution, language provisions, employment, health, legal advice and support and community relations. Coker (2001) and Gosling (2000) warned of a higher degree of complexity for children and young adults, even though needs are generally similar across the refugee population.

The literature has long reported refugees' experiences of integration processes that reflected their needs: Humphries and Mynott (2001) pointed out the difficulties in understanding immigration status and the asylum process with little or no support, which affects their integration. Wolde-Giyorgis (1998) highlighted that there was little communication and support available about solicitors, and an even greater lack of awareness on the part of the solicitors themselves.

Marriot (2001) reported general difficulties with access to primary health care on arrival in the UK and difficulties in registering with a GP[1]. Burnett and Peel (2001) found that refugees experience poverty because of lack of money, which has effects on their health and living conditions. Dennis (2002) and GLA (2004) reported that refugees' children have to wait a long time to get a school place. Power, Whitey and Yodell (1998) found that homelessness and high mobility levels affect education, in that a lack of permanent accommodation is an obstacle to schooling.

Hek (2002) observed a lack of understanding of the school curriculum and suggested ways for teachers to fill the gap; in addition, the need for language assistance was highlighted as crucial. She later suggested that interpreters and social workers could be used to provide refugees with information on access to and availability of services (Hek, 2005). Mynott and Humphries (2003) observed a lack of guidance on social

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[1] GP: means General Practitioner and is the term used for medical practice in the United Kingdom.

relationships and highlighted the importance of social services, particularly for unaccompanied refugees.

Recent studies have investigated specific areas in depth based on the indicators of integration framework and some highlighted dependent factors. Rutter (2013) emphasised that the two most critical factors in the education domain are fluency in the host country's language and a qualification, which is recognised locally. Craig (2015) noted that healthcare was a critical element in supporting the general wellbeing of migrants and their ability to participate in the labour market specifically and community life more generally.

Phillimore (2013) noted a lack of knowledge about the diverse housing needs of migrants, which included eligibility information, access to accommodation, maintenance of accommodation, and general accommodation issues such as quality and degree of overcrowding, amongst others. Lucchino et al. (2012) noted that education, including language fluency and cultural knowledge, significantly impacts on employment of migrants, and that new migrants needed more welfare support in the early stages of integration.

The findings from investigation of the refugees' experiences reflected their needs and highlighted dependencies. It was recommended that the needs identified in research be used to prepare access to services for refugees (Hek, 2005). Indeed, policies have continued to emerge and re-emerge (Robinson, 2005; Hek, 2005; Mulvey, 2015; Gately, 2013; SRC, 2010, Phillimore, 2012); however, the complexity of refugee integration is yet to be overcome. In fact, it is seemingly more difficult to address.

Craig (2015) advised that there is a need to focus on the processes of integration, besides seeing it as a goal of the host society. This is true; but in order to focus on the processes, the needs and their dependencies must be brought together to create a better understanding of refugee experiences in relation to the integration systems. This is where information appears, as it is possible to use an information investigation to focus on the processes of integration and assimilate the needs and their dependencies.

This field of study is called information behaviour and such studies follow the properties of information in any given context to identify person-centred information

needs and sources in relation to the given context (Bates, 2010). Following the properties of information in refugee integration in this manner could bring together needs and dependencies and define the processes involved in refugee integration.

Interestingly, refugee integration issues have always been associated with a lack of information in different ways. Robinson (2010) posited an information vacuum, which allows disbelief and myth in public opinion towards refugees, thus preventing their integration. Kofman et al. (2007) pointed out that the absence of information prevented access. Ayotte (1998) observed a lack of knowledge and accessible information across agencies regarding refugees' arrival and immigration status in the country.

Furthermore, the European Council on Refugees and Exiles advised that an inclusive and welcoming society is a key prerequisite to successful integration of refugees and that such a society is one where appropriate and structured information is available. In addition, it is particularly necessary for the host society to counteract the promotion of mis-information intended to incite fear and mistrust of refugees (ECRE, 2002).

It can be inferred that information is the key to successful integration of refugees and is required by both society and the refugee. This echoes Antonovsky's (1987) observation that "the quality of information and one's efficiency in acquiring and processing it is critical for adjustments to stimuli deriving from internal and external environments; which if not available leads to distortion with possibility for settling in the wrong settings with potentials for gangsterism and hooliganism".

In context, this points to a need to examine the changing relationships between refugees and the host society to understand from an information behaviour perspective how refugees navigate the integration systems. The outcome of such studies could constitute person-centred means of meeting information needs, which would be useful to both refugees and the host society. In doing so, they would enable the design of a person-centred refugee integration system to mitigate the challenges refugees experience when navigating integration processes and systems.

This is a study to investigate the information problem of refugee studies from an information behaviour perspective. The study aimed to explore the information behaviour in refugee integration to understand how refugees settle into the new

society; what information needs arise and how they are satisfied; and the impact of this issue on progress in the changing situations during the transition period. This understanding would add depth to existing refugee research and facilitate cohesion between policy and practice. However, there is a need to explicitly define the research gap from an information science perspective, so that it can then be investigated.

2.5 Refugee Information studies

Refugee studies in information science fall within the broad scope of migration. The studies identify information needs and sources of help in facing the many challenges posed by adjustment to a new country in numerous contexts, thereby revealing understandings that could alleviate marginalisation. However, such studies are particularly daunting, as difficulties of access and disparate contextual factors are encountered. This is further complicated by the different terminologies applied in host countries to these groups.

There is a thin line between the studies of migrants in general and studies of the forced displaced. This is because the differences between both types of studies are not clearly distinguished, due to differing policies and terminologies across countries. As a result, there is more literature on migrants in general, whilst refugee specific studies are only slowly emerging. This study takes the terms literally and divides the information studies in migration literature into two categories: *general migrant studies* where all other terms are used, and *refugee studies* where the term refugee is used.

2.5.1 General Migrant Studies

Previous information studies of general migrants have provided insights into their information needs. For instance, Fisher et al.'s (2004a) investigation of immigrants' use of needs-based services in Queens (New York, United States) found that immigrants' personal information needs are social, cultural and knowledge- and skill-based. They also discovered that as immigrants transitioned, the sources of information used were social networks such as ballparks and bike shops, which they called information grounds. Fisher et al. (2004b) investigated the information needs of migrant Hispanic farm workers in Washington, United States and expanded the

information sources to include family, friends, church, school, workplace medical clinics, hair salons, barbershops, day care centres, garages, bookstores, social service organisations, radios and libraries.

Courtright (2005) studied the health information seeking behaviour of Latino newcomers to Southern Indiana in the United States and found that their health information needs included health insurance, emergency care, vaccinations, dental treatment, preventive care, pregnancy, what to expect from health services, school enrolment, housing, and employment. The identified sources included social networks such as family members and health care volunteers in formal institutional organisations.

Silvio's (2006) information seeking study on southern Sudanese youth in London and in Ontario, Canada found that their information needs concerned academic study, apprenticeship, health, employment, politics and how to deal with discrimination. Their sources were radio, television, internet and newspapers, libraries, religious institutions, community centres, colleagues, elders, teachers, counsellors, neighbours, employment resource centres, and formal institutions including family doctors. These results were consistent with Mason and Lamain's (2007) online information seeking behaviour investigation, which found that immigrants' information needs included facts about settlement, employment, finance and lifestyle. The information sources were described as impersonal sources and personal sources.

Shoham and Strauss (2008) investigated the information needs of immigrants' families in Israel and found that their information needs concerned housing, schooling, health, driving, banking, legal issues, work and language. This was consistent with the work of Lingel (2011), who investigated the information tactics of new immigrants in their daily life in New York, United States and found that their information needs included learning about the neighbourhood, grocery shopping, local routes, libraries and hospitals. The sources included internet friends, books, church, family, neighbours, school, and wandering. Shoham and Strauss (2008) identified sources of information, which included government institutions such as the immigration office, internet, family and friends.

Khoir et al.'s (2015) information behaviour study of Asian immigrants in South Australia found four categories of information needs – personal, general, official and full participation. In addition, they distinguished between information needs of new immigrants and those of longer established immigrants in their information behaviour study of Asian immigrants in South Australia. The identified sources were internet, interpersonal sources, mass media, formal organisations, associations or groups, and social events. Furthermore, Quirke (2014) investigated the information practices of young Afghan newcomers in the context of leisure and settlement while Bronstein (2017) reports an investigation into the information grounds of domestic migrant workers in Israel.

However, these studies focused on demographic factors and location to investigate the migrant in specific instances. Caidi et al. (2010) advocated for a holistic approach to immigrants' information studies following their extensive review of the literature on general migrants' information practices. They recommended a closer examination of theories and principles of social inclusion in information behaviour studies.

2.5.2 Refugee-Specific Studies

Refugee information studies have also provided insights into refugees' information needs in context. Such insights include Kennan et al. (2011) and Lloyd et al. (2013), who investigated newly arrived refugees in New South Wales, Australia and concluded that the information landscape was more complex for refugee settlers than for other types. Kennan et al. (2011) described three phases of refugees' information experiences of settlement; these were transitioning, settling-in and being settled.

Lloyd et al. (2013) discussed the main information concerns for refugees, which centred on everyday living and compliance. They found that sources of information included trusted mediators, social networks and visual sources. The issues of everyday living and compliance are consistent with Smith's (2008) finding that the information needs of female Afghan refugees in California, USA included reunification, migration and mobility, education and schooling, employment, mental health, transportation, human rights and community information.

Other studies have been even more specific as to age, location and institutions. For instance, Shankar et al. (2016) investigated the information worlds of refugee students in a University in Canada. Lloyd (2014) investigated the health information landscapes of African refugees in Australia. Lloyd and Wilkinson (2016) investigated information landscapes concerning education and employment of refugee youth (16-25) in Australia. The study found that refugee youth wanted to know how to gain entry and links giving access to education and employment in the new community.

This is consistent with Fisher et al. (2016), who found that the main information concerns were about education and social networking sites, in the study's investigation of Syrian youths (12-26) at the Zatari refugee camp. Obodoruku (2014) identified the information needs in refugee camps as concerning conflict status, food, nutrition, security and protection, rights, camps and shelters. The study investigated African refugees in Nyarugusu Camp, Tanzania. Elmore's (2017) study of ESOL classes as information grounds included refugees and asylum seekers as participants. The study described information sharing across people, objects and space.

Refugee information studies have also investigated the use of libraries. Such studies include that of Vårheim (2014), who found that refugees trust the library, and suggested that it be used to gain refugee trust beyond the library itself. The study investigated refugee students' trust in library programming in Norway. Similarly, Lloyd et al. (2017) highlighted the roles the library might play, in their enquiry into the information landscapes of Syrian refugees arriving in Sweden, which examined how refugees access, use and share information during the resettlement process. In the same area, Martzoukou and Burnett (2017) highlighted how libraries can support new Syrian Scots' information literacy practices concerning health, communities, employability, education and housing, during their integration.

However, Lloyd (2017) pointed out that information practices and information behaviour in the context of forced migration are not covered at the level of analytical depth that one would expect from information studies research. This emphasises the need for robust in-depth information behaviour investigations of the forced displaced population.

2.5.3 Research Gap

Information studies have indeed identified person-centred information needs, sources and seeking behaviour of refugees. However, given the surrounding complexity, these investigations appear to skim over this sensitive topic, in line with Lloyd's (2017) observation highlighted in the previous section. Thus, although knowledge is produced, the impact of knowledge is limited. The outcomes identify individual-level information needs that are confined to specific instances.

The individual-level information needs isolate those studied both from others within a process and from surrounding contextual factors. The studies become individualistic as they do not address the institutional processes and procedural dimensions involved (Oduntan and Ruthven, 2017). Cibangu (2013) noted a tendency to focus on objects rather than their grounds, and on information rather than the contexts within which behaviour is embedded in information science.

For instance, Smith (2008) studied female Afghan refugees in California and Lloyd et al. (2013) studied newly arrived refugees. Lloyd (2014) studied African refugees with a focus on health and Obodoruku (2014) studied African refugees in a refugee camp. Martzoukou and Burnett (2017) focused on new Syrians. Lloyd and Wilkinson (2016) investigated youth in Australia, while Fisher, Yefimova and Yafi (2016) investigated Syrian youth in a refugee camp, both these studies focusing on education and employment. Lloyd et al. (2017) and Varheim (2014) both investigated refugees' use of institutions such as the library.

There is a need for synthesised interdisciplinary investigations exploring refugees' navigation of complex processes of integration into the host society for outcomes having greater impact. In such investigations, the interdependencies between the human and the context will not be ignored. Dervin (2005) observed that demographics alone may not be enough for a general understanding of information needs and warned that the users should not be investigated independently of the context in which they exist.

In this context of the complexities surrounding the refugee: first, the UN convention underpins forced displacement globally, but it is appropriated[2]. Second, there are fundamental principles of integration, but the measurement of integration differs between nations. Thirdly, refugee research has identified complex needs but the challenges of integration are still escalating and a call to focus on processes has been issued (Craig, 2015). This means that an information behaviour investigation should not be conducted independently of these processes, in line with Dervin (2005).

Person-centred information studies need not only identify individual-level information needs. The scope of identified information needs can be broadened. This can be achieved through an interdisciplinary synthesis. Wilson (1981) observed "a failure to identify with the situations within which information needs investigations are carried out" in information studies. Dervin (2003b) suggested that information programmes need to be built on dialogic communication principles and that research should focus not only on the average receiver but on the range of characteristics across all receivers, so that communication programmes can be designed accordingly.

In the contemporary world, information is fast becoming the new strand that holds the world together. If information studies are to be able to take on their new roles, they cannot afford to be carried out in isolation. The problem of the marginalised is not only a lack of information but also of the inadequacy and inappropriateness of information. This means that the problem of unmet information needs concerns not only lack of information or lack of access to it, but also what information is provided. Therefore, the outcomes from information studies should not be one-sided but two-sided, such that both refugee and the host society derive direct benefits.

A situational approach to information behaviour during refugee integration can provide fuller perspectives. This will help in understanding the relationships between contextual factors and human information behaviour in situations, which can be used in the actual design of services and provision. This is because information needs identified from situations put any potential person into context which is appropriate for this United Kingdom study. The field is being trodden carefully in order to capture the intricacies of refugee integration processes. Interestingly, other countries such as

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[2] Appropriated – the UN convention is used to suit host countries' policies and goals.

Australia, the United States and Canada have conducted more migrants' information studies than the United Kingdom (Caidi et al., 2010; Quirke, 2014).

This study adopts a bottom-up approach that is embedded in the situation. In it, information behaviour was blended with principles of refugee integration and was used to situate information needs to the conditions of people, time and place during refugee integration. This process revealed information needs in terms of a range of characteristics across refugees, which significantly expanded the scope of outcomes. Thus, the outcomes not only created understanding but also could potentially guide service provisions, appropriate intervention strategies, and intrinsic policymaking. In the following chapters, information behaviour concepts are examined to build a framework that will support this investigation.

3.   Information Behaviour

Information behaviour is defined as "an interdisciplinary approach that encapsulates the totality of human behaviour in relation to sources and channels of information, including both active and passive information seeking and use" (Wilson, 2000). It focuses on people's information needs; on how they seek, manage, give, and use information, both purposefully and passively, in the varied roles that comprise their everyday lives (Fisher and Julien, 2009). The focus on people's information needs in varied roles made it appropriate to investigate how refugees navigate host society's processes and systems.

The literatures show that research in this field evolved from a focus on the "system-centred" to one on the "user-centred". That is, from how a user navigates a given system and what he or she could do with the information made available by it, to the user's contextual purpose in seeking the information, which includes the social and institutional contexts (Bates, 2010). This implies that the context of any information needs may be the person him/herself, or the role demands of the person's work or life, or the environments including the political, economic, and technological amongst others within which that life or work takes place (Wilson, 1981). While it is pointed out that the two will always intersect, the pertinent issue to be addressed in a study should determine the context of the investigation (Wilson, 2000).

A more recent development is the move from information behaviour to information practices, which draws on elements of sense-making. Savolainen (2007a) explains, "Information practice is mainly inspired by the ideas of social construction while information behaviour primarily draws on the cognitive viewpoint". The literature comprising information studies related to the forced displaced has been produced from an information practices perspective. Caidi et al.'s (2010) review of studies of immigrants' information practices highlights this. Many studies of the forced displaced have since relied on the information practices perspective, including that by Lloyd et al. (2013) amongst others.

However, this study has chosen to remain with information behaviour, because information behaviour was also described as the umbrella term for the many ways in which human beings interact with information, and its outcomes present person-

centred information needs and information sources (Bates, 2010). Furthermore, it follows the red thread of information in the social lives of people. This study's focus on navigation means that it will be necessary to follow the properties of information as refugees navigate integration systems to achieve person-centred outcomes.

3.1 Concepts in Information Behaviour

Information behaviour fundamentally revolves around three concepts – information need, information seeking behaviour and human information behaviour. This principle follows from a focus on context, in line with the move to a user-centred perspective highlighted in the previous section (Bates J, 2004; Bates, 2010). Context has been described as a key variable in information behaviour studies, such studies having been praised for results that often have local relevance and practical outcomes in terms of information delivery systems (Fisher and Julien, 2009).

From reviews of information behaviour studies, it was consistently found that such studies concern user information seeking to meet information needs (Courtright, 2007; Fisher and Julien, 2009). Fisher and Julien (2009) expressly stated that they examined information seeking and use from the perspective of the specific situations and contexts in which those behaviours occurred.

It can be inferred that information behaviour is initiated by a need for information, and understanding information behaviour is a process of investigating the satisfaction patterns of information needs in any context, whether system-centred or user-centred (Figure 3.1). This is consistent with Case's (2012) observation that information behaviour is now the covering term for a broader range of information related phenomena, which include information needs and the entirety of information seeking behaviour.

Information Seeking Behaviour ➔➔ **Information Need** ⬅⬅ **Human Information Behaviour**

Figure 3. 1 – Concepts in Information Behaviour

Information need is therefore at the heart of information behaviour, which can be investigated through either information seeking or human information behaviour, actively or passively. The study assumes that information seeking behaviour entails understanding information needs for information delivery systems, while human information behaviour entails understanding information needs in the social lives of people.

In context, this means that the present study is a human information behaviour investigation into the satisfaction patterns of information needs. This is because the totality of interaction with information during refugee integration encompasses the social lives of refugees and constitutes the information behaviour to be observed and recorded. In the following sections, these concepts and relevant models are examined to contextualise this study.

3.1.1 Information Needs

The literature is not explicit on the meaning of information need; it has been defined according to the interests and expertise of individual pieces of research. Case felt that an attempt at a specific definition narrows and restricts the applicability of information in its entirety, and is therefore not necessary. Information need is an umbrella term allowing a variety of interpretations about which there are controversies (Case, 2012). Similarly, Belkin and Robertson (1976) advised:

> *"We are not concerned with definitions of information but rather with concepts of information. The distinction is that a definition presumably says what the phenomenon defined is whereas a concept is a way of looking at it or interpreting the phenomenon. By accepting the idea of a concept one becomes free to look for a useful concept rather than a universally true definition of information".*

Case (2012) observed an evolution in the definition of information need. It went from the most generic, as the cause of information seeking in earlier literatures, to relevance, with an emphasis on cognitive and affective aspects in recent literatures. For instance, Taylor (1962, 1968) conceptualised information needs as something distinct and

traceable because it can be attributed to levels of dissatisfaction that travel through stages and are expressed as questions during communication.

1. **The visceral need** – the actual, but unexpressed need for information
2. **The conscious need** – the conscious, within-brain description of the need
3. **The formalised need** – the formal statement of the need
4. **The compromised need** – the question as presented to the information system

Belkin (1978) and Belkin (2005) explained that information need is recognised when there is an anomaly i.e. an uncertainty in a user's state of knowledge regarding a topic or situation; this is described as an anomalous state of knowledge (ASK). This implies that a user's state of knowledge is inadequate to achieve a goal or resolve a problematic situation, a deficit which then constitutes the information need. Kuhlthau (1991, 2005) advanced the concepts of information need with psychological theories of learning and the importance of emotions in her phases/stages of information search process. It was implied that information need was a process of seeking meaning and not just finding information.

Furthermore, Dervin and Nilan (1986) described information need as a "gap" in life experiences. Dervin (2003b) maintained that it comprised not only the gap or the response to it, but also the life experiences that are embedded therein, such as reassurance, feelings and connections amongst human beings, etc., which change constantly with new sensory inputs. Therefore, a solution to a gap would present another gap to be filled and so on. However, the concept of information needs on its own cannot produce the insights sought from holistic information behaviour (Dervin, 2003c).

It is consistent that at the root of all information needs lie uncertainty, gaps in knowledge, ambiguity or uneasiness which are related to motivation. This highlights information need as the origin of information seeking and information behaviour studies. Furthermore, although information need is a concept on its own, it is also an outcome of any information study. This implies that the "user" and the "context" are imperative features of useful conceptualisations of information need for the purpose of studying or interpreting a phenomenon. Information behaviour must therefore be

contextualised so as to yield dualised information need outcomes for "user" and "context".

Figure 3. 2 – Maslow Hierarchy of Needs

In light of this observation and the phenomenon to be investigated, human sociological needs are briefly examined, the more so as refugee integration is a sociological issue. Maslow (1943) described human needs in a progressing hierarchy of needs that are not independent of each other and are underlain by motivation. This hierarchy describes a 5-stage journey of human satiation, which generally starts with the urge to satisfy basic needs such as food, shelter, safety, love and esteem; and ultimately peaks at self-actualisation needs (Figure 3.2).

This suggests that this information behaviour investigation could embody a process of finding out facts and creating understanding of how all these sociological needs are met during refugee integration. This result will be achieved through the observation of specific satisfaction patterns in context. In the following sections, the means by which satisfaction patterns may be observed are examined.

3.1.2   Information Seeking Behaviour

Information seeking behaviour simply concerns the way information is sought (Wilson, 2000, 2010). Unlike information needs, it is not surrounded by controversy, a circumstance which may be attributed to the obvious meaning of the term. There is a consensus that information-seeking behaviour results from the recognition of some need perceived by the user (Wilson, 2006). However, these studies have evolved along with the increasing escalation of information and advancement of scientific technologies.

Wilson (2000) described two types of information seeking behaviour: "information searching behaviour" on information retrieval systems, otherwise "system-centered", and "information seeking behaviour" in context, otherwise "user/person-centered". Information searching behaviour is defined as "the micro-level of behaviour employed by the searcher in interacting with information systems of all kinds" and information seeking behaviour as the "purposive seeking for information as a consequence of a need to satisfy some goal".

One cause of the evolution was the research requirement to focus on the potential for public good. Bates (2003) explained that this resulted in a shift of research emphasis towards the social and cultural context of information seeking, giving rise to an imbalance between system-centred and user-centred behaviour. Further into the shift there occurred the breakdown of context into "work-related context" and "non-work-related context".

Work information seeking studies examine work-related information needs that will make the job achievable in less time. Such studies dominated earlier research into information seeking in context. However, Wilson (2006) and Bates (2010) criticised such studies for their exclusive focus on ideal "high stakes" and "high status" occupations. They highlighted there are many more types of information seeking behaviour that can enhance human existence.

Non-work information seeking studies related to Everyday Life Information Seeking (ELIS). This concept prompts investigations into non-work related information needs within any context that can promote successful societal living amongst other goals. Such studies are situation bound and avoid the problems arising from the false dichotomies of structure and agency (Savolainen, 2007a).

Information seeking behaviour studies have significantly advanced the information science field. However, the term information seeking behaviour has been criticised as strictly referring to active and intentional behaviour (Bates, 2010); and also, as only concerning explicit efforts to locate information, omitting the many other ways in which people and information interact (Case, 2012).

These criticisms prompted the introduction of the term "information behaviour" to replace "information seeking". The rationale for the change was that information

behaviour presents a broader scope that enables the incorporation of concepts of other ways people have interacted with information; accordingly, this term has been expanded to "human information behaviour" to cover the many ways humans interact with information (Case, 2012).

3.1.3 Human Information Behaviour

As Bates (1999) expressed it, information behaviour focuses on the "red thread of information" in the social lives of people, i.e. the creation, seeking, and use of information, including the process of *information transfer* to solve problems; through discovery, application and implementation of facts, models and theory. Sonnenwald and Iivonen (1999) added that information behaviour studies are done in order to support progress in human life and the improvement of things in the world, and thus supports and expands studies in the social and behavioural sciences of humans in general.

Human information behaviour studies focus on the user as a living and breathing person, i.e. on human aspects of information (Dervin, 2003c, Wilson, 2000). The term emerged following the earlier highlighted shift from the system-centred approach to the person-centred approach in the social context. This alternative was initiated by Dervin in the 1970s in her conception of Sense-Making, which identified information as in "the mind's eye of the user" and the user as best qualified to report on it (Dervin, 2003c). Dervin proposed that information seeking studies should be situation-sensitive, with the user's intended purpose for the information seen as the important thing, rather than the information provided for the user (Dervin, 2003b).

Furthermore, it is highlighted that situation is an attribute of context which enables investigations of situations in terms of human information behaviour (Dervin, 2005). Human information behaviour studies presented many ways of investigating situations. Such studies include Savolainen's (1995) Everyday Life Information Seeking, Sonnenwald's (1999) Information Horizon and Pettigrew's (1999) Information Grounds.

The idea of situations in information behaviour can be traced to Dervin (1976, 1983), who proposed a complex communication-based approach for the contextual study of information needs and seeking. Sonnenwald (1999) proposed that situations may be characterised by actions or behaviours that occur over time and are connected by participants; furthermore, that there may be a variety of situations and a flow of situations within any context.

Context ➡ Situations ➡ Information Needs

Figure 3. 3 – Situational Information Behaviour

Cool (2001) summarised situation as a focus of analysis in its own right, since it has the potential to bring together both individual cognitive-level and social-level analyses of human information behaviour. This means that situations are sub-contextual circumstances in which information needs may be identified (Figure 3.3). It has long been demonstrated that situational characteristics explain far more variance in information seeking than do the demographic descriptors of individuals. Dervin et al. (1981), Dervin et al. (1982), Atwood and Dervin (1981), Dervin and Shields (1999), and Cheuk (1998) are amongst those who have pointed this out.

Dervin and Clark's (1999) analysis of exemplars of the use of sense-making specifically found that situational characteristics are applicable in eliciting and explicating information and communication issues pertinent to diverse discourse communities. Sense-making has since continued to give insights and is now the foundation of numerous models that have emerged since the shift to contextual studies (Case, 2012). Thus, in this study context, a situational account of information behaviour is most appropriate. This will avoid Wilson's (1981) picture of "failure to identify with the situations within which information needs arises", and will heed Caidi et al.'s (2010) advice that "a holistic approach to immigrant's information studies" should be adopted.

It has been shown that identification of information need, sources and seeking behaviour is always a by-product of any information studies. However, focus on the power of the situation will specifically target emergent information needs in and arising from situations, thus offering a greater capacity for information provision.

Situational level investigation does not decrease the importance of individual level investigation; rather it eliminates the limitation of individual level needs. This study adopts a situational information behaviour approach. The next chapters will seek to develop a theoretical framework that will incorporate this approach and guide the methods for investigating the subject of this study.

3.2   Models of Information Behaviour

Models represent a way of organising and simplifying a body of knowledge to pave the way for more sophisticated and comprehensive understandings (Johnson, 2009). The earlier highlighted shift to a user-centred approach reflected a focus on context, which has been investigated in its various forms, leading to the emergence of numerous models. This includes Belkin's Anomalous State of Knowledge (Belkin, 1980); Kuhlthau's Information Search Process (Kuhlthau, 1993); Wilson's general model (Wilson, 1997); Dervin's sense-making (Dervin, 1976), Savolainen's Everyday Life Information Seeking (Savolainen, 1995); and Fisher's Information Ground (Fisher, 2005), amongst many others. These studies have deepened the understanding of various aspects of human information behaviour (Talja and Hartel, 2007).

However, with all these understandings came variances in interpretations, descriptions and conclusions, and hence a significant amount of inconsistency and friction within the field (Fisher et al., 2005; Bawden, 2006). The result was a plethora of models based on interdisciplinary metatheories, and numerous conceptions, methods and approaches to use in investigating phenomena. Although the approaches are in disarray, inconsistent and contradictory (Bates, 2005), the models could complement each other in order to explore phenomena (Bawden, 2006). Indeed, this study finds that despite the inconsistencies in concepts, approaches and methods, there are underlying relationships between models.

The models appear to be individual expansions of the various information behaviour concepts. This suggests the possibility of creating a synergetic framework for investigating information behaviour that will uncover deeper facts and holistic understanding in any given context. This is consistent with Fisher and Julien's (2009)

observation of an increasing use of information science frameworks proposed in the 1980s and 1990s to inform several investigations.

For instance, Wilson's model is a general framework that integrates interdisciplinary theories and concepts to conceptualise information behaviour research (Wilson, 1997). The model lacks empirical evidence, but Bawden (2006) highlighted it as presenting an abstract description of the ways of thinking about information behaviour. As a result, its potential for use as an underlying framework in the initialisation of any information behaviour research is limitless. In this study, the model enabled the thinking about information behaviour in refugee integration as follows. The *"person-in-context"* is the refugee navigating integration systems, i.e. initiating the need for information, on the assumption that information seeking is inherent across all the columns, not just in the single column described in the model (Figure 3.4).
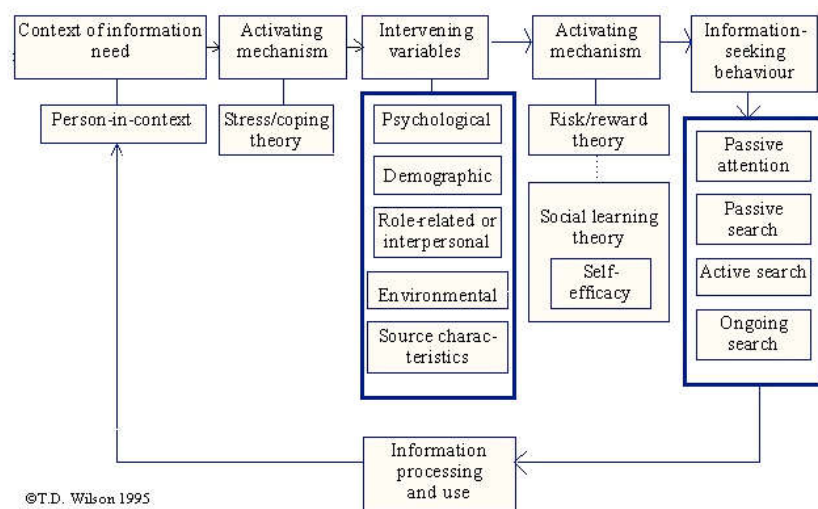
Figure 3. 4 – Wilson 1996 Model

This highlights the possibility to combine empirical models that function independently but might produce complementary results. Thus, a need to examine complementary models with the goal to combine them in synergy and create a theoretical framework for investigating information behaviour in refugee integration; Dervin's sense-making, Savolainen's Everyday Life Information Seeking and Fisher's Information Ground were chosen.

3.2.1 Dervin's Sense-Making Model

Sense-making heralded the era of contextual approaches in user-centred studies. It was conceptualised as people's effort to make sense of many aspects of their lives through information seeking. Dervin (1992) assumed that the user was important and not an empty bucket as in earlier studies in which, she said, the user was likened to an empty bucket. This concept is underpinned by deep philosophical and theoretical assumptions of context across numerous discourses, particularly in communications research.

The goal was to study methodologically how people construct the sense of their world, that is, how people construct their information needs (Dervin, 2003b). Sense-making conceptualises context as the container in which phenomena reside – a site of struggle where the species reaches for a new kind of understanding, and approach it through four constituent elements:

Situation – is the situation in time and space, when an insufficiency is realised, i.e. the context in which information problems arise, such as social, cultural, work related or non-work related problems.

Gap – a gap, which identifies the difference between the contextual situation and the desired situation (e.g. uncertainty), that is, the information need or prospective use of information.

Outcome – that is, the consequences of the sense-making process, the information need met, or the use of the information.

Bridge – that is, some means of closing the gap between situation and outcome – sources or channels of information, i.e. information seeking.

The constituents were initially represented in two ways: either in a triangular relationship, with the bridge constituent as a hidden metaphor, or as a journey and movement across time/space with the bridge metaphor visible if preferred (Dervin, 2003b).
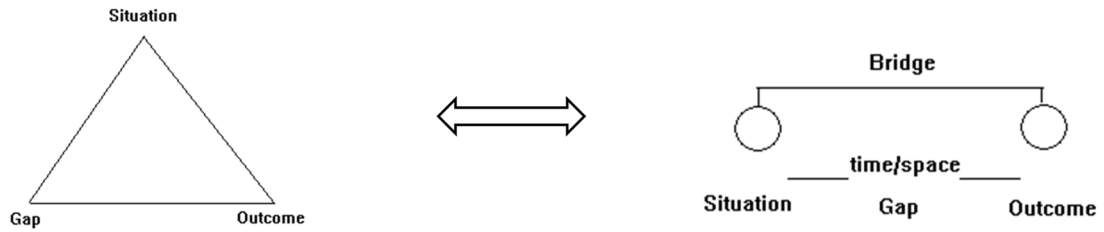
Figure 3. 5 – Sense-Making 1992 Model

Sense-making focuses on information seeking within a discontinuous reality using these constituents. It focuses on the effort of people to make sense of many aspects of their lives through information seeking which aims to fill a gap within a specific and changing time-space continuum consisting of the situations. Therein lie the deep insights into behaviour as habitual or situational, elicited from informants' reports of barriers to and facilitators of information seeking (Dervin, 2005).

Sense-Making has since been defined as *"the behaviour both internal (cognitive) and external (procedural) which allows the individual to construct and design his/her move through time space"* (Dervin, 2005). The emphasis placed by sense-making on the motives for information seeking enlarged the perspective of information behaviour and the qualitative techniques in the field. It is the foundation of many models of information behaviour. This is because it spans a broad scope and can be particularised and generalised for the purpose of studying human information behaviour in its variant forms.
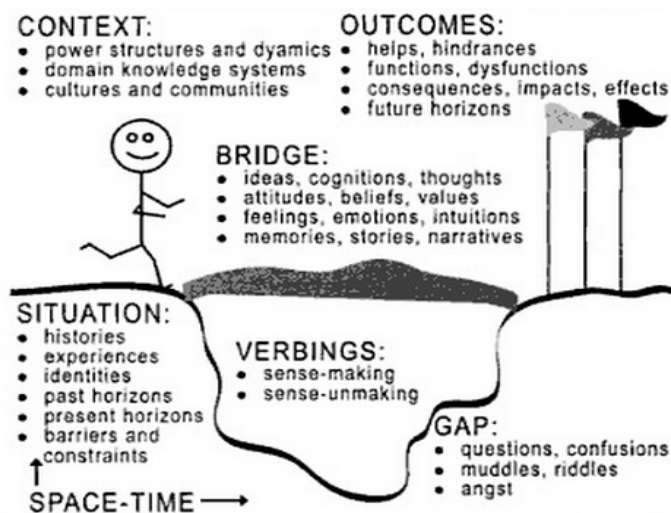
Figure 3. 6 – Sense-Making 1999 Model

Situations became central to sense-making, because at the core of the bridging metaphor, which includes information creation and flow, is communication and relationship – whether intra-personal, interpersonal, mass, cross-cultural, organisational, societal or interpersonal (Figure 3.6). As a result, the development and expanding applicability of sense-making across numerous fields was inevitable.

Besides its robust foundations, its strengths also largely lie in its methodological applications that can lead to genuine insights revealing the nature of a problematic situation, and influence information services design and delivery. Sense-making creates understandings of the extent to which information serves to bridge the gap created by uncertainty and confusion (Dervin, 2005).

However, sense-making still does not encompass all information behaviour in a situation. Savolainen (1995) observed that the questions dealing with the cognitive competence of information seekers, as well as the socio-cultural factors affecting that information seeking, seem to deserve closer attention. Case (2012) was of the view that information behaviour is not always about sense-making but involves usage as well, and that situations are not just about uncertainties, gaps and discontinuities.

Interestingly, it appears that the heirs of the context era have addressed these limitations of sense-making, thus adding depth to the concept. The robustness of sense-making enables the application of these outgrowths as complementary models for in-depth holistic insights which can expand the understanding of information behaviour in any context. Sense-making goes beyond Wilson's model because it is not only a conceptual model but also a methodological tool for empirical studies and has been broadly applied there.

Sense-making, being communications oriented, has facilitated information behaviour studies across numerous disciplines and professional contexts. Its first use was in a library and information science information needs study of urban residents in the United States (Dervin et al., 1976; Dervin et al., 1977). Other earlier studies include Atwood and Dervin's (1981) research into information needs of Californians and how libraries could help with those needs. Dervin et al.'s (1980) and Dervin et al.'s (1981) information seeking study of blood donors who described their donation situation in terms of what happened, what questions they had during the process and how they

hoped the questions would help them; and Dervin and Clark's (1987) search for ways to interest Hispanic people in library study.

Sense-making has also been adopted for interdisciplinary information behaviour investigations. Dervin and Foreman-Wernet (2003) report extensively on the use of sense-making. For instance, in health, it includes Wittet's (1983) study of Southeast Asian refugees' health information needs, specifically those of women experiencing multiple sclerosis. More recently, amongst others, there was Wathen's (2006) information seeking study of decisions about hormone replacement therapy.

In other professional contexts, there have been Cheuk's (1998) categorisation and description of engineers' job tasks; Barry and Schamber's (1998) weather information seeking study; Julien's (1999) study of career choices decision-making in high school; and Dervin and Shields's (1999) study of people's experiences in telephone-related privacy violations amongst others. Recently, Hepworth (2004) used sense-making in a framework test for collecting and understanding the information needs of a community, and Smith (2008) used it in the study of information needs and associated communicative behaviours of female Afghan refugees in the San Francisco Bay area.

While the use of sense-making has continued in numerous academic and professional studies, others have extrapolated, from the concepts of sense-making, perspectives for theorising and studying new phenomena in information research. This extension includes Savolainen's everyday life information seeking (ELIS), information interchange, information horizons and such models as information grounds, which drew on elements of Savolainen's ELIS model (Fisher et al., 2005). In the next section, two models, ELIS and information grounds, are examined for their potential to complement sense-making.

3.2.2 Savolainen's Everyday Life Information Seeking Model (ELIS)

It has been highlighted that alongside the shift to person-centred approaches, light was shed on information as part of everyday life; hence the emergence of Everyday Life Information Seeking (ELIS). Savolainen (1995) conceptualised everyday life information seeking in the context of "way of life" and "mastery of life", based on

Bourdieu's philosophical habitus of socially and culturally determined systems of thinking, perception, and evaluation.

The model sought to expand sense-making, critiquing the sense-making approach as occupying a rather general level, since it focused on "generic" characteristics of human information seeking and use (Savolainen, 1995). He explained that the ELIS model addresses the cognitive and socio-cultural determinants of information seeking which seem to deserve closer attention than they receive in the sense-making theory (Savolainen, 2005). The ELIS concept of way of life was associated with the order of things, which includes the work and leisure activities of everyday life and the preferences given to them within the habitus. ELIS's concept of mastery of life was associated with how things are kept in order through the values, attitudes, material capital, social capital, cultural capital and cognitive capital of the individual in the habitus (Savolainen, 2005).

It then follows that way of life (order of things) and mastery of life (keeping things in order) determine each other because there cannot be a meaningful order of things if active measures have not been taken to create the desired order (mastery of life). This is developed through the individual's socially and culturally determined cognition (Savolainen, 2005). It can therefore be implied that information seeking behaviour forms a part of mastery of life, in that an established way of life can remain stable until it is threatened, shaken or disturbed. In addition, new experiences will bring about the development of new sets of attitudes and dispositions towards mastery of life found in certain problems, which generate information seeking in the problem situations.

In the light of this description, everyday life information seeking was summed up as *"the acquisition of various informational (both cognitive and expressive) elements which people employ to orient themselves in daily life or to solve problems not directly connected with the performance of occupational tasks"* (Savolainen, 1995). This definition was applied in various areas of everyday life such as health care, housing, employment and education, although it is acknowledged that work related and non-work related areas complement each other (Savolainen, 2005).

Furthermore, two types of information were defined – "orienting information" and "practical information" in everyday life. The orienting information concerned current

events while the practical information served as the solution to specific problems. This distinction was based on the assumption that the experiences in problem situations will yield feedback on the effectiveness of problem-solving abilities and highlight the sufficiency of cognitive competence while simultaneously evaluating sources and channels (Savolainen, 1995).

Everyday life information seeking has particularly contributed to the understanding of information seeking in different populations: international students (Sei-Ching and Kyung-Sun, 2013), urban teenagers (Agosto and Hughes-Hassell, 2005; Hughes-Hassell and Agosto, 2007), seniors (Gray et al., 2005), general students (Fisher, Landry and Naumer, 2007), and people in personal crisis (Clemens and Cushing, 2010) amongst others.

However, ELIS does not elaborate on sources and channels. Although it has been revised and expanded to everyday information seeking practices which is said to set information sources in order of preference and suggest information seeking paths ((Savolainen, 2007b, Savolainen, 2017), this is still not sufficient to cover the information sources anticipated in the study. In the refugee context, ELIS will be used to expand refugees' navigation of integration systems as an everyday life event. Information grounds, the model discussed in the next section was used to expand on information sources.

3.2.3 Fisher's Information Grounds Model

Information grounds was conceived in the late 90s during fieldwork based on Chatman's small worlds theory, which revealed how different types of people gather to converse about varied topics, leading to the sharing of formal and informal information (Pettigrew et al., 2000). They further explained that information can emerge anywhere, including unexpected places, at any time, even when not actively sought. This means that information sources are inherent in situations.

Fisher (2005) defined information grounds as *"synergistic environment(s) temporarily created when people come together for a singular purpose but from whose behaviour emerges a social atmosphere that fosters the spontaneous and serendipitous sharing of information"* and supports the definition with seven propositions:

1. Information grounds can occur anywhere, in any type of temporal setting and are predicated on the presence of individuals.

2. People gather at information grounds for a primary instrumental purpose other than information sharing.

3. Information grounds are attended by different social types, most if not all of whom play expected and important albeit different roles in information flow.

4. Social interaction is a primary activity at an information ground, such that information flow occurs in many directions.

5. People engage in formal and informal information sharing.

6. People use information obtained at information grounds in alternative ways, and benefit along physical, social, affective and cognitive dimensions.

7. Many sub-contexts exist within an information ground, based on people's perspective and physical factors; together these sub-contexts form a grand context.

Therefore, information grounds allow information sharing to thrive, and are robust sites for the discovery of individuals' unexpressed information needs, motivations for seeking it, and preferred sources and strategies for giving and sharing information, including assumption of the role of gatekeeper (Fisher, 2005). However, information grounds is only one approach among all gap bridging processes, and therefore cannot be independently applied but in context is complementary to the other models, adding specific in-depth details that contribute to holistic understanding of information behaviour.

Information grounds has been used to investigate information seeking in numerous contexts: Loudon et al. (2016) used the model to investigate the everyday life information seeking of first-time mothers. Prigoda and McKenzie (2007) used information grounds to investigate members of a knitting circle in a public library. Soheili et al. (2016) and Cisek et al. (2018) investigated the information grounds of university students in Iran and Poland respectively. Elmore (2017) used information grounds to investigate the information practices in ESOL classes. Count and Fisher (2008) extended the relevance of information grounds to online communities.

Furthermore, the information grounds sites have been significantly expanded, from Fisher et al.'s (2004a) and Fisher et al.'s (2004b) ballparks, bike shops, friends, church, school, workplace medical clinic, hair salons, barber shops, day care centres, garages, book stores, and social service organisations including radios and libraries. It presently includes Lorenz et al.'s (2018) conferences, Williams and Smith's (2016) campus disability centres, and Rohman and Pang's (2015) coffee shops as information grounds in Indonesia. Bronstein (2017) extended the understanding of information grounds with her study of domestic migrant workers in Israel.

From the literature, information grounds and everyday life information seeking appear inherently complementary. Savolainen (2009) recommends Chatman's small worlds and Fisher's information grounds as contexts of everyday life information seeking. Unsurprisingly, Westbrook (2008) used Savolainen's ELIS framework to investigate the information world of domestic violence survivors and organisations who work with them. Fisher and Landry (2007) used Fisher's information grounds, Wilson's model, and Chatman's information poverty to investigate the information worlds of stay-at-home mothers.

The use of multiple models for information behaviour studies became a source of strength for the field, as the results of such studies deliver practical outcomes for improving systems (Fisher and Julien, 2009). For instance, Fisher, Marcoux, Meyers and Landry (2007) combined Dervin's sense-making, Fisher's information grounds and Chatman's normative behaviour model to investigate tweens' everyday life information, and proposed a service framework for mediating it. Interestingly Fisher's current research areas include refugees (Fisher, Yefimova and Yafi, 2016).

It is clear that ELIS and information grounds are indeed complementary models that can be combined with sense-making to give holistic insights into refugee integration processes and systems. The anticipation of operational outcomes that would enable the design of a person-centred refugee integration process and system is therefore not misplaced.

3.3 Theoretical Framework: Sense-Making in Refugee Integration

This study explicated and contextualised the underlying interrelationships between the models in synergy for in-depth and holistic insights into refugee integration, which strengthened the capacity and applicability of findings for the investigated context. This is consistent with the contextual goal of information studies, which is to reconcile apparent differences and polarities without wishing away the differences but rather recognising them as conceptually important (Dervin, 2010).

Following on from previous sections, it is evident that sense-making is the concept on which the edifice of context was built, but in itself is limited because of the very broad scope it encompasses. Case (2012) explains that information behaviour is not always about sense-making but is about usage as well; and that situations are not just about uncertainties, gaps and discontinuities. Therefore, sense-making alone may not be sufficient in terms of depth in some aspects of context and, more to the point, is not the only possible event/action with which to fill gaps in situations.

As a result, the other models can be viewed as missing fragments that are compatible at varying levels in producing complementary outcomes. This implies that refugee integration could also be situated in everyday life information seeking, which is described by Savolainen as the acquisition of various informational (both cognitive and expressive) elements which people use to orient themselves in daily life and solve non-work related problems (Savolainen, 1995, 1993, 2006).

Furthermore, the steps taken to bridge the gap during sense-making are carried out through sources and channels, which are not completely elaborated in sense-making itself. The seven key concepts within information grounds elaborate on informal sources as context rich, including temporal, instrumental, social types, and social interaction sources. This means that identifying which grounds enable information sharing to flourish will deepen the understanding of information behaviour in refugee integration.
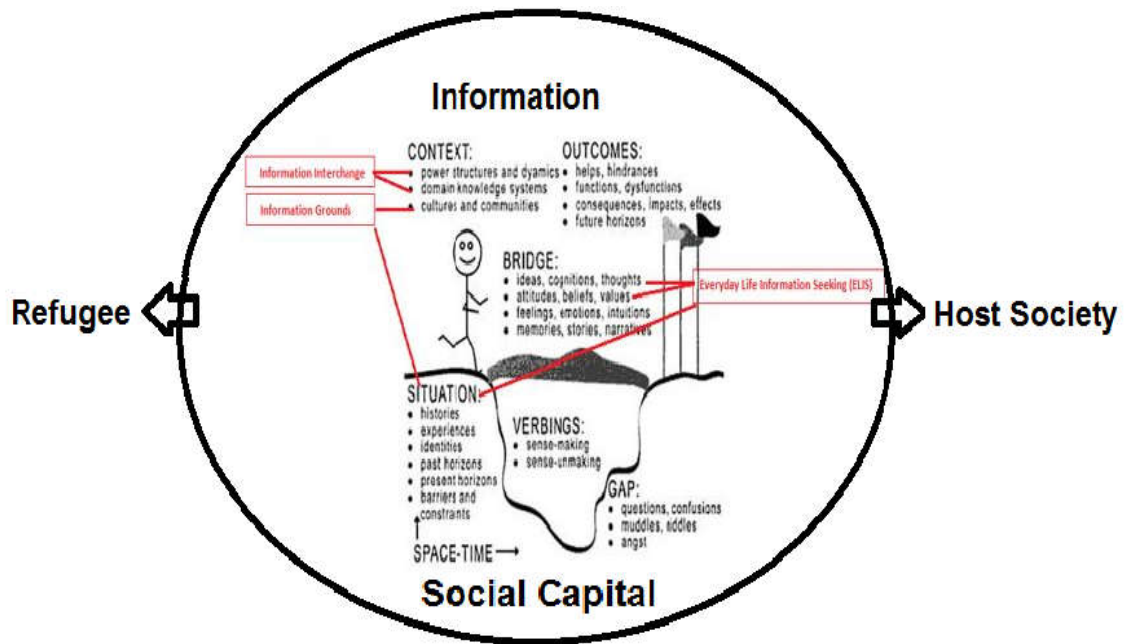
Figure 3. 7 – The Synergy: Sense-Making in Refugee Integration

Following the understanding of the models, Wilson's information behaviour model can be contextualised in this study such that the *"context"* column refers to Dervin's sense-making literarily, then the *"intervening variables"* column refers to Savolainen's everyday life information and Fisher's information grounds, because of their respective demographics and sources. Information behaviour can thus be recorded in and across observations covering a range of situational characteristics of refugee integration, to arrive at person-centred information needs and sources.

To this end, sense-making, ELIS and information grounds were combined into the framework in shown in Figure 3.7 above, which was used to explore how refugees navigate complex integration processes and to address the research questions. While this is not an exhaustive approach to understanding information behaviour in refugee integration, it was anticipated that exploiting the synergies of concepts would create a robust understanding of information behaviour during refugee integration to enable the design of person-centred integration processes.

Summary

To round off part two with a recap of the investigation so far, the objective of this study is to explore the experiences during refugee integration and elicit information needs and their relationships. Chapter two has shown that a refugee is someone who finds him or herself in a new country under dire circumstances; also that refugee integration involves a transitioning that includes investigation, orientation and sometimes reunion on the part of the refugee.

As a result, integration requires that available advice, including information and support, be structured, predictable, and explicable. Information is therefore a resource for transition during integration. Chapter three highlights that an information behaviour perspective on refugee integration is possible since information behaviour studies investigate the properties of information in any given context. The resultant framework guided the study design, data collection and subsequent analysis.

Part Three: Research Methods and Population

4.   Qualitative Research

Qualitative research involves the collection of a variety of empirical materials including personal experiences that describe "routine and problematic moments and meanings in individuals' lives" (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011). In qualitative studies, the data generated are interpreted to understand people's experiences, biographies, opinions, values, aspirations, attitudes and feelings (Bryman, 2012). Qualitative research is therefore context-oriented and is appropriate for this study, which aims to understand how refugees navigate complex integration processes through lived experiences.

The methods used to generate data in qualitative research include interviews, observation, visual material, ethnography, focus groups, and others (Tim, 2011). However, qualitative research is inherently multimethod in focus (Flick, 2007), as each method investigates the world in a different way (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011). Thus, qualitative multimethod enables in-depth understanding of the context surrounding the phenomenon under study.

In information sciences, the literature has reflected a significant increase in qualitative approaches since the shift to a user-centred focus (Fisher and Julien, 2009; Bates, J., 2004; Bates, 2005; Cibangu, 2013), and migration studies are not exempt. The studies highlighted in section 2.7 were qualitative in nature and used more than one method to better understand the subject matter. For instance, Quirke (2014) combined interviews with participant observation and ethnography to understand information practices in the leisure context; while Fisher et al. (2016) combined participatory design with observations to understand information concerns in a refugee camp.

In this study, interviews and observations were combined. This is because, although interviews generate data through conversations with people on a specific topic or range of topics (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003), the method has been criticised as offering limited insights into general social forces and processes within a phenomenon (Gerson and Horowitz, 2002). As for observation, there is a consensus that it produces fuller understanding (Bryman, 2012; Denzin and Lincoln, 2011), because it collects data by actually witnessing the context of the events or circumstances surrounding the people concerned (O'Leary, 2014).

The predominant data collection tool was semi-structured interviews. This followed from the idea that sense-making information is in "the mind's eye of the user" and the user is best qualified to report on it (Dervin, 1992). Sense-making metaphors (situation-gaps) were used to focus on where the refugee was coming from, what the refugees were struggling with and where they were going, and the forces facilitating or constraining them in their navigation of integration processes and systems (Dervin, 2003e).

Observations of consultations between refugees and service providers were used to substantiate interviews, as this study sought to understand how refugees navigate integration systems. The service provider consultation sessions involved the service provider dealing with the requests, needs, and complaints of the refugees, which the researcher recorded using the data collection guide. The details of the observations are discussed in chapter eleven. In the rest of this chapter, the methods adopted are situated within information behaviour paradigms and the research design explicated.

4.1   Paradigms in Information Behaviour Studies

There are several approaches to studying a phenomenon of interest in information studies, guided by the foundational research philosophies and assumptions. Conventionally, research philosophies have two contrasting points of departure – the ontological stance and the epistemological stance. These have been have been linked to sciences and humanities disciplines respectively, by their descriptions.

Research paradigms or positions are the basic sets of beliefs that guide research (Guba, 1990). They concern human considerations with respect to the foundational philosophies. The paradigms are surrounded with issues of objectivity, controversy over which is legendary and changes with time. Fundamentally, the primary paradigms are positivism and interpretivism; otherwise, realism and relativism respectively. *Positivist* belief is in an objective and independent reality that exists outside of those creating the reality. *Interpretivist* belief is in a social reality that is interpreted by individuals and cannot exist outside the social contexts that create them (Pickard, 2013; Bryman, 2012; Guba and Lincoln, 1994).

However, there are crossroads where the two intersect and overlap, resulting in numerous variations across disciplines (Guba and Lincoln, 2005), and information science is not immune to these variations. Case (2012) highlighted extensive literatures reflecting the debate in information science research; however, Bates (2005) and Case (2012) advised that both orientations are enormously productive and rewarding for understanding human information behaviour.

The paradigms in information science are either "nomothetic" or "idiographic" (Bates, 2005). She explained that the nomothetic paradigm assumes the existence of patterns or processes of a more general sort and is about finding a generalised pattern. By contrast, the idiographic paradigm assumes that true understanding can be reached only by assembling and assessing individual particulars to obtain a nuanced description of the unique facts of a situation. This suggests that the nomothetic could be likened to the objective and independent assumptions of the positivist, while the idiographic could be likened to the social reality assumptions of the interpretivist, as highlighted above.

These paradigms are used in different ways for information behaviour studies, resulting in numerous theories and models for studying information behaviour phenomena, as reflected in Fisher et al. (2005). Thirteen categories are defined under these paradigms: six being nomothetic and five being idiographic. Two were described as mixed approaches, as they concerned social understanding to create laws, and thus contained both nomothetic and idiographic properties (Bates, 2005).

Specifically the mixed approaches were the ethnographic and socio-cognitive approaches, and were applicable in the context of this study, since the aim was to understand how refugees navigate complex integration systems and to identify the information needs for navigating unfamiliar processes and systems. The ethnographic approach requires the researcher to become immersed in the study context. In the socio-cognitive approach, the social and documentary domains in which the individual operates are seen to influence the need for information (Bates, 2005).

Ethnography might be the likely option if the research context were explored as a closed group, or people within an enclosure or enclosed system etc. For instance, Quirke (2011) used ethnography to investigate the information needs of Afghan

refugee women in Toronto. However, for this context, the assumption was the inability to navigate processes resulted in closed groups. Thus, the study focused on the processes in the society and chose to examine refugees' constructions of experience, to gain the understanding that might prevent the formation of closed groups, though it is likely that such were already in existence.

This eliminated the need for the researcher to become immersed in the groups; therefore, specific to this study would be the socio-cognitive approach, which involves society-human experiences. Dervin's sense-making methodology was chosen to follow the red thread of information in the interplay between people and information in refugee integration. Sense-making has been discussed as a model in the previous chapter. However, there is a methodological side to sense-making that requires elucidation.

4.2. Sense-Making Methodology

Sense-making as a methodology is a hybrid. It is an embodiment of theory and paradigm that methodologically studies human social construction of the world, such that a new kind of generalisable findings could emerge, honouring diversity while at the same time addressing human universals (Dervin, 2003e). Dervin drew on elements from a variety of disciplines and discourse communities, which includes communication, philosophy, sociology, psychology, education, cultural studies, feminist and postmodern studies. Primarily from the works of Richard Carter, Jerome Seymour, William James McGuire, John Dewey, Richard Roty, Pierre Bourdieu, Michel Foucault, Anthony Giddens, Jurgen Habermas, Hans-George Gadamer, Paolo Freire and Luis Ramiro Beltran (Dervin and Foreman-Wernet, 2003).

Consequently, it is claimed as a complex and deep communication-based approach useful for the contextual study of information needs, seeking and use. Where information seeking, its use and the acts of researching information needs and seeking are viewed as the communicative practices that are central to all communication situations whether they be intrapersonal, interpersonal mass, cross-cultural, societal or international (Dervin, 1999; Dervin, 2003e).

Fundamentally, sense-making is a methodology between poles. It is a time-space reconceptualisation of information and communication studies, from the traditional *observer construct* where information is independent of the user to a *user construct* where information lies in what is observed from people's constructions and experiences (Dervin, 2003b, 2003f). Dervin (1992) explained that, given the observational constraints of time, space, change and physiological limitations in observer construction, no amount of information provided by another can provide an individual with the instructions he or she needs to cope in a situation, but that when it is presented, individuals actually make sense of it on their own.

The emphasis is on communication as dynamic, dialogic and analogic, i.e. by dialogue and comparison. Fundamental to it is the assumption that the human is embodied in materiality and soars across time-space. "*a body-mind-heart-spirit living in a time space, moving from a past in a present to a future anchored in material conditions; yet at the same time with an assumed capacity to sense-make abstractions, dreams, memories, plans, ambitions, fantasies, stories, pretences that can both transcend time space and last beyond specific moments in time-space*" (Dervin, 2003b).

Furthermore that "*humankind information is some unknown combination of information about reality and information as the creative product of people that is examined in an ongoing manner at particular points/moments in time and space*". This led to the assumption that there are "*discontinuities or gaps as humans and their worlds are constantly evolving and becoming; decentred and centred; fluid and rigid*; thus mandating attention to *both inner and outer worlds of human beings and the ultimate impossibility of separating them*". Therefore all observing should be relevant to both physical time-space (socio; situation) and psychological time space (cognitive; human universals) (Dervin, 2003b, 2003e, 2003f).

In relation to traditional philosophical assumptions about the nature of reality and knowledge, sense-making assumes that reality is neither complete nor constant but rather is filled with fundamental and pervasive discontinuities and gaps (Dervin, 1999). On knowledge, sense-making encourages user-construction over observer construction, acknowledging that because of changes across time and space, an individual may have multiple interpretations of the same situation at different times,

the more so when the comparison is between different people at the same time (Dervin, 1976, 1992, 2005).

This means that for sense-making there is a strength in variegated human observation rather than a weakness. This is because of the need to create meaning and to establish facts, despite the uncertainties of knowledge, which in turn posits the possibility of encircling phenomena from different perspectives at different times. The circling process provides the means to arrive at a more comprehensive, more fully informed, potentially more useful understanding of the situation. This understanding led to a focus on practices rather than on the person or persons, practices which are elicited from verbings with respect to time, space, movement, and gap.

This focus on practices necessitates a focus on the processes and flow of events in the movement across time and space: that is, on the hows of communicating that occurs at every level (individual and collective), given the human conditions in respect of time, space, movement and gap. This makes it possible for patterns to emerge, leading to the assumption of potentially generalisable patterns which then become the context-specific predictors of human sense-making in a specific situation (Dervin, 2003b, 2003f).

Even more fascinating was the inclusion of the concept of power (natural and societal) as the energising factor that facilitates, constrains, hinders and limits movement across time/space. Sense-making assumes that issues of power overwhelm all human conditions and that humans are not only constrained by structural power but also by themselves: humans are sites of power to resist, reinvent, challenge, deny and ignore in specific situations (Dervin, 2005).

Hence its mandate on the use of verbings that focus on all possible outcomes from human conditions in time-space, illustrated in the question "*under what conditions does something happen and with what consequences*" rather than a focus on causes as the only answer, as in "*which is it, structural or individual*" (Dervin, 2003c). These assumptions are inherently foundational, since the other assumptions and propositions in sense-making appear as implications of these.

Sense-making, being about human movement across time-space, gaps within transitions and the forces of power, assumes fluidities and rigidities. Therefore, it mandates empirical consideration of the fluidities (change) and rigidities (habits) in movement (Dervin, 1999). This entails a consideration for human conditions which foster changes or habits with respect to time-space during investigation in any given context. In addition, sense-making mandates empirical consideration of time horizons (past, present and future) in the movement. It also mandates emphasis on verbings in investigations, due to its focus on practices. This is done to allow a focus on the processes and flow of events which will enable the study of patterns in human conditions (Dervin, 2003d).

There is also the mandate for consideration of the role of cognition and the subconscious – the reason behind multiple interpretations by individuals. This is urged because the assumption of a pervasive discontinuity (a gap) could be manifested in multiple ways. It could be a gap between internal and external worlds, or gaps in a person across time and space, between human minds, between different people at the same time, or between structure and person (Dervin, 1999, 2003e).

In addition, it mandates a dialectic stance, which entails dialogue with a series of explanations focused on commonness and contest. This means asking the same question in different ways for different individuals: hence the mandate for an involved researcher with dialogic humility (Dervin, 2003d). However, this approach does not eliminate the subjectivity of qualitative methods, as researchers are not required to suppress their own interpretations or understandings, but rather to act as vehicles of dialogic practice (Dervin, 2003a). Ultimately the results from sense-making studies have yielded actuarial findings immediately useful to practitioners (Dervin and Foreman-Wernet, 2003).

Micro-moment Time-line Interview

Dervin (1999) asserted that the goal of sense-making is to act not as an ideological research guide but rather as a methodological redesign. Sense-making is a reinvention guide for framing research questions, collecting research data and charting analyses that theoretically break free from unstated assumptions. A kind of utopian methodology and a theory of practice. As a result, the sum of assumptions presented

in the previous section led to the development of a gap-based method of enquiry called *micro-moment time-line interview* for studying the process of construction that humans engage in, to make sense of their experiences in all communicating situations.

Micro-moment time-line interview is the form of questioning which involves asking a respondent to detail systematically what happened in a situation, in terms of what happened first, second, and so on. Then, for each step, which is now one of the time-line steps, the respondent is asked what questions he/she had, and what things he/she needed to find out, learn, come to understand, clarify, or make sense of (Dervin, 1983, 1992).

It is a kind of semi-structured interviewing approach that focuses, on the information gaps in individual experiences through movement in time-space. This includes how the individual interprets and bridges the moment and how the journey proceeded, by examining gap-defining and gap-bridging moments. The literature highlights that the interview takes on average two hours to complete and results show respondents' willingness to be interviewed again.

Figure 4. 1 – Micro-Moment Time-Line Interview (Dervin and Foreman-Wernet, 2013, p. 157)

As typified in Figure 4.1 above, it allows respondents to define in their own terms their situations, gaps, how they bridged the gaps and the way the new sense was put to use. However, questions vary with the purposes of the research, with a central focus on *where one is coming from*, *what one is struggling with* and *where one is going*. The experiences are circled out through sense-making elements – *situation-gap-bridge* (Dervin, 2010; Dervin and Dewdney, 1986; Dervin and Foreman-Wernet, 2003).

4.3   Research Design

The design and development of the methods combined academic theories and practices in refugee integration. Sense-making, being about where structure and agency, rigidity and freedom meet is in sync with refugee integration; thus refugee integration can be understood as a sense-making journey. The concepts were used to query the situations and probe the information needs arising during refugees' navigation of society's systems. This was with the understanding that phenomenon resides within context, which would enable the design of person-centred refugee integration systems.

The strength of sense-making as a method for studying refugee integration lies in its focus on movement, change (fluidity) and the forces facilitating or constraining them. The method studies the process by which people give meaning or make-sense of their experiences contextually. In addition, its micro-moment time-line interview can be understood as a form of semi-structured interview, since its concepts can guide the question plan in any given context (Dervin, 2010).

In this context, firstly, refugee integration concerns the changing relationship between the refugee and the adopting society, thus suggesting interactions between people and the social environment which include information technology and the documentary domain. Secondly, refugee integration concerns movement, which is the refugee navigation through the host society as they deal with processes and systems in order to integrate. Finally, the concept of fluidity in the micro-moment time-line interview was adopted in the design of this study's interview guide in order to capture the changing situations in individual's experiences.

The primary data gathering method was semi-structured interview in order to allow participants to discuss the contextual conditions and associated information needs in their own terms. This was with the understanding that there will be variations in the quality of information generated in each interview as some interviews might provide more useful information than others but together they form the final conversation that produces insights (Gerson and Horowitz, 2002).

The design of the interviews, based on sense-making premises (situation-gap) enabled the focus of interviews on integration system identities and their experiences within the social settings. This allowed deeper comparison between individual participants.

As a result, it was possible to circle out commonalities and diversities in refugees' constructions to reveal the contextual information needs, relationships and sources emerging during refugee integration the kind of findings that are immediately useful to practitioners.

4.3.1 The Research Choices

The methodological decisions made during this research was informed by regular attendance at and participation in numerous migration events, talks, seminars, and workshops, which included joining refugee researchers' groups such as GRAMNet. In making decisions about refugee studies, (Lloyd, 2017), emphasised the need for positionality. Elmore (2017) linked her positionality to a reflective approach and Lloyd et al. (2017) observed that the presence of a refugee in the research team created better understanding and awareness of the culture of the people being investigated.

However in this study, the researcher as a migrant (an international student) cannot be used to claim understanding of the research context. The understanding and awareness gained for this study is attributed to the attendance at and participation in numerous migration events and seminars during the period of research from 2015 to 2018. The events, presented by refugee organisations including the Scottish Refugee Council and UNHCR[3], proved to be sites of multifaceted insights offering the kind of understanding sought for this sensitive and diffuse topic. They gave practical insight into both refugees' and the society's experiences of integration, creating balanced awareness from both angles.

In addition, to create deeper awareness of the complexity surrounding both refugee and society during refugee integration, numerous practitioners' reports were explored. This included those by the UNHCR, World Bank, Council of Europe, European Council on Refugees and Exiles (ECRE), Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), Scottish Refugee Council and other national refugee councils and immigration charities in the United Kingdom (Oduntan, 2017).

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[3] UNHCR – United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

Approaching the investigation from the point of view of practice provided numerous benefits for this academic research. An example was the annual Refugee Festival Scotland, organised by the Scottish Refugee Council, which is held every year in June. Refugee Festival Scotland brings refugees and local communities together in celebration of the contribution refugees make to the richness and vibrancy of life in Scotland and the welcome offered to them by local people. The programme included artistic, cultural, educational, heritage related and sports events and special workshops where immigration charities explained their services, refugees shared their experiences of the services, and local people offered their contributions.

The purpose of such events was ideally to create a place of congruent understanding between parties, but the harmony was non-existent. The earlier highlighted information problem was acknowledged amongst all parties, but appeared intangible, considering the evidently greater practical needs of housing, money, and education amongst other things. The more so, as these were emphasised in numerous talks by migration stakeholders for whom refugee integration is categorically a sociological problem. However, the researcher observed that information could potentially be used to reduce the complexities surrounding refugee integration.

Over the period of regular participation in these events and continuous iteration of designing and redesigning the methods for this research, it became apparent that the refugee integration journey could be accounted for as information behaviour sense-making, since sense-making concerns where one is coming from, what one is struggling with and where one is going. Thus, the insights gained from participation at external events created additional understanding, which could not have been obtained solely through a review of the literature.

4.3.2 The Data Collection Guide

The data collection guide was founded on sense-making premises as highlighted in the previous section, but it is also in adherence to general social research practice. Firstly, interviews generally use open and/or closed questions to generate data (Bryman, 2012). Closed questions produce explicit data while open questions produce implicit data. Social research has combined both question types in interview design, as in

Dwyer (2005) and Stewart (2015). The combination of both explicit and implicit data will provide contextual data from which themes emerge and to which they are attributed.

For this study, the personal explicit data to be collected included answers to demographic questions such as *name*, *age*, *country of birth*, *country of origin*, *religion*, *marital status*, *level of education* etc. The context-specific explicit data included the date of arrival in the country, mode of entry, and the length of refuging, extrapolated from the date of entry. The implicit data are from the open questions that deal with the specific issue of the refugee's experiences with information during integration.

Secondly, specifically in the design of a semi-structured interview, Arthur and Nazroo (2003) advised that semi-structured interview guides should consist of identified topics to cover rather than particular questions to ask verbatim, as this will help the interviewer to focus not only on what should be asked but also on how to ask it. For the design of this study's data collection, the sense-making elements *situation, gaps, bridges* and *outcome* were used in the specific topic areas to be covered in the interviews, as it had been shown that refugee transition during integration is a sense-making journey. In addition, participants were allowed a choice of interview venue/location from a selection, considering that the conversation is about their lived experiences. For instance, a home environment may not only give comfort but also help to induce some memories of living experiences.

Thirdly, preparation for data collection requires order to enable a flow in the conversation, ideally by grouping questions of similar genre together within some form of classification. Bryman (2012) indicated that genres could include introductory questions, follow-up questions, specifying questions etc. Arthur and Nazroo (2003) suggested opening questions and core-in-depth questions. However, taken together, both recommended that general questions should precede specific questions; likewise questions of opinion and attitudes should precede questions of knowledge and behaviour.

Fourthly, interviews should follow a plan of delivery, i.e. how the actual interview will be conducted (O'Leary, 2014). Legard et al. (2003) proposed a generic six-stage process, while Arthur and Nazroo (2003) recommended planning the semi-structured

interview process through a frame comprising introduction, opening questions, core-in-depth questions and closure.

For this study, Arthur and Nazroo's (2003) frame was adopted and used as follows:

1. **Introduction**: concerned the preparation of participants to make the interview as pleasant as possible. It involved introducing the researcher and the research purpose, discussing ethical considerations and informing participants of their right to withdraw during the interview, after which participants signed an informed consent form (Appendix C). By the end of this phase, the participants were ready to start the interview.

2. **Opening questions**: concerned gathering background facts to contextualise the rest of the interview. Demographic information on participants was collected, such as age, country of origin, education etc. (Table 5.1). This was followed by introductory questions specifically aimed at discussing their refugee journey or story to give participants confidence and gain their trust as core topics on integration were introduced. By the end of this phase, the direction of the discussion had gone deeper into the focus of the study.

3. **Core in-depth questions**: concerned gathering data on the specific themes of research interest. Questions in this category were around the sense-making journey during integration, using the meta-theoretical assumptions of sense-making and its elements: *situations, gaps, bridges and outcome*, as applicable. By the end of this phase, the researcher approached satisfaction.

4. **Closing:** concerned rounding off the interview. It involved thanking the respondents for participating and giving them the opportunity to ask/add anything. By the end of this stage, participants should have a good feeling for what had been discussed as they do not normally consider these topics in such depth in their everyday lives (Legard et al., 2003).

All interviews were recorded and transcribed afterwards. A digital audio recording device was used for recording the interviews and augmented with critical notes. Transcription was an ongoing process between scheduled interviews. The researcher because of lack of funds carried out all transcriptions. The transcription, though time-consuming, provided the researcher with in-depth familiarity with the data. Furthermore, as each interview was transcribed before the next one, the data collected

were in real time, as insights from previous interviews expanded the probes, prompts, questions etc. for the next interviews.

Finally, a reflection file was created for the researcher's reflections across four areas: How the interview went (on the part of the interviewee), any other feelings about the interview (on the part of the interviewer), where the interview took place, and the setting of the interview. The outcome was a robust data collection guide for both interviews and participant observation. The study received ethical approval from the ethical committee of the department of Computer and Information Sciences, University of Strathclyde (Appendix A).

4.3.3 The Questions

The questions was organised into two sections – the opening questions and core in-depth questions described in the following sections. The opening questions were introductory or general questions, while core in-depth questions included specific questions etc. These were supported with the relevant prompts and probes. The questions about "opinion and attitude" and "knowledge and behaviour" are not in any particular order because the focus of this study is on the behaviour during navigation, to elicit information needs.

The questions were formulated with the intention of capturing an all-encompassing range of information gaps that may be encountered on an integration journey in a society. The participation at numerous refugee events, had suggested information needs before the journey, during the journey, on arrival and when living in the host country. They were early indications that information needs depended on both persons and context, not only the person.

The interview questions reflected this as they were broadly construed around the person and context such that there were possible questions about a specific topic to be asked from both angles (of refugee and host society) rather than just from one side. This approach resulted in a series of questions per topic to ensure that information needs were not alienated from background experiences. In addition, social research

practices were adhered to, in that questions that were too complex, too long, leading or misleading, as well as the use of technical and difficult terms, were avoided.

Opening Questions

These are introductory questions; the focus here is on the refugee's story, journey, and experiences, and the responses to these questions would provide an additional backdrop against which to contextualise the interview for both interviewer and interviewee. The study being about refugee integration, there was a need to understand the situations leading to their refuge-seeking, including the background situation and reason for the move, the times of the move, the experience of entering the country, knowledge of the UK before moving, and movement en-route to the UK: in summary, refugees' evidence of their story.

IQ1[4] Series: Please tell me about your journey?

Probes: Why did you choose this destination?

                     What thoughts do you have about your journey?

                     How did your journey prepare you for this place?

                     Was this place what you hoped it would be?

Once the previous journey before entering the host society was known, the next step was to understand how the person settled into the new society. This enabled introduction of the term *integration* into the discussion and created a clearer understanding of the refugee's story and also, perhaps, a glimpse into some needs arising.

IQ2 Series: Please describe your current situation.

Probes: Were you prepared for what you met here?

                     How have you coped since your arrival?

IQ3 Series: Do you know you are now in the process of integrating into the society?

                     How do you feel about your integration experience?

Probes: What changes have you made since your arrival?

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[4] IQ1 – Interview Question 1 incremental through all the interview questions

How would you describe your experiences of integration since you arrived?

The introductory questions ended with the introduction of context-specific topics around the information aspects of integration, as the interviewee settled into the conversation.

IQ4 Series: Do you feel you had enough information to help you integrate? Why?

Probes: What are your experiences with information concerning integration?

Did you think you had enough information provided to enable you to cope?

Was there enough information about everything you needed to cope here?

What do you think of the available integration information?

Core In-depth Questions

It has been shown that refugees integrating into the society are moving through time-space on a journey of transition. They are influenced by internal factors that include their own cognition and external factors such as situations, agency and structure (natural and societal) which impact on the refugee's adequacy to cope in the new society (Figure 3.7). In order to explore refugees' experiences of integration with respect to information, there is a need to know integration influencers such as circumstances and events, which would reveal the absence or abundance of information.

These experiences were captured through the sense-making elements *situation, gaps, and bridges.* At this stage, the goal was to collect data specifically to address research questions one and three. In sense-making terms, this meant the information gaps in situations, the points of discontinuity, the moments of concern, the time of question-asking, or a critical incident.

IQ5 Series: Describe times when you did not know? Describe times when you did not have information?

Probes: Did you have a time when you did not know what to do i.e. have information?

Can you describe a time of fear; what are your fears?

At what point did you feel in need of some information?

Findings in this category determined the direction and success of the interview; thus the following probes were formulated for use when necessary to dig further and in preparation for the subsequent questions.

IQ5b Series: When was there a time when something was not right?

Probes: When do you feel you don't know?

When was there a time when something was missing?

What experience since you have arrived has impacted on you?

How did you know you did not know?

These questions were followed with questions about the need, i.e. the gaps in knowledge, that caused the refugee to pause; in other words, about discontinuity. If found, what was missing at those specific times and moments would constitute the contextual information needs. Not only will this provide insight into the needs, it will potentially enable measurement of the relationship between the situation and the need, thereby answering research question two.

IQ6 Series: What did you want to know at those times?

Probes: When were the moments and times when you wanted to know something you did not know?

What did/do you wish you had information about?

What do you think is the first information you need as soon as you arrive? Why?

What do you think was missing at those times when you did not know?

To support findings in these series, there were questions to ascertain immediate needs, especially those of the newly arrived, that could be related to remembered needs of older refugees in the system.

IQ6b Series: Do you feel there is something you don't know now?

Probes: What don't you know now?

Do you feel as if you should know something?

What would you like to know now?

Is there anything you would like to know now?

These categories of questions were rounded off with questions reiterating the previous ones; however, these questions were intended to discover information needs from the refugee's perspective.

IQ6c Series: What did/do you wish you had information about?

Probes: What do you think is the first information you need as soon as you arrive? Why?

It had been highlighted that issues of availability, accessibility and recognisability of information further complicate the inadequacy of the refugee-host society relationship. There is a need to examine the interactions; for instance, to learn how the refugees identified and got information that helped to resolve the problem.

IQ7 Series: How did you know what to do? / Where did you get the information?

Probes: How do you get information?

               Who are your information contacts for integration?

               How did you solve the problem or situation?

               Did the information solve the problem?

               Why did you make the decisions you did in trying to resolve the situation?

It was also necessary to know how the situation was resolved, the way they interacted to solve their problems and the underlying motivations and reasons.

IQ8 Series: Why did you choose that?

Probes: Why do you prefer that channel?

In order to understand refugee integration in terms of their own direct awareness, there is a need to know how the refugees described the information passed to them. The purpose of this was to understand how refugees situate their meanings, i.e. the solution to their problematic situation:

IQ9 Series: Do you get information at the times when you need it?

Probes: Does the information you get solve your problem?

Was the time when you got the information appropriate?

If no/yes; why do you think it was/was not appropriate?

Do you think it was communicated properly and adequately?

The core questions were rounded off with general questions to ease any discomfort for the refugee, considering the depth of the conversation, which would have encouraged them to think more deeply than they would normally have done. The purpose was to let the refugees know that the research was about their experiences, and not about them as research specimens.

IQ10 Series: What do you expect from integration information?

Probes: Why do you think so?

Do you think you need information?

What do you think is the information you need for integrating?

So far, what aspects of your experience stand out for you?

On completion, the questions were tested on international students, since international students move to other countries to study and have to navigate unfamiliar processes and systems. The aim was to check the robustness of the guide for collecting appropriate "user" and "context" data with which to investigate information gaps in situations. The data collected revealed sociological information needs and situations encountered by international students.

The questions were further validated by the first set of interviews with refugees and it was anticipated that a thematic analysis of refugees' constructions of these questions would provide answers to the research questions. This would be achieved with a focus on contextual units of analysis, such as the questions asking what you want to know now, what the moments of concern were, what you wanted to know, and what was missing, amongst others. The approach eliminated reliance on the individual's demographic factor for insights.

4.4   Data Analysis

The analysis for this study was an iterative process of thematic coding. The goal was to circle out contextual information needs, relationships and information sources appearing in refugees' constructions. It has been shown how sense-making metaphors, or situation-gaps, were used to question the lived experiences of refuge-seekers as tied to specific times, places, perspectives and human conditions in the data collection guide. The data collected reflected the complexity of refugee integration, as refugee conditions were significantly different.

The data were analysed and themes extracted, and the findings from participant observation validated the information needs from interviews. In addition, when the information needs were correlated, it was possible to discover and compare points of information need. The emergent themes were intrinsically woven around people, situations, sociological needs and information, such that the situations defined the people and relationships while the combination of both defined information needs. Thus, it can be assumed that each information need represented a complete analysis cycle in itself.

The data analysis focused on the commonalities and diversities in constructions and descriptions of refugees' lived experiences, as tied to specific times, places, perspectives and human conditions. This enabled the emergence of person-centred information needs, relationships and information sources for integrating into the society. The process of circling out themes was a dynamic and iterative coding of every instances that was occurring and changing over time in the research data.

This resulted in the emergence of collective-individual information needs: a type of generalisable person-centred information needs that honoured diversity and individuality while at the same time addressing the human universals in refugee integration. Although the data analysis took place through numerous iterations, the processes can be classified into two phases.

Preliminary analysis: This was the initial analysis during data collection that started with the first interview, and went on to the completion of all interviews. The part of the interviews analysed at this phase consisted of the responses to the opening questions.

Excerpt: The experiences of a refuge seeker with **refugee** status.

> **Researcher:** What made you leave your country and when did you leave?
>
> **Participant:** *Because there is labelling and persecuting by Oromo people. It was very serious. There is a continuous problem in the country; they <u>persecute</u> people from all walks of life. If you are very serious about your rights, then they <u>persecute</u> you. That made me leave the country in 2013. Even without asking you could just be labelled. Those ruling the country are a minority so they are oppressing people and focus on people who are literate and are aware of their rights.*
>
> **Researcher:** Where did you go from your country?
>
> **Participant:** *I went to Sudan, from <u>Sudan to France</u> and from France I come to UK. I came <u>by plane</u>. By <u>plane</u> to France. It was when I got to France that I decided to come here.*
>
> **Researcher:** When you got to France, how did you know about coming to the UK?
>
> **Participant:** *They collect about <u>$500 dollar</u>. The driver was not aware, just the agent that was working. The <u>truck</u> come to a big compound, it is not exactly the border but is not far away from the border. The driver shouted and open the door, so everybody get down from the truck. We walked out of the compound and were walking then we saw a police station and we went straight to the police station and we inform them of who we are, then they put me somewhere <u>like detention</u>. After 1 night they move to another place, I think Bedford, after Bedford maybe like 4-5 days they brought me straight to <u>Glasgow</u>."*

The analysis was such that responses to the questions in the introductory section of each interview were analysed and coded for distinct themes. The outcome was the contextual attributes which were combined with demographics in the principal analysis phase.

Principal analysis: This was the main analysis upon completion of data collection. The principal analysis was a complex procedure that involved numerous cases and units of analysis drawn from the refugees' experiences of navigating integration systems. Specifically, the part of the interviews analysed at this phase comprised the responses to the core questions.

Excerpt: The experiences of a refuge seeker with **refused asylum seeker** status

*"***Researcher:** How did you survive?

Participant: *I had no choice but to leave my country because I was thinking when I will die, when I go out I am at risk even when I am indoors I am at risk, even the children in street die. I was thinking how I will survive so I decide to leave my country. So someone I met there said we should go by* <u>Mediterranean Sea</u> *and we will find a safe place.* <u>From Mediterranean, we went to Italy</u>*. We came in a boat too much people in* <u>the boat</u>*. Even small children come that way. When we left my country, after some hours, we are in the boat in the Mediterranean Sea, and the Italian saw us and come to rescue us into a big boat and make* <u>us safe</u>*. They give us* <u>food</u>*. I must say this when we got safe, a lot of boats sank and many people die. I am saved because of God. It's amazing! When Italy save us, they put us somewhere* <u>and sleep,</u> *and after that they say go wherever you want to go. I said* <u>where we will go</u>*, I don't know where we will go, and I* <u>don't know anywhere</u>*. So* <u>my friend</u> *tell me let's go* <u>safe place</u> *because I want a safe place. I just want a safe place. Where people will not kill you or do something wrong.* <u>Some friend</u> *come and tell me we will go to a* <u>safe place</u> *and I followed them so we go to France.*

In France, then a dealer [human trafficker] catch us and keep us in a jungle for 8 days. No talking, nothing, they just give you <u>small food</u>*; after that they put us in a truck and lock. When we go in a truck it is very cold so we started banging on the box. The driver did not know we were in the truck but we bang the door because we are freezing. My friends who arranged our trip to Italy knew the people*

who he kept us in the jungle; maybe my friend has paid to help us get into the truck. We just stayed there, <u>no walking</u>, just sit. The truck stops at night, these people count and put us in the truck. I thought we were going to city or town but I don't know where we go. It was very cold, freezing, after that we knock the door. The truck stop. There are many police, England police. I was <u>happy</u> when I saw the police. I said <u>I am safe</u>. They opened the box and brought us out, 16 people, after that they take us to the police station in a car. We slept in the police station for one day; after that they take us to detention. <u>In detention</u>, we slept there for 3 days. I have never seen a place like that before, because always it is fight, war etc., and in <u>detention they say you are safe.</u>"

Thematic analysis has however been criticised as not well defined, since it does not have a distinctive cluster of techniques like other strategies such as grounded theory, critical discourse analysis, qualitative content analysis and narrative analysis (Bryman, 2012). But, Bazeley (2013) advocated that the procedure of use must be reported in detail highlighting the process of identifying themes and the significance of themes with respect to other themes, as simply presenting themes is insufficient.

From the highlighted process of analysis for this study, it was evident that the experiences correlated consistently throughout the interviews. This led to the discovery of relationships alongside the identification of information needs and sources of information during refugee integration. The key feature of the data analysis was the absence of presupposition about integration information needs, prior to the analysis. The data dictated the analysis, such that the findings were elicited from the research dialogue rather than from direct statements by research participants.

5.   Study Population

The study population was a heterogeneous sample, chosen in order to have a wide variation of instances, enabling the identification of central themes that cut across people's differences through a focus on commonalities and diversities in their constructions. This study's population sample size was thirty participants, studied through twenty interviews and ten observation records for validation in chapter eleven.

This sample is consistent with social sciences refugee research such as Dwyer's (2005) in-depth interviews of twenty forced migrants in his study of refugees' housing and financial needs. It is also consistent with the population samples in other information behaviour migration studies: for instance, Kennan et al.'s (2011) in-depth interviews of ten refugees, Khoir et al.'s (2015) in-depth interviews with 16 participants, and Quirke's (2014) in-depth interviews with seven refugee youth, amongst others.

The total population sample consisted of fourteen female and sixteen male participants. The age range was between fifteen and fifty. There were two minors accompanied by parents, and nine who were part of families with young children. Two participants arrived as minors but at the time of the interviews were adults. Fourteen participants highlighted having been educated to elementary level, six were educated to high school level, and ten to graduate level. These are equivalent to primary, secondary and higher education respectively.

Participants had lived between one month and fifteen years in the host society at the time of data collection between July 2016 and July 2017. The population's background included among them seventeen countries, including top countries in the United Kingdom Home Office list of nationalities applying for asylum such as Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, Eritrea, Afghanistan and Syria (Home Office, 2016).

Participant Recruitment

Twenty refugees were recruited independently for interviews through the distribution of fliers in various places such as community centres, English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) classes, Integration Networks and religious centres, as well as through word of mouth, friends and colleagues. In addition, the researcher ensured that not all participants came from a single service provider, to prevent service provider

bias in the research data. Table 5.1 shows a heterogeneously diverse population and reflects the potential complications that might exist in refugee integration.

The heterogeneity in the interview population was strategically achieved using variance in the length of stay in the country, specifically by identifying refugees with different dates of arrival. Thus participants were of varied origin and at different points in the navigation of integration systems, a feature enabling the discovery of needs at specific times and points, as well as comparison of responses and the emergence of relationships.

The attributes of the interview population were of two kinds, demographic and contextual. The demographic attributes consisted of typical biological and geographical characteristics of the population. The contextual attributes were context-specific characteristics that appeared to unify the integration experiences of the highly diverse population. In the following sections, both are discussed.

Participant ID	Country of origin	Gender	Age	Child	Education	Status	Persecution Reasons	Arrival Route	Length
RIB001	Zimbabwe	M	41	No	High school	Asylum Seeker	Safety	False ID	6 years
RIB002	Eritrea	F	32	No	Elementary	Asylum Seeker	Religious Persecution	France Truck	4 years
RIB003	Eritrea	M	28	No	Elementary	Asylum Seeker	Religious Persecution	France Truck	11 months
RIB004	Sudan	M	37	No	Elementary	Asylum Seeker	War	France Truck	11 years
RIB005	Ethiopia	M	32	No	Graduate	Refugee-TLR	War	France Truck	3 years
RIB006	Afghanistan	F	29	Yes	Graduate	Refugee-Citizen	War	Family Reunion	14 years
RIB007	Iran	F	35	Yes	Graduate	Refugee-ILR	Religious Persecution	Ireland	7 years
RIB008	Congo Kinshasa	F	27	No	Graduate	Refugee-Citizen	War	False ID	14 years
RIB009	Somalia	F	27	No	Graduate	Refugee-Citizen	War	Humanitarian	16 years
RIB010	Iraq	M	39	Yes	Graduate	Asylum Seeker	Political Persecution	Student Visa	3 years
RIB011	Malaysia	M	28	No	Advanced	Asylum Seeker	Business Persecution	Tourist Visa	2 years
RIB012	Syria	M	24	No	Degree - Y2	Asylum Seeker	War	France Truck	2.5 years
RIB013	Uganda	F	34	No	Diploma	Refugee-TLR	Sexual Persecution	Tourist Visa	8 months
RIB014	Pakistan	F	18	No	High School	Asylum Seeker	Business Persecution	Tourist Visa	18 months
RIB015	Pakistan	F	48	No	Elementary	Refugee-TLR	Safety	Spouse Visa	2 years
RIB016	Syria	F	45	No	Advanced	Refugee-TLR	War	Family Reunion	20 months
RIB017	Syria	F	26	Yes	Elementary	Asylum Seeker	War	Italy	2 months
RIB018	Pakistan	M	15	No	High School	Asylum Seeker	Business Persecution	Tourist Visa	3 years
RIB019	Ghana	F	40	Yes	Elementary	Asylum Seeker	Safety	False ID	2 years
RIB020	Ethiopia	M	23	No	High School	Asylum Seeker	Political Persecution	France Train	7 months

Table 5. 1 – Participants Data

5.1   Demographic Attributes

The demographic attributes of the population comprise general identifying features of humans, including biological traits and geographical characteristics such as age, country of origin and education. These demographic characteristics were extracted and represented in distribution tables.

Country of Origin

The geography of the interview participants spanned 14 countries, which included countries that topped the United Kingdom Home Office list of nationalities applying for asylum, such as Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, Eritrea, Afghanistan and Syria. Other countries were represented in the population but not in such high numbers as the current top six, although some, like Sudan, Somali, and Congo (Kinshasa), have previously occupied top spots on the list (Table 5.1). The breadth of countries enabled a multi-dimensional exploration of integration processes and systems experiences, since integration is the aim of all, irrespective of origin.

Age

The age of interview participants ranged between fifteen and fifty (Table 5.2). There were eleven female participants and nine male participants. The experiences across age groups and genders was examined for peculiarities and similarities. RIB014[5] and RIB018 arrived and entered the system as accompanied minors, aged 15 years and 12 years, now 18 years and 15 years old respectively.

Age	No. of Participants	Male	Female
< 20	2	1	1
21-30	8	4	4
31-40	7	3	4
41-48	3	1	2

Table 5. 2 – Age and Gender Distribution

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[5] RIB014 – Is the interview ID given to participants, where RIB014 mean Refugee Information Behaviour, interview participant 14 and so on.

Five of the participants (RIB006, RIB007, RIB010, RIB016 and RIB019) have children, and thus are going through the processes and system for those with children and spouses, except RIB019 who is a single mother. RIB011 joined the system with parents. All other participants are independent individuals navigating the integration processes and systems.

Education

All the participants had basic education and the majority of the study population were educated beyond elementary level. Although more than half the participants did not have English as the first language, only three participants, RIB015, RIB017 and RIB018, required English Language interpreters (from the community centres) to complete the interviews.

Level of Education	Number of participants
Elementary	6
High school	4
Advanced	3
Graduate	7

Table 5. 3 – Education Distribution

For instance, RIB012 was a petroleum engineer who was out of school due to war in his country. RIB010 was a renowned lawyer whose life was under threat from the militia in his country. RIB005 had been a computer engineer before the war started in his country. Some became educated after arrival in the country, because of having arrived at a young age, such as RIB006 who was now a business graduate, RIB008 who was a business management graduate, and RIB009, who was a graduate in biomedical sciences. The purpose of this category was to examine the effect of education or its lack thereof on integration experiences.

5.2   Contextual Attributes

The contextual attributes were context-specific characteristics defined for this research population. They included persecution reasons, status, arrival route and length. The persecution reasons and status were part of the initial data collection plan, but the arrival route and length became apparent after the first set of interviews. For instance, persecution reasons were deduced from participants' construction of their experiences. This study did not find any list highlighting such prior to the data collection. In the following sections, these attributes are described and the implications for data analysis highlighted.

Persecution Reasons

The 1951 UN convention states the conditions for being granted refugee status is *"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"*. The reasons encompass a broad spectrum that changes with natural and humanitarian disasters in the world. In this study population for instance, six reasons were identified. Table 5.4 is a distribution table of the reasons the study participants were accepted into the UK refuge system.

Persecution Reasons	Number of participants
Business persecution	3
Political persecution	2
Safety	3
Religious persecution	3
Sexual persecution	1
War	8

Table 5. 4 – Persecution Reasons Distribution

For instance, RIB011, RIB014, and RIB018's parents were persecuted by business partners who wanted full control of the company. RIB010 was wanted by the ruling government in his country for teaching the people of his country about rights: he was an activist, although he arrived as a student. RIB020 is a young anti-government

activist who had been jailed but fled the country while on probationary release. Participants in the safety category all applied after living in the host country. Likewise, RIB001 and RIB019 had spent over 10 years in the host country before joining the asylum system. Others, RIB002, RIB003, and RIB007, had left their home country because of being forced to join a religion. RIB013 was in the LGBT category and fled for fear of persecution due to sexual orientation.

The largest group in the population consists of those fleeing war, which is the main reason underlying the UN convention. The persecution reasons were examined in relation to integration experiences, to find the consistencies and differences in information needs for navigating the system. This is because navigation of the integration processes and systems is common to all, despite the different persecution reasons leading to it.

Status

The status referred to is the immigration status in the protection system. The data showed two main statuses – asylum seeker and refugee (Table 5.5), the status progressing from the former to the latter. The actual legal refugee protection starts at the refugee stage, while the asylum seeker stage can be said to be an acknowledgement of the person's presence in the country. However, the data highlighted the existence of subsets.

For instance, the asylum seeker may be refused, thus becoming a refused asylum seeker. Likewise, when granted refugee status, the refugee progresses through three stages (Table 5.5). The naturalised stage is the end state for the refugee, who at that stage is a legal citizen entitled to the same rights as citizens. Such persons would be expected to be integrated to a certain degree by this time, considering that they would have been in the country for at least seven years. The experiences across these stages were examined and compared.

Status	Participants	Stages	Participants
Asylum Seeker	12	Asylum Seeker	3
		Refused Asylum Seeker	8
Refugee	8	Refugee - Temporary Leave to Remain (TLR)	4
			1
		Refugee - Indefinite Leave to Remain (ILR)	3
		Naturalised	

Table 5. 5 – Status Distribution

For consistency, the word "***refuge-seeker***" was coined for this investigation as a term that captured all participant statuses. This is because integration is an event for all irrespective of status, as all refuge-seekers interact with integration systems, just on different levels. Refugee integration could thus be seen as a journey, which refuge-seekers go through in different stages; however, the stages are not automatic, but depend on circumstances surrounding their arrival in the country. The attributes discussed in the next sections will provide clarity regarding these circumstances, as they presented interrelated issues in the refuge-seeker's navigation through the processes and systems.

For instance, an asylum seeker and refugee interacts with statutory bodies. At asylum level, it is the Home Office and they are given financial support and accommodation, registered in the health care system etc., whilst work and higher education are prohibited. At refugee level, it is the local council and they are given more financial support and accommodation and are now eligible to work and study. A question arises: does this mean that integration is iterative, or is it continuous? Answers to this and other questions will be more evident by the end of this study.

Arrival Route

This refers to how the refuge-seeker has arrived in the country. Basically, it is either by road or by air, but within these categories there is a wide range of means by which the actual travel could be undertaken. Table 5.6 highlights eight means identified in this study. The road travellers had gone through a complicated journey to get to the UK. France was the common last country of departure for the United Kingdom, with

the refugees paying 500 Euros to smugglers to be put on a truck or train to London, from where they were dispersed[6] to Glasgow.

For instance, RIB012 travelled by sea to Turkey, then journeyed through Greece-Albania-Montenegro-Hungary-Germany to get to France for a road journey by truck to the United Kingdom. The only participant who did not pay smugglers did so by pulling a fast one on the smugglers; however, it almost cost a life. RIB002, RIB003, RIB004, RIB005 and RIB020 all arrived through similar Mediterranean Sea routes and the ensuing road journey to Calais, France, the common departure point for truck travel to the United Kingdom. RIB020, on the other hand, travelled by train.

Mode of Arrival	Means of Arrival	No of Participants
By Road	France Truck	6
	Ireland	1
By Air	False ID	3
	Tourist visa	5
	Student visa	1
	Spouse visa	1
	Family reunion	2
	Humanitarian	1

Table 5. 6 – Means of Arrival

The road travellers highlighted being advised that, once they arrived in the destination country, they should report to the nearest police station. The police inform the Home Office, and the asylum process often starts there. They were all kept in detention centres before being dispersed to Glasgow. RIB007, who was classified in road travel, travelled with family by flight to Turkey and Ireland, and then road travelled to Manchester, United Kingdom, where asylum was sought. This participant, like others, was dispersed to Glasgow, but in this case was not placed in a detention centre.

A contrasting group comprised the air travellers. Air travel is guided by international borders travel laws, thus presented a range of entry types. The humanitarian and family reunion means of arrival were straightforward routes into the integration process

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[6] See glossary.

because these travellers had been given refugee protection visas before leaving the country of origin. Examples are RIB006, whose parent obtained the family reunion visa with which to bring family, and RIB016, whose spouse did the same. Similarly, RIB009 was taken from a camp. RIB008, on the other hand, did not have humanitarian or family reunion claims but arrived with false ID as a 14-year-old minor in search of a lost parent, and then claimed refugee protection through the parent.

The other means were not straightforward paths into the refuge system. RIB011, RIB013 and RIB017 applied for asylum at the airport, RIB011 and RIB013 at Glasgow International Airport and RIB017 at Heathrow Airport London, then being dispersed to Glasgow. Even more complicated were the cases of RIB001, RIB010, RIB014, RIB015, RIB018 and RIB019, who had lived in the country for a time ranging from a few months to 10 years before requesting asylum. RIB010, RIB014, RIB018 had spent less than a year in the host country before applying for asylum, RIB015 2 years, and RIB001 and RIB019 10 years in the country before joining the asylum system.

Altogether, these differences gave rise to four distinct categories of arrival route: the road-travel, port of entry, in-country, and family reunion/humanitarian routes (Table 5.7). The road traveller could be thought of as an in-country applicant if viewed in the literal sense of the word, based on the mode of arrival. However, based on the experiences related, these routes are distinct and cannot be likened to each other.

Arrival Route	Participants
Road-travel	7
Port-of-entry	4
In-country	6
Family reunion/humanitarian	3

Table 5. 7 – Arrival Route Distribution

The road-travel, port of entry and in-country applicants often start with asylum seeker status (Table 5.5). For instance, RIB005 arrived by road travel, applied for asylum, and was granted refugee with temporary leave to remain status in less than a month. At the other extreme is RIB004 who arrived via a similar route, spent 11 years as an asylum seeker, and has not progressed to refugee status. The family reunion or humanitarian arrivals on the other hand start as refugees with temporary leave to

remain status because of having been invited over by either spouses or parents who were already in the host country. Nonetheless, they all arrive into the protection system to be integrated into the host country, and the arrival routes becomes critical for understanding their integration experiences.

Length

The attribute arose because of the variance caused by the in-country applicants who have lived in the country for a certain period before joining the protection system, a circumstance that goes hand-in-hand with the arrival route. This attribute was examined particularly in terms of how being an in-country applicant affects the journey through integration systems.

Participant ID	Initial arrival	System arrival	Length
RIB001	July 2000	2010	10 years
RIB010	2012	2013	12 months
RIB014	February 2015	June 2015	4 months
RIB015	December 2011	2013	2 years
RIB018	March 2015	September 2015	6 months
RIB019	2004	2014	10 years

Table 5. 8 – In-Country Applicants

In addition, it was necessary to consider length because of the very broad range in points of events within the integration system, such as the differing points of progression to the next refuge status. For instance, RIB004 and RIB005 were highlighted above as representing two extreme situations, but between those two there was RIB007 who spent a year as an asylum seeker before progressing to refugee with TLR status and is now a refugee with ILR. Likewise, RIB012 and RIB015 changed status from asylum seeker to refugee with TLR in 5 months and 2 years respectively.

The length within the term refuge-seeker brought together all participants under one umbrella. This enabled the identification of information need situations within a period or within a length cycle. This potentially brought a plethora of emergent characteristics into perspective, eliminating the limitation of demographics in the observation of experiences.

Length	Number of participants
Less than 1 year	4
2-5 years	10
6-10 years	2
Above 10 years	4

Table 5. 9 – Length Distribution

The data suggested relationships between the characteristics. For instance, it appeared that the means of arrival had an effect on the progress of status and in relation to length, as only one participant out of the eight refugee status participants arrived by truck, and one participant is a refused asylum seeker after eleven years in the host country. This suggests that road travel arrival means a longer integration journey. The relationships are expounded in chapter six.

The characteristics of the population also suggested that a combination of demographics and contextual attributes in data analysis could reveal emergent collective-individual information needs, relationships and information sources. Furthermore, the range in length eliminated the need for a longitudinal study, which would require participants to be interviewed repeatedly at certain points. In the present case, however, this would not be required since it was possible to interview participants at different points in their integration process at about the same time.

Part Four: Research Findings

6.   An Information Needs Matrix

This study synthesised principles in refugee integration and information behaviour into a theoretical framework to guide the inquiry. The fieldwork was underpinned by sense-making methodology and the data collected reflected the complexity of refugee integration. It has been shown that the findings from preliminary analysis revealed attributes in the population that suggested relationships in refugee integration. On closer examination during the principal analysis, the relationships were confirmed.

A relationship that was intrinsically woven around people, situation, sociological needs and information was evident. The study found information needs around societal provisions for sociological needs, which were related across groups of people in dissimilar states, and an information needs matrix emerged (Figure 6.1). The information needs matrix described the relationship between people, processes and information during refugee integration. The matrix indicated refugee integration as a progressive journey; however, the refugee integration systems appeared not to be designed for the progressive journey. In this chapter, the relationships and the development of the matrix are discussed.

6.1   Mapping Information Needs during Refugee Integration

An overview of research data highlighted information behaviour during refugee integration as a progressive journey through sociological issues. This was represented in a matrix as a two-dimensional journey through pertinent information needs, since a matrix is a structure in which two or more lines of communication (in this case information needs) may run through the same individual with vertical and horizontal implications: hence the information needs matrix. The information needs identified centred on provisions for meeting sociological needs in the categories of housing, support, legal, mobility, health, education, social, employment and benefits. It can therefore be inferred that the information needs matrix encapsulates the sociological needs and provisions for refugee integration.
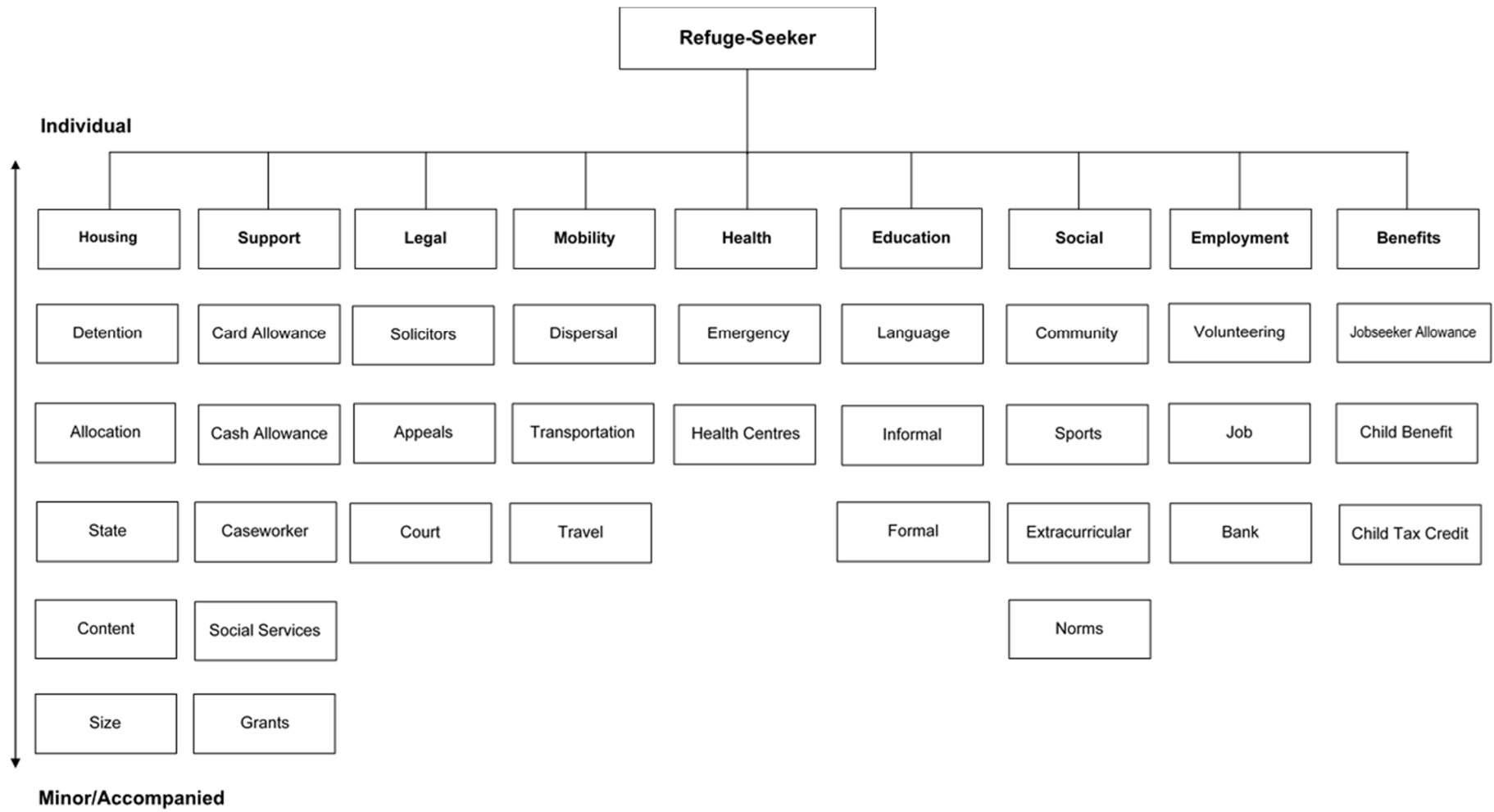
Figure 6. 1 – The Information Needs Matrix

Theoretically, the information needs matrix can be understood as a sense-making journey between sociological needs and access to societal provisions. This is because information needs emerged as information gaps in the provision for meeting integration needs in relation to the demographic and contextual attributes. As a result, the information needs were characterised by stages and levels which gave rise to the two-dimensional journey –'across' i.e. from left to right and 'down' i.e. top to bottom (Figure 6.1).

- **Across**: This move was from left to right and indicated stages of information need in relation to contextual attributes. The stages of need were the points of information need with respect to status. There were nine points of information need that progressed through housing, support, legal, mobility, health, education, social, employment and benefit.

  The needs were all required for integration; however, access to these provisions was controlled by status, in such a way that the chance of access to all societal provisions increased with status. Thus, it can be seen that the left side represents the general minimum provisions that are accessible by all refuge-seekers irrespective of status, while the right side represents specific maximum provisions accessible only by the refugee, and not by the asylum seeker or refused asylum seeker.

- **Down**: This move was from top to bottom and indicated levels of information need in relation to demographic attributes. The level of information needs rises within each stage, signifying a more intense need for information, and the intensity of information need represents the extent to which additional information may be required by certain individuals.

  The data showed that additional information needs arose for reasons of age and biological conditions such as pregnancy or presence of children or family members, which give rise to variations among the forced displaced. The forced displaced person is primarily an "individual" and the variants within this category, presenting higher levels of information need, were the "minor" and the "accompanied" individual. Thus, the topmost needs are the general information needs that apply to all individuals, and the downwards move

represents the additional need for information specific to the minor and the accompanied person.

Ultimately, there was a dependency of information needs that suggested an order. The order appeared critical to successful integration in the long term. For instance, in the matrix, education precedes social and employment information needs. The effect will be such that the non-English speaker, even with refugee status, may remain unemployed if the language information need is not met. Likewise, he/she may be unable to create social networks or join a community. Therefore, information about education is essential if the non-English speaker is to progress to the employment and social stages of integration.

The idea of order in information needs can be related to Maslow's hierarchy of needs, which describes five stages of human needs with each level being satisfied before progress to another can occur. Maslow further categorised the needs into two – "deficiency needs" and "growth/self-actualisation needs". Deficiency needs must be satisfied before progressing to growth needs. In the context of this study, housing and support information needs correspond to Maslow's deficiency needs, which include basic needs such as food, warmth, and rest. The later stages of the matrix such as employment and education correspond to Maslow's growth needs which are also self-actualisation needs. This study found housing information need as the initialising need for integration, upon which all other information need depended.

Furthermore, the relationship in the matrix can imply an inverse relationship between societal provisions and sociological needs, and a declining need for information on the journey was further inferred. This is because at the beginning, information needs were embedded within each other, such that there was a simultaneous need for information on provisions for meeting all needs; as a result a high information gap at the beginning was inferred. This simultaneous need is chaotic and may be the cause of unsuccessful navigation of processes and systems.   Recognition of this situation strongly suggests that refuge-seekers' inability to meet their integration needs results from information gaps, and that information is therefore a factor in refugee integration.

Refused - Asylum Seeker - Refugee
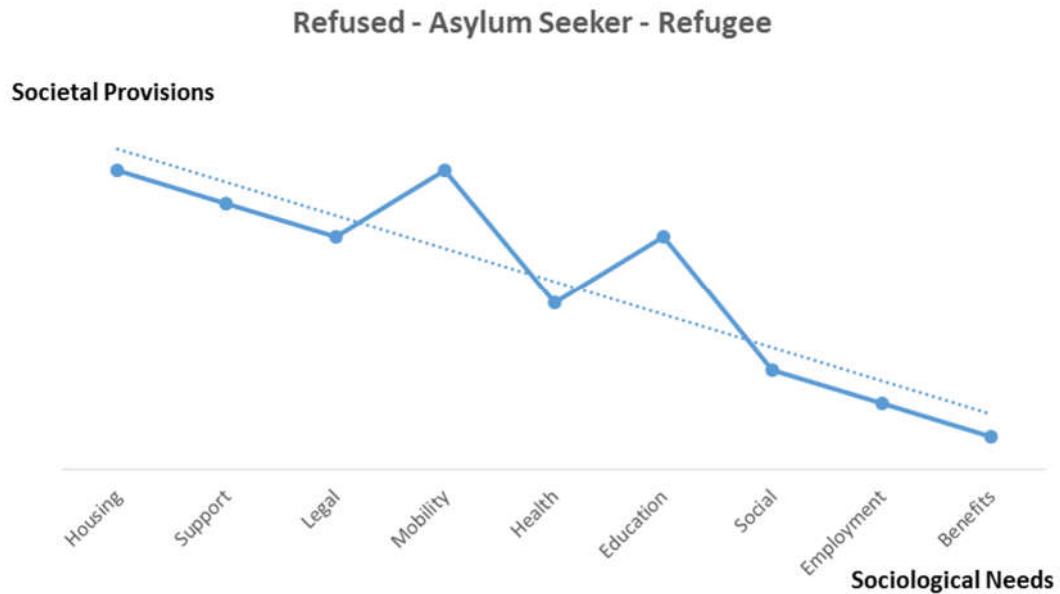
Figure 6. 2 – The Information Gaps

Figure 6.2 above is an abstract representation highlighting the declining information gap as the journey progresses. It is not a statistical interpretation of an X and Y axis, as in quantitative research. The qualitative nature of this research has been explicated in chapter four. Abstract representation of this kind helps to show that there is actually an order to information needs during refugee integration, such that the fulfilment of initial stages information needs also fulfils certain information needs at the next stages, resulting in a reduced need for information at the next stage and so on. However, the fulfilment of embedded information needs does not eliminate each distinct information need, but rather emphasises the information needs relationships and order in the matrix.

In terms of a journey, Figure 6.2 can be said to highlight a high information gap at the beginning and low information gap at the end. The high information gap at the beginning of the integration journey may be attributed to unfamiliarity. This is because at that stage all refuge-seekers are in new territory, navigating unfamiliar processes and systems, a situation further complicated by the controls on refugee status. It would seem that all the needs arise at once, understandably. The low information gap at the end of the integration journey may be attributed to familiarity. This is because refuge-seekers, in journeying through the stages of integration, became more familiar with

processes and systems, and as a result have a declining need for information as the journey progresses.

This concept of high and low information gaps is in sync with Maslow's motivational theory of high-level needs and low-level needs. The low-level needs are numerous and must be met before progressing to higher-level needs. Thus, it can be inferred that Figure 6.2 shows a high information gap for low-level needs as they are numerous, and a low information gap for high-level needs which are specific. It is, however, likely that the knowledge gained in preceding stages prepares the refuge-seeker for the next stage and contributes to the reduced need for information on higher-level needs. This implies that the more information provided during integration, the more integrated the refuge-seeker would likely be at the end.

The data also showed a concurrency of information needs, such that some information needs may be required at the same time, which supports the idea of embedded information needs. For instance, the spike points in mobility and education in the plot arise from participants needing information about two stages at the same time – transportation to language classes. The need for information about transportation to language classes is an information need at both the mobility and education stage.

The information need, if met at the mobility stage, eliminates the need for that information at the education stage and thus reduces the information gap at that stage. However, if not met, there will be a need for that information at the education stage, thus increasing the information gap at that stage. This shows that the availability of information at the mobility stage will enable easier navigation in the next stages, which highlights the stages of information need.

Finally, the stages of information needs are only potential points of need, not compulsory points of need, on the integration journey. For instance, the legal information need is not a point of information need for the asylum seeker who is granted status on first application, and thus does not require solicitors (Figure 6.3); likewise, the humanitarian or family reunion refugee (Figure 6.4). However, it is a compulsory point of information need for the refused asylum seeker, whose application for asylum has been rejected and who needs legal representation to appeal the decision (Figure 6.5).

The data implied a loop on the information needs journey, which was evident when people newly granted refugee status had housing information needs. This takes such a person back to the beginning of the journey, and emphasises housing as the initialising integration need. However, in the loop, the stages of information need only represent potential information needs, except for those specific to refugees. The existence of a loop highlights the information needs matrix as a universal model for the forced displaced during the progressive integration journey.

However, refuge-seekers' experiences of the current refuge processes and systems shows that progress did not mean integration, which may be attributed to a lack of information on how to navigate the unfamiliar processes and systems in order to achieve successful integration. This is because refuge-seekers arrive in unfamiliar territory with numerous sociological needs complicated by their age, biological condition, and contextual conditions including status as indicated above, and the societal provisions lack order and processes were undefined.

The data showed that the absence of order complicated the experiences of refuge-seekers significantly. For instance, some in volunteering roles were experiencing difficulties with language, and those needing education information were having difficulties with transportation. Also, there were participants who needed information about transportation to fulfil immigration obligations, and who also needed information on housing as they were not housed. This shows that if housing information need had been met, mobility information need would have been met more easily.

The information needs matrix is a summary of the observed phenomena in this study. The matrix clearly addresses what refugees need in order to be integrated, as the information needs were sociological – housing, support, legal, mobility, health, social, education, employment and benefits. The findings give rise to three characteristics:

1. There are stages and levels of information need.
2. There is an order dependency to information need.
3. Information needs are not fixed, but flexible.

Information behaviour studies have long since had strong implications for the design and delivery of systems and services in general. In this study context, the information needs matrix brings order to refugee integration and could be used as a navigation tool for refuge-seekers and host societies during integration, to show point of need to refuge-seekers and guide the delivery of provisions by host societies. It could be an integration map for the measurement of progress during integration. The matrix could also be used as a research map for structuring information science inquiry into migration. In the following sections and chapters, the findings are elaborated on and explicated.

6.2   Stages of Information Needs

The stages of information needs indicate the relationship between contextual attributes and information gaps. The information gaps revolved around housing, support, legal, mobility, health, education, social, employment and benefits. It has been stated that the stages of information needs represent the point of need with respect to the person's status, and three statuses have been highlighted (Figure 6.1). However, the analysis further revealed two conditions of provisions as "ideal" and "unideal" situations.

Three statuses were identified within the integration system but primarily there are two statuses, that of the asylum seeker and that of refugee. The refugee status is achieved in two ways, either *"before arrival"* or *"after arrival"* in the host country. The refugee status granted before arrival can be either through direct selection from refugee camps by the host country, or through refugee family reunion by a refugee bringing in his/her family. The refugee status granted after arrival is through an asylum process, which starts with an asylum application submitted to the Home Office, which is the UK immigration authority. This application is returned with one of two possible decisions, positive or negative.

The asylum seeker who receives a positive decision becomes a refugee and the asylum seeker who receives a negative decision becomes a refused asylum seeker, hence possessing a third status. The condition of refused asylum seeker is still a status because the person can appeal the negative decision, asking to be reconsidered for

asylum. In addition, there are provisions such that the refused asylum seeker remains within the refuge system, which creates an anomaly.

The anomaly of refused asylum status suggests two ostensible situations, "ideal" and "unideal", regarding access to societal provisions for integration. It can be inferred that the statuses of asylum seekers and refugees without anomaly are those in the ideal situation, and the status of refused asylum seeker with anomaly is the status in the unideal situation of the refuging system. What does this mean in the matrix?

Generally, the information needs matrix encapsulates the information needs of all refuge-seekers, but as there are ideal and unideal situations, there are also, by implication, information needs per status and the stages of information needs in the matrix may be determined by status. For instance, Figure 6.3 shows the information needs specific to asylum seekers. The information needs revolve around housing, support, mobility, health, part education, part social and part employment.

The figure suggests the asylum seeker information needs as core for the integration journey when compared with all the statuses in the refuge system. This is because it cuts across from left to right in the matrix, such that when the control of status is applied, the information needs of the refused asylum seeker (Figure 6.5) and the refugee (Figure 6.4) could be added on respectively.

Figure 6.4 highlights the information needs of refugees. The information needs specific to refugees are information on higher education, jobs, bank and benefits which are in addition to the asylum seekers' information needs. The figure also represents the ideal situation during refugee integration where there is no anomaly, as with the negative decision on asylum process.

Figure 6.5 shows all the information needs applicable to the refused asylum seeker. These include information on detention, card allowance and all legal provision, in addition to selected asylum seekers' information needs. This is because the negative decision is an anomaly, which reduces standard provisions and gives rise to a need to deal with the anomaly; hence the legal information need specific to the refused asylum seeker. In addition, the cash allowance is eliminated and the card allowance introduced.
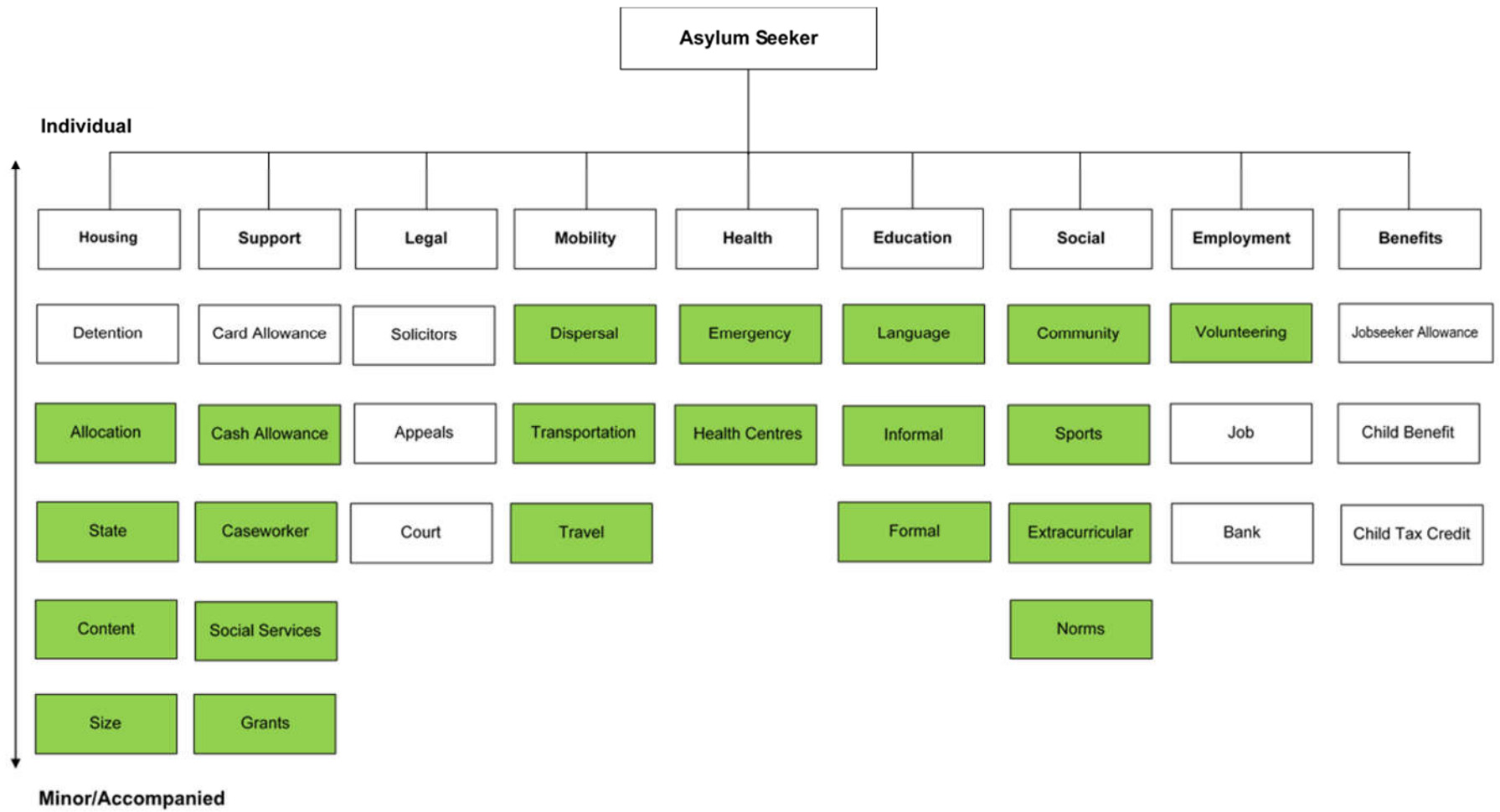
Figure 6. 3 – The Asylum Seeker Information Needs
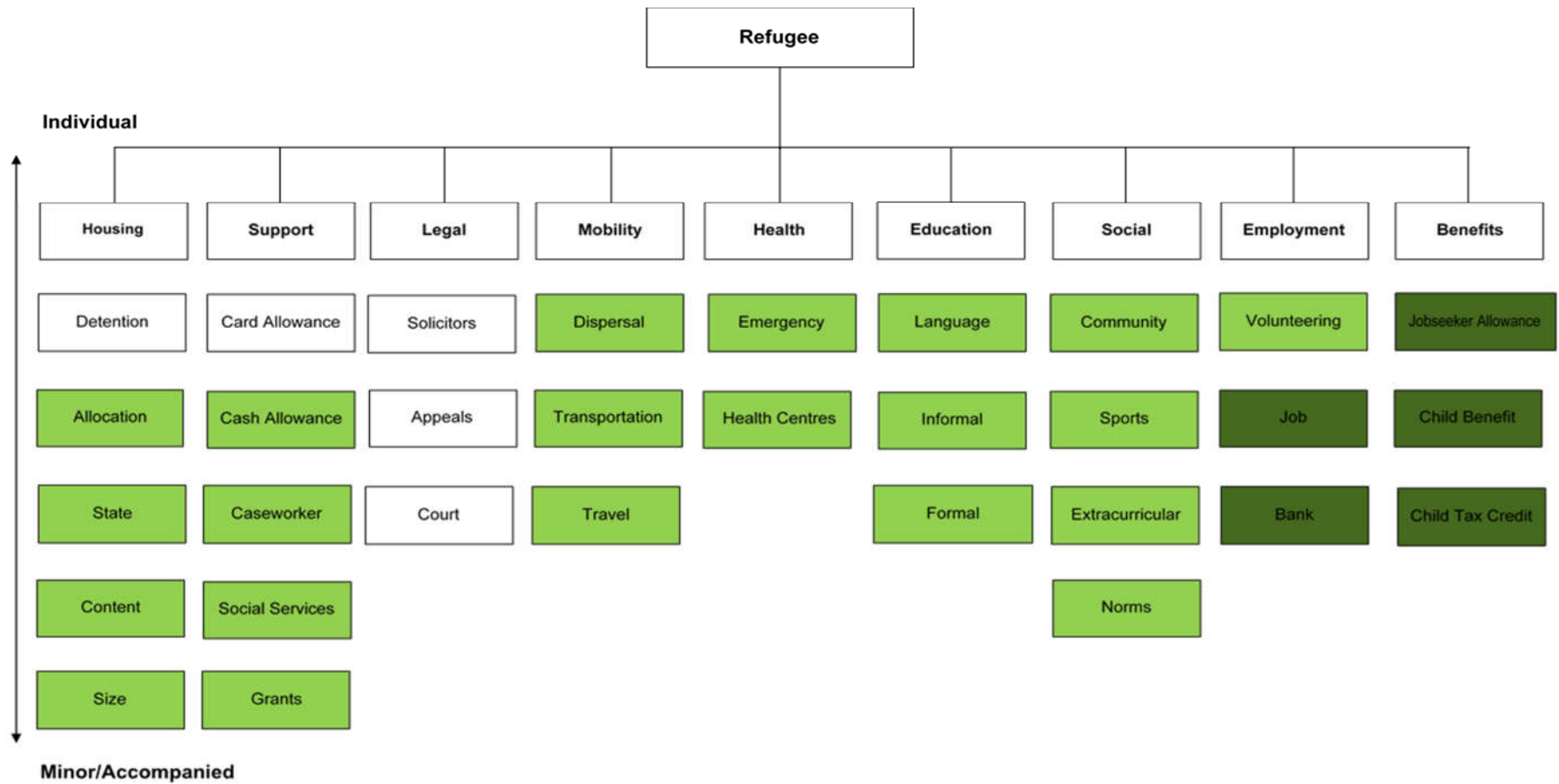
Figure 6. 4[7] – The Refugee Information Needs

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[7] **Figure 6.4**:   Deep Green is for the additional provisions of **refugee** information needs.
Standard Green is for the standard provisions of **asylum seeker** information needs.
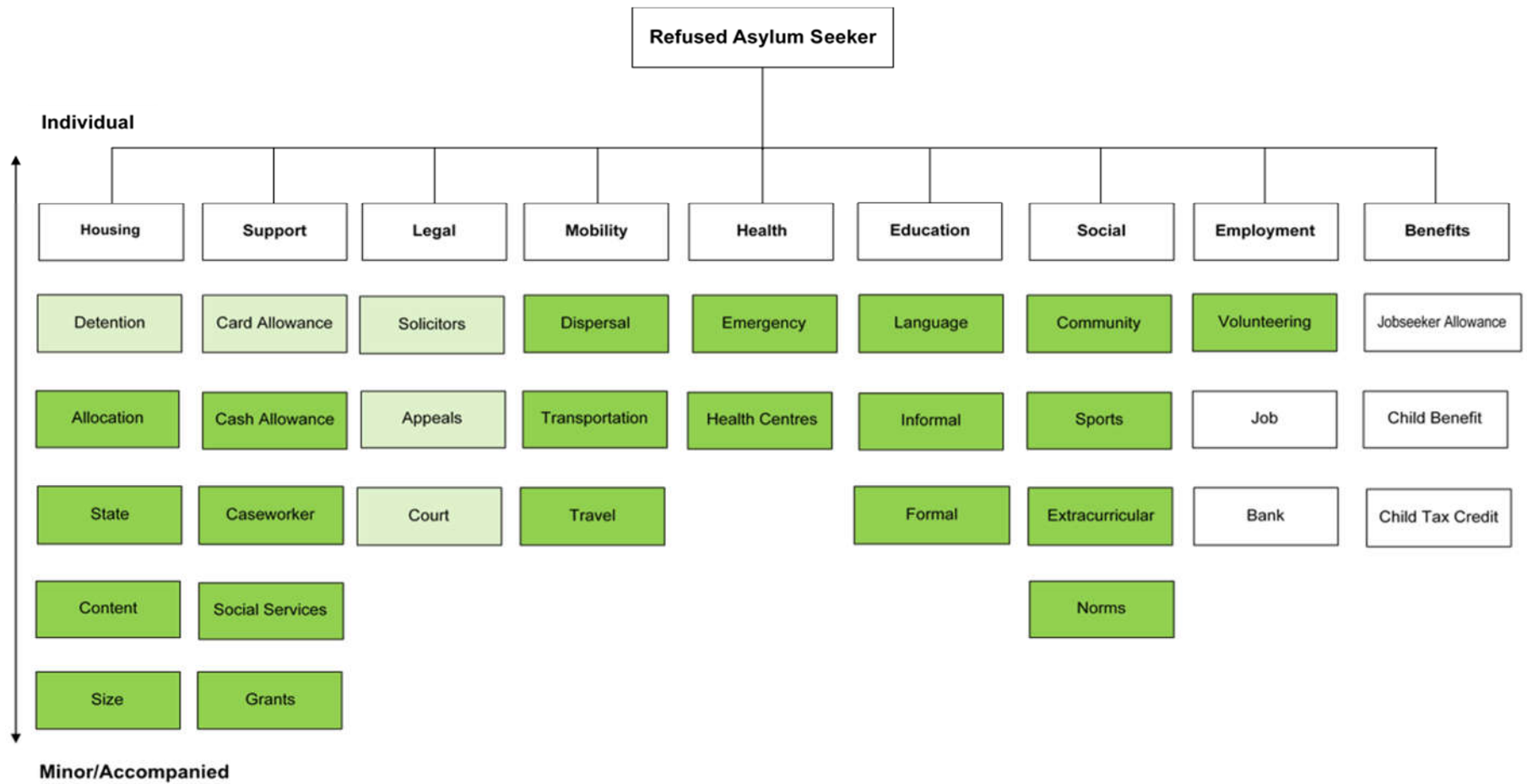
Figure 6. 5[8] – The Refused Asylum Seeker Information Needs

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[8] **Figure 6.5:**   Light Green is for the reduced provisions of **refused asylum seeker** information needs.

To put all this together, this means that within a refuge-seeker population, the asylum seekers have the initial status and their needs, being central; make the asylum seeker information needs the ideal minimum for integration. However, when related to other statuses in the system, the information needs of the refused asylum seeker become the barest minimum, because they include selected information needs of the asylum seeker, while those of refugees are the specific maximum, because of being, at the same time, additional to both statuses and exclusive to the refugee.

The idea of the asylum seeker status being the central status may also be related to the law of motion, since integration is a journey. The asylum seeker status is the initial status until acted upon by a force, in this case the force of the positive-negative asylum decision in the refugee integration system. A positive decision moves the asylum seeker to the right as a refugee, while a negative decision moves the asylum seeker to the left as a refused asylum seeker. The result is the additional information needs on both sides of the matrix, hence the ideal and unideal situations. The existence of ideal and unideal situations in the stages of information need during refugee integration suggests possibilities for easier access to provisions and smooth transitions between situations, from unideal to ideal, during refugee integration. However, the data showed that this is currently not what happens, which made it necessary to analyse the societal provisions.

6.3 The Provisions for Integration Needs

The government is the fundamental provider in meeting the sociological needs of refugee integration. The delivery of these provisions is through selected organisations and occasionally directly by the immigration authority. Government provisions are supported by those of voluntary and humanitarian organisations, including independent local charities. The data showed that the provisions for integration needs are delivered in two ways, statutory or ad hoc.

- **Statutory provisions**: These are the official provisions by the government for meeting the sociological needs of integration, and may be explicit or non-explicit. Explicit provisions are categorised as markers and means of integration, including provisions for housing, health, education and

employment. Non-explicit provisions are not categorised as markers and means of integration, including provisions for legal, support and benefits.

- **Ad hoc provisions**: These are improvised provisions made available as required or as the need arose on the integration journey, including provisions for mobility and meeting social needs.

The data showed that the delivery of these provisions was not straightforward. Within the provisions, there are differences associated with each status. The asylum seeker receives a cash allowance and refused asylum seeker receives a card allowance, while the refugee receives benefits[9] in addition to support. However, service providers had turned more than half of the study population away when they made related requests for provisions, even when they had the related statuses. This suggested information gaps in service delivery. The delivery of provisions was not defined and consistent; it appeared that government provisions were more specific to the ideal situation, while the local charities were specific to the unideal situation.

> *"There is support and information for the refugee but none for the asylum seeker"* – 3-year length refugee.

However, the local independent charities are privately funded; consequently, their provisions were limited by funds and sources of funds. Even when provided by the government, refuge-seekers still find access to provisions difficult. This prompted the need to examine refuge-seekers' experiences of the delivery of provisions by service providers including government, humanitarian organisations and local independent charities. The information gaps identified indicated the distinct points of information need and highlighted the relationships between needs and among statuses during refugee integration.

It is understood that reporting research participants' experiences with service providers depends in part, on how participants for the study were recruited. For instance, if the study participant is recruited from a particular service provider, it is highly likely that the service provider will have met all the person's needs and such a participant will have had positive experiences. In light of this, the participants in this study were

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[9] See glossary.

independently recruited without affiliation to any service provider, and were all registered in the national refuge system with the ID and documents shown at interviews. This eliminated the bias stemming from preferential affiliation to any service provider or charity.

In the following sections, the experiences of provisions in relation to status are discussed under the two observed situations, the ideal situation of asylum seekers and refugees and the unideal situation of refused asylum seekers. This will provide a clearer understanding of the relationship between statuses and information needs, as highlighted in the information needs matrix, and create a foundation for the detailed discussion of individual stages of information need in the subsequent chapters.

6.3.1 Ideal Situation – Asylum Seekers and Refugees

The ideal situation in terms of sociological provisions during refugee integration was found in the standard provisions in the integration system and concerns the experiences of persons with the ideal statuses. The ideal statuses are also the two basic categories of persons provided for in the direct appropriation of the UN convention.

- **Asylum seeker**: This refuge-seeker has arrived in the host country on their own. These refuge-seekers have applied for protection and are awaiting a decision.
- **Refugee**: This refugee-seeker has been accepted for protection either following an asylum application in the host country or by selection from refugee camps including those in the home countries.

The asylum seeker is provided with accommodation, financial support, travel support, health, and basic education and can also have some social life. The refugee is provided with benefits and in addition can have proper employment. These provisions are accessed through service providers. The asylum seeker has freedom of access to all the provisions for that status while waiting for the asylum decision. As a result these two statuses represent the ideal situation (Figure 6.7). But what information about provisions is given?
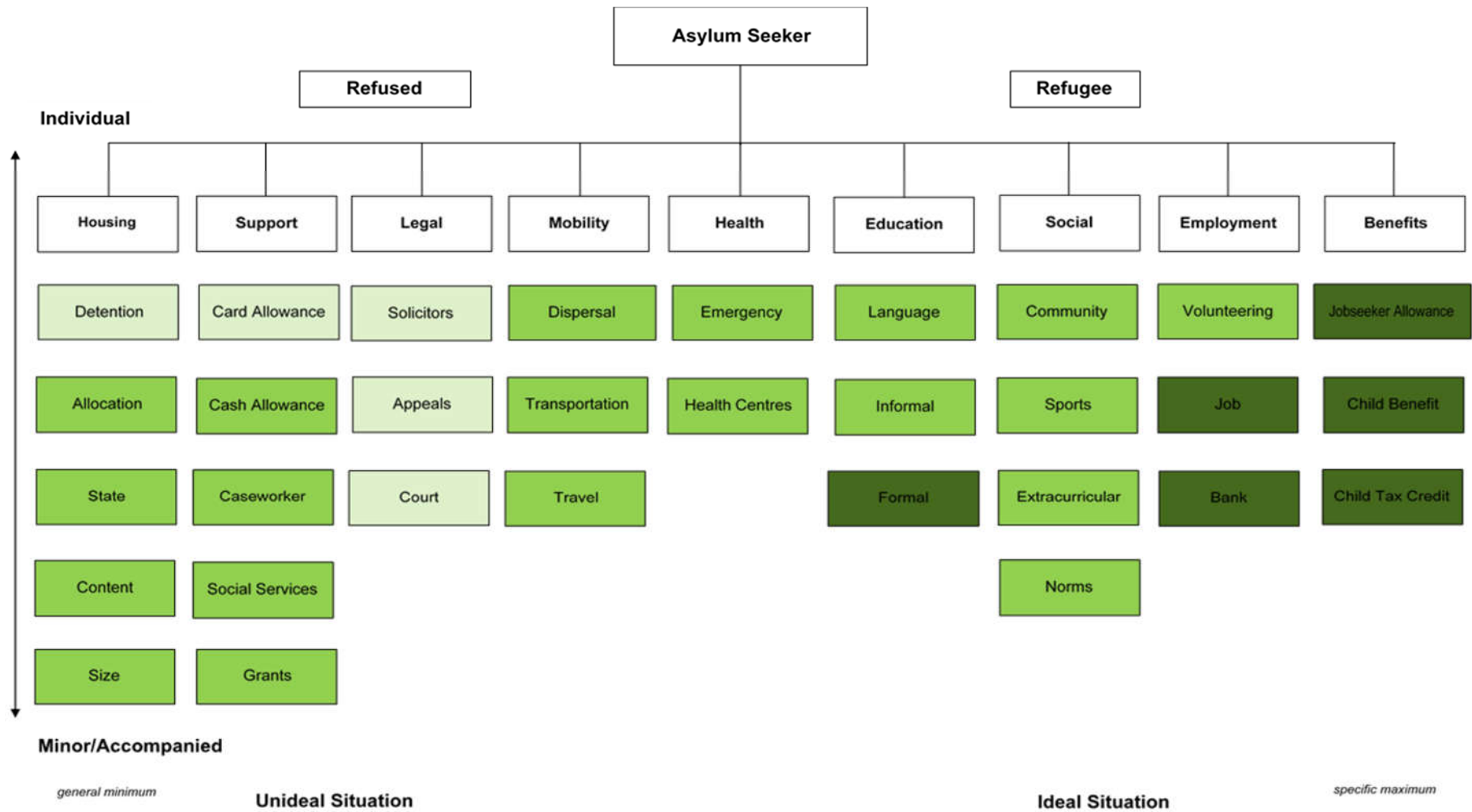
Figure 6. 6 – The Ideal and Unideal Situations of Refugee Integration

> *"Refugee council are for when you have problem"* – 4-year length
> refused asylum seeker

The data showed that there was no clear information given to refugees and asylum seekers regarding their specific provisions for integration, with the result that refugees and asylum seekers have misconceptions about the roles of service provider organisations.
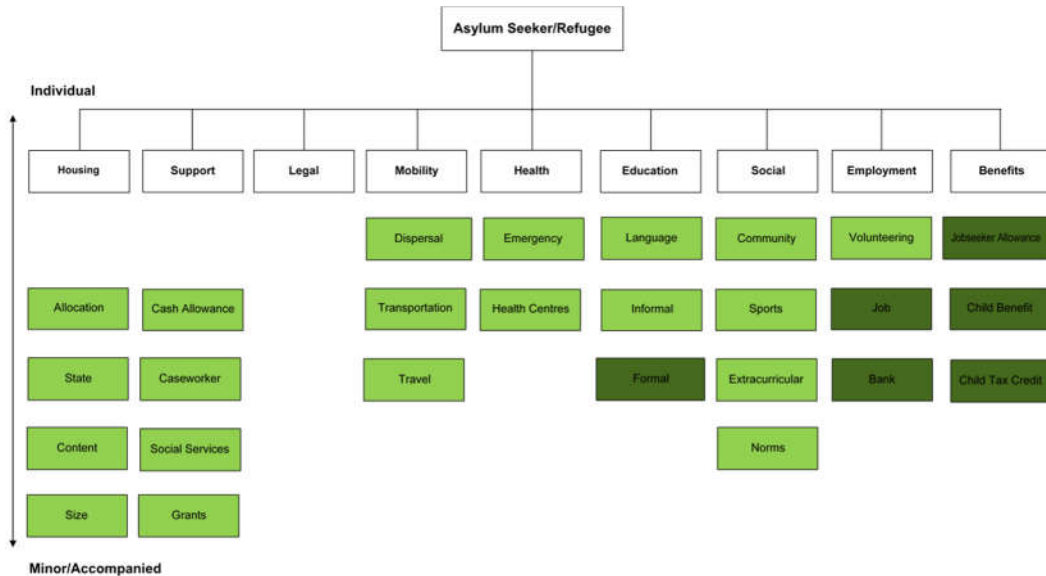
Figure 6. 7 – The Ideal Situation

Asylum seekers and refugees in the ideal situation had no information on access to societal provisions. The asylum seekers reported not having information on what they were entitled to such as volunteering, health, and many other things.

> *"You don't know what you can do and what you cannot do"* – 2-year
> length refused asylum seeker

The data showed that there was a lack of coordination and communication between service providers, and participants in the ideal situation did not know how to deal with it. This resulted in an imbalance in provision which led to under-served and over-served situations. For instance, an asylum seeker had never received travel support, such as bus passes or tickets, whilst others received multiple bus passes from different service providers including local charities.

> *"My school is 2 miles from the house and I walk to school every day;*
> *I have never gotten a bus pass"* – 3-year length refused asylum
> seeker

The lack of communication between service providers caused a *"survival of the well-informed"* syndrome. This was because access to provisions appeared to depend on the number of service providers known to the applicant. For instance, an asylum seeker accessed travel support from one service provider one week and the same provision from another service provider the following week, whilst someone in a similar situation had not received any travel support because the support was exhausted at that time. Being well-informed is a good thing, but when it hinders equal access and the ability of others to access provisions, then it is a problem.

Also, the data showed that there was no clearly defined information on the delivery of societal provisions. Some service providers' provisions were undefined, resulting in inconsistency of provision. Some asylum seekers and refugees had received help when they went to certain service providers at times of destitution, but quite a number had been turned away by the same organisation for help with the same problem. Some with the same ideal status received financial support from a certain service provider for food and transport to attend Home Office appointments, whilst others were refused support by the same provider and were signposted to other service providers.

> *"The refugee council said they don't have anything for me and that*
> *I should go to the Home Office"* – 2-month length asylum seeker

Interestingly, however, the service providers with defined services had a problem with consistency of provision and participants did not know how to deal with this. For instance, some participants received housing support from a defined housing service provider, e.g. Positive Action in Housing, a service provider specifically for housing, while other participants had been turned down for help with a similar housing problem by the same service provider. The participant in that situation turned aggressive at this point in the interview while expressing the frustration felt.

> *"I went there on 4th June, told them I don't have a house, food or nothing and they gave me an appointment for the 21st June, in 15 days, and I said to them how can you give me 2 weeks later, I'm hungry, I don't have a place to sleep"* – 11-year length refused asylum seeker

This implied a lack of information on the continuity of provisions especially for refused asylum seekers, as the data show that most organisations are able to provide them with one-off financial support. However, it is not clear what should happen thereafter to the asylum seeker who is awaiting a decision on his/her application, which in this study population took between 1 and 6 months. The refugees, on the other hand, appeared to be well received, especially the family reunion or humanitarian refugees, with information provided on arrival in the country. They might be received at the airport by service providers and the media.

> *"My husband came with people from the Refugee Council and Red Cross to bring us to Glasgow by bus to the Drumchapel house"* – 20-month length refugee

They are provided with substantial information and training on how to integrate into the community.

> *"I attended different lectures at the Red Cross to learn to communicate and integrate into the community"* – 20-month length refugee

This is in addition to the spousal or parental in-country advantage in the case of the family reunion refugee.

> *"My dad showed us how to do everything and how to register with the NHS"* – 14-year length refugee

However, this does not apply to refugees who obtained their status after arrival in the host country. But the preparation of information and training for the refugee highlights the importance of information for integration. Nonetheless, despite the information provided, the experiences of the refugee participants highlight the fact that those with refugee status still encounter unknowns.

"They are so helpful but it is not enough for a person that has decided to stay permanently in this country. Now we have to try by ourselves and with the help of friends and not depend on the Red Cross and Refugee Council" – 20-month length refugee

Ultimately, there are information gaps in the delivery of provisions for integration. This section has shown the information gaps in the ideal situation, which surround mobility, housing, financial support, health and benefits provisions, with the specific elements of these fields. However, the stages of information needs in the matrix include the unideal situation of the refused asylum seeker. Examining the unideal situation will complete our understanding of the relationships between statuses and information needs in the matrix.

6.3.2 Unideal Situation – Refused Asylum Seekers

The refused asylum status exists when an asylum seeker has received a negative decision on his/her application. It is an extreme circumstance encountered during integration. Like the ideal situation, there are societal provisions associated with this decision. However, it is surrounded with restrictions and limitations, resulting in erratic provisions and uncertainty for the refused asylum seekers; for example, the statutory daily financial support may stop and then suddenly start again. Refused asylum is an event heralding a string of events with which the asylum seekers have no information on how to cope. The refused asylum seeker represents a large percentage in any given set of refuge-seekers in the UK. This study population was no exception, as it included eight refused asylum seekers.
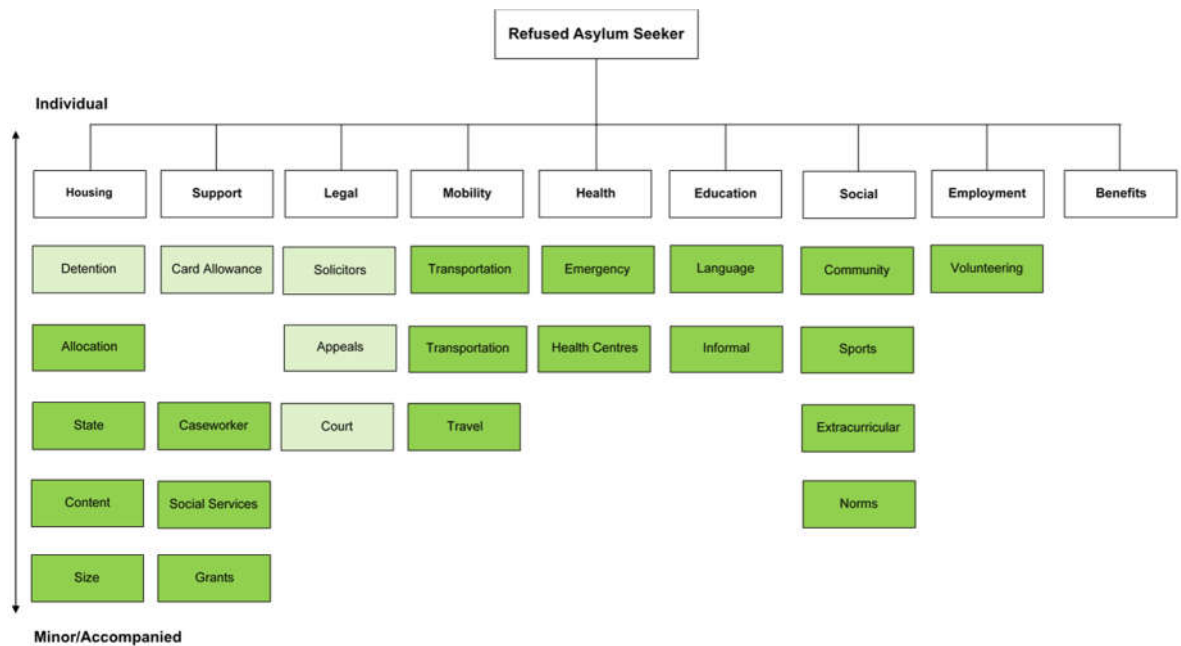
Figure 6. 8 – The Unideal Situation

The navigation of the integration system and processes starts with an asylum application submitted to the Home Office, the UK immigration authority. On submission of an application, the asylum seeker is provided with financial support and accommodation through service providers while waiting for the asylum decision; this is called the waiting period, which lasted between 1 and 6 months for this study population. The positives at this time lie in the stability experienced during the period of waiting for the asylum decision. Participants described this period as a "safe haven".

> *"When I got to this country, I was like the happiest man in the world,*
> *I was so glad. I planned for what I had to do; everything I had to do*
> *for my life like how I could go to the university, get married, get a*
> *house, have a beautiful life like everyone"* – 2.5-year length refused
> asylum seeker

However, the data suggest that, upon receipt of a refusal, the abruptness with which the new-found stability comes to an end is like a sudden crushing of utopia. The experiences related showed that participants did not have enough information to deal with asylum refusal and consequently experienced difficulties. They all said that they felt lost.

> *"I am still confused now about everything; I am confused about what I have to do next"* – 2.5-year length refused asylum seeker

They did not understand why they were not granted asylum after the journey they had made. They described it as a time of confusion and depression as they did not know what to do at this time. Some expressed frustration at the reasons for their refusal. Some, especially the newly arrived asylum seekers, felt that it was like the end of the world after they had given their all.

> *"After the interview one month later they refused; they say I am lying, I am not from Eritrea. When they refused, they say I am not a Christian when I am even a singer in church. I got confused. I ask myself all the time who am I? So I have a court appointment, I took all my photos etc. Then the court said I am a Christian but not Eritrean. I am confused more"* – 11-month length refused asylum seeker

All refused asylum seekers associated this time with uncertainty, confusion, depression, and ill health amongst other effects. This included the in-country applicants who may be thought of as having the advantage of being in the country already, but who also lack understanding of the process. As soon as there is a negative asylum decision, their financial support might stop and they might be turned out of their accommodation.

> *"The money stop, I am stressed, what will I eat. The letter came that I should leave the house, I wondered where I will go, where I will sleep? Again another headache problem"* – 11-month length refused asylum seeker

If not immediately deported after the refused asylum decision, the refused asylum seeker might be required to fulfil certain conditions such as signing in regularly at the Home Office. Some, again including the in-country applicants, stated that this was without any form of support.

"Even when I was in such pain that I could not walk, they forced me to come and sign or else they will stop the money" – 2-year length refused asylum seeker

Some stated that they had no information on what to do if they are removed to a detention centre such as Dungavel when attending to sign in. Dungavel is a detention centre that refused asylum seekers are removed to following a refused asylum decision. They are either sent back into society or deported after 1 or 2 months. 3 of the asylum seekers in this study population have been detained at Dungavel and 2 have been in and out of detention a number of times.

"I went to the Home Office to report as usual then they ask me to meet the manager in the office, then I went there and they bring me to Dungavel" –2.5-year length refused asylum seeker

Participants who had been to Dungavel had no information on how to resettle, thus had difficulties settling back into the society after detention.

"I was released from Dungavel; actually I slept on the street that night. That state was painful; I was cold and hungry. I went to charities they said no, I went to police station, they said no you can't sleep here. I was trying to get somewhere to sleep and go back to Edinburgh with zero money" – 6-year length refused asylum seeker

Others did not know how to deal with communication gaps between the Home Office and their solicitors while dealing with the refused asylum processes. For instance, a participant stated that the solicitors neglected their concerns about sensitive information that could affect their asylum application.

"I asked my solicitor to note that in my screening interview I don't want an interpreter from Iraq because I work in the government and will say something against my government, and I'm afraid any Iraqi here will send my name to the government. My solicitor said okay I will send letter to the Home Office. In the interview, the interpreter was by the phone not there in person, so the interviewer asked my name, nationality etc., and by the voice of the interpreter I knew this

accent was Iraqi. And I said can we stop. And I try to speak English and I said that is an Iraqi interpreter I need to change it; I can't go through with the interview, but the interviewer said you have to continue" – 3-year length refused asylum seeker

The circumstances surrounding asylum refusal are tough; this was understandably evident in the behaviour of some of the participants who involuntarily turned aggressive during interviews. The refused asylum situation is definitely a significant part of refugee integration, since the refused asylum seeker may eventually be granted status. It appeared that the authorities understand the implications of the actions but the goals are unclear.

"I go to the Home Office every Friday to sign and every time the Home Office ask me who help you" – 11-year length refused asylum seeker

The irony inherent in these practices emerges when such persons are eventually granted status. For it would seem that the society gets a now emotionally unstable person, considering the length of time refused asylum seekers may live in the country. In this study, the participant who had lived the longest as a refused asylum seeker had done so for eleven years.

"I feel like I am like in a prison, though I am in safety but in a big prison" –4-year length refused asylum seeker

The unideal situation of the refused asylum seeker adds legal information to the distinct stages of information needs. However, across both situations there are deeper information gaps at individual stages with respect to demographic attributes. This depth of individual information needs marked the level of information need. Examining the levels of information need provided understanding of the relationships between demographic attributes and information needs.

6.4   Levels of Information Needs

The levels of information needs are found in the relationship between demographic attributes and information gaps. The information gaps emerged from an apparent deeper need for additional information on the part of individuals within each stage of information need irrespective of status, i.e. asylum seeker, refused asylum seeker or refugee, in the refuge system. Three distinct levels were identified:

- **The individual:** general to anyone in the system
- **The minor:** specific to people less than 18 years old
- **The accompanied**: specific to people who have others with them, such as children, or who are pregnant.

The individual level is the information need that is common to all persons within the protection system. The minor and the accompanied are the levels where additional information specific to such persons is required.

Levels	Number of participants
The individual	11
The minor	5
The accompanied	4

Table 6. 1 – Levels of Information Need Distribution

The table above shows the population distribution for levels of information need. The minor level participants RIB006, RIB008 and RIB009 are not minors at present, as shown by their current age and status in Table 5.1. But their experiences of the integration system occurred when they were minors; hence their inclusion in that category for the purpose of exploring levels of information need.

All individual level participants arrived as adults independently, except for RIB011 who arrived in a family of five, but was over the official child age. The application for protection was independent, although he lives with his family in the house given them by the Home Office. The accompanied level participants all joined the protection system with children; however, RIB019's children were born in the country.

Thus far, it has been shown that the stages of information needs are nine and include housing, legal, mobility, education, health, employment and benefits information.

However, within each distinct information need is a deeper need for information specific to certain individuals differentiated by age and biological conditions, such as young children who have arrived either independently or accompanied in families, or pregnant individuals.

The data showed an increasing need for additional information within each stage of information need where it was required. This may be likened to sub-specifics of each distinct information need. The data showed the need for additional information growing more intense towards the bottom, and as a result minor and accompanied have been grouped together; but the bottom-most needs were critical to the accompanied.

The additional information need of the accompanied in this study population concerned housing and social living, as was evident in the accompanied experiences. For example, one accompanied participant had no information on the cultural norms of living with children in the new society until neighbours called the police against the person.

> *"I had an appointment for an operation for my wife at the dentist in the city centre, so I take my little boy with me and I leave my 2 kids at home. Someone phone the police that two kids in the house and they phone me, why you leave the children at home and I told them I have appointment card for operation and the doctor say don't bring children with you. I don't have relative here and my neighbour don't support me. They told me I broken the law"* – 3-year length refused asylum seeker

Similarly, another accompanied participant had no information on how the son could engage with the society on arrival in the new country. The participant highlighted the need for information on play and places that could help the children to settle.

> *"They did not give me any information. I was looking for something for my son – he was lonely, until I find a group by myself"* – 7-year length refugee

The additional information needs of the minors in this study population concerned education and social living. For example, participants reported having been unaware for a long time of entitlement to education, which gave rise to an education information need.

> *"We did not know we could go to school until 7 months later when we went to the council where they told us I could go to school"* – 2-year length refused asylum seeker

Another minor participant expressed the inability to attend social functions in high school, which gave rise to the extra-curricular information need.

> *"There was this charity shop and I saw this very nice dress, it was £10 but I cannot afford it and asked them can I borrow it for 1 day and return it and they asked why do you need it and I said for prom and she said if you can't afford a dress for a party then don't think to go to the party"* – 2-year length refused asylum seeker

The data suggested a relationship between the information needs of the minor and accompanied that enabled both to be placed together in the matrix. For instance, social services are provided for children, so both minors and any persons accompanied with children would have this information need. This relationship was also evident in the case of a participant accompanied with children who had difficulties in enrolling children in school, like the above-mentioned minor.

> *"We depend on the refugee council to put my children in school but they did not, so I depend on myself to do this. It was over two months since school had started and the children just stay at home, so I decided to take them myself'; we use the GPS to find the closest school and go to the school by ourselves"* – 20-month length refugee

Interestingly, the minor and accompanied participants who had the experiences shown above have different statuses. The minor is a refused asylum seeker and the accompanied is a refugee, which highlights the relationship between statuses and information needs at particular stages. This suggests that the levels of information need are embedded in the stages of information needs, as was further highlighted in the experiences of homelessness by refugees and a refused asylum seeker of eleven years.

> *"Now I am homeless, I live in an emergency accommodation"* – 8-month length refugee
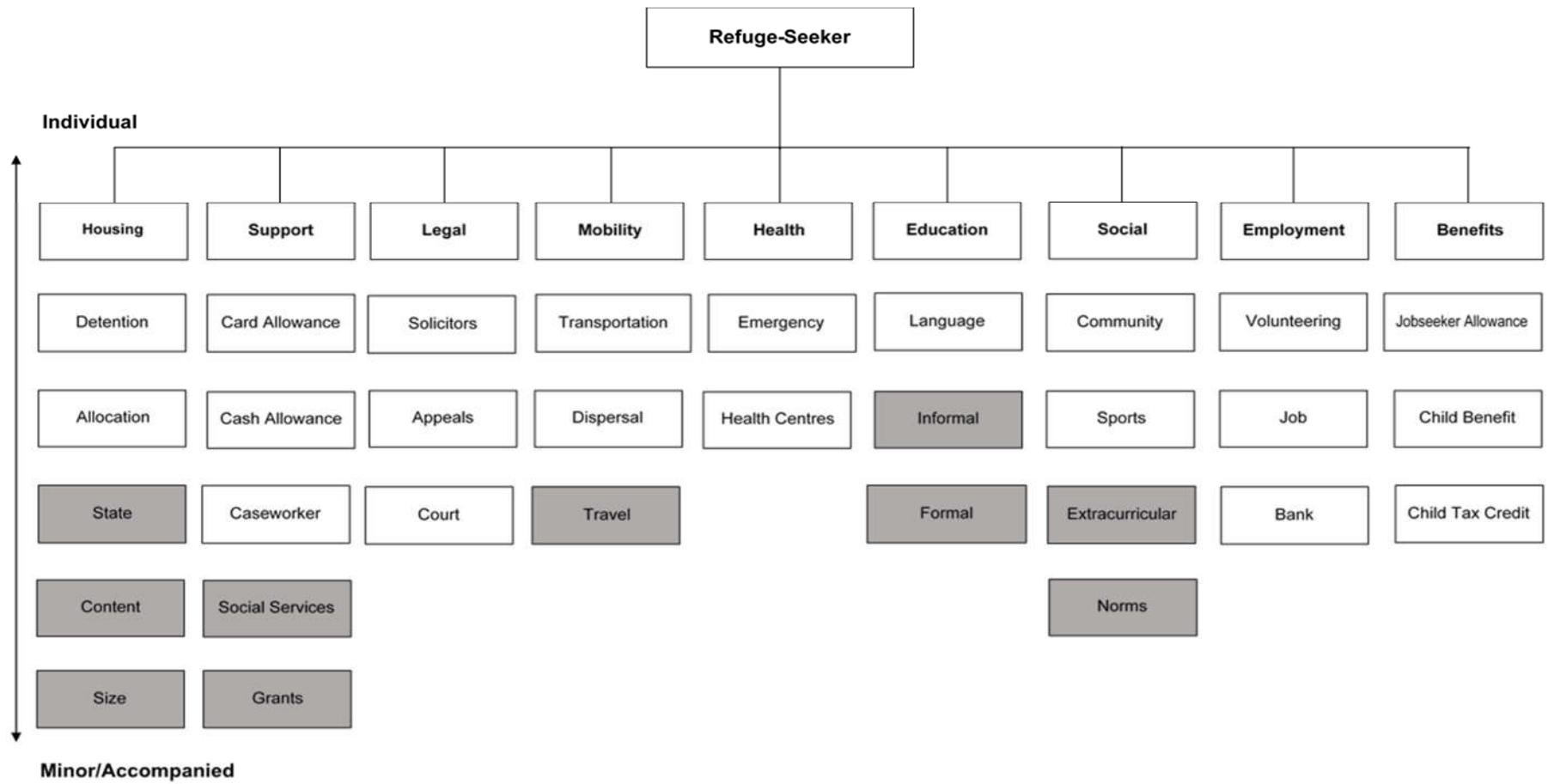
Figure 6. 9[10] – The Minor/Accompanied Information Needs

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[10] Figure 6.9:   Deep Grey is for the additional information needs at the minor/accompanied level

"I don't have accommodation or anything, one day I sleep in church
today, mosque tomorrow" – 11-year length refused asylum seeker

Together, the stages and levels in the matrix describe the information need relationship with contextual attributes and demographic attributes, thereby emphasising the 2-dimensional quality of the relationship.

Summary

This chapter has addressed one of the research questions by showing the connection and relationship existing between the information needs of refuge-seekers. The information needs were placed across and down, as defined by contextual and demographic attributes respectively. This resulted in a progressive 2-dimensional relationship between information needs and gave rise to three characteristics:

1. There are stages and levels of information need.
2. There is an order dependency to information need.
3. Information needs are not fixed, but flexible.

The data showed that the unknowns of integration lie in the societal provisions for meeting sociological needs, and that there were ideal and unideal situations related to provisions. The information needed centred on housing, support, legal, mobility, health, education, social, employment and benefits in both ideal and unideal situations. The stages and levels of information needs highlighted the "when" and "who needs what" information respectively. The progressive nature of information needs across societal provisions highlights the information needs matrix as a bridge between all parties involved in integration, creating a potentially unified process for refugee integration. Approaching refugee integration from this unified perspective will define society's processes and reduce the current complexities and complications experienced by refuge-seekers.

The information needs matrix bridges the gap between sociological needs and societal provisions during integration and produces a two-way benefit. A host society and refuge-seeker navigation guide for integration will alleviate the marginalisation of refuge-seekers in the long term, especially the refused asylum seekers who eventually

end up being granted refugee status. The defined information needs will allow continuity and consistency in needs-provisions relationships at any given point in time, in that they offer *'continuity'* for refuge-seekers and *'consistency'* for the service providers and the society in general.

Having services provision aligned and clearly defined per service provider will ensure dynamic processes and systems with effective provisions controls. This will expand the scope of provision, prevent over-served and under-served situations whilst, at the same time, maximising provisions and time. In addition, service providers will be empowered to operate their defined services at a larger capacity, thereby enhancing overall service delivery to refuge-seekers and, consequently, reducing the chance of their marginalisation in the long term.

7.   Initial Stages Information Needs

Refugee integration is now established as a progressive information needs journey. The previous chapter highlighted the emergence of information needs as information gaps in the societal provisions for meeting sociological needs during integration, which gave rise to sub-specific information gaps. However, the actual experiences surrounding the emergence of the specific and sub-specific information needs are yet to be discussed.

The progressive information needs journey can be said to go through three phases – the initial, medial and final phases of information needs, as represented in Figure 7.1 below, following the reduction in information needs during the journey which was highlighted in the previous chapter. The initial information needs are required in the early stages to kick-start integration, the medial information needs are required along the journey to enable progress in the society, and the final information needs are required in the later stages to enable self-sufficiency in the society.
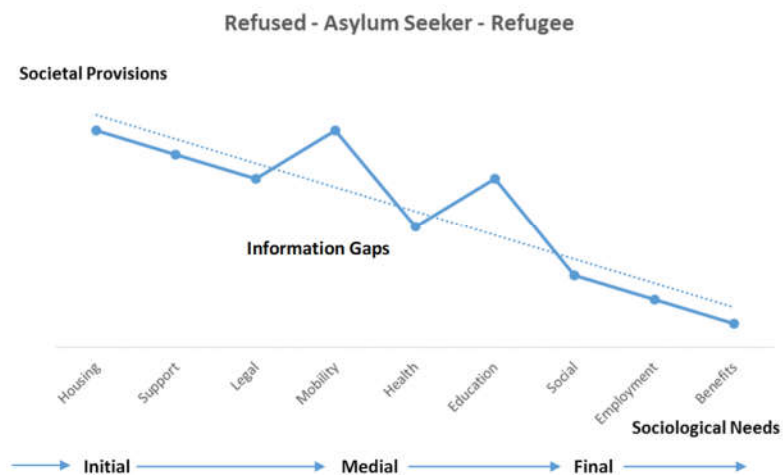
Figure 7. 1 – The Information Needs Journey

These phases of information need are discussed through three chapters. Each chapter elaborates on the specific and sub-specific information gaps in sociological provisions during the phases of the integration journey. In each information need section, the system's processes surrounding the provision for meeting each need are first discussed, and the information gaps arising across situations and statuses within each process are then highlighted.

7.1   Housing

The data showed that housing is the sociological need that kick-starts integration for any refuge-seeker in a new society. Refugees and asylum seekers arrive with nothing in an unfamiliar territory, so the need for shelter is a priority in the first instance. The United Kingdom makes provisions for housing during integration and the provisions are statutory. The accommodation is provided through service providers and is often prepared before refuge-seekers arrive in the country. The refugees arrive to be given designated accommodation, while asylum seekers might be initially housed in detention centres, particularly those who arrived by the road travel route, after which they are released to designated asylum accommodation.

In the United Kingdom's integration system, the responsibility for housing provision is shared between the UK immigration authority and the local council. Immigration authorities are responsible for asylum accommodation while the local council is responsible for refugee accommodation. Thus, there is transitioning for the asylum seeker granted refugee status, but not for the humanitarian or family reunion refugees, as the local council will house them directly. The transition is needed because the asylum seeker turned refugee was previously housed by the immigration authority, and on grant of refugee status will transfer to the local council. The immigration authority houses the newly granted refugee for a further 28-30 days after refugee status is granted, and thereafter hands over to the local council. From the data, this period is called the move-on period.

The housing processes also include home-moves and eviction. Home-moves are required to get refugees and asylum seekers into suitable accommodation and may be required for administrative purposes. Home-moves can happen at any point during the integration journey. Eviction is the removal of refused asylum seekers from accommodation. This happens following a negative decision on an asylum application, although the refusal can be appealed.

With the processes surrounding housing provision during integration having been highlighted, the question arises: what are the experiences of refuge-seekers with these processes and the related information gaps? The data showed that numerous issues surround housing for refuge-seekers. The information gaps around the issues of

housing ranged from interpersonal matters, which concerned respect, for example when dealing with service providers, to housing-specific issues such as the content of accommodation, for example what is allowed in the accommodation, its state, its size, and its allocation.

Respect

All participants complained of the attitudes, lack of respect, approaches, and poor treatment by the accommodation provider and their lack of information on how to deal with it.

> *"The service providers don't treat us like humans, they treat us like s**t"*– 7-month length asylum seeker

Content

The issue of content concerned a lack of information on appliances allowed in the accommodation, which resulted in breach of privacy experiences. The dwellings were not provided with media appliances such as television sets, but when refuge-seekers acquired such things by themselves, problems resulted.

> *"My section 95 has been cancelled because I have a television in my house, a broken phone and a broken tablet. They said the money they are giving me is too small to buy all those things"* – 2-year length refused asylum seeker

Refuge-seekers were not informed that Home Office accommodation providers could visit the accommodation anytime. Participants highlighted that staff visited the provided accommodation in the absence of occupants to check the contents in the house, especially electronic appliances. The outcomes of those visits were often traumatic, including for example the Home Office's sudden withdrawal of financial support, or the need for significant travel to defend the possession of such appliances.

> *"Now the Home Office stop the money because I have a television and ask me to appeal it at the first hearing tribunal in London"* – 2-year length refused asylum seeker

Participants however highlighted how media such as television and the internet could help their integration.

> *"How can I feel like a part of Glasgow or UK when I don't have anything, no internet, no TV to know what is happening in my new country"* – 3-year length refused asylum seeker (minor)

Allocation

There was no information on acceptable behaviour while living in shared accommodation. There were accommodation sharing issues that revolved around tolerance. Quite a number of participants did not know how to deal with the difficulty of agreeing with flatmates on issues of cleanliness, visitors and late nights, as flats were shared between people of different nationalities and different languages.

> *"My flatmate said he is not able to clean the bathroom because he does not speak English and I said to him you do not need to speak English to clean yourself"* – 6-year length refused asylum seeker

Although this may come across as a domestic issue, not requiring the involvement of authorities, the existence of co-habitation rules would not only drastically reduce disputes but most importantly prolong the life of these homes, as quite a number of them end up demolished within a short time.

State and Size

There were problems around the state and size of the accommodation. These issues were the most common, and surprisingly it was status-notwithstanding. All participants with families said that their accommodation on arrival was small, and they did not know how to deal with the small area. There was also the problem of furniture; participants did not know how to furnish the accommodation they were given. Half the population arrived to be housed in an unfurnished flat and had difficulties furnishing it.

> *"When I was granted the house it was empty, no furniture or kitchen furniture. I said please can you give me some basic stuff; they said*

we have nothing and I was told to move there as fast as possible" –
3-year length refugee

Participants did not know what to do when basic amenities in the accommodation were not working. More than half the population slept in a house without heating on arrival. All participants on arrival had problems with the general cleanliness and condition of the accommodation.

"The house we were moved in was very filthy and dirty, the toilet was leaking, the heating not working. Now those buildings have been demolished" – 2-year length refused asylum seeker

The minors and the young adults did not understand the absence of basic media like TV or radio in the accommodation. Participants did not know what to do when they had problems of animal infestation.

"The other day bugs came in and they flush it but it came back. My area is full of rats" – 2-year length refused asylum seeker

Participants did not know what to do when they had health-related impediments to occupying the allocated accommodation. All the participants that arrived to be placed in high-rise buildings were scared of the height, although some expressed excitement about the lift because it was the first time they had had one. Also, participants did not know how to deal with broken appliances or furniture such as washing machines, fridges and beds.

"The window of the house was not closing and it was winter so we put plastic bags to keep the wind outside, and the heater will be hot but not heating" – 20-month length refugee

Eviction

There was no eviction procedure. Some participants reported not having been given an eviction letter or any notification to prepare them for the event and being unaware of how to deal with the situation. Quite a number of the asylum seeker population had experienced an attempt by the Home Office accommodation provider to lock them out of the accommodation in their absence.

> *"I put my key; it did not go in. I was worried what do I do, then I call my solicitor, then solicitor said he will contact the Orchard & Shipman to find out what happened. The owner turned up and was introduced and he said I'm not supposed to be there that I should go to friends. I told him I had no friend, I have nowhere to go. So he knocks on the door and a man with a box of tools comes out embarrassed and I went in quick because I know once I went inside there is no way they'll move me. They said I have 24 hours to move out and leave. Once they left, you start thinking, it's so painful, so stressful, I don't know how to put it"* – 6-year length refused asylum seeker

Other participants who had eviction letters did not know how to deal with eviction which resulted in destitution and desperate situations.

> *"Just before Christmas, I got a letter from the Home Office that my asylum is refused. They take the flat keys from me; I was homeless for 1 month all through the Christmas period. They did not tell me anything, nothing"* – 2.5-year length refused asylum seeker

Unfortunately, this inflicts considerable psychological and physical trauma on the individuals and may eventually drive them to hooliganism. This became evident in the understandable behaviour of some of the participants who could not help turning aggressive during interviews.

> *"It's coming letter that I should leave the house. I wonder where I will go. The money stops. I'm stressed, what will I eat, where will I sleep"* – 11-month length refused asylum seeker

The complexities in the provisions for housing resulted in homelessness for refuge-seekers, so much so that it appeared to be a part of the housing process. But the data showed that it was consequential, being a result of unclear home-moves and eviction processes.

7.1.1 Homelessness

Homelessness is a major event in housing which appeared to arise as a result of lack of information on dealing with home-moves and eviction processes. The data showed that a refuge-seeker experienced homelessness somewhere on the integration journey irrespective of status, whether asylum seeker, refused asylum seeker or refugee. This happened despite home-moves being regulated by different authorities. It has been highlighted that the authority in charge of housing changes with progression in the system, so that asylum seekers are served by Home Office service providers whilst refugees are served by local councils.

> *"I stayed in a bed & breakfast for 4 weeks then I was moved to a shared flat and when I got my status, they gave me 1 month to move, but I did not have any accommodation. Now I am homeless; I live in an emergency accommodation"* – 8-month length refugee

All refuge-seekers, i.e. asylum seekers, refused asylum seekers and refugees, were unable to understand the home-move processes, as home-moves are not straightforward. The movement may be from one temporary accommodation to another, such as designated asylum accommodation, bed and breakfast, or a hostel, amongst other types. The possibilities also included moves to permanent accommodation for those with refugee status. In this study the timeline for home moves was between 8 months and 11 years, and the process even within this wide range does not necessarily end in permanent accommodation.

> *"I am homeless because I have not got a flat. I am off Home Office after the 28-30 days move period, now it is the city council"* – 8-month length refugee

Homelessness can happen at any stage for the refuge-seeker. It often started with the refused asylum decision and commonly ended up as a recurring event for the refused asylum seeker, lasting throughout the appeals until eventually the person is granted status. More than half the asylum seeker population in this study had experienced homelessness.

> *"I don't have accommodation or anything, one day I sleep in church today, mosque tomorrow. I am not happy with my life just now"* – 11-year length refused asylum seeker

For the refugees, it happened to those who transitioned from asylum seeker to refugee. This was because when the refugee status is granted, refugees are given a 28-day period to move to local council homes. The local council is expected to take over and provide for them after that.

> *"I not got a flat since I have been off the Home Office after the 28-30 days, now I am homeless. Yes, I am homeless with my refugee status"* – 8-month length refugee

However, the data showed that, most often, at the end of the 28-day period, most refugees are not housed permanently, and are thus homeless, ending up in emergency accommodation, which may include hostels, bed and breakfast, rehabilitation homes etc. Participants highlighted lack of information on living in emergency accommodation.

> *"Now I have been granted status, I live in the hostel. There are rules, rules which I think are not fair to me; I am not allowed to go out normally and you get locked out if you go out. I am not allowed to have visitors"* – 8-month length refugee

It appears that the need for emergency accommodation arises when refuge-seekers are unable to carry out the complex actions required during the transition points.

> *"When I was granted refugee status, I have to apply for permanent housing online using a code. Available housing is announced weekly by all housing associations and I kept applying. You are given the chance of permanent housing but if not accepted quickly it will be withdrawn. In addition if you are inactive for 6 months in applying for the house, you will be withdrawn from the housing list"* – 3-year length refugee

Although the local council supports these processes with its representative, called the caseworker, all refugees who transitioned experienced homelessness at the end of the 28-day move-on period.

> *"I am homeless now and I was moved to an emergency accommodation"* – 8-month length refugee

This can be associated with a lack of information to help with carrying out the complex procedures of the move-on and transition period. These include applying for permanent accommodation, linking with housing associations, and meeting the associated deadlines for applications. As a result of not knowing how to do these things, the refugees end up homeless. It would seem that the problem of lack of information on housing is as serious as the unavailability of housing.

Summary

The above section has shown the information gaps around housing across the categories of persons in refugee integration. The information needs concern not only allocation, eviction, condition, size, content etc., but also the consequential effect on the integration journey. Housing significantly impacts on other needs during integration. This emphasises housing as the initialising need for integration.

> *"I need to know what is going on, because I can't plan. I have been trained by the jobcentre, but I can't get a job when I don't know what will happen next. For instance if I get a job here then I got a flat in another place, so what happens? I am thinking about all that. I need to move on but I can't"* – 8-month length refugee

It is a prerequisite to the many other things needed for integration. A lack of accommodation was identified as the cause of inability to access education, language, employment, support and benefits, as will be shown in the following sections and chapters. Housing is unsurprisingly used as a measurement of integration in the indicators of integration framework. However, its successful use requires more detail, to enable housing needs to be dealt with per refugee status, which will also reduce the occurrence of homelessness. Fortunately, the information needs matrix provides this detail by adding specific and sub-specific details for successful housing provision during refugee integration.

7.2   Support

Provisions for support are made available to assist refuge-seekers with material and non-material needs during integration. These provisions concern physical and spiritual living conditions, especially in the early stages of integration, as refuge-seekers may be without means to support themselves on arrival in a new country. The provision for support is at different levels of access on a statutory and ad hoc basis. The support provided could be financial and/or non-financial. The financial support is provided through the immigration authorities and service providers and can be said to be of three kinds:

- **Cash Allowance:** This is a cash sum of £36 given weekly for food and other basic needs. The cash is provided through designated service providers.
- **Card Allowance:** This is a card load equivalent of £36, currently called the azure card. The card can only be used for spending in certain stores and cannot be used for cash.
- **Grant:** This is a cash lump sum that may be available in exceptional circumstances e.g. for the pregnant asylum seeker or minor.

Financial support is provided to assist the refuge-seeker with material aspects of life, such as daily living expenses. It is provided by either cash allowance or card allowance and is the primary form of support in the early stages of arrival. The asylum seeker is given a cash allowance while the refused asylum seeker receives a card allowance which is a downgrade from the cash allowance as a result of a refused asylum decision. Grants are special provisions for exceptional circumstances in which the cash allowance and card allowance are insufficient, particularly for the pregnant asylum seeker or minor, if the need arises.

Non-financial support is provided to assist the refuge-seekers with non-material aspects of living. It includes general welfare, emotional and mental health advice amongst other things, and ultimately concerns their spiritual well-being. The immigration authority provides this support through the government social services department; however, it is discretionary, and thus is only available in exceptional cases involving children and other biological conditions such as being a family with children or being pregnant, irrespective of status. These discretionary provisions support the

levels of information need in the matrix, which highlights the additional information needs in the downward move within the matrix.

The government councils and humanitarian organisations, including local charities, provide additional general support through caseworkers who guide and direct refuge-seekers through their problems. Also, smaller local charities provide other kinds of support such as food banks and food vouchers for refused asylum seekers. There were general information gaps identified in the provision for support whether through government, service providers or humanitarian organisations.

Non-Financial Support

It has been highlighted that non-financial support is provided in the form of advice given by caseworkers[11]. The data showed that the presence of caseworkers at the beginning significantly alleviates the refuge-seeker's experiences.

> *"Before the caseworker come to visit me often in my home for like 6 months when I was new. She checked my paper and contacted my lawyer. She asked the problem and everything. She advised me to go to college for English. Now I am happy because I am studying in English. I am not perfect but I am reading and writing some English. Before, in my country, I did not study English, I studied my language"* – 4-year length refused asylum seeker

Caseworkers appeared as a compulsory provision for refugees but an optional one for asylum seekers.

> *"I have a caseworker who shows me around. He helped me to register with Scottish Power when I moved to a permanent house. He also helped me get welfare for accommodation equipment such as carpet, washing machines etc."* – 3-year length refugee

However, the provision was not consistent and some refuge-seekers highlighted being unaware of caseworker support for their integration.

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[11] See glossary

> *"I did not get a caseworker until I was moved to emergency accommodation"* – 8-month length refugee

Non-financial support was also provided by social services, who assigned social workers in exceptional cases that were often children-related. This appeared generally to include support with spiritual well-being including mental health. Participants highlighted how social services encouraged them.

> *"I believe I will get my baby. My social worker took me to this place. It is something for women. They told me to stop crying that I am a powerful woman. I feel happy when I talk to them"* – 2-year length refugee

The kinds of non-financial support provided evidently alleviated the integration experiences, which indicates the need for information on social services during integration.

Financial Support

The experiences regarding financial support particularly concerned the asylum seekers and refused asylum seekers. There was no information on the local independent charities and the support they provide.

> *"I only talked with my people who have lived here for 1 year or 2 years. I have never seen any charity or anyone come to give me flier since I arrive"* – 7-month length asylum seeker

The data showed that there was no explicit information on the financial support available to refused asylum seekers. Their experiences showed that they neither knew what to do nor how to make ends meet when their support ceased as a result of the refused asylum decision.

> *"They stop the support for me for 1 month, then they gave me azure card. After that, I live on azure card, I can't buy a bus pass, it is very hard to go for meeting"* – 2.5-year length refused asylum seeker

It appeared that the local charities supporting the refuge-seekers were designed to be discovered through serendipitous encounters. This might be because funding generally limited local charities.

"After staying here much longer, I found out there are so many other supports the asylum seeker can get. I knew about Unity because it was close to the Home Office. I have walked past a few times and had read about what they do; then I went in one day to volunteer" – 2-year length refused asylum seeker

Local charities each operated in 2 ways, as a general charity or as a refugee specific charity. The general charity primarily supports citizens. For such charities, support for refuge-seekers is in addition to the provisions for underprivileged locals in the country, which greatly reduces their provision capacity.

"The foodbank thing is very complicated. Some people think because you are an asylum seeker you will get food but the amount of vouchers allowed asylum seekers is very limited. They have quotas for locals as well, people on low income or on support. But the food value is good. It is sometimes up to 20-30 pounds which is issued for 2 weeks" – 2-year length refused asylum seeker

The refugee specific charity generally supported all refuge-seekers, though it could go by status, so that some charities were exclusive to refused asylum seekers, refugees or asylum seekers. They are often privately funded, and as such their provisions are limited by the availability of funds but also by the sources of funds.

"I went to Unity; they said they don't have money but they give advice" – 2.5-year length refused asylum seeker.

The consequence of lack of support is destitution, which unfortunately is common during refugee integration irrespective of status.

7.2.1 Destitution

Destitution during refugee integration arises as a result of refuge-seekers' inability to meet material and non-material needs.

> *"I need many things like my underclothes but I don't have money to buy – I am going dirty to school. I don't have anything to shave. I can't go to the salon to cut my hair because I don't have money – my friends call me Taliban in school"* – 2-year length refused asylum seeker.

It is an occurrence that often follows the decisions on asylum applications. There are two results on an asylum application – 'Yes' and 'No', and both result in destitution, which appears to go hand-in-hand with homelessness. With a 'Yes' decision, it happens at the beginning of a new life during the transition period, i.e. the move-on period of 28-30 days for the person newly granted refugee status. All asylum seekers turned refugee in this study population had experienced homelessness and destitution.

> *"At the beginning when I was granted the house it was empty, there was nothing in the house – no kitchen stuff, washing machine, carpet, bed, chairs etc. So I said please can you give me some basic stuff; they said we have nothing and I should move in immediately. I had no money to buy anything, so went to get a sleeping bag from a charity and took some of my clothes from the temporary accommodation and moved into an empty house"* – 3-year length refugee

With a 'No' decision, it happens as a result of the obvious limitations and restrictions on access to provisions including housing and support. The receipt of a refused asylum decision heralds a cycle of homelessness accompanied by destitution, because the refused asylum seekers are removed from their accommodation and support is restricted while the negative decision is appealed and re-appealed (7.1).

> *"They stop support for me and they take the keys from me; they did not tell me anything. Nobody supported me when I was homeless. I went to the refugee council and told them I am homeless and they said they cannot help me; then I went to Unity and the Unity helped me"* – 2.5-year length refused asylum seeker

This was despite the initial establishment of the in-country applicant, who had already been living in the country: for once asylum is applied for, the person's previous life is over, as he/she is moved into the asylum system in which asylum seekers are not entitled to employment, etc. This depends on the circumstances surrounding the person's arrival in the asylum system. All in-country participants in this study had experienced homelessness and destitution.

> *"When I claimed asylum here, I had to stop work, cancel everything including bank accounts because they said everything must be closed. There was no money coming in from anywhere for 6 months. I have been in the country for 12 years before claiming asylum"* – 2-year length refused asylum seeker

Destitution during integration could also be attributed to the lack of information, communication and coordination between service providers, resulting in inconsistency of provisions (6.3). There was a need for information about the provisions of each service provider, as it appeared there were no defined procedures for the provision of support.

> *"The Red Cross help me apply for support and home but until now I receive no support. They told me about the Scottish Refugee Council and when I went there the Refugee Council said they don't have anything with me and that I should go to the Home Office"* – 2-month length asylum seeker

It appeared that destitution arose because of bias in the delivery of provisions per status, whereby refugees are apparently treated preferentially compared to other statuses, even though all the statuses had equal access to such provisions. These included allocation of housing, health registration, and other things.

> *"The Home Office told me I have a right and the right depends on my status, so until refugee, only then I can have a right. The Red Cross said I will get more rights when I have status"* – 2-month length asylum seeker

This was understandable in cases where the provisions are exclusive to refugees; however, when such provisions are for all, then conferring privilege on refugees is unfair. The consequence of this policy is destitution for the other statuses. It appeared that the asylum seekers were doomed to marginalisation from the outset of their journey, although they are eventually granted status.

> *"The condition is really different between asylum seeker and refugee. If you come as a refugee, lots of people help you, there is benefit and support. Red Cross and Refugee Council give advice but whoever came as asylum seeker, no-one help them, they start from zero, no help or advice on living and payment and many things"* – 20-month length refugee

However, destitution does not only involve support; it cuts across all the needs for integration, as they are likely either material or non-material. It is the inability to meet these needs that results in destitution of one form or another. For instance, section 7.1 shows that inability to meet housing need results in homelessness, and it has been highlighted above that destitution goes hand-in-hand with homelessness. It appears that homelessness and destitution are caused by a lack of information on the available support, provisions and charities, and not only on the unavailability of provisions and funds.

> *"When I arrive in Glasgow, I spent one week with my friend, because of that they refuse to give me accommodation; they say I have somewhere to stay. Refused asylum seeker, so my friend advise me to go to Red Cross and they said I was supposed to ask for information immediately I arrive but I did not"* – 2-month length asylum seeker

This implies that the information needs highlighted in the matrix can inform the design of defined procedures for meeting each sociological need of integration. This will ensure clarity of access for refuge-seekers and consistency in delivery of provisions by service providers.

Summary

The information gaps in the provision of support across the categories of persons in refugee integration have been explicated. This section has shown that the availability of information during refugee integration is as important as the availability of provisions and resources for that integration. The consequences of lack of information during the early stages were destitution and homelessness. This emphasises housing and support as the critical needs at the beginning of life in a new society and highlights the relationship and order dependency in the information needs matrix.

8. Medial Stages Information Needs

It has been shown that housing and support information needs are critical for refuge-seekers during the early stages in the host society. The unavailability of these needs had dire consequences, which suggests that satisfaction of initial information needs enables the refugee to become rooted in the host society and then to begin to progress on the journey. The refugee experiences were examined to identify information needs that enabled them to progress in the society. This formed the medial phase of information needs.

8.1 Legal

Although refuge seeking is a humanitarian issue, there are legal implications in the host countries; hence this information need. Refuge-seekers are new to integration processes and are unaware of legal protocols surrounding protection seeking in the host society. The United Kingdom government makes statutory provisions for meeting legal needs during integration, taking the form of Legal Aid, which meets the financial cost of legal advice to refuge-seekers when required. The legal information needs during integration mainly concern asylum seekers and refused asylum seekers. Refugees may have little or no legal need when settling into the host country, especially the humanitarian or family reunion refugees who are granted status before arrival in the country.

However, a refused asylum decision is filled with issues of solicitors, appeals and court procedures. This is because the refused asylum seeker is allowed to appeal the negative decision until such time as the appeal is exhausted or status is granted. The refused asylum seeker requires a solicitor to appeal his/her case in court, and the case could be transferred from a court at one level to a court at another. Although the provision for meeting legal needs during integration is statutory, it is not explicit. The following information gaps surrounded this provision.

The data showed that there was no information provided about solicitors' roles and reputation, despite their crucial part in the process. There was no dignity in the selection of solicitors, as refuge-seekers were not offered a way to select solicitors, such as checking up on their reputations.

> *"They gave us a list of contacts for immigration lawyers. I ask them which one is a good solicitor and they say they are all OK and you can pick whichever one you like"* – 3-year length refugee

For most, it was an interpreter who took them to the legal firm. Solicitors send staff members, maybe an employee who speaks the language of the asylum seekers, to promote their services.

> *"When we are first here, one boy works with a lawyer as an interpreter and any new person to Red Road; he comes and takes them to the lawyer, so he took me to the lawyer"* – 4-year length refused asylum seeker

For some, such as those in detention centres, it was through a drop-in, while others are only given a contact list by the official service providers.

> *"The solicitor do not help you get out; they only say when you get out call me"* – 6-year length refused asylum seeker

It was also observed that the level of education did not improve understanding of the legal processes during refugee integration.

> *"They gave me a paper to call the lawyer but they did not tell me what to call the lawyer for"* – 3-year length refugee

However, it appeared that refuge-seekers who worked closely with their lawyers had higher chances of success.

> *"I started going to the lawyer in January, I go my interview in April and I got my status in May"* – 8-month length refugee

There was no information on dealing with abuse from service providers. There were complaints of complacency, poor treatment and discrimination by solicitors. All

participants said that the solicitors treated their cases poorly but that they continued working with them for fear of the consequences of ceasing to do so.

> *"It took him 2 months to finish my assessment just to translate and write everything, which is too long"* – 3-year length refused asylum seeker

All participants who were refused asylum on their first application attributed this to the lawyer, while those who were successful upon first application said that the lawyer was not needed until asylum was refused. Either way, this judgement can be associated with the lack of information on the roles of the solicitors and the selection criteria. The information on legal aid was not explicit. In an exceptional case, a refused asylum seeker's family struggled to make payments to a lawyer until they were informed about legal aid.

> *"After claiming asylum, my dad talked to a solicitor but it was too expensive. My daddy cannot afford it. Nobody told us we could get a solicitor on legal aid"* – 18-month length refused asylum seeker

This might be attributed to the arrival route into the integration system, as this was an in-country applicant. This case suggests that the arrival route affected the experiences of navigating integration systems.

> *"The Home Office asked who is your lawyer and my dad said we don't have a lawyer and they said get a lawyer and my dad said he will get one"* – 2-year length refused asylum seeker

Appeals and Courts

The refused asylum seekers had no information on dealing with appeals, court processes, or the procedures for courts at different levels. The data showed that there was no understanding of the appeal and court processes at the most basic level.

> *"Now, I like Glasgow people. But the system does not do me good. I am not killing anyone or fighting and they tell me to go to court"* – 4-year length refused asylum seeker

There was no information on the next step after an asylum refusal decision, despite the evident appeal options. Participants neither understood nor knew how to deal with appeals. Some did not know what it was called.

> *"When they refused I got confused, so I have another court appointment, I took all my photo etc."* – 11-month length refused asylum seeker

What is meant by "another court appointment" is an appeal, for which more evidence is required to contest the refusal. The reasons for this can be multidimensional; they could be related to the level of education but could also involve a cultural issue. Also, there was no information on the processes in courts of different levels, as participants highlighted the lack of understanding of practices and processes at different levels of court.

> *"We did our first appeal but were refused. The judge waited 9-10 months to reply. In the second appeal we were refused and not given a chance to appeal; we don't know why. Now we are writing to appeal to the high court"* – 2-year length refused asylum seeker

It appeared that there were information and communication gaps between lawyers and the immigration authority. Participants highlighted being misinformed about court dates and times by their lawyers.

> *"My lawyer told me they would call me for the court case; he said the same for 4 months now but he keep saying they referred it, so my lawyer is not helpful"* – 3-year length refused asylum seeker

There was no information on courtroom practices and procedures as participants emphasised their feeling that they were being discriminated against.

> *"He called me a liar, a criminal, said to my kids that they should go back to where their colour originated from, and when they are 18 they should come back"* – 2-year length refused asylum seeker

Generally, it appeared that the in-country applicants are at the brutal end of legal needs. This may be attributed to the circumstances surrounding their asylum claim. In this

study population, in-country applicants included those who had arrived in the country with false ID, or a visitor's visa amongst other circumstances (Section 5.1.2). For instance, the in-country refuge-seeker who arrived with a visitor's visa had shown that there was money in their account before being granted the visa. As a result, they were assumed to have money and not to need financial support.

> *"They calculated the money at the bank which we showed for the visitor's visa and said it will last for 5 years"* – 2-year length refused asylum seeker

This suggests that the circumstances surrounding the in-country asylum claim may not be genuine and may require disciplinary action. However, since they are accepted into the system and provided for, and are eventually granted refugee status, a lack of information on the provisions for meeting their legal needs results in destitution.

> *"My dad talked to a solicitor he saw in a newspaper but it was too expensive and my dad cannot afford it"* – 18-month length refused asylum seeker

Since the overall goal of integration processes and systems is to reduce the marginalisation of refugees, this necessitates the inclusion of all legal information needs in the design of provisions for integration. The more so, as this information need applies to any refused asylum seeker irrespective of the person's route of arrival into the system.

Summary

This section has highlighted the information gaps in the provisions for meeting legal needs. It shows that this information need is specific to the refused asylum seeker. It highlights the presentation of information need as a potential stop but not a compulsory stop in the integration journey. It was evident that dealing with legal processes is complicated for the refused asylum seeker and that the arrival route appeared to have a significant impact on experiences in this situation. The whole process surrounding legal needs could be a one-off or could be iterative because of the possibility of appeal and re-appeal.

The legal need has significant implications for the refused asylum seeker's integration journey. As a result it fits into this stage in the overall integration journey, i.e. the stage following the initial phase of provisions. Refused asylum seekers need legal information to progress in the society, as they enjoy the initial provisions until they face the refused asylum provisions. This emphasises the importance of ordering the stages of information need.

8.2   Mobility

Mobility concerns movement within the host country and the means by which the movement is achieved. Movement is an essential part of the integration process and may entail local or inter-state travel within the host country. The UK government makes provisions to support this need; however, they are ad hoc provisions, made available through the immigration authority, independent service providers, and local charities.

A refuge-seeker's need for movement in the United Kingdom can be either a system decision or a personal decision, and both involve local or inter-state travel. The system decision on inter-state movement is made at higher administrative levels and may stem from a process called dispersal. Dispersal is the way the host country maintains economic balance by distributing the refuge-seeking population across the country so that no one geographical area will be overburdened with the obligation to support them.

The system decisions on local movement are made to fulfil the system's administrative obligations, for example by requiring attendance at meetings with the immigration authorities or service providers, amongst others. The personal decision on local and inter-state movement is often settlement related; that is, it is made when the refuge-seeker has reached a stage that allows him/her the choice of abode on the integration journey. The refuge-seeker is given the choice of remaining in the local area at that point in time or of moving to another place at a later, specific point in time.

Movement is achieved through transportation. This implies that refugees and asylum seekers, including refused asylum seekers, require transportation to fulfil

administrative obligations. The provisions for movement during integration are therefore in the form of travel and transportation support, such as bus vouchers, bus tickets, taxi pick-up, and other means. However, as they are ad hoc provisions, challenges of access surround the provisions for meeting this need. The information gaps in the relevant provisions are highlighted below.

Dispersal

The data showed significant differences in the experience of dispersal by length. It appeared that there was more information available for previous arrivals than for recent arrivals.

> *"They bring me straight to Glasgow. I think they already inform them we were coming so they were ready. They gave us leaflets about shops, a map of the area, and we should go downstairs and sign in the morning, and how to collect money. They give information on what type of support and that I can get my own solicitor"* – 3-year length refugee

The recent arrivals, on the other hand, had little or no information, which suggests a depreciation in the level of provisions.

> *"After 5 days in detention centre, they brought us to Glasgow. They never told us where we were going. They just come in and call the names that are going today, just like prison in Africa. Just nobody came to help us. Nobody come at all. You just know about lawyer when you talk to Ethiopian people who live here for a while, maybe 1 year"* – 7-month length asylum seeker

For instance, there was no information on what to do when they got to the station at the dispersed location in Glasgow. Glasgow is one of the United Kingdom's dispersal locations for refuge-seekers.

> *"When we got to Buchanan bus station we did not know what to do
> from there; we kept waiting for 3-4 hours for someone to show-up.
> We did not know we had to take a bus or taxi to another destination
> by ourselves"* – 18-month length refused asylum seeker

However, it appeared that this depended on the point of departure for the journey. The point of departure was either from the detention centre or from independent accommodation. Those who departed from detention centres were dropped at the actual address.

> *"After 5 days in detention, they bring me to Glasgow"* – 3-year
> length refugee

But there was no information about progress after arrival at the dispersal location. This highlights mobility as an information need that must be met if the refuge-seeker is to progress in the society, as it arises after accommodation has been provided.

> *"They took us to Petershill Drive; we got to the flat at 2am. No one
> told us what to do"* – 2-year length refused asylum seeker

The information provided for living in the dispersal location was not consistent, which resulted in fear and panic. The data showed different experiences by individuals with the same status, as some asylum seekers stated that transportation was provided for their administrative local travel.

> *"Every day they send the taxi to take us to the office beside the Home
> Office. They give us some money and after that they take us back to
> hotel"* – 11-month length refused asylum seeker

But others emphasised that they were not provided with the same or any information concerning such provisions. Participants highlighted the need for supporting information and further travel directions.

> *"The Home Office sent us a letter that we should move to Glasgow.
> The letter also contained bus tickets. In the letter there was an
> address that we were going to. We kept calling the contact but no
> one answered us"* – 18-month length refused asylum seeker

The consequence of the unavailability of information and inconsistency of provision for mobility was lack of confidence. Participants highlighted being scared to go out, with the result that they resorted to staying indoors.

> *"Always I'm scared because I don't know what comes next; maybe they will say I should leave the house etc. Sometimes the children throw something at me or say something when I go outside so I just sit at home"* – 11-month length refused asylum seeker

However, this is a route to loneliness and isolation, which have devastating effects on emotional health and other aspects of personal integration.

Transportation and Travel

There was no information on transportation systems such as buses and trains. The data showed problems with travel. Participants highlighted difficulties in getting out and about in the new country.

> *"When we got here they gave us £5. Nobody tell us anything; our kind of people who live here for a while tell us to go here and there. We just went out and we just keep walking around so we can know the place but we did not try to get on the bus or train"* – 7-month length asylum seeker

The research participants emphasised getting directions from strangers when undertaking local administrative travel to service providers, appointments with lawyers, signing in at the Home Office, possible interviews, and other destinations.

> *"You stop anyone and tell them you are going to this street and they can help and bring out their phone to help you locate the place"* – 8-month length refugee

Although refugees receive fliers, a welcome pack on arrival, and later, lectures on how to communicate and integrate into the community, they still had problems getting out and about or obtaining help with transportation.

> *"I get lost a lot of times but it helps me know the way. It removes the fear one has in the country"* – 20-month length refugee

However, a few participants explained how Google maps helped them on journeys within walking distance.

> *"I used Google maps GPS to know the place of the lawyer when I am booked for appointment. Before I got a phone that had GPS I stopped people on the street and I saw they help use their GPS to locate the place"* – 8-month length refugee

However, not all participants knew how to use Google maps, or even what Google maps were, as they had never heard of them.

> *"There is no Google in our country, so we don't Google directions. So I start to learn how to use Google for navigation"* – 7-month length asylum seeker

The data showed that lack of information on transportation systems affected the refuge-seekers' administrative and personal development within the new society. Participants highlighted not knowing how to get access to transportation support in order to fulfil personal progress purposes such as going to ESOL classes etc.

> *"Transport in Glasgow is expensive; you can't buy bus tickets from the daily support given. I walk a lot because I cannot afford the bus tickets and the lawyer's office or charities are far away"* – 7-month length refused asylum seeker

The data also showed a lack of explicit information on the transportation support provided. Participants did not know how to get transportation support, needed for both local travel and inter-state travel, to fulfil administrative obligations.

> *"The Home Office decided to send me to Croydon for my screening interview but did not give me money to go there. In the letter, they said help him with the money or book the ticket to go to Croydon. The Scottish Refugee Council said they can't help me and send me to social services. The social services gave me £10 which cannot take me to Croydon. So I went back to Scottish Refugee Council after one week and my appointment in Croydon was the next day"* – 3-year length refused asylum seeker

The minors in this study population highlighted similar experiences, as they did not know how to get support for transport to school.

> *"I walk to school; my school is St Andrews and it is very far away.*
> *The school close to the house said they don't have space so I have to*
> *go to a school 40 minutes away"* – 2-year length refused asylum
> seeker

These experiences could be attributed to an evident change in dispersal processes for which there are no corresponding provisions. Previously, refugees arrived at a designated building with service providers' offices within, so there was no need to travel. However, recent arrivals are no longer taken to such a designated building, as a result of which there is no direct access to service providers and travel is a must.

Summary

This section has highlighted the information needs in relation to refuge-seekers' movement in the host country. The section provides an early indication that with progress on the integration journey comes power to the refuge-seeker. This follows from the system decision movement at the beginning of the integration journey and the personal decision movement in the later part of the journey. It was evident that mobility information needs arise after housing and support needs have been met. However, refuge-seekers were not equipped with information for living in the place where their housing was located. The section also highlighted a relationship between mobility and education. This emphasises the order dependency and the declining need for information in the information needs matrix.

8.3 Health

Health concerns the provisions for the physical and mental wellbeing of refuge seekers. It is the only sociological need identified that is not limited by status restrictions in its provisions; it appears that the provisions correspond to the need and are statutory provisions. Health provisions are generally made available through the emergency unit and general practitioner's (GP's) medical practice. The GP's medical practice provides medical service during defined work hours to small local areas set

within specific distances. The emergency unit provides 24-7 medical services to a wider general area. It appears that all that is required is registration, and the provisions for health needs are equitable.

The data showed equal access to health provisions for all persons in the integration system irrespective of status, in that the provision was common to all. This means that health information needs occupy a central position in the information needs matrix and divide the stages of information needs into two (Figure 8.1). The figure below highlights a provisions divide between the refused asylum seeker and the refugee. This was because it seems that restricted provisions are on one side and extended provisions are on the other side.
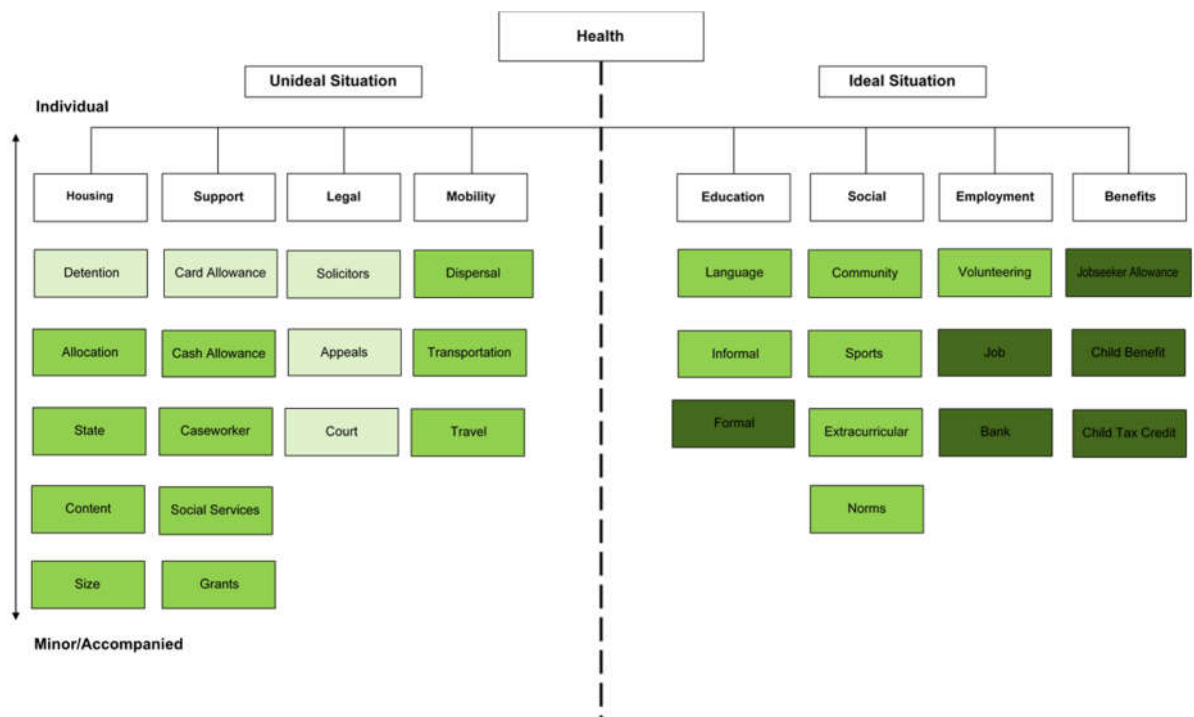
Figure 8. 1 – Health: The Information Needs Divide

Interestingly, this divide corresponds to the two situations identified in refugee integration – the ideal situation and the unideal situation. The left side, being with restrictions, can be associated with the unideal situation, and the right side, being without restrictions, can be associated with the ideal situation during integration. This further explains the general minimum provisions for the refused asylum seeker and the specific maximum provisions for the refugee indicated in the matrix.

Health is unsurprisingly one of the markers of integration in the indicators of integration framework since it is a statutory provision, but there were gaps in the provisions, which resulted in inconsistency and disparity of provisions within similar states. This suggests that the information problem regarding provisions for meeting health needs during integration is not one of availability but of access to information for navigating the provisions for health.

Emergency

The data showed that there was no information on health processes and procedures. Participants stressed that they did not know what to do in serious health situations.

> *"Last year, I had infection in my right foot; my teacher tell me to go before it gets worse. So I go to Victoria Hospital emergency and they gave me a tablet. In the night, I can't walk, I can't go to the toilet, so I called the emergency to tell them my situation, but they said they are all busy, they will send an ambulance after 3 hours. So I waited and cried. After 3 hours they did not come, so I called again and they told me I can contact the emergency in the morning. After 4 hours, I contacted the police. I told them what had happened and they contacted the hospital. Eventually after 5 hours, the hospital called me to be ready that a taxi will come for me"* – 4-year length refused asylum seeker

It appeared there was an information communication gap between health service providers. Participants reported difficulty in accessing medical services at different levels.

> *"One time I was sick, my GP sent me to the emergency because the doctor went out for CO. So I get there but no one respond to me for 6 hours after that. I ask why I am waiting for so long and I go back home. When I get home, they call me to come, I said no I am not coming. The emergency not good. I don't like to go for emergency"*
> – 4-year length refused asylum seeker

Generally, it appeared that changes to the delivery of health provisions may have contributed to their inconsistency. Previously, health service providers visited designated asylum arrivals' accommodation to register refuge-seekers.

"I register at Red Road[12]" – 2.5-year length refused asylum seeker

However, there is no longer any designated asylum arrivals' accommodation so this practice is no longer possible. Recent arrivals highlighted being asked to go and register at the clinic.

"The paper came from the Home Office that I can go and register with the closest one to your place" – 7-month length asylum seeker

Health centre

The health centre operation appeared consistent with the level of information needs in the matrix. Individuals, minors and accompanied received different health provisions with general practitioners (GP) in the health centre. The minor and accompanied had the additional provision of a health visitor.

"The health visitor and the general practitioner (GP) try very much to help me with my children" – 2-year length asylum seeker

However, the data showed that the information on registration for health care was not clear, which resulted in inconsistency. Participants with similar statuses recounted contrasting experiences of registration. Such participants only had a 5-month gap between them in length of refuge seeking.

"The paper came from the Home Office that I can go and register. And they say register with the closest one to your place" – 7-month length asylum seeker

This appears to be a result of misinformation on the part of the immigration authority staff, as it is established that the provisions for health are equal for all refuge-seekers. Unfortunately, however, the immigration authority was not investigated in this study.

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[12] Red Road is a street where the asylum arrivals' accommodation is located.

> *"The Home Office said you are not refugee status, you cannot go to*
> *the NHS or register with the NHS; they only brought a nurse to treat*
> *me at the Home Office when I had a medical problem"* – 2-month
> length asylum seeker

The data also suggested inconsistency in the records containing individual health information, and participants highlighted mix-ups over the administration of medicines, creating confusion for the refuge-seekers.

> *"Sometimes they did two times, last year they send a letter for a 5*
> *year old vaccine for my 8 year old son and I told them he already*
> *has it when he was 5 years. I am worried maybe my son will be sick"*
> – 7-year length refugee

The consequences of lack of accurate information could be devastating. What if the participants had no record of their own or were not educated? It is also possible that a refuge-seeker might be scared to talk and would keep mum about the issue. Furthermore, it appeared there was no information on acceptable practice in health services. Participants highlighted not knowing what to do when they were treated unfairly or discriminated against on contact with medical practitioners.

> *"The problem here is the behaviours by the GP. I remember calling*
> *the GP to make an appointment and I said I was living in Red Road;*
> *before I could say my name she said are you an asylum seeker like it*
> *was a bad thing to be one.*
> *I am worried that when you make a call to the people you are*
> *supposed to trust they will take care of you and you see they are not*
> *friendly"* – 6-year length refused asylum seeker

The data also highlighted that the inability to meet information needs in the initial stages, especially in relation to housing, particularly impeded progress towards health provisions.

> *"I contact the Home Office, they said I can't register until I have a*
> *fixed address"* – 2-month length asylum seeker

This calls attention to the order dependency of information needs in the matrix, but this order dependency could also be a forward dependency. For instance, health may depend on language. In this case, it can be viewed as a concurrency of information need which arises as a result of embedded information needs.

> *"The problem is some people don't speak English so they can't read the letter that comes in the post. They still can't go to the hospital when they're sick because they can't speak English"* – 7-month length asylum seeker

However, it has been pointed out, such concurrent needs being met at the health stage reduces the information gap at the education stage.

Summary

This section has discussed the emergence of health information needs across the categories of persons involved in refugee integration. The findings suggest that health needs can occur at any point in time, and that the urgency of needs determines access to health provisions. It was evident that health needs often become a concern for refuge seekers after housing, support, legal and mobility needs have been met, a fact, which highlights health information, need as central and divides the matrix into two parts. The relationship emphasises the order dependency in the matrix; in particular, it emphasises housing as the initialising need for integration.

8.4   Education

Education during refugee integration is a relative need and, like others, depends on numerous factors around the contextual and demographic attributes of the refuge-seeker. For instance, the education needs of a refuge-seeker from a non-English speaking country will differ from those of the refuge-seeker from an English-speaking country. The government's provision for meeting this need is statutory, and thus is a marker of integration in the indicators of integration framework. There are three levels of provision for meeting education needs during integration:

- **Language education** – is the primary education need for non-English speaking refuge seekers. It is carried out through ESOL classes (English for Speakers of Other Languages).
- **Informal education** – is any form of skills acquisition and development outside the established education system. It includes computer training.
- **Formal education** – is learning that is carried out in the official education systems. It includes elementary, secondary and tertiary education; i.e. primary school, high school and university.

Access to the provisions for meeting these needs is determined by status, such that asylum seekers have access only to language and informal education but not to formal education, while refugees have access to any level of education. The refused asylum seeker, on the other hand, has no access to any form of education. However, asylum seekers and refused asylum seekers who are minors can access formal education until the end of high school. Enrolment in school is done by catchment area, in that the school to be enrolled in must be within a specific distance from the house.

For meeting educational need, the provisions of local charities and other charitable organisations support government provisions. For instance, local charities provide language classes to refused asylum seekers, who are not entitled to any form of education. Also, universities may offer higher education scholarships to refuge-seekers but under very strict conditions, an example being the University of Strathclyde asylum seeker scholarship; however, this is very rare.

The data suggested that the overall integration of refuge-seekers depended significantly on education, but unfortunately information about access to these provisions was not explicit. This seemed to slow down their integration and contribute to their eventual marginalisation. In this section the information gaps in the delivery of provisions for meeting educational needs are highlighted.

Language
The data showed that progress through educational provisions during integration depended more on demographic attributes than on contextual attributes: specifically, on the language and level of education of the refuge-seeker rather than on the status.

For instance, an educated or uneducated refugee from a non-English speaking country will start at the same level as the non-English speaking refused asylum seeker and asylum seeker.

> *"Basically I was thinking to go for post graduate. Some of the university want Higher English. Most schools did not accept my English proficiency I had back home; they are looking for IELTS or TOEFL equivalent. I was trying to close that gap, so I went to English class, also trying to take IELTS, then after 1 year I go to university"* – 3-year length refugee

This implies that English language proficiency increases the chances of progress not only in education but also in the integration system in general.

> *"Another thing that helped me a lot is I am able to speak English; many people come from countries that don't speak English and find it difficult to know places and meet appointments"* – 7-month length asylum seeker

The difficulties created by lack of English language knowledge was common to all from non-English speaking countries in the study population irrespective of status, but it was more pronounced for the asylum seekers who were not entitled to any formal education.

> *"It was not easy to socialise without English; it was very tough and they were not speaking normal English. It required extra effort, it was a challenge"* – 8-month length refugee

English language was a major difficulty on arrival for the non-English speaker. All participants from non-English speaking countries wanted information about language when they got here. A recently arrived fresh asylum seeker broke down in tears as she discussed her ordeal with language.

> *"The most important thing for me is the language, I can't speak any English. I have no English. I want to learn English. This will be easiest way to know what I can do in this country"* – 2-month length asylum seeker

The inability to speak English resulted in multi-faceted dilemmas which impeded integration, especially for the accompanied refuge seeker. Participants highlighted being unable to deal with these circumstances. It appeared to be a permanent plague.

> *"My husband knows driving but he can't read English but I don't know driving but I can read English. Too many problems"* – 7-year length refugee

The data showed that difficulties with English language could be attributed to inexplicit information on the procedure for getting into language classes, which resulted in long waiting times for acceptance into the classes. Participants' experiences stressed the inability to enrol in English language classes in time.

> *"After that I applied after 1 year, there is space for me in the college"* – 4-year length refused asylum seeker

> *"I went to Anniesland first then I registered here in City College because everyone told me they are the best, but it took me ages to get a place there. After 5 months they invite me for interview then I went and they accept me"* – 2.5-year length refused asylum seeker

The study found that acceptance into English classes was achieved either through service providers or directly through one's own efforts. More than half the study population stated that they got in directly by themselves after waiting for a period of time for the service providers to arrange it.

> *"I have now started English Class. Red Cross put me in waiting list but my friends told me it's best to go directly"* – 20-month length refugee

Although it appeared that there are many English language classes, getting into one proved difficult.

> *"I went to Red Cross to apply for English Language class but no-one accept me and I have to go because I have no English at all. The college all full so they put me on waiting list. I have gone directly but still full"* – 2-month length asylum seeker

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But it was evident that the long wait pays off, following eventual acceptance into the language class. Many expressed relief at their ability to speak some level of English after attendance at the language classes.

> *"After 2 years of language classes I am happy now because before in my country, I am not study English, I am studying in my language. Here I started the English. No I am not perfect but I am reading and writing some English, so I am happy for that"* – 4-year length refused asylum seeker

The data also showed that there was no information on the criteria and requirements for attendance at the English classes. It is not clear who should go to the classes and when the classes stop.

> *"There was no information for proper education. I could directly study in the university rather than study in the English Language college for one year. It was possible to study but without knowing it I wasted a year which is a loss for me"* – 3-year length refugee

This implies that refuge-seekers may attend English classes for longer than is necessary, which may be the reason for the long waiting period for these classes and the resultant bottleneck. This in turn is responsible for the difficulty of getting enrolled in classes, since those already in them have no clear information on when to stop. However, it appeared that the benefits associated with English language classes motivated refuge-seekers' continuous attendance, even when it seemed they had no need for the classes.

> *"It's not that I knew English but it's just that, they were giving me beginner ESOL like abcd and I don't need that even though I wouldn't say my English is excellent. People keep going for ESOL because they get bus pass, so they can travel for free, the daily support £35 pound is not enough"* – 2-year length refused asylum seeker

The lack of information about ESOL requirements resulted in wasted time and resources for both parties, i.e. the refugee and the host society. For the refuge-seeker,

progress in life in the new society could have been achieved in more effective ways. For the host society, the benefits are multiple: first, the refuge-seeker's skills could have contributed to society, and secondly, the provisions and associated resources such as vouchers for transportation to the English Language centres could have been maximised by giving access to more persons in need. At the same time, this would directly result in the reduction of waiting times to get into English language classes.

Informal education

The data showed that information on the provisions for informal education left them undefined. It appeared that informal courses that refused asylum seekers could access were available, but this was not public information.

> *"I found out I can study some course part time, though not the ones I might want to study. It is called adult written program. I did it in Clyde College. I just went to the website and applied for it. You don't have to be educated; it is for those who have been out of education for a long time. It was good for me because I had been out of education for a long time. What they teach is basics of computers, Scottish and British history. I really liked it. You learn Scottish politics and Scottish history. That is really good. I did history, I did psychology, I did communications and they teach how to write reports"* – 2-year length refused asylum seeker

The data showed that attendance at such informal education courses gave refuge-seekers a sense of dignity and accomplishment. A sense of pride was observed as they recounted these experiences. This means that such informal education potentially contributes to refugees' integration.

> *"Now this time my life is busy, I am studying computer in Kilver College Springburn. I am finishing in Anniesland College for English language, so I take time to go and learn computer in the Kilver College. The good thing in Scotland, you can learn everything for your mind like the computer school courses. It is very nice just that you can't have more money, you can't work. I am now 4 years*

here, 3 years with support £3 and 1 year without support" – 4-year length refused asylum seeker

An order can be implied within education needs, since the refuge-seeker generally starts with English language and then, depending on the level of education, move on to either informal or formal education, as shown in Figure 8.2 below.
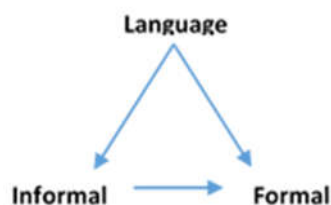
Figure 8. 2 – Education Information Needs

However, it is not impossible for a refuge-seeker to start directly from formal or informal. It is also possible that an English-speaking refuge-seeker may start from informal, especially the asylum seeker who is excluded from formal education, but on being granted status could move to formal education.

Formal education

The data highlighted a general lack of information for refuge-seekers on the procedure for enrolling young children in formal education and purchasing school accessories such as school uniforms.

> *"The children just stay at home for 2-3 months, because we depended on the service provider to put them in school but they did not so I decided to take them myself. We used GPS to find the closest school and go to the school by ourselves"* – 20-month length refugee

It has been highlighted that asylum seekers and refused asylum seekers who are minors have access to education up to the end of high school. However, the data showed that information on this provision was not easily accessible.

> *"We did not know we could go to school. For 7 months we stayed at home because we were told they will never accept us because we were Pakistani. So one day we went to the council with my mum and*

they told us we could go to school" – 18-month length refused asylum seeker

Even more, on their eventual entrance to school, it appeared there was no information on how to complete the education curriculum as an asylum seeker. A problem arises as a result of an apparent conflict between the education curriculum and immigration laws that prevented the minors from completing the high school curriculum. The education curriculum in high school requires work experience, but immigration laws prevent the asylum seeker from taking on any form of employment.

"They all work but I can't work and I can't tell them I don't work" – 18-month length refused asylum seeker

Young asylum seekers highlighted the lack of this experience and explained how this significantly segregated them from the others, which could lead to an inferiority complex and eventual marginalisation. The lack of information about completing the education curriculum affected refugees too. This was evident from the accounts of refugees who, by contrast, are entitled to formal education and work, but who had no awareness of the work experience available throughout school.

"I am not really happy with the school; they help some people get placement and not others. I was supposed to have a work experience/placement but unfortunately I did not have a placement throughout my school. I only heard about it from a friend later when the time had elapsed, and that is not fair; it is supposed to be public information. Unfortunately I did not do any placement throughout my high school" – 14-year length refugee

Also, there was no clear information on academic continuation between the country of origin and the host country. This was evident in the case of graduate participants who had completed a degree and had professional experience, but had to begin degree education all over again.

"I am frustrated at the beginning. The first year I arrive here especially just dropping my professional work as network administrator in my country because of the war. I was not expecting

to go to undergraduate courses but I do not have option; I couldn't

continue to master's easily here" – 3-year length refugee

The data also highlighted a lack of information about dealing with the effects of other information needs, such as that related to housing, on formal education. It has been shown that home-moves are among the integration processes, but enrolment in school is by catchment area, so a home-move means a change of school.

"In the first school, teachers supported students at their level but in

the second school, it was a different teaching. It did not prepare me

well" – 14-year length refugee

However, there were different approaches to teaching between schools and minor participants did not know how to cope with learning when they changed school as a result of home-moves. This highlights the order dependency in the information needs matrix and further emphasises housing as the initialising need for refugee integration.

Summary

This section has shown the information gaps in the provisions for education needs during integration. The data suggested an order in the education needs and three levels of education need during refugee integration were defined – language, formal and informal education needs. Also, it was deduced that the education needs for integration depend more on demographics than on contextual factors.

The data showed that education was critical for integration and, like other stages of information needs, had implications both backwards and forwards in the information needs matrix. The effects of housing on it, and its effects on social needs, were highlighted respectively. A similar relationship was also highlighted in the case of transportation needs, which altogether emphasised the relationships and order dependency of information needs indicated in the matrix.

9.   Final Stages Information Needs

Refugee integration has been described as an information needs journey in three phases: the initial phase of information needs that kick-starts integration, the medial phase information needs for progressing on the journey, and the final phase information needs for self-sufficiency in the society. This section discusses the stages of information needs for achieving self-sufficiency during a refugee's integration journey.

9.1   Social

Social need is an intangible need that depends on internal and external factors surrounding the refuge-seeker, but basically concerns living and building networks and connections in the new society. As it is an intangible need, the provisions related to social needs would be those that facilitate social needs being met. As a result, the social information needs revolved around the means to facilitate living and building networks and connections in the society.

The means of meeting refuge-seekers' social needs for integration are ad hoc provisions not directly provided by the government. They are mainly offered by humanitarian organisations and local charities in the society. The study found that provisions to help meet social needs included:

- **Integration networks:** Integration networks provide services like those of service providers but in a more cohesive manner, by running cultural programmes, emotional support programmes, and many others.
- **Community centres:** These are local council venues that facilitate community cooperation within a local area. This may include hosting community activities and events for people in the area.

Refugees and asylum seekers are expected to build networks and connections through these provisions. They may receive moral support, learn about living and make friends at such events, actions which ultimately build their networks. However, there appeared to be no information to prepare refuge-seekers for the actual living of life. Thus, refugees still find it difficult to build networks and connections in the society, which

results in loneliness and eventual marginalisation. In addition, it appeared that what is provided does not meet the relevant needs, as the study found that the information gaps surrounding the provisions for meeting social needs were related not only to access but also to availability.

The data showed a lack of information on the society's social processes despite the existence of community centres and integration networks. Participants' experiences highlighted difficulties in making connections and forming bonds, both within smaller communities and in the society at large.

> *"I was completely alone for 5 months. My son was very alone. He likes to play with children but had nobody to play with. I don't like to remember this time. It was horrible"* – 7-year length refugee

Community

The social needs of integration would mean, in particular, successful living in a community where connections have been made and an understanding of community living. However, the data showed a lack of information on community living. Participants' experiences highlighted difficulties in dealing with community misdemeanours.

> *"I heard shouting in the street and something thrown to my window and I opened the window and saw the glass broken and I saw a small saloon car with teenagers, 2 boys 1 girl, and they run away. I did not phone the police. In the morning, I went to the police and reported the case, and he said ok just put your name, your address and phone number in this paper, someone from the community police will come to your house. Nobody came afterward and my wife was afraid"* – 3-year length refused asylum seeker

There was no information about local community living, including shopping. This however appeared to represent a decline in provision, based on comparison between the experiences of new and old arrivals.

"Nobody told us anything about the area or how to shop or where to buy things. We just went around by ourselves" – 2-year length refused asylum seeker

The old arrivals highlighted being given information on the local area, shopping centres and how to shop upon arrival in asylum accommodation.

"When we got there at the reception desk, they gave us leaflets about shops, a map about the area" – 3-year length refugee

The data also showed a lack of information provided to the community to explain about asylum seeking, which resulted in resentment and discrimination and contributed to the refuge-seekers' difficulties in forming bonds.

"I don't think the community were happy with us coming; there were lots of incidents where they discriminated both in the school and in the street. The first 2-3 years were very hard" – 16-year length refugee

This was even more pronounced for the minors, who expressed difficulties in making connections with fellow students in school.

"For 1.5 years I had no friend, no one will be friend because my English has my country accent, so it is not really good" – 2-year length refused asylum seeker

It seemed that having friends was a part of education for the minor, but this was impossible when they were known as asylum seekers. They resort to lies and denial of identity in order to be accepted.

"In school life, it is not only about education, it is about having experience, going out with friends. I don't go out with friends because I know if I go I have to spend £5-£10 and then travel expenses. Now they think I don't want to be friends with them" – 1.5-year length refused asylum seeker

However, it appeared that the difficulties in forming bonds within the society only occur in the early stages of arrival, as participants' experiences highlighted differences in later years.

> *"I now have Scottish friends who are like family. When it became good it became really good and when it was bad it was really bad"*
> – 16-year length refugee

However, considering the complexities of integration as evidenced so far in this research, the initial phase may vary from one month to eleven years. Also, taking place within this period are the home-moves and dispersal, and the number of times they can occur is undefined. It would seem that the refuge-seeker's capacity to form bonds will always be difficult.

> *"When I moved to London I was thinking it was multicultural and was excited, but when I moved to London I realised though it is a multicultural city and very diverse they don't mix. That was a shock; it brought me back to the time when we had just arrived here to Glasgow. I never thought of London in that way. Everybody stick with their group of people, Somali with Somali, Arab with Arab, e.g. Moroccan and Tunisian. They get offended if you mix them up"* – 16-year length refugee

This means that there is a need to provide the community and society with information about refuge-seekers' social needs, and similarly, to provide refuge-seekers with information about community living. The information needs matrix fits this purpose and could alleviate the experiences and the attitudes respectively.

Sports

Sports appeared as a way around the difficulties of forming connections for the refuge-seeker. The data highlighted sports as a tool for social integration.

> *"I play rugby that helps me integrate. I train on Wednesday and Thursday that has also helped me integrate too. Everything is good because I can do sports; sports help you know people, integrate and build your confidence as well"* – 8-month length refugee

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However, there was no information about sports. Participants only found out about it by chance.

> *"Someone was talking about it and I hear about it, then I joined them and I have been playing good positions"* – 2.5-year length refused asylum seeker

The data also highlighted how sports contributed to the refuge-seeker's emotional wellbeing.

> *"Sometimes I'm being aggressive; I try to be calm by playing football for Unite Glasgow"* – 2.5-year length refused asylum seeker

The emergence of sports information need during refugee integration highlighted the dependence of social needs on the demographic and not the contextual factors.

Extra-curricular activities

The data highlighted extracurricular activities as a way around the difficulties of forming connections, especially for minors, and this is in addition to the above-mentioned social needs.

> *"I don't have internet – I am not able to do my school work which sometimes requires internet. Sometimes I don't know my way, the route and because I don't have internet, I get lost."* – 2-year length refused asylum seeker

However, there was no information on the provisions for meeting this need; it appeared that such provision was non-existent.

> *"There was this charity shop and I saw this very nice dress, it was £10 but I cannot afford it and asked them can I borrow it for 1 day and return it and they asked why do you need it and I said for prom and she said if you can't afford a dress for a party then don't think to go to the party"* – 18-month length refused asylum seeker

The data showed the unavailability of information on daily living for the young, especially in school, where it could build their confidence for connecting with the community and society at large.

"Every young girl wants to go camping, to the beach, to trips with other young girls, and have a mobile communication, but I can't because I can't afford it" – 18-month length refused asylum seeker

The lack of information trickled down into daily living outside school and hindered their ability to make connections in the community.

"There were simple things we did not know how to do like how to tie a tie" – 16-year length refugee

This social information need of the minor emphasises the levels in the information needs matrix. The relationship between education and social information needs for the minor highlights the importance of order, such that meeting language information need will reduce gaps in social information.

Cultural Norms

It was evident from the data that the availability of information on cultural norms would enhance the ability of all refuge-seekers to confidently build networks and connections. However, there was no information about cultural norms. Participants experienced cultural shock and had difficulties in dealing with norms significantly different from those of their country of origin

"There is no class that will make migrants understand the culture such as why women can dress naked and not be molested" – 2-year length refused asylum seeker

The experiences of accompanied participants highlighted a lack of awareness of the practices of raising children until faced with the consequences.

"I had an appointment for my operation for my wife at the dentist in the city centre, so I take my little boy with me and I leave my 2 kids at home. Someone phone the police that two kids in the house and they phone me, why you leave the children at home, and I have appointment card for operation and the doctor say don't bring children with you. I don't have relative here and my neighbour don't support me, but they told me I had broken the law.

Because I am a professional I read something about the Scottish law and I said but you are inside my flat that is against the law. They said no and said section 5 but I said it's the Scots law section 4, but it says you must have warrant from the court to enter anybody's house. They said but we are officers; ok you are officers but you can't open the door and go in.

I challenge him with the law and he grab my hand and threw me in the room and said don't speak like this, I will have problem if you continue to say that. Can anybody go through anyone's home without warrant, I get home and see you with my kids, I think you have broken the law and then he said because of this I think we will send your kids to the social worker" – 3-year length refused asylum seeker

The above suggested cultural norm information is critical for the accompanied, which highlights the intensity of this need and explains its position in the matrix. It is an addition to the other social information needs; hence by extension it is essential to all refuge-seekers.

Summary

This section showed that providing the means is not enough; there are factual social living needs that refuge-seekers specifically require information about, including community, sports, extracurricular activities and cultural norms. The information gaps around these issues highlighted the stages and levels of information needs, the order dependency of information needs, and the flexibility of needs. It showed how social needs depend on education, in that an education need met will reduce the information gap at the social information need stage. It demonstrated how meeting support needs reduced the gap in information on social needs, and emphasised housing as the initialising need for refugee integration, based on reports of difficulties in forming bonds as a result of housing processes. The levels of information need were emphasised in the additional extracurricular and cultural norms information needs of the minor and accompanied respectively.

9.2   Employment

Considered broadly, employment is also an intangible self-actualisation need, but with the physical goal of being employed. It is the main refuge-seeker's means of achieving independence and self-sufficiency in the host country. The fulfilment of employment needs provides greater leeway for refuge-seekers' integration, as it enables them to be an actual part of societal systems. There are statutory and ad hoc provisions to support the employment needs of refuge-seekers, and as a result it is one of the indicators in the integration framework. Nonetheless, as it is an intangible need, the provisions are meant to facilitate employment.

Basically, there are general societal employment regulations and provisions that apply during refuge-seekers' integration. Work can be either paid or unpaid; unpaid work is volunteering and paid work is a job. This can be classified into two groups:

- **Volunteering** – is unpaid work done for an organisation, and is often undertaken to gain work experience.
- **Job** – is paid work done for an organisation, and the provisions for supporting this need are obtained through **jobcentres**.

During refugee integration, asylum seekers can only volunteer while refugees can do both volunteering and paid work. Volunteering provisions consist of ad hoc roles in non-governmental or humanitarian organisations, including local independent charities. The provisions for employment are statutory; however, this does not mean having a job. As has been highlighted, they are provisions to support employment.

The provisions for employment are delivered through government designated centres called jobcentres, set within specific distances in local areas. The support provided by jobcentres includes job advice, job training and interview training, amongst many other facilities. Refugee participants highlighted that paid work was not easily accessible and jobcentres were unable to help. This is unsurprising since jobcentres only provide support for job seeking and not the job itself. This suggests that refuge-seekers may only have access to unpaid work which provides experience but not self-sufficiency and independence.

There was also the need to open bank accounts. It appears that employment is the stage on the integration journey at which the refuge-seeker begins to receive genuine income: albeit only for the refugee, as persons with this status are allowed paid work and, in its absence, can receive benefits. However, participants' experiences suggest that opening a bank account was as difficult as getting paid work. Numerous factors impeded the employment of refuge-seekers generally. The availability of jobs and volunteering roles is the most crucial, but there are other inherent factors such as language, educational qualifications, suitability for the role, skills required, and so on. In this section, the information gaps in the provisions supporting refuge-seekers' employment needs are discussed.

Volunteering

The data showed that volunteering greatly enhanced refuge-seekers' sustenance in the country. This was because, although volunteering is not paid work, the volunteers are paid in kind and this might include food, transportation expenses and other forms of support.

> *"So I heard about Destiny church; they have a food bank and clothing and furniture project, so I went there to register. My first volunteering was to distribute food for people, then they move me to furniture project. Now I help with dropping off the furniture, still not getting paid but giving me transport, food and for me I was happy because I can get out of the house"* – 6-year length refused asylum seeker.

However, it appeared that information on employment options was not readily available, and participants' experiences showed a lack of awareness.

> *"It was the time without support that I know I can volunteer"* – 2-year length refused asylum seeker

It seemed that information about employment was designed to be found serendipitously.

"In the English class, he told us we teach you voluntary, you work voluntary and we said okay" – 11-month length refused asylum seeker

The data showed that there was no information on the volunteer application process, which resulted in assumptions that harmed self-confidence and prevented integration. The experiences showed numerous unsuccessful applications for volunteering roles.

"When I went to them in Red Cross that I want to volunteer, they say leave the name and number but they did not call me yet. I went to a Govan charity, they said the same thing. I think because my English is not good and I am an asylum seeker" – 11-year length refused asylum seeker

However, it appeared that the chances of getting a volunteering role increased with status. In particular, refugee status increased the chances.

"After I was granted status, within 2 weeks I got one place volunteering as office assistant, and 2 months after went on to another volunteering role" –3-year length refugee

Jobs

The data showed that the importance of paid jobs for refugee integration cannot be overemphasised.

"When I got the job that to me was the most amazing thing ever. I liked what they do. It has a very feel good factor and that motivated me" – 16-year length refugee

However, there was no person-centred information to indicate ways of getting a job, which appeared to alienate refuge-seekers and created inequality of one form or another.

"There is a level of discrimination at work here especially if you are a Muslim, though the NGOs worldwide accept it. A Jane Brown will be chosen 100 times before a Muslim name. It's not like there is any

hostility but as an ethnic person, you are like at the bottom of the
chain" – 16-year length refugee

The data showed that the information on jobcentres processes and procedures to support employment was not clear and consistent.

"The jobcentre not helpful. When I just started the jobcentre and I
spoke with them, they said they have someone to help me so I fill out
a form and they say somebody will call me but nobody call me and I
keep going back but nobody call me" – 7-year length refugee

The jobcentre services are set by area within specific distances from the person's accommodation, so that people within a specific distance get support from the jobcentre in that area.

"My current jobcentre is Partick near my house; now they want me
to go to a jobcentre in Govan. When you look at the transport, I have
to travel 2hrs 15mins with 3 buses and walks in-between. The
jobcentre said they don't expect someone to travel that long but that
is what it is" – 8-month length refugee

The data showed that the efficiency of employment processes depended on other integration needs such as home-moves, which appeared to disrupt jobcentre processes and thus hindered progress with employment.

"I am doing health care training through the jobcentre. They want
to give me placement, but I can't commit to a certain place because
I don't have a house" – 8-month length refugee

Participants' experiences highlighted breaks and delays in jobcentre services that resulted from home-moves and caused frustration.

"I needed to know what is going on, because you can't plan, you
can't get a job when you don't know what will happen next. I don't
want to change my job coach because I already have a plan with this
one and they know who you are" – 8-month length refugee

Also, language seriously impeded the employment of refugees from non-English speaking countries and there was no prior information to enable them to prepare.

> *"My husband do not get job because his English not good enough to get job but then he needs to speak with other people to improve but they do not employ him. He can only work with Iranian people and not helpful for him; he needs to speak with other people"* – 7-year length refugee

It also seemed that the information on qualifications for employment were not clear, which resulted in misconceptions. Participants' experiences highlighted inability to maintain their qualifications for jobs, which caused them to end up in a cycle of joblessness.

> *"I want to give back as I am educated. I apply for postgraduate and they said I need IELTS 6.5., I had IELTS before but it is only valid for 2 years, so it is expired. Now I went for nursing courses and when I explain to them in interview that I am already a nurse but I want to work here, that's why I want to do the course, they said you don't need to and they don't take me for the course, they refuse me"* – 7-year length refugee

The data showed that there was no explicit information on the employment of experienced refuge-seekers, which resulted in redundancy for them and untapped resources for the society.

> *"There is a problem about work, I am a nurse, I have years of experience from my country, I have my qualification, and I don't need any more education to work, even my reading and writing is good but just because I am from non-English speaking country then I have to get IELTS from here.*
> *Because for nurse it's about 7, and IELTS course, so I do the exam and after that I have got 6.5, but I keep trying to get 7. I did the English course and the advanced but they do not help you get into nursing. They say it is just higher 7. This year I have nothing to do*

as I finished my advanced and this year I was looking for job but most of them need experience, if you want to be a nurse you need IELTS, if you want to work as a witness (nursing assistant), you need experience. So how do I get experience when I am not allowed to work?" – 7-year length refugee

The lack of information on employment was as much a problem as the unavailability of jobs. The data showed that it was particularly difficult to get paid work. All the refugees in this study were experiencing difficulties with jobs.

"The job is a problem, it is so difficult, and you need to have experience but when you are not employed how you get experience"
– 7-year length refugee

This however appeared to be a result of the absence of information on the dignity of labour. Participants emphasised being in jobs that do not develop personal potential, which would enable the person to make a greater contribution to the new country; this may likely be a function of perspective.

"They are not looking at the potential of people to guide the person somewhere which can help yourself and also even the UK in general. They rather try to mould everyone and put in the gap they have in the UK" – 3-year length refugee

The experiences of employment emphasised that the current processes and systems are not designed for a progressive journey, in that a greater length of time in the host country does not guarantee employment, as seen by the fact that the length of stay of refuge-seekers in this study population was up to 16 years and all had employment problems.

"As a refugee woman in Scotland, you will have a good community and good education but careerwise there is a lot of obvious but subtle resistance; it is there" – 16-year length refugee

Ultimately, unemployment hindered refugees' sustenance and progress in the country.

"Without work we could not improve our life. We just stay in the same level. You just get benefit and finish. But how do you improve your life? When you are working, it is good for emotional and all life balance and you meet people but without work you can't" – 7-year length refugee

Bank

For a refugee, having a bank account is a step towards successful integration as it will promote self-sufficiency and independence. However, it appeared that opening a bank account was particularly problematic.

"The bank issues plague everyone" – 8-month length refugee

The data showed that the information on the requirements for opening bank accounts was not clear. All the refugees in this study population had difficulties in opening bank accounts.

"They tell you to bring this and bring this but when you bring it they keep saying no. I went to the bank for about 4 weeks. I thought you could go to the bank when you had your biometric card, passport and your address and it will be easy to open a bank account. The bank issues plague everyone" – 8-month length refugee

The data show that there was no information on the processes and procedures of opening bank accounts.

"Just to open bank account, they said your credit is not good and we did not know what credit is. They just said when they type in your address, it says credit declined so what is wrong, they say you need to find out, but how do I find out" – 7-year length refugee

The information on the processes and procedures was not clearly outlined. Participants' experiences highlighted a lack of understanding of processes.

"They say you need to try again in another 3 months maybe credit is fine. I don't understand how credit is not good now and how it will

be good in three months' time and every time you get a credit decline
it is still not good for you again. Too many things here I don't
understand" – 7-year length refugee

The data showed that this resulted in frustration and significant delays in the integration journey, and bank staff appeared unable to help the situation.

"We could not open a bank account for 5 years. They keep saying
come back in 3 months your credit is not good but what is credit,
what is wrong with credit. When I asked the manager, he asked you
don't know what credit is, you need to find out on the internet. They
did not help us" – 7-year length refugee

Summary

It is evident that employment is at the peak of refugee integration needs and the topic of refugee employment is a dicey one. The refugee entitled to paid work is unable to get employment, and when eventually employment is found, it is not of mutual benefit and the person faces resistance from the society. Thus, the refugee is prone to suffer from inequality. On the other hand, the asylum seeker is not entitled to paid work but is allowed unpaid work. However, the chances of getting volunteering roles are higher for those with refugee status, so the asylum seeker is liable to face destitution.

These findings suggest that the employment need significantly militates against integration of refuge-seekers. A major reason for this is its multi-faceted dependency on the other sociological needs such as housing, education, and social needs, as well as demographic factors such as country of origin and level of education amongst others. This is in addition to the absence of publicly available information explaining matters such as qualifications, experience, dignity of labour and other employment-related needs.

This emphasises how current refugee integration processes and systems are not designed for a progressive journey. The more so, in that a longer period of time in the host country does not guarantee employment for the refugee. The emergence of the information needs matrix is therefore timely. It captures the multi-faceted dependency

during refugee integration as a progressive order of needs on the integration journey. This will reduce the chances of unemployment in any given refuge-seeker population. The identified employment information needs contain implications for the design of clearer processes and systems that will enable easier navigation of the provisions and, even more importantly, will promote the understanding of processes which motivates self-inclusion.

9.3   Benefits

"Benefits" means the UK government's provision of support for general sociological living and thus does not explicitly constitute a sociological need. However, since it is a provision within the host society, for clarity and consistency it is viewed as a societal provision. During refugee integration, benefits are exclusive to refugees. Asylum seekers and refused asylum seekers are not entitled to benefits. The refugee status gives privileges nearly equal to those of citizens: hence, its position relative to need in the matrix.

The contents of the provision are meant to enhance successful living in different sociological aspects, especially for the unemployed or underemployed and low income earners. There are different categories of benefits that can be claimed for individuals, children, and families. They are in the form of Jobseeker's Allowance, housing support, loans, grants, tax credits, universal credits, and pensions among many other benefits. In this study population, the common benefits were:

- **Jobseeker's Allowance**: is an unemployment benefit paid to an individual who is actively looking for work.
- **Child Tax Credit**: is a return on income tax paid to the carer of child/ren to support the high cost of raising children.
- **Child Benefit**: is a benefit paid to the carer of a child to support the cost of raising a child or children.

Benefits during refugee integration appeared as the cumulative total of sociological support available, with the goal of alleviating sociological problems when the person is granted refugee status – at least until he/she can get paid work and achieve self-

sufficiency and independence in the society. It seems that the government makes the provision available at this stage on the assumption that the newly granted refugee will now start to integrate into the society; that is, to begin a new life. However, this study has revealed that integration is a sociological journey that begins at the same time for all refuge-seekers, namely on arrival.

In terms of this study population, benefits can be directly related to the levels of information need, in that Jobseeker's Allowance is paid to the individual and Tax Credits to the accompanied/minor. The data, however, showed that access to benefits is highly unpredictable, which made navigating benefits difficult for refugees. The information gaps surrounding this provision for refugees are highlighted.

Jobseeker's Allowance

The refugee upon grant of status receives Jobseeker's Allowance which replaces the cash or card allowances of the asylum seeker and refused asylum seeker stages. The payment of this sum continues until the person gets a job or begins education, whichever comes first.

> *"Right after I am granted, the money I get from the Home Office was terminated. I go to the jobcentre to register and they gave me daily money biweekly. I inform them when I started the education and the jobseeker allowance stop"* – 3-year length refugee

However, the data showed that there was no information on the scope of this benefit. It appears that an active search is required to gain information about them, but what is to be searched is unknown.

> *"I did not know when you to go jobcentre training they give you transport. Also if going to job interviews, the jobcentre can facilitate a voucher, smart clothes for the interviews"* – 8-month length refugee

The data showed that the information on the processes and procedures of access to benefits was undefined and the available information on benefits was not clear; that is, it was not clear how to access benefits.

> *"Nobody tells you how you can get support. If you have any problem,*
> *you can go back to the jobcentre and explain why you want support*
> *from them"* – 3-year length refugee

The data showed that difficulties with benefits were alleviated for the family reunion arrivals. This is because the family member already in the country showed them what to do.

> *"Because my daddy was already here for a year or two, he knew*
> *most of the things. He sorted all the paperwork and got the money to*
> *the account. He did everything"* – 14-year length refugee

However, it seemed that the longer refugees lived in the country, the clearer it became that benefits are for sustainable living, not attainable living.

> *"I am not happy with benefit; why benefit, why not job; me and my*
> *husband why can't he work. He can do everything, he has 15 years'*
> *experience as a welder. 7 years we have been here we can't work*
> *and nothing. When you can't do anything for your life, it is wasting*
> *time and life"* – 7-year length refugee

Child Tax Credit/Child Benefits

Child tax credits and child benefits are sums paid to the accompanied to support the high cost of raising a child. All the accompanied level participants in this study receive this provision.

> *"We got child benefit and child tax benefit"* – 14-year length refugee

However, it appeared that the information on requirements for access to these benefits was not explicit.

> *"Now they stop the benefits. If my husband working full time it is*
> *good but not enough because it is part-time job"* – 20-month length
> refugee

The data also showed a lack of information and defined processes and procedures surrounding these provisions to refugees, which led to inconsistency in provisions.

> *"Sometimes without any reason, my child tax credit stops; about 5 months they did not give us, no child tax credit at all"* – 7-year length refugee

The absence of defined processes and procedures has devastating consequences for the refugee, especially for the accompanied with children.

> *"I don't know, sometimes they said they gave us too much and I tell them you sent this letter this is for me why did you give me too much and after you don't give me at all? Why don't you manage everything properly, why did you give me too much? How do I know what you are supposed to give me? He sent income support letter that you are overpaid £2000 so now I am paying them back. I was in court and the court told me I won but they still said I have to pay them the £2000"* – 7-year length refugee

Also, a contrast can be expected between the information need of the individual and that of the accompanied refugee, which emphasises the inadequacy of the current refugee integration system.

> *"When I was granted, I was very happy. They gave us information about registering with volunteering organisation but I was just looking for information on studying"* – 3-year length refugee

Nonetheless, despite the frustrations, all participants appeared to acknowledge the positives of being at that stage in the integration journey.

> *"It is good to have indefinite. I know I am safe, I know I can stay here, my children can settle here, they have friends and they have English and we gradually will get everything. This is good but we need to be patient"* – 7-year length refugee

It was evident that the availability of support for sociological living is highly beneficial and promotes refugees inclusion, but only initially, as the findings suggest that benefits may contribute to refugees' marginalisation in the long run. The currently unpredictable nature of benefits and the complexity of access to these provisions for the refugees emphasise the importance of the information needs matrix. This is because the sub-specific information needs, at the stage of benefits information need, are person-centred needs that can ease the navigation of provisions.

9.4   Information Needs Summary

Chapters seven to nine have discussed the information needs for refugee integration. The information needs emerged as information gaps in the societal provisions for meeting sociological needs. The data showed that there were sub-specific information gaps around societal provisions for housing, support, legal, mobility, health, education, social life, employment and benefits. The sub-specific information gaps highlighted the stages and levels of information need with respect to contextual and demographic attributes respectively.

The information needs were common to all refuge-seekers i.e. refugees, asylum seekers, and refused asylum seekers, except for legal information need which was exclusive to refused asylum seekers, and benefits information need which was exclusive to refugees. The stages and levels of information need in sociological provisions highlighted the detail information behaviour studies brings to any context. However, it appeared that order is non-existent in the current integration systems, which resulted in difficulties in meeting needs and ultimately in marginalisation.

> *"The ILR is not the solution for the problem or even citizenship. We have been here 7 years; we still don't have a normal life. At least we need 10 or 15 years because I see people who are 15 years are settled, they have jobs"* – 7-year length refugee

The study found a progressive order to information needs during the integration journey, with housing as the initialising need for integration. The allocation, state, content and size of the accommodation are needs that initiate the integration journey. This was closely followed by support needs which may be financial or non-financial. The information needs progressed through mobility, health, education, social, employment and benefits.

The data highlighted a multi-faceted order dependency and flexibility of information needs that gave rise to declining information gaps (Figure 6.2). This suggests that with progress on the integration journey comes power to the refuge-seekers as they become self-sufficient and independent. However, it appeared that refuge-seekers are plagued with homelessness and destitution (the inability to meet housing and support needs

respectively) which significantly stalled progress on the other needs of the integration journey.

It was evident that integration is as much about availability of information as it is about the availability of provisions, which suggested a picture of integration as survival of the informed. The data showed the need for the availability of clear and succinct information on refugee integration processes and systems.

> *"If you don't ask, you won't get anything or know anything. For me maybe because I did not ask that is why I missed out but it is not easy to ask"* – 15-year length refugee

This is provided in the integration information needs matrix – a potential navigation guide for refugee integration processes and systems, which can help mitigate the current misdirection and misinformation of refuge-seekers and inconsistencies of the host societies. The sub-specific nature of information needs enables the availability of person-centred information during integration for easier navigation, and a clearer design of processes, for the refuge-seekers and society respectively, ultimately preventing the refuge-seekers' marginalisation.

10. Bridging the Information Gap

This study has identified person-centred information needs and an information needs matrix has emerged. The findings highlighted refugee integration as an information-need journey through sociological needs. In information behaviour studies, the identification of information needs is accompanied by the identification of associated sources of information. From the viewpoint of sense-making methodology, information sources are bridges of information gaps on the human movement through time and space. Since this study identified information needs through information gaps, a discussion of bridging the information gaps is required.

The data revealed numerous sources of information but these were basically either persons or places (Figure 10.1). A critical examination of the information sources indicated that they can be categorised into two parts: primary and secondary sources of information. The primary sources were direct to refuge-seekers and involved personal interactions. The secondary sources were indirect to refuge-seekers and involved interactions with institutions or in public places. However, the primary and secondary information sources were not independent of each other.

- **Primary information sources:** are individuals or media that are personal to refuge-seekers and their situation for bridging information gaps.
- **Secondary information sources:** are communal public places that can be understood as information grounds where information gaps are bridged.

This is consistent with information behaviour literature in which information sources have been discussed under two discourses: information sources in general which are internal and information grounds which are external. Therefore, it is implied that the primary sources are "information sources" and the secondary sources are "information grounds". In other words, information sources were close and personal and included family and friends, while information grounds were distant and included service providers.

Figure 10. 1 – Sources of Information in Refugee Integration

The figure above shows the common sources of information across the study population. This was arrived at by determining the number of times each source was used to fill information gaps during integration. The data showed that use of the sources of information to fill gaps was irrespective of contextual and demographic attributes. This means that all refuge-seekers use the sources of information for help with their different situations on the integration journey.

10.1 Primary Information Sources

The primary information sources were the direct means by which refuge-seekers obtained information with which to bridge the gaps encountered on the integration journey. The refuge-seekers' interactions with these sources were personal, and as a result were understood as internal to the refuge-seekers and their situations. Figure 10.2 highlights the most common personal sources of information in this study population.

Figure 10. 2 – Primary Information Sources

The data suggested that two further categories could be inferred – formal and informal sources. This may be linked to the dual nature of refugee integration, as it has been highlighted that refugee integration deals with the changing relationship between refuge-seekers and the host society. It therefore followed that –

- **Formal information sources:** are the information sources provided by the host societies.
- **Informal information sources:** are the information sources created by the refugees.

The data showed that friends, family, and media, including all forms of communication such as the internet and newspapers, were the informal information sources. Societal provisions such as solicitors, caseworkers etc., as applicable to each refugee's situation during the integration journey, were the formal information sources. This can be linked to the non-financial provisions discussed in section 7.2, which included solicitors, caseworkers and social workers. Teachers also emerged as key information sources and were classed as formal, because of being encountered through societal processes.

Generally, the data showed that informal sources of information were predominant over formal sources, but it was interesting that key information sources included societal provisions (Figure 10.2). This implies that the societal provisions need to be better equipped to provide person-centred information. In the following sections, the use of information sources to deal with information gaps in relation people, information needs, and situations, are highlighted.

Friends and family

The data showed that friends were the most common source of information. This was consistent across all refuge-seekers. They generally seek information from close ties on the integration journey. Friends served as providers of domain knowledge for navigating sociological needs.

Excerpts 1:

> Researcher: So how did you know the solicitor?

Participant: *"I had a friend here, and my friend told me to come here and I stay with him; he took me to the lawyer"* – 11-year length refused asylum seeker

Excerpts 2:

Researcher: Who helped you get to school?

Participant: *"One of my friends. Red Cross put me in waiting list but my friends told me it's best to go directly. They have a 1hr class per week to improve their language but not proper English classes"* – 2-month length asylum seeker

The data showed that friends not only provided information but also played intermediary roles. They provided information and directions for the integration journey. This included accounts of the experiences of family and friends.

Excerpt:

"They send me to Sudanese embassy so I refuse to talk to anybody at the Sudanese embassy because if you do they send you back to Africa the next morning. They don't care about you. African leaders do not care about others just self. If you talk one word, they send you to Africa. They have taken me there 7 times now, and I say nothing so for 1 hr we wait, and then we go back" – 11-year length refused asylum seeker

Researcher: Why don't you say anything?

Participant: *"Because all my friends who go there and say something are all in Sudan now."*

The data also showed that family members, such as spouses and parents, were the main source of information for refugees who arrived through the family reunion/humanitarian routes.

Excerpts 1:

"My dad knew most of the things because he was already here for a year or two; that was 14 years ago" – 14-year length refugee

Excerpts 2:

> Researcher: How did you know about the jobcentre?
>
> Participant: *"Through my stepmum; she works as an interpreter. They send her to work at different places and she saw an advert for recruitment. She sent me there. Within the same day I got a job"* – 14-year length refugee

This suggests that information sources may depend on the arrival route and situation. For instance, in the case of the refused asylum seeker, friends who gave information included prison inmates in detention centres.

> Researcher: When did they release you from Dungavel? How did you get a lawyer?
>
> Participant: *"They give you options to call a lawyer. They gave me a paper to call the lawyer but they did not tell me what to call the lawyer for. But someone told me, a guy from Lebanon he helped me there"* – 2.5-year length refused asylum seeker

> Researcher: Is he a staff?
>
> Participants: *"No he is a prisoner."*

It appeared that friends amounted to family during integration, as family were not necessarily relatives, but were relationships formed on the journey which became close ties. Refuge-seekers from non-English speaking countries highlighted that family comprised relationships with people from a similar culture who understood their language

> Researcher: That time you lived in all those places, how did you know what to do there?
>
> "Participant: *"I look for someone to talk to. Someone like me, have my problem, I look for African company"* – 11-year length refused asylum seeker

Furthermore, friends were synonymous with word-of-mouth during refugee integration. Participants used words such as "people" and "someone" to describe their source of information.

Excerpts 1: Word-of-mouth through friends for social information needs:

> Researcher: How did you join the football team?
>
> Participant: *"**Someone** told me about it, then I joined them and I have been playing in good positions"* – 2.5-year length refused asylum seeker

Excerpts 2: Word-of-mouth through friends for educational information needs:

> Researcher: So you did not know if you were entitled to school?
>
> Participant: *"No, we did not know. But when you talk to **people** we get information for what is for us or not. Slowly, slowly we found out what is for us and what is not, where to go to get more etc. Then we started school"* – 14-year length refugee

However, family alone appeared insufficient to provide all information, so the sources of information complemented each other.

> *"We have to try by ourselves and the help of friends and not depend on Red Cross and Refugee Council because this is not enough"* – 20-month length refugee

This further highlights the complexity of integration systems and the difficulty of navigating them. It implies that the information needs matrix can be used as a navigation tool for refuge-seekers to alleviate the problems in navigating integration systems.

Media: Internet, Newspaper, fliers etc.

The data highlighted certain media as sources of information during refugee integration. Media in this study included various channels of communication such as the internet and print sources amongst others. They were not ties but were internal to refuge-seekers, and appeared as a means of validation of information from family and friends.

> Researcher: How did you know about the job?
>
> Participant: *"Most of the time I heard information, then I go online and apply"* – 3-year length refugee

The data showed that varieties of media were used for information across needs on the integration journey. Print media such as newspapers, fliers, and booklets were useful sources of information. However, it seemed that the information booklet created an information overload and added to what had to be navigated. This highlighted the need for less complicated information.

> *"Lots of information, lots of leaflets about work, volunteering education, English level test. The book is too much, too big, I don't know"* – 11-month length refused asylum seeker

The internet was also used for general information about the country before and after arrival in it. Refuge-seekers go online for information about education, employment, benefits and so on.

Excerpt 1:

> Researcher: How did you know to start the application to the school?
> Participant: *"I found it on the internet about the asylum seekers. Someone in Unity told me about it"* – 2-year length refused asylum seeker

Excerpt 2:

> *"My husband was just very good at it, searched on the internet and searched on the internet. We did it ourselves because we read about it online. Everything we go to the website and if we get stuck there is a number and they say call the number"* – 14-year length refugee

The data showed that online access is compulsory at the later stages of integration, since the benefits systems and most employment processes were operated online. The data showed the need to look for channels for getting online, and the library was one such channel.

Excerpt 1:

> *"There is Glasgow volunteering in the city. I use a website and applied for different things"* – 6-year length refused asylum seeker

Excerpt 2:

> *"I was going to library, so I can look online for where to go for*
> *volunteering and education especially"* – 3-year length refugee

The data also suggested that the use of media depended on knowledge of the language rather than level of education. This was because all participants used the internet for information, except for three participants – RIB002, RIB015 and RIB017. These participants were educated to elementary level but were from non-English speaking countries, so could not speak English which prevented them from using the internet. This situation emphasises the order dependency in the matrix. Internet is needed throughout the journey, the need being more pronounced in the social stage, but the inability to meet educational needs prevents refuge-seekers from functioning at the social stage.

Support workers – solicitors, interpreters, caseworker and social worker

Support workers were loose ties to the refuge-seekers but were ultimately personal to them because of their situation. The relationships between the support workers and refuge-seekers may be categorised as:

- Solicitors to refused asylum seekers.

- Interpreters to non-native English speakers.

- Caseworker to refuge-seekers in general.

- Social worker to refuge-seekers with family or minors or special needs.

- Teachers to students, though to specific integration support worker.

Host countries provide these support workers to support integration of refugees in different capacities and the data showed that the support workers were important sources of information. In the following section, the information refugee-seekers obtain from support workers is highlighted.

Solicitors

The solicitor, in addition to providing legal representation for refused asylum seekers, was a critical source of information, particularly for those who had been in detention.

> Researcher: How did you get back into the system?

Participant: *"After 1 month, I went to the lawyer and told him about everything and he said they will do what I want. After 1-month of homelessness, they gave me a house and azure card"* – 2.5-year length refused asylum seeker

The solicitor provided information on how to access support needs to prevent the refused asylum seeker from becoming destitute. Solicitors also served as sign posters to service providers, charities and humanitarian organisations.

Excerpt 1:

Researcher: How did you know to go to the Refugee Council*?*

Participant: *"A very good question, I got it from the solicitor. He actually called them for me; he arranged a meeting for me"* – 6-year length refused asylum seeker

Excerpt 2:

Researcher: How did you know to get food from Red Cross?

Participant: *"The solicitor hinted me to get the food from Red Cross etc."* –6-year length refused asylum seeker

However, the provision of information by solicitors was not consistent for the participants. Given this understanding and the matrix, this means that solicitors can now be better equipped to provide information when they deliver legal services to refused asylum seekers.

Interpreters

The data showed that interpreters were important sources of information for non-English speakers, particularly when getting a solicitor. The interpreter had a significant effect on the choice of solicitors for non-English speakers.

Researcher: How did you get a solicitor?

Participant: *"The second day we got there, there was an interpreter guy there. He said hi and he said he has a solicitor where he is working and he invited us. The interpreter is downstairs at the reception place. He took us by his car the next day to solicitor's*

office so we register. I trust to go with him because he can speak my language" – 4-year length refused asylum seeker

This brings to light elements of social capital, since in this case trust emerges as the basis for heeding the interpreter's recommendation. However, an in-depth analysis of social capital aspects is not within the scope of this study. The focus is on how interpreters, who are loose ties, are internal to the refuge-seekers and on the fact that, since interpreters operate in such a capacity, they should be adequately equipped to give accurate information to non-English speaking refuge-seekers. The matrix can be useful for this purpose.

Social workers

The data showed that the social worker is also an important source of information, particularly for those with special needs. A participant with mental instability highlighted the importance of the social worker.

Excerpt 1:

Researcher: How did you know to go to the lawyer?

Participant: *"The social care worker, always with me, talk to me, took me to the lawyer and to the surgery. I don't go anywhere alone. The social worker do everything for me"* – 2-year length refugee

Excerpt 2:

Researcher: How did she know how to fight for work and studies?

Participant: *"Through my social worker, YWCA"* – 2-year length refugee

It appeared that the social worker provided information as well as practical solutions to the problems of those with special needs.

"I believe I will get my baby. My social worker took me to this place. It is something for women. The women there who speak my language and she told me and supported me. She is like a big sister. She told her she has the right to get a baby back, and she has a right to study

here. She told me stop crying. You are powerful woman" – 2-year length refugee

This highlights how the social worker's roles go beyond service provision to provide information for navigating societal systems and creating emotional balance. This means that the social worker needs to be equipped for this additional function. The matrix could be useful to social workers as well.

Caseworkers

The data showed that caseworkers were important sources of information for refuge-seekers. However, the provision was highlighted as inconsistent. Caseworkers provided general information for living in the society. The information provided concerned housing, education, and health amongst other things.

> Researcher: How do you know about the bill? Who pay for the bill?
> Participant: *"After about 2-3 weeks, through my caseworker I have an independent caseworker who comes to show me around, register you with Scottish Power when I moved to the house. It is a charity; they help you when you move to the new house. The guy applied for me to get welfare for accommodation equipment. After 2-3 they put carpet, washing machines and different kitchen stuff. The caseworker facilitates that"* – 3-year length refugee

Participants emphasise how helpful the caseworkers were in their integration and even defended them when things had not gone well. This emphasises how a caseworker is internal to the refuge-seeker.

> *"My caseworker gave me advice; she gave me everything in a paper and showed me everything and when I can go to the college"* – 4-year length refused asylum seeker

This means that caseworkers, if sufficiently equipped with information as identified in the information needs matrix, could be essential agents of refugee integration.

The data showed that teachers were important sources of information and played intermediary roles in navigating integration processes.

> *"I got a placement to GSK for a lot of students. And I did this with the support from my teacher and friends. Teachers and fellow students were key people for me; they became my support network. The support network is very important"* – 16-year length refugee

Teachers are not a direct integration support, but as they are provided by society's processes, they are discussed in this section. Teachers provided information about social living, education, health and employment.

Excerpt 1:

> *"No, this job my teacher mentioned it, and said John Lewis are always recruiting, why don't you apply there. So I got myself a part-time job on Sundays beside my home in Buchanan galleries and that job is with me till now"* – 14-year length refugee

Excerpt 2:

> Researcher: How did you know to volunteer?
> Participant: *"In the school, he told us we teach you voluntary, you work voluntary and we said okay. I am happy to volunteer"* – 11-month refused asylum seeker

However, the experiences with teachers were not consistent. This could be a result of the teacher's lack of awareness of a refugee student's needs, or of the refugee student not asking for information. Either way there is a need for consistent information in the society that can enable members of the society to operate uniformly and enhance the integration experiences of refuge-seekers.

> *"There is a support teacher; they are to make sure that a student gets work experience/placement but no-one introduced me to anything or, like, are you willing to go for a placement; where would you like to go for it? No-one approach me"* – 14-year length refugee

It is evident that the importance of internal relationships for refugee integration cannot

be overemphasised. The absence of internal relationships with family and friends or support workers results in the inability to build social capital with which to meet information needs, and this makes integration harder.

"Now, I move here to Glasgow I don't have friends, we only talk by phone. The life is hard here" – 11-year length refused asylum seeker

This understanding suggests that the information needs matrix will be useful for enhancing the effectiveness of the provisions for refuge-seekers' integration. The matrix could be useful as a navigation guide to the refuge-seeker and the host societies. This will significantly reduce the inconsistencies in support being currently experienced.

10.2   Secondary Information Sources

The secondary information sources were the places where refuge-seekers got information to bridge the gaps encountered on the integration journey. The places are external to the refuge-seekers because they were often directed to these places by other people. Figure 10.3 shows the most common external sources of information for refuge-seekers in this population.

Figure 10. 3 – Secondary Information Sources

The idea of secondary information sources is in line with the concept of information grounds because they can be understood as places where information is shared and acquired directly or indirectly. Then, the secondary information sources of refugee

integration can be understood as information grounds, since information can be acquired directly or indirectly from these places.

Furthermore, the data suggested that secondary information sources were either purposive or serendipitous. This was because the data showed that refuge-seekers go to some of these places directly to get information, and go to other places for other reasons but get information unexpectedly. Thus, it was implied that secondary information sources are either designated or undesignated information grounds:

- **Designated information grounds:** These are designated places created for refuge-seekers to purposively receive information in addition to practical support. They include service providers such as the Scottish Refugee Council, community centres and charities amongst others.
- **Undesignated information grounds:** These are undesignated places where refuge-seekers serendipitously encounter information. This included refugee camps, churches, mosques, and detention centres amongst other places.

For instance, the refugee council is a designated information grounds because they are designed to support integration, but it is also a place refuge-seekers get information directly. Similarly, the refugee camps are also designed for other purposes, but refuge-seekers get information there indirectly. In the following sections, the secondary information sources are examined for their role in filling information gaps as designated or undesignated information grounds. This will highlight how these places in the host society can benefit from the information needs matrix.

10.2.1 Designated Information Grounds

Designated information grounds are secondary information sources where refuge-seekers purposively receive information. These sources are understood as information grounds because there information is received indirectly, such that they get other information in addition to support that was initially sought, along with the added benefit of relationship building.

Services providers are purposive secondary information sources, in that they are established to provide support both informational and practical to refuge seekers.

> *"Scottish refugee council they gave us lots of information, lots of leaflets about work, volunteering education, English level test"* – 3-year length refugee

There are many service providers, including humanitarian organisations and local charities, which in Scotland included the Scottish Refugee Council and the British Red Cross. The services provided may include both statutory provisions and ad hoc provisions.

> *"The Red Cross gave us a list of places where we can get free clothes and food but the problem was the transport to go to these places. In the Red Cross they told us about getting Halal meat every Sunday. Then she asked who is your solicitor and I told her we have a solicitor in London and she said to us, a solicitor from London cannot practise law in Scotland and my mum said we don't have more money to pay the solicitor and she said it was free"* – 18-month length refused asylum seeker

These organisations are places where all refuge-seekers can acquire information about their different needs for integration. However, their services are inconsistent as a result of limited funds.

> *"No not really. Nobody supported me when I was homeless. I went to Scottish Refugee Council and told them I am homeless and they told me it's lunch time"* – 2.5-year length refused asylum seeker

Nonetheless, their role remained significant in refugee integration. The significance of service providers during refugee integration contrasts with that of popular culture, in which information is primarily gotten from family and friends.

Excerpt 1:

> Researcher: If you have a problem, who do you talk to?

Participant: *"Refugee Council"* – 11-month length refused asylum seeker

Excerpt 2:

Researcher: Not friends?

Participant: *"No. what will they do for you? Refugee Council give you everything. And Red Cross, they help you. The Refugee Council are very important*" – 4-year length refused asylum seeker

The reason for this is not hard to see; it is because service providers give not only information but also practical support. The data showed that service providers give support across the areas of housing, mobility, and education, amongst others.

Excerpt 1:

"When the Home Office give me the support stop, I take the paper to Refugee Council. The Refugee Council can help you to get house together with the Red Cross" – 4-year length refused asylum seeker

Excerpt 2:

"The Refugee Council give me transport. Last time to go to Ethiopian embassy. I am not from Ethiopian embassy, my solicitor said to go to Ethiopia embassy to prove if I am Ethiopian" – 11-month length refused asylum seeker

Excerpt 3:

Researcher: How did you know to apply to university?

Participant: *"From the information from the Scottish Refugee Council"* – 3-year length refugee

However, it appeared that information about the organisations is not public. Participants highlighted not knowing about the service providers until they had been directed to them.

"It was a lady there that told me you could go to the Red Cross. Whenever we need food they say go to the food bank but we need transport to go to the food bank. Then we went to Red Cross. We

did not know about the Scottish Refugee Council" – 3-year length
refused asylum seeker

The data suggested that information sources depended on the arrival route, which is consistent with the picture presented in the previous section, in which primary information sources depended on arrival route and situation.

Excerpt 1: Road travel

Researcher: How did you know about the Refugee Council?

Participant: *"When we were coming, the Home Office say if you have any problem go to the Refugee Council. They give you the caseworker and everything etc. When you come you must go the Refugee Council"* – 3-year length refugee

Excerpt 2: In-country applicant

"So I called solicitor, who encouraged me to meet the Refugee Council and they arranged me to come to Glasgow, gave me temporary accommodation in Red Road and that was the beginning of the chaos" – 6-year length refused asylum seeker

It can be said that there is a referral relationship between information sources, such that there were cases of internal-external and external-external referrals. Sources internal to the refuge-seekers referred them to external sources, and sources external to the refuge-seekers referred them to other external sources.

Excerpt 1: Internal-external

Researcher: Who told you to go to the Scottish Refugee Council?

Participant: *"A friend of mine had similar problem and he told me to go to Red Cross and they sent me to Refugee Council"* – 11-month length refused asylum seeker

Excerpt 2: External-external

"It was Scottish Refugee Council that give me info to go to Red Cross" – 2-month length asylum seeker

This suggests interdependency within sources of information, which would be healthy if service providers were working together. However, this study has shown that this is not the case, and the result was the survival-of-the-informed syndrome.

> Researcher: How did you know about the Refugee Council?
> Participant: *"After we are granted, our friends just told us to go there"* – 3-year length refugee

There seemed to be an expectation that the knowledge of provisions and service providers may come with status.

> *"The Home Office told her she had a right, and the right depends on her status until refugee, then she can have a right. Red Cross tell her more rights you will get when you have status"* – 2 -month length asylum seeker

However, this was not the case, which emphasises the previously highlighted undefined state of service provisions. This means that refuge-seekers are left to find information that defines their needs and explains access to provisions.

> *"Refugee Council not for that. They are for if you have a problem etc. They are for when something happens in the house, when you get your paper, when you have problems generally. Same thing with Red Cross. Home Office is for interview and they give you your paper"* – 4-year length refused asylum seeker

It is evident that service providers' venues are places where information gaps are filled. The information gaps filled at these places are consistent with the information needs in the matrix. This means that the information needs matrix could be used as an integration needs map, helping to define service provisions in host societies and bringing clarity to help delineate refuge-seekers' needs.

Community centres: Integration networks

The community centres are funded to give fundamental practical support with basic living needs including food and toiletries. The community centres have turned out to

be places where different kinds of information are acquired and relationships are built. They gather information on integration networks amongst other things.

Excerpt 1:

> *"The important one was the community in Govan, they gave me always pad, shampoo, food. When I go to the lawyer, they gave me the transport. They help me in many ways"* – 4-year length refused asylum seeker

Excerpt 2:

> *"The community centre is good to get friend"* – 11-month length refused asylum seeker

Excerpt 3:

> *"In the community the people you meet give you information because all the people that come to the community have a problem, so they help"* – 20-month length refugee

The data showed that community centres and integration networks were particularly important to refuge-seekers with families.

> *"Community e.g. like this town head village hall, help with everything even little things as where to buy things. When they see people from their country they feel a certain connection. Community plays a huge part in welcoming minors"* – 16-year length refugee

In terms of referrals, friends were often the people who directed refuge-seekers to community centres and integration networks.

> Researcher: How did you know about GCIN (Govan and Craigton Integration Network)?
> Participant: *"We got to know from other asylum seekers in Govan that had lived there for some time through our dad friend. So, word of mouth basically"* – 2-year length refused asylum seeker

The fact that refuge-seekers acquire information from these centres means that the centres would benefit from the information needs matrix to enhance their capacity for

offering information and service provisions as well.

Local Charities

Local charities predominantly give information but also offer ad hoc provisions. However, this depended on availability of funds, as has been highlighted.

> *"They said they don't have money but they give advice. Every time I had problem with bus passes, so they told me at Unity, the only way you can deal with bus passes is to try volunteering. So I try to volunteer in a shop but they never call me and they said keep on trying, because if I get it can help go to food banks and charities to get food etc."* – 18-month length refused asylum seeker

Their provisions give support that supplements designated provisions for refugee integration. Local charities included food banks and refugee-specific support organisations. The local charities found in this study included Unity[13], which was particularly common among refused asylum seekers. Their functions appeared similar to those of community centres.

> *"I am involved in many other things in Unity. I do volunteering in many other things. Sometimes I could be cooking, event management, or accounting for them etc."* – 18-month length refused asylum seeker

The data showed that local charities were particularly important for refused asylum seekers who have limited provisions and support, as highlighted in the previous chapters. They provide practical support and information for navigating the society.

Excerpt 1:

> *"Someone in Unity told me about the Unite Glasgow football team; I joined them and I have been playing in good positions. Sometimes I'm being aggressive, I try to be calm like playing football for Unite Glasgow"* – 2.5-year length refused asylum seeker

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[13] Unity – A local charity in Glasgow

Excerpt 2:

> Researcher: So how did you know about being an activist?
>
> Participant: *"From Unity. That's why I want to start my group. All under- 22 young asylum seekers have a right to go to trips, beach, to camping, that's one of the objectives of my group. Even like make someone happy with a birthday cake, make them now they have a life. It's more about making them feel they are not alone"* – 18-month length refused asylum seeker

Excerpts 3:

> *"Another thing that helped me a lot and why I like Unity is because when I went to my first LGBT, there was one of the girls who told me would you like to volunteer"* – 8-month length refused asylum seeker

Excerpt 4:

> *"I have Unity and I volunteer. I used to volunteer at Volunteer Glasgow, at the charity shops. Travel expenses are not easy. The charities give bus pass, and my mum get 1 month bus fare and can keep going to charities"* – 18-month length refused asylum seeker

Excerpt 5:

> *"Some of the people from Unity talked to me about ESOL. They said my mum could join them. We never knew about that until I joined Unity"* – 18-month length refused asylum seeker

However, it appeared that refuge-seekers needed to be directed to these places and depended on the knowledge of those around them at the time. The question arises whether such places should be external to refused asylum seekers, considering their role during the integration journey. In addition, how can it be guaranteed that those around the refuge-seeker have this knowledge? The matrix is the answer to these questions. The use of the information needs matrix by these sources will increase the effectiveness of such charities.

Schools are fundamentally institutional places of learning either by study, experience or instruction. The term applies to any form of learning in the society that is attended by refuge-seekers. For that reason, ESOL classes were considered "school" for this study. Schools were relationship-fostering sites, especially for minors.

> *"The school was very supportive. It all happened in school. The kids walk with you in the street and made it awkward for the older ones to abuse you on the street. I think it all started/happened in school. The school environment was safer. We sang in our language, I think it broke down the barriers. Because during practice we had to interact. What happens in the school will trickle down into the community"* – 16-year length refugee

The data showed that schools play a critical role in the integration of refuge-seeking minors in particular. Schools were places to acquire skills and information.

Excerpt 1:

> *"Most of the skills I picked up, I picked it up from high school and at the university"* – 16-year length refugee

Excerpt 2:

> *"I know the police number, emergency number and fire service number from the school. When you study you get these numbers"* – 11-month length refused asylum seeker

Excerpt 3:

> *The school told us that after the study we should go to college"* – 4-year length refused asylum seeker

The above excerpts suggest that information for the next stage of needs was acquired in schools. This fact highlights the stages of information needs; thus schools, too, can benefit from the information needs matrix.

The religious centres provided practical support and information to refuge-seekers based on individual religious principles such as those of Christianity or Islam. The religious centres offered ad hoc provisions which were consistent with the provisions in community centres. In some instances, it could be inferred that religious centres doubled as community centres. The data showed that they are places where a different kind of information was acquired.

Excerpt 1

Researcher: How did you eventually know how to go and claim asylum?

Participant: *"My dad went to someone in the mosque where some people were asylum seekers now refugees status. So they said if you can't go back either you get business visa or you claim asylum, and they said that will save his life and etc. and he came home and told us and we decided to do it because we did not want to go back to Pakistan and get killed"* – 3-year length refused asylum seeker

Excerpt 2:

Researcher: How did you get a lawyer?

Participant: *"Through the church, we met an interpreter, my parent speak Tamo and they got a Tamo interpreter. He recommended this lawyer"* – 3-year length refused asylum seeker

Excerpt 3:

Researcher: How did you know where to get a house?

Participant: *"My dad went to the mosque; they talk to our dad when my dad told them we don't have any money and he needs a room to keep a roof and put stuff and spend a night there. So, someone took us somewhere"* – 18-month length refused asylum seeker

The data showed that religious centres provided emotional support, particularly for the accompanied – families with/out children. Religious centres appeared to be critical resources for the family during integration.

Excerpt 1:

> *"We had emotional problem, we did not have anyone to come visit us. We did not deal with Scottish Refugee Council and Red Cross. Some people came from changing religion and they were friendly and because we were lonely we like them to come and visit us and they visit us weekly"* – 3-year length refused asylum seeker

Excerpt 2:

> Researcher: How did you make friends?
> Participant: *"Mosque, community, everybody introduces themselves at the mosque and community"* – 20-month length refugee

However, the data suggest that religious centres or community centres can only be helpful for partial not holistic integration. This implies a form of cultural integration that is tantamount to societal segregation, as such persons may only be able to function as part of that specific culture, not of the whole society.

> Researcher: Has the church helped you in any way?
> Participant: *"It is an Ethiopian church only not Scottish. It is only cultural. They don't help you to settle in Glasgow"* – 7-month length asylum seeker

This highlights one of the fundamental issues in refugee integration. This study makes no claim to a solution to this dilemma, but, drawing on the findings, posits that the information needs matrix could eliminate individual limitations of integration. This is because the matrix presents a guide that enables a refuge-seeker on an integration journey to function in the society irrespective of cultural surroundings or any other societal limitations.

10.2.2 Undesignated Information Grounds

These are secondary information grounds where refuge-seekers serendipitously encounter information. Refuge-seekers may attend such grounds to meet government requirements or for other purposes including leisure, but in any case they receive information that helps in their integration journey.

Refugee camps are specific places created by host countries to house refugees. In this study, they were particularly for those whose arrival route was road travel, since most crossed the Mediterranean Sea. Calais was the common refugee camp serving as a point of departure to the UK in this study population. Six out of seven participants representing the road travel arrival route departed from this place.

> Researcher: How did you come here?
>
> Participant: *"From Calais by train, a truck in the train. I paid them to get here, I paid 500 euros; as soon as we got here, I went to the police station. They keep us there for 24 hours and the next day they took us to detention"* – 3-year length refuge-seeker

The data showed that the information from these places prepared refuge-seekers for the journey in the destination society. The refugee camp was an information sharing ground for different kinds of pre-arrival and post-arrival conditions in the destination society.

Excerpts 1: Pre-arrival information

> *"Some friend come and tell me we will go to a safe place and I followed them so we go to France. In France, then a dealer catch us and keep us in a jungle for 8 days. No talking, nothing they just give you small food, after that these people count and put us in the truck and lock. I don't know where we go. They tell us to knock the door when the truck stop. It was very cold, freezing. After that the truck stop. We knock the door. There is many police, England police. I am happy when I saw the police. I said I am safe"* – 11-month length refused asylum seeker

Excerpt 2: They get information through other people's experiences

> *"I stayed for 3 days in France. I went to a camp for 1 day. So I said why don't I try by myself, so I jumped a fence and saw a truck, so I did not pay anyone for transport in a truck. Everyone there said they have been there for 9-month, 1 year, they have to pay and they can't afford it but I got on for free. I have never been on the truck but I*

hear from people at the camp, what they say about the truck, that one can die, but I never knew anything. So I went on the truck and I saw two spare tyres and I stand under there and hold, it was really dangerous. When I jumped to the bus, I was thinking when the security catches me I will not say anything. I heard someone calling me but I did not answer them. I saw a security guy with dogs to search the truck, then I knew this is going out to England because they don't search the ones coming from England. I waited, thinking for myself how to do it and how I will do it. When he finished searching, I went there and made choices for a better truck and I feel good that I did not pay" – 2.5-year length refused asylum seeker

Excerpt 3: Pre-arrival information

Researcher: How did you know to go to the jungle?

Participant: *"I was in France. The smuggler in Ethiopia who provide the visa for me gave me this number to call when I get to France. Then I called the guy when I got to Paris because I went to Paris by flight and then he took me to the jungle."*

Excerpt 4: Pre-arrival information

"I made friends from Ethiopia, Eritrea etc. To be honest when I was in that situation, nobody knows. People just talk generally. We worry about getting on the train. It's very hard to get on the train. We try every day, we go there we come back, they catch you on truck; that was what was happening. You don't dress like this, we dress like trash, it is very dirty, there is no shower, we can't even eat the food. There is food, many of them from volunteer or charity but in that situation, you don't want to eat, we live in tent, no water, it's cold. When you try police prey on you" – 7-month length asylum seeker

However, despite what seemed to be rich information sharing grounds, it appeared that not enough information was shared. Experience became the best teacher.

Excerpt 1:

"I did not realise the truck was now in UK but could not get down

because the truck did not stop for long there. I thought he will stop but he did not stop and he took a motorway. And I was under the truck for 6 hrs. I thought I was going to die as we were on the motorway and there was no way to get down, at that time I started thinking, so I started waving to the vehicle behind the truck, no one noticed me. So when he went to the countryside at the traffic light, he stopped, so I waved to a man and he looked he was not sure, then he looked again and was so shocked as he saw me. I shouted help me please, like what should he do, he thought maybe I was mad. The light turn green, then the truck driver moved and he come beside the truck driver and start talking to him to stop and the truck stopped and he showed him where I was. The truck driver did not see anything when he came there the first time and I came out the other way. He was shocked to see me he could not say any word" – 2.5-year length refused asylum seeker

Excerpt 2:

"I have been many times on truck; the smugglers they open the truck for sometimes 5 of us or 10 of us. There is a boat or a train going to UK. There is a check, a dog and if the security find us, they just send us down. Too far then we walk 1 hr back to the jungle. I tried like every day over 40 times in 2 months. I feel like I try every day. Finally we got on a train, we get on the truck and truck is loaded onto the train and it goes to London. I got down at London Bedford. Then they took me to detention" – 7-month length refused asylum seeker

Such accounts highlight the state of a refuge-seeker on arrival in the society and emphasise the need for a navigation guide on arrival to prevent complications. The lack of one appeared to contribute to their eventual marginalisation. Also, they emphasise housing as the initialising need for integration as well as the order that follows in the matrix. The importance of the information needs matrix cannot be overemphasised.

Detention centre: Dungavel

The data highlighted detention centres such as Dungavel[14] as information grounds where information was encountered. This is in addition to friendships and relationships. The information needs met in this place were often emotional and motivational.

Excerpt 1:

> *"I feel like if I had not gone to Dungavel, I wouldn't have known I could apply for asylum. You see when in detention – Dungavel, I made some friends who said you can't just go easy. Do you want to go home? This is the first question everyone ask me. So I had to think about how long I have been here and the future not just if the country (Zimbabwe) is dead, if you don't fight for your rights; you can fight for your rights in another world where they don't know your story. I took the advice: the person who gave me the advice has gone back to Africa; she was a lady. I feel if I had not gone back to Dungavel, I wouldn't have known"* – 6-year length refused asylum seeker

Excerpt 2:

> *"They give you options to call a lawyer. They gave me a paper to call the lawyer but they did not tell me what to call the lawyer for. But someone in Dungavel detention centre told me, a guy from Lebanon he helped me there"* – 2.5-year length refused asylum seeker

Excerpt 3:

> *"In Dungavel, every time I try to give up and I hear someone else's stories, I just say I have to continue"* – 2.5-year length refused asylum seeker

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[14] Dungavel is a detention centre in Glasgow. See glossary

Leisure centres such as playgrounds were also places where information was encountered. This was particular to the accompanied with children.

> Researcher: How did you know about the nursery?
>
> Participant: *"My son was 2.5 years old when we moved here. When I got here I got an English friend. We met at the playground and we speak about everything and then I understand her husband is Iranian and still now we are friends, very close friend, and my son is one year difference with her son, that's why we are close and she advise me everything. She has been living here for long time. There was no charity at all that helped us by giving special advice, not even in Drumchapel"* – 7-year length refugee

The phenomenon of encountering information suggests that there may be situations in which wrong information is received. This highlights the need for a publicly available guide to integration processes and systems, which the information needs matrix could fill. In the following section, the information sources are examined in relation to the matrix.

10.3   Information Sources and the Information Needs Matrix

The information sources have been shown to be internal or external to refuge-seekers, and their roles are distinct, but they are not independent of each other. It has been shown that there are referral relationships between internal and external sources; however, in the matrix it is not a case of internal versus external sources, but rather of appropriateness vs reliability of information sources for the integration journey.

The reliability associated with internal sources emphasises the trust attributes of social capital. This is because the secondary sources appeared to be the most appropriate ones for bridging information gaps: unsurprisingly so, since refuge-seekers arrive in an unfamiliar environment, and must build new relationships to operate in this new environment.

> *"No not friends, what will they do for you? Refugee Council give*
> *you everything. And Red Cross, they help you. The Refugee Council*
> *are very important*" – 4-year length refused asylum seeker

However, the data suggested an increasing reliability on internal sources for information gap bridging during the later part of the integration journey. This is understandable, since refuge-seekers can be expected to have built relationships and to be able to progress on the integration journey.

> *"Now we have to try by ourselves and the help of friends and not*
> *depend on Red Cross and Refugee Council because this is not*
> *enough"* – 20-month length refugee

But since the data highlighted that primary sources point refuge-seekers to these secondary sources, both are therefore requirements at the early stages of the integration journey, and as a result cannot be independent of each other. It can be inferred that bridging the information gap on the integration journey is a relational process.
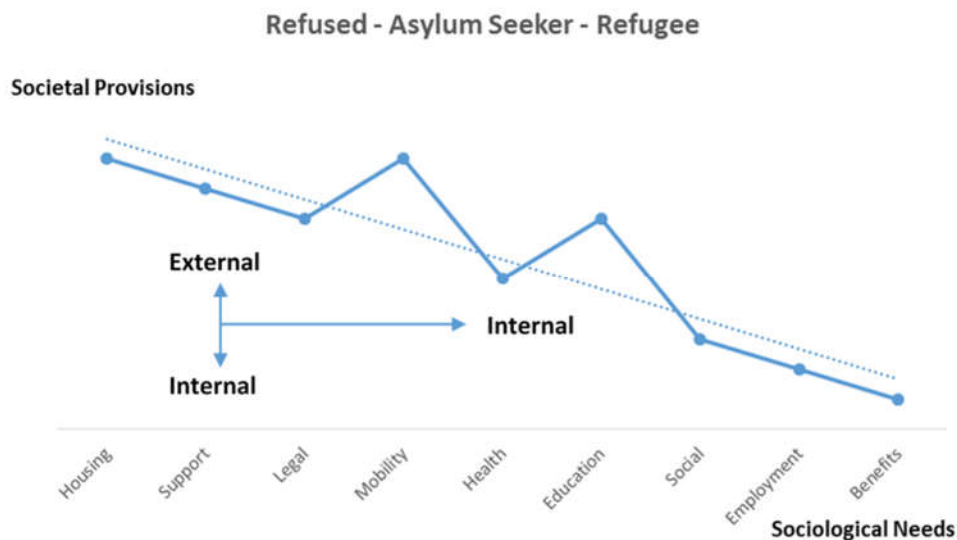
Figure 10. 4 – Bridging the Information Gap

This understanding of information sources and their role during the integration journey emphasises the extent to which the sociological journey of integration is an informational one. It also highlights the potential of the information needs matrix as a guide for both society and refuge-seekers in reducing the complexity of integration processes and systems.

Summary

The study used the terms primary and secondary to describe the sources of information during refugee integration, based on their relationship to the refuge-seeker. This was such that friends, family, media etc. that were personal to refuge-seekers' situations were designated internal information sources and referred sources were designated external sources. The findings showed that refugee integration is as much an information issue as a sociological one. However, the extent to which the information needs matrix maps refugee integration needs is not clear. It is necessary to understand the information needs from the perspective of service provisions. The service provider fits this requirement because the data highlighted the importance of service providers. The Scottish Refugee Council was chosen for observation of actual service provisions, which was used to validate findings.

11. Validation

This study has presented an information needs matrix with a two-dimensional relationship between people, information, sociological needs and societal provisions during refugee integration. The information gaps in situations and the sources of information for bridging the gap have been shown. The information sources included services providers, and the data showed that their role was critical in the integration of refugees. The service providers' roles included the delivery of societal provisions in which information gaps had emerged, and highlighted the possibility of validating findings.

Examining the information needs from the perspective of service provider provisions will strengthen the relationships claims in the information needs matrix. The Scottish Refugee Council was chosen to investigate the information needs emerging during their service provision. This was achieved through an eight-month volunteer role during which observation data were recorded with the focus on status and length. The aim was to find out whether observation data and interview data were homogeneous. The homogeneity of data provided validation of refuge-seekers' information needs and the relevance of the information needs matrix. In the following sections, the steps taken to achieve the understanding sought are discussed.

11.1 The Scottish Refugee Council

The Scottish Refugee Council (SRC) is an independent charity that has provided help, essential information and advice to people seeking asylum in Scotland since 1985. SRC campaigns for political change, raises awareness about issues that affect refugees, and works closely with local communities to ensure that refugees in Scotland are treated fairly, with dignity and assurance of their human rights. By so doing it enhances the protection, welfare and integration of refugees in Scotland.

The charity delivers its services in four strategic areas: refugee services, policy and research, arts and cultural activities, and training:

- **Refugee services**: It gives advice, information and assistance to asylum seekers and refugees, which includes offering direct advice to refugees and

people seeking asylum across a range of areas including housing, welfare rights and employability, besides encouraging people to actively participate in their communities and the wider society.

- **Policy and research**: It conducts detailed policy work, which aims to influence policy makers in both Scotland and the UK and bring to the fore the issues that matter to those seeking refuge in Scotland. At the same time, it produces regular research, co-ordinating both in-house projects and collaborations with leading researchers in the field of asylum.

- **Community, arts and cultural activities**: It co-ordinates a variety of arts and cultural events throughout the year including the annual Refugee Festival Scotland celebrations in June. It supports organisations in the community which are working with, or run by, refugees and asylum seekers, enabling them to have a voice at all levels in Scottish society.

- **Training**: It organises a comprehensive programme of training events for individuals and organisations working with refugees or people seeking asylum. It raises the profile of asylum in Scotland and in the UK through communications work, which includes helping asylum seekers and refugees to have a voice in the media.

Refugee services appeared as an area that would be useful for this study, since this was an area of service that dealt directly with the needs of refugees, offering advice on housing, education, work, health and how to get involved in Scottish life. However, within this category are specialist dedicated services such as housing teams etc.; as a result the delivery of these services can be further categorised:

- **Refugee integration services**: for people who have recently received refugee status

- **Family key work services**: for families with children aged 0-8 years who have recently entered the asylum system

- **Guardianship services**: for unaccompanied young people going through the asylum system

- **Destitute asylum seeker services**: for those who have been refused asylum and have exhausted their appeal rights

The existence of categories was an early indicator of the applicability of the information needs matrix. This was because the categories were consistent with the levels of information need identified in this study. This was such that two of the three levels of information need highlighted are minor and accompanied, which can be related to family key work services and guardianship services respectively.

It would seem that the refuge-seekers' needs were provided for, but if that is the case, how come marginalisation is associated with the forced displaced? International reports highlight over 80% of refugees living below the poverty line in host countries. In addition, the findings of this study have revealed information gaps in the services, which suggests inadequacy of provisions. This establishes the need to check the identified information gaps against the needs of the refuge-seekers at that point of contact with the Scottish Refugee Council when they turn to it for help, advice and information.

Operations

The Scottish Refugee Council delivers its services through staff and volunteers. They provide refugee services as consultations carried out by staff or volunteers who are known to the refuge-seekers as caseworkers, the refuge-seekers in turn being described as clients. The caseworker consultations are either through drop-in sessions or by appointment. The Scottish Refugee Council runs daily drop-in sessions or pre-booked appointments, the latter often a follow-up on the drop-in session. This highlights the reason why caseworkers were key information sources and the Scottish Refugee Council itself was an information ground.

Consultation with refuge-seekers is the core of Scottish Refugee Council operations. As a result, there is a practice called shadowing for new recruits (staff or volunteer) irrespective of which roles are being recruited for in the organisation. It requires the new recruit to sit-in on consultation sessions. Shadowing is the process of observing the delivery of services to refuge-seekers, with the approval of the client (the refuge-seeker). The Scottish Refugee Council requests permission for shadowing from the refuge-seeker, as the sit-in is only valid if he/she consents to it; otherwise, the case is classified as sensitive.

Shadowing was critical to the collective functioning of the Scottish Refugee Council, particularly in the case of refugee services, which were divided into specific and dedicated functions. It created a common understanding of the needs of refuge-seekers. This practice was excellent for pursuing the goals of the Scottish Refugee Council, but it also presented research data opportunities for this study researcher, who applied for a volunteer role and was successful.

Housing Development Volunteer

The researcher worked in a housing development volunteer role at the Scottish Refugee Council for eight months. The role was key in supporting the work of the integration team, assisting the housing development officer to collect evidence from casework activity in housing, welfare, employability etc., and participating in activities to influence changes in policy and practice.

Responsibilities

- Project work: collecting evidence from casework activities; e.g. analysing statistical information and writing case studies
- Assisting with producing policy responses
- Assisting with producing policy briefings for colleagues and external stakeholders
- Assisting with the promotion and evaluation of the Practitioners Guide to Housing Refugees
- Assisting with the administration/facilitation of a stakeholder group on refugee integration
- Assisting with service users' involvement activities, including work with clients of the casework service and community engagement, e.g. with Refugee Community Organisations
- Cross-departmental work e.g. supporting various research projects

Although the role concerned housing, it was not restricted to housing, because, as has been highlighted, working in the Scottish Refugee Council included shadowing, and the housing development volunteer was no exception. Therefore, the role provided benefits which included:

- The opportunity to develop social policy skills

- The opportunity to make a difference to the lives of asylum seekers and refugees in Scotland

- The opportunity to be part of an interesting and dynamic area of social policy

- The opportunity to understand how policy-makers can be influenced

- The chance to meet new people from a wide range of backgrounds and experiences and to work with a number of external partners.

- Good knowledge of homelessness and housing within the UK, particularly Scotland

In addition to these obvious benefits were the derived benefits. It is understandable that the data collected by the Scottish Refugee Council were not information science specific and may not be applicable, since refugee integration is primarily within the sociological domain. However, after several shadowing sessions, it became evident that shadowing presented the possibility of recording research-specific non-identifiable observations. This was such that, during the refuge-seeker's consultation with the representative of the Scottish Refugee Council (the caseworker), the information elements could be extracted. The information elements extracted were informed by the findings from the interviews, especially regarding the relationship in the information needs matrix.

11.2 Observation Record

The observation record was the researcher's record of the consultation from an information science perspective. The caseworker, during consultation with the refuge-seeker, listened to the latter's problems in order to provide help, advice and information as applicable, while the observer (the researcher) watched and took notes on the information elements in the consultation (Table 11.1). The observation sessions were allocated observation ID and the data collected included specific demographic attributes and contextual attributes. The recording of observation data was in accordance with the Department of Computer and Information Sciences, University of Strathclyde ethics committee and the Scottish Refugee Council mandate (see Appendix A and Appendix B respectively).

OID	Origin	Gender	Status	Length	Information Needs
OID001	Asian	M-single	Refugee	28 days period	Homelessness Support Benefits
OID002	African	M-single	Refugee	28 days period	JSA Jobcentre National Insurance
OID003	Trinidad and Tobago	F-family	Asylum seeker	2 months	Child education Public transport Food banks Integration networks Winter clothing Buggy
OID004	African	M-family	Refused Asylum Seeker	7 years	Appeals Solicitor Homelessness Destitution
OID005	Nigerian	F-family	Asylum seeker	Student visa arrival	Solicitors Health visitor Dealing with interviews
OID006	Eritrean	M-single + family	Refugee	1 year	Accommodation Jobcentre Benefits Charities Social worker Child benefits Child tax credits Minor support
OID007	Ivory Coast	M-single	Refused asylum seeker	6 years	Section 4 support Medical issues Destitution
OID008	Kuwait	M-single	Refugee	28 days period	Benefits Bank account Jobcentre National insurance Accommodation
OID009	African	M-single	Refused asylum Seeker	1 year	Accommodation Eviction Health Support, Clothes Solicitor, legal aid Appeals
OID010	Zimbabwe	F-single	Refugee	28 days period	Benefits Accommodation Health National insurance JSA Bank account

Table 11. 1 – Observation Summary

Although the kind of extensive data gathered from interviews could not be obtained from observations, the data collected was fit for purpose. Four attributes of context had been highlighted as critical for understanding refugee integration, and fortunately, status and length, which are a part of it, were captured in the observation record. The recorded data can therefore be said to focus on the information needs of the refuge-seekers in relation to their status and length, which was sufficient to validate the information needs matrix. The validation was achieved by showing that the observation data are consistent with the interview data, and by showing that the observation data can be checked against the information needs matrix. The process of achieving this aim is described in the following sections.

Observation Data and Interview Data

In determining the homogeneity of observation data with interview data, the data were broken down and distribution tables created. The distribution tables represented phenomenon in observation data that is consistent with phenomena in interview data. This was such that the distribution tables highlighted the elements that support the stages and order of information needs in the matrix. The first distribution table that could be deduced was that of status, shown in Table 11.2 below, and it is consistent with Table 5.5 of the interview data.

Statuses are the changing titles given by the host society to the forced displaced as they navigate integration processes and systems. This enabled the examination of information needs by status which led to stages of information need in the matrix. Lest we forget, the term *refuge-seeker* had been coined for this study as an umbrella term that is not defined by status, but brings together all the persons navigating the integration system, as they were all included in integration provisions.

Status	Number Observed
Refused asylum seeker	3
Asylum seeker	2
Refugee	5

Table 11. 2 – Observations Status Distribution

A second distribution table that was deduced was that of length in Table 11.3 below; it is consistent with Table 5.9 from the interview data. The length is the period *refuge-seekers* had spent navigating integration systems, considering their changing refuge status. The length places time in relation to information needs, thus enabling an examination of information needs by time, which gave rise to the order of information need in the matrix.

Length	Number Observed
Less than 1 year	5
2-5 years	2
6-10 years	2

Table 11. 3 – Observations Length Distribution

The intricacies of these attributes were interesting, in that, while each attribute was distinctly representative, they are not independent of each other. This means that, although status and length represented different characteristics, the length also brings together both attributes at the same time. Therefore, any person can be at any stage within a specific period, which emphasises the importance of the term *refuge-seeker*. This fact further highlighted status and length as complementary attributes for the understanding of refugee integration. As such, they must be combined to provide holistic understandings of any given point in time in refugee integration.

This section has shown that there is a relationship in the observation data that is consistent with the interview data. The consistency between observation data and interview data suggests that observation data could also be mapped in the information needs matrix. The applicability of the information needs matrix to the observation data will further establish the validity of the matrix in refugee integration. In the next section, observation data are discussed in relation to the matrix.

11.3 Observation Data and Information Needs Matrix

The premise of the information needs matrix is that refuge-seekers encounter similar unknowns on the integration journey irrespective of their status; that is, as refugees, asylum seekers or refused asylum seekers. As a result, a progressive 2-dimensional relationship exists between information needs as represented in the matrix, which gave rise to three characteristics:

1. There are stages and levels of information need.
2. There is an order dependency to information need.
3. Information needs are not fixed, but flexible.

The observation data were shown in the previous section to consist of elements that indicated stages and order of information needs. This implied that an examination of information needs from the observation data in relation to status would highlight the stages of needs in the matrix. Likewise, an examination of information needs from the same data in relation to length would highlight the order of needs in the matrix.

In order to demonstrate these premises in the observation data, the suggested relationship between information needs from the previous section must be shown concretely. This was achieved by extracting information needs from Table 11.1 and coding them to the stages of information needs in the matrix, such that the information needs from the observed data were represented as a standalone column against a matrix column. Then, a reintroduction of the status and length highlighted the relationship of information needs to contextual attributes in Table 11.4.

There were many sessions with similar information needs in the observation data column which would translate to similar things in the matrix column. Thus, for purposes of clarity, these were represented once in the matrix column. For instance, OID006 was provided with considerable advice and information around benefits such as child tax credits, child benefits etc.; they were recorded once.

OID	Status	Length	Service Provision	Matrix
OID001	Refugee	28 days period	Homelessness Support Benefits	Housing Support Benefits
OID002	Refugee	28 days period	JSA Jobcentre National Insurance	Employment
OID003	Asylum seeker	2 months	Child education Public transport Food banks Integration networks Winter clothing Buggy	Education Mobility Support Social
OID004	Refused asylum seeker	7 years	Section 4 support Appeals Solicitor Homelessness Destitution	Support Legal Housing
OID005	Asylum seeker	Student visa arrival	Solicitors Health visitor Dealing with interviews	Legal Health Support
OID006	Refugee	1 year	Accommodation Jobcentre Benefits Charities Social worker Child benefits, tax credits Minor support	Housing Employment Benefits Support
OID007	Refused asylum seeker	6 years	Section 4 support Medical issues Destitution	Support Health Housing
OID008	Refugee	28 days period	Benefits Bank account Jobcentre National insurance Accommodation	Benefits Employment Housing
OID009	Refused asylum seeker	1 year	Accommodation Eviction Health Support Clothes Solicitor legal aid Appeals	Housing Health Support Legal
OID010	Refugee	28 days period	Benefits Accommodation Health National insurance JSA Bank account	Benefits Housing Health Employment

Table 11. 4 – The Relationship of Information Needs

Furthermore, the refuge-seekers had related information needs, but these relationships were not clearly defined in relation to the information needs matrix. To explicitly define the information needs in relation to the matrix, it was necessary to define the relationship in line with the premises in the matrix. However, for this purpose, Table 11.4 had to be translated into an explicit information needs table, which resulted in Table 11.5 below.

Refuge status	Refuge length	Information Need
Refused asylum seeker	2 months –7 years	Housing Support Legal Health
Asylum seeker	Less than 1 year	Support Legal Mobility Health Education Social
Refugee	1 month – 1 year	Housing Support Health Employment Benefits

Table 11. 5 – Information Needs Distribution

In Table 11.5, focus is immediately drawn to information needs and status, which shows that refuge-seekers have the same information needs irrespective of status. It appeared that refuge-seekers start the same journey with different statuses. For instance, a person with refugee status needed information on support, as did the asylum seeker and the refused asylum seeker, amongst other examples. However, a couple of needs, such as employment and benefits, were specific to refugees, which suggests alignment with the matrix. But to what extent is this alignment found?

This aspect was explicated by simply combining all information needs from each status into a defined list with no repetitions. This will result in nine stages of information needs, which is consistent with the information needs matrix. It has been shown that there are provisions for all refuge-seekers, with refugees having the highest level of provisions and refused asylum seekers the lowest. The information needs on employment and benefits, exclusive to refugees as shown in Table 11.5, illustrate the higher provisions by status.

Finally, to align Table 11.5 to the matrix, it will be necessary to record the information needs of the refused asylum seeker. Then those information needs of asylum seekers, which are not recorded for the refused asylum seeker, will be added. Likewise, those information needs of the refugee, which are not recorded for asylum seekers, are added. This results in a train of information needs, which ultimately represents the information needs journey that is highlighted in the matrix.

Primarily, it is a journey because the data show a relationship of information needs between statuses, such that the refugees had information needs exclusive to their status while at the same time having the same information needs as those in the lower statuses. In the same vein, the refused asylum seeker had information needs exclusive to that status but were restricted in access compared to refuge-seekers of higher status. It followed that the information needs arise in stages of need, because of the possibility of refused asylum seekers being granted refugee status.

In addition, the observation data showed that within each stage there were additional information needs arising from demographic characteristics such as age and marital status, which resulted in more specific information needs for such persons. This highlighted the levels of information need in the matrix.

Excerpt 1

> OID003 – Asylum Seeker
>
> *She did not know about support and needed additional help and information to take care of her children.*

Excerpt 2

> OID006 – Refugee
>
> *He did not know he needed a social worker because his brother is a minor. He did not know how to care for his minor brother.*

Thus far, the contextual attributes for stages of information need have been validated, but the demographic attributes for levels of information needs have not been validated. The extracts above have different statuses; OID003 was an asylum seeker and OID006 was a refugee. This example not only emphasises the stages and levels of information needs in the matrix, but also highlights the relationships of information needs by status.

Secondly, the data also showed the order dependency such that inability to meet an information need prevents success at the next stage of information need. The excerpts below show the order dependency of information needs. The refugee needs to have housing in order to receive grants of financial support, which emphasises housing as the initialising need for integration.

Excerpt

> OID001 – Refugee
> *He did not know that he had to have an address to be eligible for*
> *local council crisis grants.*

This is an information issue because the participant was not aware of the process. The refuge-seeker in excerpt OID001 was a refugee who needed support but could not access it because he had no accommodation and did not know that the lack of accommodation prevented him from receiving support. This highlighted the need for the information needs matrix as a navigation guide for both refuge-seekers and the host society.

Finally, the data showed that the need for information depended on the refuge-seeker at any given point in time, not on the stages of information need on the integration journey. As a result, there were absences of certain stages of information need. However, the absence of need does not eliminate the information need but rather emphasises the flexibility of information needs as potential, rather than compulsory, stops on an integration journey. An example is found in the observation session of a newly granted refugee within the 28-days period, who, at the time of contact with the Scottish Refugee Council, needed information about employment and benefits.

Excerpt

OID002 – Refugee

He did not know about JSA in benefits.

He did not know about appointments with the jobcentre in
employment.

He was advised about a national insurance number – in
employment.

A contrasting example is found in the observation session of OID008, who is also a newly granted refugee within the 28-days period. At the time of contact with the Scottish Refugee Council, this person needed advice, help and information around housing, employment and benefits as shown below.

Excerpt

OID008 – Refugee

He did not know the processes of accommodation move and was
about to be homeless (in housing).

He needed an address but had no accommodation (in housing).

He needed information on money (in support).

He did not know what to do when he did not receive support from
the jobcentre (in benefits).

He did not know how to open a bank account (in employment).

He needs a letter from the jobcentre and ID and insurance number
(in employment).

These circumstances were also evident in asylum seekers' observation sessions where their information needs differed despite their having the same statuses; hence the premise that information need is not fixed, but flexible. This situation also highlights how information determined progress on the integration journey, such that all things being equal, the ability to meet information need at the early stages reduced the need for information at later stages.

However, when not all things are equal, the reverse will be the case, in that the information gap will not shrink. There will be a carry-over of information needs, posing a myriad of unanswered questions which make integration difficult. This was typical of the cases of OID002 and OID008. Both were of the same length but the information gaps for OID002 were smaller than those for OID008; thus integration would be more difficult for the latter.

This emphasises the presence of the "survival of the informed" syndrome, in line with Darwin's theory of Survival of the Fittest in evolution. In this context, the person with information becomes best suited to survive and adapt to the society, and the one without information is not well suited to survive. This suggests the possession of information as a trait, albeit an abstract one, so that the introduction of the information needs matrix would create more chances of survival for refuge-seekers.

It is evident that information is intrinsic to refugee integration, in that its availability could have prevented the difficulties that refuge-seekers encountered with integration processes and systems. Interestingly, service providers are part of the integration systems. Such organisations need to be positioned to provide explicit services and information in their intermediary roles in integration. The consistency of findings suggests that the information needs matrix is as much a guide for service providers as for refuge-seekers.

Summary

This chapter has established that refugee integration is as much an information issue as a sociological one. Refugee integration is a journey through information needs, since refuge-seekers start the same journey with different statuses. The data highlighted the importance of status and length for integration. It followed that status concerned societal provisions for sociological needs and length concerned the period of individual experiences of societal provisions.

These attributes were used to relate information needs and the results showed that observation data were consistent with interview data and with the information needs matrix. The relationships in the matrix were established, as the observation data showed stages and levels of information needs, the order dependency of information needs and the flexibility of information needs. Housing as the initialising need for refugee integration was also further emphasised, and the explicit information needs highlighted accordingly.

Part Five: Discussion and Conclusion

12. Research Overview

This study was informed by two fields – refugee studies and information science, such that refugee studies revealed the problem, which was then investigated from an information science perspective. Refugee integration processes and systems are complex for refuge-seekers. They find them difficult to navigate, thus often end up marginalised. The goal of the information behaviour study was to understand how refuge-seekers navigate integration systems and identify their information needs and sources of information, in order to inform the design of easier-to-navigate integration processes and systems, by answering these questions:

1. What are the information gaps during refugee integration?
2. Does a connection/relationship exist between the information needs?
3. What are the sources of information during refugee integration?

The study was carried out through interviews and validated with observation. It was deduced that a situational approach to investigating information behaviour in refugee integration would create fuller perspectives on the contextual factors surrounding individual information needs. This is because situations put any potential person into context, as they are common to all despite people's differences.

Dervin's sense-making was adopted as an approach and it followed that refuge-seekers navigating integration processes and systems in an unfamiliar country are in movement across time-space. Sense-making's situation-gap-outcome metaphor was used to examine their experiences during integration, focusing on where they were coming from, what they were struggling with, and where they were going. It was from this that person-centred information needs emerged and the scope of the resultant information needs was widened.

The processes and systems in refugee integration were indeed complicated and understanding the information behaviour in it was not straightforward. As a result, the analysis was like a dissection of the complexity in integration systems and the research questions were answered through a related process. The demystified processes and systems enabled a reconstruction which resulted in an information needs matrix that depicts refugee integration as an information needs journey which was validated

during a volunteer role at the Scottish Refugee Council. The research revealed that understanding information behaviour in complicated systems such as refugee integration is process-driven. This chapter discusses the findings and their impact on knowledge and practice.

12.1 Discussion

The findings from this study highlight how the outcomes from information behaviour studies can inform the design of person-centred processes and systems. In particular, the study showed the double-edged relationships existing within information needs (which revealed progressive needs) and within information sources (which highlighted the changing reliability of sources) during refugee integration. The term "*refuge-seeker*" was used to refer to the persons navigating integration systems, in order to define information needs relative to contextual and demographic attributes. The emergent relationships add depth to refugee studies across an interdisciplinary discourse, as previous studies have identified integration needs (Section 2.4.2) and information needs (Section 2.5.2), and in some cases dependencies, but none has clearly established the relativity of refugee needs.

From the literature, the escalating complexity of refugee integration seemed untameable. Refugee studies in social sciences now argue for a focus on processes rather than on integration as a goal (Craig, 2015), while refugee studies in information sciences now demand analytical depth (Lloyd, 2017). Both are genuine directions for a focus on goal, since a focus on goal will not result in process, as that leaves the processes behind. But process actually precedes goal, thus, a focus on processes will result in the achievement of the goal. This observation is akin to Dervin's (2005) advice that the user should not be investigated independently of the context, for, as she emphasised, demographics alone is not sufficient to achieve deeper understanding.

This information behaviour in refugee integration study investigated the properties of information with respect to social systems, resulting in their breakdown into smaller unit of processes and situations defined by people's experiences. The behaviour of information in those situations revealed situational information needs of people, which were mapped back onto the overarching social systems in a reconstructive process, in

turn producing more details and greater clarity for easier navigation of the social systems. The current systems have long been criticised for breeding segregation (Favell, 2001; Zetter et al., 2005b; Zetter et al., 2002; Sigona, 2005; SRC, 2011; SRC, 2013; SRC, 2014).

The basic difference between this approach and previous research was the focus on processes rather than on needs or information needs. The information needs and sources were "arrived at" not "asked out", which made it possible to identify and clearly relate dependencies. The ability to bring together all the properties of information within that space enabled the possibility of the navigational matrix.

This suggests that elements of the processes and systems in any given context are potential properties of information to be investigated. It can therefore be said that the matrix emerged from following the red thread of information at the intersection of people and social systems, in line with the proposition that information behaviour follows the red thread of information in the social lives of people (Bates, 1999).

The findings also highlight the interdisciplinary nature of information behaviour, as the person-centred information outcomes achieved are useful for navigating social systems. The study drawn from research and practice to investigate information behaviour in refugee integration, and the last paragraph hinted that elements of process and context were potential properties of information. But how did the integration processes become properties of information?

In practice, refugee integration is operationalised as an all-inclusive integration system that cuts across social, legal, economic, political and institutional dimensions. There are provisions for meeting needs across numerous categories, but due to complicated refuge-seeking processes, the provisions are not effective. An indicator of integration is in place to measure refugee integration based on access to these services but the measurement is not indicative if provisions are not effective.

Social research has found that refugee integration needs are complex as a result of these processes (Hek, 2002; Stewart, 2015). The studies have delved deeper into the indicators – employment, housing, education and health – but because of the changing processes surrounding refuge-seekers, the shelf-life of the findings is not prolonged

(Craig, 2015). The continuous emergence and re-emergence of policies around refugee integration highlights this situation (Robinson, 2010).

Information science has responded to the situation by identifying information needs and information sources of refugees (Caidi et al., 2010; Case, 2012) but, the information needs amount to little if not brought together with the processes. This study, like others, has highlighted how the needs of refuge-seekers generally revolve around housing, health, education, and employment amongst other needs. However in addition, the study highlights the provisions for this needs by the host society.

This study's information needs being consistent with integration provisions in practice suggests a potential for refugee information studies to feed directly into practice. This was made possible by the consideration of factors of access to provisions in the investigation. These factors included contextual attributes such as status and length and demographic attributes such as age etc., which became the properties of information that was investigated during refugee integration. The inclusion of factors of access to provisions also revealed the changing reliability of information sources during the journey.

Thus, this study has not only identified information needs and sources but also discovered relationships, and carefully wove the intricacies of practice into an information needs matrix with implications for reducing the complexities and difficulties of refugee integration. Bringing research and practice together in this manner evidently broadened the scope of information behaviour outcomes, the findings add depth to research and practice.

To practice, the findings are potentially of immediate use to practitioners. The matrix can be deployed using the identified information sources since the information sought from the sources is covered in the matrix; therefore the information needs matrix will adequately equip the identified sources to provide information to refuge-seekers. Furthermore, the needs revealed by the information needs matrix are directly consistent with the indicators of integration. This means that the matrix potentially expands the capacity of the indicators to measure integration, as it highlights the specific elements of what is to be measured. At the same time, the matrix may be used

directly to add details of integration provisions for all parties involved in the delivery of provisions to refuge-seekers.

To research, the matrix can be particularly useful for information studies, just as the indicators of integration have been significantly useful for refugee research (SRC 2014; Mulvey, 2010). This means that the matrix and indicators could stand alone and still complement each other, in that information studies need the indicators of integration to understand the social aspects of refugee integration, while refugee research requires the information needs matrix for the depth it adds to social research.

This possibility results from the way the information needs and sources were arrived at, which enabled the information needs identified to be seen as central to both refugees and the society. Previous studies had identified needs but only with respect to the needs of refugees and not of the society, resulting in a need to focus on processes. This depth added to research and practice highlights the claim of Sonnenwald and Iivonen (1999) that information behaviour studies are done to support progress in human life and the improvement of things in the world, thereby adding detail to the studies of humans in general by social and behavioural sciences.

The totality of this understanding formed the basis of answers to the research questions. The answers were arrived at through a procedural analysis of refugee integration processes and systems in relation to the individual. This was such that the person's, the provisions, the situations, the information gaps and how they were bridged during integration, were identified in order to answer the research questions. The following sections discuss the study findings with respect to the research questions.

12.1.1 What are the information gaps during refugee integration?

The information needs emerged as gaps between refuge-seekers' needs and the host society's provisions for integration. In identifying the information gaps, the "who" and the "what" of refugee integration were first identified.

Who are the persons navigating refuge integration systems?

The study identified three categories of persons navigating the UK refugee integration systems. These categories are significant because they were not previously distinguished in the identification of information needs by previous studies, whereas this study found that each category has its own information needs.

1. Refused asylum seeker
2. Asylum seeker
3. Refugee

They are the possible statuses in this country guided by the UN 1951 refugee convention. The refugee and asylum seeker statuses are directly consistent with the UN convention but the refused asylum seeker status is not. This is because the UN convention is a mandate that host countries appropriate as applicable. Thus, the UK in its appropriation of the UN convention includes asylum refusal; hence the status of the refused asylum seeker, who eventually is granted asylum and becomes a refugee.

This means that the term "*refugee*" is a finite representation of forced displaced persons and is insufficient for the portrayal of the forced displaced in the United Kingdom. Hence, the term "*refuge-seeker*" was coined to bring together the categories into a single one referring to persons navigating the same integration systems. The categories determined access to provisions, as they are controlled. However, this appeared to represent a clash of purposes, since the host society claims that its goal is for the refugee to be integrated but the status of refused asylum seeker suggests that the system itself is a barrier to integration.

This means that the quest to be integrated becomes a dream for the refuge-seeker. Although successful navigation depends on a host of other factors such as availability of provisions etc., it particularly depends on how well equipped the refuge seekers are to navigate integration systems. This is because the distortion in integration is two-

way. The refuge-seeker in new territory is sociologically and psychologically displaced, and the host society's policy has made the situation more complicated with the institution of refused asylum.

The appropriation of the UN convention signifies an imbalance within the refuge-seeker population, with some refuge seekers advantaged over others in the navigation of integration systems, a situation which follows directly from the refused asylum status. The statuses make some persons better suited than others to successfully navigate integration systems, giving rise to the *"survival of the informed"* syndrome. Such persons have access to information that enables them to progress successfully on the integration journey.

This implies that information will best equip both parties in the restorative effort. The refuge-seeker, irrespective of background, requires information to navigate the integration system successfully and maybe realise his/her integration dream. Likewise, the host society requires information to define and structure the refugee integration processes and systems so as possibly to achieve its goal of integrating the forced displaced.

What are the provisions for refugee integration?

The study found that societal provisions for integration exist for all refuge-seekers and are of two kinds, based on their availability and consistency. This finding is unique to this study, as there was no evidence in the literature of identification of provisions in understanding the information behaviour of the forced displaced.

1. Statutory provisions
2. Ad hoc provisions

The societal provisions angle in the process of identifying information needs enabled the disclosure of surrounding insights that contributed to the reconstruction after the dissection. It was found that access to provisions was determined by status. This was such that among the three statuses, there was increasing access across the provisions, in that refused asylum seekers had the barest minimum of access and the refugee maximum access, leaving the asylum seeker placed between both as representing the general minimum.

Although the changing access to provisions may be characterised as a leverage-based access, it is not clear why the integration systems operated ad hoc provisions. This reiterates the claim that the system itself is a barrier to integration. The existence of ad hoc provisions is the major culprit in the eventual marginalisation of the forced displaced. Refuge-seekers find it extremely difficult to navigate these hidden provisions amidst the inconsistency of statutory provisions.

This means that the provisions currently classed as ad hoc should be statutory and all refuge-seekers should be provided for, in the first instance. Then, the ad hoc provisions will be supplementary, based on specific types of need to be determined. If all provisions were statutory, then a leverage-based access could be used to implement access by status.

This would create clarity and increase the capacity of provisions, thereby reducing the occurrence of over-served and under-served experiences. Although this would not guarantee the availability of provisions, since that largely depends on the host society, this unveiling would go a long way to reduce the hardship refuge seekers currently encounter in the navigation of integration systems.

What are the situations in refugee integration?

The study identified two situations in the navigation of integration processes and systems. The situations follow directly from the existence of the refused asylum seeker status and the ad hoc provisions. The situations were defined in terms of refuge-seekers' experiences. It was deduced that, since there were refused asylum seekers who received reduced provisions, and some provisions were ad hoc, then an anomaly in the experiences of navigating integration processes and systems could be inferred.

1. Ideal situation
2. Unideal situation

The asylum seekers' and refugees' experiences therefore constitute the ideal situation because they are explicit in the UN convention, while the refused asylum seekers' experiences constitute the unideal situation, because they represent an appropriation of the UN convention. However, since the refused asylum seeker ends up being

granted a higher status, this means that the unideal quickly turns ideal, with the controlled access becoming unlimited access to provisions.

This suggests that there will always be an unideal situation. This is because refused asylum is a political policy, and it is highly improbable that it will be scrapped. Rather, it is what defines the unideal situation as something that will always change. The unideal situation in this study is defined by controlled access and inconsistency of provisions. A change, for instance, to leverage-based provisions, as highlighted in the previous section, would give rise to a redefinition of the unideal situation and a need to re-examine information needs. This would be in addition to other multiple avenues created to investigate information needs. It is therefore acknowledged that the information needs found in this study do not provide a complete picture of refugees' information needs, but rather a repertoire of information needs that can be continually expanded.

Thus far, given these results, a redesigned integration process and system can be imagined. If the ad hoc provisions were converted to statutory provisions, then access to provisions could be leverage-based for refuge-seekers and ad hoc provisions eliminated. This would make the unideal situation a part of the integration process and make the transition from unideal situation to ideal situation a progression on the journey rather than an independent event. This step in turn would make the administration of integration provisions measurable for host societies and accessible for all refuge-seekers. Then it could be said that refuge-seekers were going through a similar journey in dissimilar states. How true this is led directly to the information needs question and subsequently to the second research question.

What are the information gaps during refugee integration?

The information needs in this study were themed around the provisions for refugee integration. The study found information gaps between the needs of refuge-seekers and societal provisions for integration. The gaps revolved around the provisions for housing, support, legal, mobility, health, education, social, employment and benefits. The significance of these information needs can be interpreted from two angles that broaden the scope of knowledge of the information behaviour of the forced displaced.

On the one hand, as information needs that emerged from gaps in provisions, it is unique to this study. On the other hand, as traditional information needs emerging from information behaviour study, it is consistent with existing literatures.

In refugee studies, information needs are directly consistent with Lloyd's (2014) health information needs. The findings support Lloyd et al. (2013), which summarised refugees' information concerns as related to everyday living and compliance. This is because the information needs from this study include housing, support and mobility amongst others, which clearly can be summed as everyday living and compliance. The information needs can also be linked to the general migrant literature: they are consistent with Fisher et al.'s (2004b) social and cultural information needs, and with Courtright's (2005) information needs, which included school enrolment, housing, and employment amongst others. The information needs in Silvio (2006) were similar; they included academic and apprenticeship, education, health and employment information needs.

In conceptual terms, the information needs can be related to the concept of everyday life information need. This is because information on housing, health, and support amongst other things is non-work-related, and thus constitutes everyday life information. However, the everyday life information-seeking approach to non-work-related studies was not adopted. This emphasises the robustness of sense-making methodology as it was used to identify non-work information needs.

In refugee integration, the information needs can be related to the UK indicators of integration framework. The indicator is a measurement of integration using housing, health education and employment as the markers and means of integration in the framework. The housing, health, education and employment information needs directly correspond to those in the framework, while social information needs can be understood as social connection in the framework. However, other information needs such as support, legal, mobility and benefits are not directly expressed as markers and means in the framework. This challenges the use of the framework as an integration provisions guide, but not as a measurement of integration, which is currently its function.

This means that the undefined provisions can now be explicitly defined. It is likely that these provisions are undefined because of being ad hoc, inexplicit and inconsistent. It has been highlighted that ad hoc provision was the major contributor to the complexity of refugee integration; hence it was suggested that ad hoc provisions be made statutory. If this measure were adopted, it would enable accurate accountability and measurability at the same time, and the capacity for provisions would be greatly enhanced.

It is evident that the totality of the processes resulted in the identification of information needs. If the statuses, provisions and situations had not been defined, the information needs would not be an accurate representation of the information needed during refugee integration. This does not nullify the account of information needs found in previous work but rather expands its scope beyond the traditional, such that the information needs outcome from information behaviour studies is no longer applicable only to informational benefits but also to operational benefits. This enabled the unveiling of the information needs matrix, as discussed next.

12.1.2 Does a connection/relationship exist between the information needs?

Yes, a relationship was discovered. Refuge-seekers' information needs were related despite the numerous complexities surrounding provisions. The newfound relationship contained the complexity of provisions during refugee integration through an intersection of demographic and contextual attributes. It followed directly from the status, the provisions, the situations and the identified information needs. To summarise, during refugee integration, three categories of people transition through situations in nine stages of information need. Refugee integration therefore became an information needs journey with three characteristics:

1. There are stages and levels of information need.
2. There is an order dependency to information need.
3. Information needs are not fixed, but flexible.

This sort of relationship between information needs had not been previously recorded in information behaviour literature. However, the idea of the journey as an outcome of

an information behaviour investigation is not new. Amongst other studies, Kenan et al. (2011) identified three phases in the information literacy practices of refugees; Kuhlthau (1993) defined six stages in the information search process; and Ellis (1989) described seven patterns of information seeking behaviour.

The information needs matrix is particularly significant because it is both informational and operational. It breaks down the obvious complexity of integration processes and weaves these intricacies back into a fine print. The fine print brings specific details previously undefined to refugee integration and its provisions. The benefit is a two-way navigational guide – an information guide for the refuge-seeker and an operational guide for the host society.

Theoretically, the information needs matrix can be likened to a map of immigrant information behaviour. This is because the findings from other studies can be directly/indirectly mapped onto it. For instance, Fisher et al.'s (2004b) social and cultural information needs can be directly mapped onto the social, education and employment categories in the matrix. Likewise, Courtright's (2005) information needs on school enrolment, housing, and employment can be mapped onto housing, education and employment in the information needs matrix. Also, the information needs in Silvio's (2006) study, which included academic and apprenticeship, health, employment, and political information needs can be directly mapped onto the health, employment and social categories in the matrix.

Other information needs can be indirectly mapped onto the matrix, such as Khoir et al.'s (2015) four categories of information needs: personal, general, official and full participation, which can be mapped across the matrix. Courtright's (2005) vaccinations, dental, preventive care etc., and Fisher et al.'s (2004b) knowledge and skill based information needs can similarly be mapped. Furthermore, these can be inferred as sub-specific health related information needs and sub-specific education related information needs respectively. Likewise, Silvio's (2006) "how to deal with discrimination" can be mapped under social information needs. This suggests that each individual information need found in this study could be investigated in greater depth.

It was suggested in the literature review that there was a focus on individual attributes, albeit in context, which limited the scope of information needs. This may be true, as

those studies did not result in an information needs matrix. But, as the information needs indicated in them were consistent with this study and were mappable onto the information needs matrix, it may be inferred that the focus on individual attributes isolated the individual from the surrounding contextual factors in the identification of information needs. In this study, the analysis of the contextual factors enabled emergence of the information needs matrix. This identifies the information needs matrix as a foundation that opens up other areas for information science inquiry into the forced displaced and migrants, and possibly for information behaviour studies in general.

Therefore, information behaviour can be understood as the study of the movement and properties of information in context, albeit in abstract, since information cannot exist on its own. Literally, information is everywhere but depends on people. That is why information behaviour encapsulates the totality of human behaviour in relation to sources and channels of information (Wilson, 1996). Furthermore, it is human behaviour that creates the properties and movement of information in any given context. It follows that the ability to describe the whereabouts of information for any given person in a specific context is information behaviour. Hence, information behaviour follows the red thread of information in people's lives (Bates, 1999).

Practically, the information needs matrix supports and expands the indicators of integration framework. This is in line with information behaviour support and expansion studies in the social and behavioural sciences of humans in general (Sonnenwald and Iivonen, 1999). It can be said that the matrix reveals sub-specific needs within the markers of integration of housing, education, employment and health. This means that the matrix could be used to support the framework in the delivery of integration provisions and services, either together with the indicators of integration framework or as an independent practice guide.

In addition, the needs–provisions relationship found highlights refugee integration as a two-way process. The host society makes available provisions to support refuge-seekers, subject to the restriction of status. The refuge-seekers, on the other hand, arrive with different statuses into a new society where they have needs but are not equipped with the information needed to navigate the provisions for each particular

status. It is only the refuge-seeker with information who progresses on the journey. As a result, the implicit conclusion is that refugee integration is as much an information issue as it is a sociological one.

Ultimately, the information needs matrix brings definition to refugee integration provisions. These findings highlight the applicability of the matrix and how it could improve the current integration processes and systems. It particularly emphasises the invaluable insight that information behaviour studies can bring to user studies in any given context. This understanding could enhance the suitability of the integration framework to better measure integration, enlarge the host society's capacity to make provisions for the integration of refuge-seekers, and equip them to navigate integration processes successfully.

12.1.3 What are the sources of information during refugee integration?

The study found that the information sources during refugee integration are basically either persons or places, but between them certain characteristics were found. Across both, the sources of information were either primary or secondary and either internal or external to the refuge-seeker. However, the places were either designated or undesignated locations in the host society. This means that information needs were met either through a purposive search for information or through a serendipitous encounter with it.

Nonetheless, persons and places together became critical in the integration of refugees, since it was from the places that relationships with persons were developed and both supported their integration in the long term. There is therefore a need to ensure the flow of appropriate information in the society to reduce misinformation. The provision of succinct information on refugee integration, and its public availability, will enable a flow of information.

The information needs matrix comes to the rescue, but the dissemination of information must be strategic. Addressing this last research question will reveal strategies for the circulation of information. The research question was addressed through a two-step process to examine the "how" of information in the "where" of

society, and so to arrive at a unified insight into the information behaviour understanding of refugee integration.

How is the information gap bridged during integration?

The study found that information gaps are bridged during refugee integration through interactions and relationships, which were of two kinds. The information sources were defined in terms of refuge-seekers' awareness of it. The sources were either internal or external.

1. Primary information sources
2. Secondary information sources – information grounds

The primary information sources were friends, family, media, caseworkers and social workers amongst others. The inclusion of caseworkers and social workers supports Lloyd et al.'s (2013) finding of trusted mediators as the preferred information sources. Friends and family have long been the most common sources of information in information behaviour studies and this study was no exception. Interestingly, however, the data showed that refuge-seekers initially depend on mediators before inadvertently depending on family and friends. This confirmed that the sources of information were not independent of each other.

The secondary information sources were service providers, religious centres, refugee camps, charities, playgrounds, detention centres and schools amongst others. These secondary sources feature within Fisher's information grounds, which included social network places such as churches, ballparks, salons, barbershops, and workplaces amongst many others. This study's findings support information grounds, adding that the locations may be designated or undesignated.

This means that meeting information needs involves the ways people interact and relate to build relationships and connectedness in societies. The use of these sources to meet information needs required different interactions. The primary ones were personal interactions with close ties and the secondary ones were external interactions with extended ties. The reliability associated with internal sources emphasises the trust attributes of social capital.

The ties can be related to the bonding, bridging and linking types of social capital. The primary information sources can be related, within the bonding and bridging types of social capital, to the close ties of family and friends and the loose ties of workmates. The secondary information sources can be related to the linking type of social capital which involves extended ties with friends. However, an in-depth examination of social capital is beyond the scope of this study.

Since primary information sources provide information directly while secondary sources provide information purposively or serendipitously, all information sources are potential channels of information dissemination during refugee integration. However, they must be sufficiently equipped to prevent misinformation. The identification of "who" must be accompanied by the "where" of integration. This will ensure a holistic strategy of information dissemination during refugee integration.

Where are information needs met during integration?

The study found that the places where information needs are met during refugee integration could be either designated or undesignated. They are information grounds where refuge-seekers may purposively seek or serendipitously encounter information. The designated places exist by design in host societies to provide support, including information, to refuge-seekers and include the Scottish Refugee Council and charities. The undesignated places are places for the serendipitous encounter of information, such places exist in host societies for other purposes, either for society in general or specifically for refuge-seekers, they include refugee camps and detention centres. Designated information grounds:

- Service provider: Scottish Refugee Council, British Red Cross, Home Office
- Community centres: integration networks
- Religious centres: church, mosque
- Local charities

Undesignated information grounds:

- Refugee camp
- Detention centre
- School
- Playground

This study also found that these locations are synonymous with the roles the venues played on the refuge-seeker's integration journey. For instance, the detention centre was an information ground for the refused asylum seeker, while the refugee camp was an information ground for the road traveller who had crossed the Mediterranean Sea. Likewise, for Christians, the church was an information ground and for Muslims, the mosque played this role. Similarly, for the refuge-seeker with family, the playground was an information ground, and so on.

This highlights Castles et al.'s (2002) statement that social capital concentrates on the practical and functional aspects of the immigrant's integration into the host society, which include the building of networks and provision of and access to social and public services, essentially creating robust communities. This study shows that not only relationships, but also information, is obtained from these places, which is consistent with Coleman's (1988) statement that "*information inheres in social relations and it is important in providing a basis of action*".

Also, the data showed that at such locations refuge-seekers receive information that directs the integration journey. This highlights how "*social capital facilitates certain actions of actors (whether persons or corporate actors) within the structure*" (Coleman, 1988). Thus, the information sources can serve as channels of strategic information dissemination during refugee integration. The information needs matrix can be placed in religious centres, charities, service providers, detention centres and refugee camps amongst other places. The significance is evident in two dimensions. First, it is informational, as refuge-seekers are provided with an integration map. Second, it is operational, as the host society is provided with a provisions map.

In addition, the matrix indirectly has therapeutic implications. Refugee integration is said to deal with the sociological and psychological effects of forced displacement. Informational and operational factors deal with the sociological aspects of integration. At this stage, which concerns strategic dissemination of information, the availability of information is therapeutic even in the absence of provisions.

The matrix gives the refuge-seekers hope, as they know where to go and what next to do, rather than being in limbo. The information needs matrix is a first step towards the host society's goal and the refuge-seeker's dream. It depicts "*continuity*" for the

refuge-seeker and "*consistency*" for the host society. Furthermore, the identification of the locations where information is shared during integration provides insight into an information dissemination strategy for the host society and direction towards a support network for the refuge-seekers.

12.2 Contributions of the Study

This study has investigated refugee integration through an information science lens to shed new light on human information behaviour and refugee integration. This resulted in the emergence of a navigation guide with implications for research, policy and practice. The study ultimately expands knowledge across an interdisciplinary discourse through the following contributions:

An information needs matrix: This is a notable contribution as it is of direct benefit to policy, practice and research in significant ways, particularly as a navigational guide. It is directional as a research map with which to guide information behaviour inquiry into the area of refugee integration. It presents numerous research opportunities. It can be expanded horizontally and vertically in lateral approaches that enhance understanding at any given point in time. It is also informational as an integration map with which to guide the refuge-seeker's integration journey.

The matrix is operational as a provision map for the host society to guide the general design of provisions and services for refugee integration, but particularly to illuminate the support, legal, mobility, and benefits provisions which were previously unclear aspects of integration provision. In addition, the matrix is remedial as it could aid in the restoration of psychological balance for the refuge-seeker and help the host society create an atmosphere conducive to restoration. This is because the host wants the acceptance of refuge-seekers into its society to have minimal effect on its communities, while the refuge-seeker who has been psychologically traumatised needs to be equipped to regain the psychological balance needed for full participation in the society. Therefore, the matrix will exercise a restorative function through its provision of information to refuge-seekers and its effect on the operations of the host society's integration services.

Presently, with over 80% of refuge-seekers living below the poverty line in host countries, it appears that refugee integration processes and systems are deteriorating. If the goal of the society is definitely to successfully integrate refuge-seekers, then the emergence of the information needs matrix is timely and creates the possibility of dealing strategically with the failing integration systems. Furthermore, the characteristics that surround the relationships between people, information needs and sociological provisions in the matrix are put forward for consideration in future studies, as follows:

- The stages and levels of information need
- The order dependency of information need
- The flexibility of information need

Attributes for information behaviour research: The study discovered contextual attributes that are significant for future information behaviour investigations of the forced displaced, namely, the status, length, arrival route and persecution reasons. This research has shown that for information behaviour studies to take their rightful place in the information world, factoring contextual attributes is imperative, otherwise such studies will provide only informational benefits. However, the goal of the research would determine the course of action in any study.

The study also adds to the information sources literature by identifying internal and external sources based on the individual situation, and especially by noting the changing perception of reliability between these sources as the journey progresses. In addition, the designated and undesignated places of information acquisition and encounter expand the knowledge of information grounds. Information grounds are generally places which are established for other purposes but foster information sharing. Interestingly, in refugee integration these places can be designated or undesignated which opens up areas of social capital and social exclusion investigations in variant forms to create further understanding that could reduce the marginalisation of refugees.

12.2.1 Limitations

The findings from this study of information behaviour in refugee integration contribute significantly to research and practice. However, the research, being qualitative, gives rise to potential limitations that prevent broader generalisation from the results.

- The overall information needs and sources described do not cover all refuge-seekers' information needs and sources, but are restricted to this study population.
- The findings from the secondary study are limited to the Scottish Refugee Council and do not represent a complete list of facilities of all service providers.
- The geographic area of this study is limited to Glasgow, Scotland, United Kingdom. It cannot be generalised to all parts of the United Kingdom.

The fact that the information needs and sources are limited to this study population stems from the changing relationship between the host society and refuge-seekers during integration. Refugee integration is not constant; the expandable persecution reasons, recognition of which is a strength of the UN convention, prevent this. Thus, it is only possible to offer a precise representation of refuge-seekers at any given point in time. However, the rigour and robustness of the research mitigated the effect of these limitations.

The study adopted a situational information behaviour approach that followed from Dervin's sense-making human movement across time and space. The methodology was used in two studies to focus on the information gap in the experiences of navigating processes and systems. The idea of situational information need extends the outreach of person-centred investigations and eliminates the isolation of individual-level needs.

The population was a purposive heterogeneous diversity sampling of participants relevant to the research questions. The heterogeneity was such that refuge-seekers from different origins and at different points of integration were strategically recruited. The recruitment targeted variance in the length of stay in the host society, which was achieved using different dates of arrival, at the same time ensuring that all participants

did not come from a single service provider. This was a strategic move to prevent a service provider bias in research data.

The analysis of data was an iterative process of thematic analysis in a bottom-up type of approach, in which the individual was not independent of practice and information needs were elicited from research dialogue. This approach enabled a new kind of generalisable findings that honours diversity and individuality while simultaneously addressing the human universals in the study population. The second study was conducted with practical data collected by observation at the Scottish Refugee Council, which confirmed the findings from the first study. In addition, the reliability of the findings is evident as information needs from previous studies were mappable to it. This highlights the rigour with which this research was conducted and the applicability and transferability of the study.

12.2.2 Future Work

The study being limited to Glasgow and the secondary study being limited to the Scottish Refugee Council was due to the time constraints of a PhD thesis. Thus, whilst these conditions may represent potential limitations of this investigation, they also suggest areas of further investigation. Considering that refugee integration will always be complicated, there is therefore a need for continuous investigation in this field.

The findings from this study present a potential framework for such studies. The continuity of such research will increase its credibility, applicability, dependability and trustworthiness. For instance, the following studies could directly follow this investigation:

- A replication of this study in other geographical locations across the world to compare information behaviour. The deterioration of refugee integration systems is global. However, it is the systems in these locations that must be factored into the identification of information needs. The information needs matrix is a useful map.
- An investigation into individual affective factors such as thoughts, feelings and actions during the navigation of integration processes and systems. This will enable the association of feelings with information needs. This study being a

sensitive investigation, emotions inevitably arose, but they were only empathetic, not attributes for investigation.

- An investigation using data from other service providers to further test compatibility of data. This will increase the robustness of information needs.

- A similar investigation but entirely focused on persecution reasons to further expand the matrix. The investigation would address the question of the extent to which the societal provisions are represented.

- The designated and undesignated information grounds are sites for further research on social capital in its various forms.

It is evident that the limitations of findings from the investigation of the forced displaced cannot be completely eradicated, but they can be mitigated. The rigour and robustness of research will provide contributions that can be useful within the given points in time. Fundamentally, this study reveals other unexplored areas of refugee integration which can be the subject of further research globally.

12.3   Conclusion

This information behaviour investigation into refugee integration reveals how a host society's attempts to deal with the sociological and psychological consequences of forced displacement. The overwhelming challenges are the chaos created by the appropriation of the UN convention, the lack of transparency regarding the provisions, and the inconsistency of service delivery. Even more challenging is the lack of coordination and alignment in the integration processes and systems.

The information needs matrix which is the outcome of this study constitutes a containment of the complexities and complications. The view through the information science lens defines and aligns integration provisions. The matrix is a template that enables a dynamic response by the host society to the revolving geopolitical forced displacement issue. Refugee integration thus became as much an information issue as it is a sociological one.

Refugee integration is an information needs journey: one which refuge-seekers travel through in dissimilar states. Although it was with good intentions that a decision was made to accept refuge-seekers, it appeared that preparations were inadequate; hence the failing integration processes and systems. The host society makes provisions for integration but refuses asylum and not all provisions are defined. The provisions centre on sociological needs, but refuge-seekers now have to meet their different needs in a controlled environment.

The problem is not the control of provisions, but their inaccessibility coupled with inconsistency. The inaccessibility reroutes the integration problem to the area of information. There are provisions for refuge-seekers' sociological needs, but not all refuge-seekers are aware of them. The successful navigation of integration processes and systems is actually a case of *"survival of the informed",* resulting from the absence of explicit and publicly available information.

The information needs matrix tackles the problems of inaccessibility and lack of coordination. The explication and alignment of provisions in the matrix brings transparency and openness to integration processes and systems. The benefit of the matrix goes beyond the individual, but is collectively shared by everyone concerned, which includes the refuge-seeker, the host society, policy makers and research. The impact of these findings and the processes that led to the emergence of the matrix significantly expand knowledge of information behaviour, giving rise to a potential reconceptualisation.

Information behaviour is either unilateral or bilateral: as a study of the properties of information, each type creates its own kind of understanding, depending on the goal of the study. For instance, this information behaviour investigation followed the properties of information and a two-dimensional information needs matrix emerged. On the other hand, previous studies had identified information needs but did not result in an information needs matrix, and accordingly represent unilateral investigation of information properties.

Therefore, information behaviour studies are no longer just informational, but also operational. Information behaviour can be used to inform and enhance the design of integration services and provisions. The identified information needs together with

information sources and acquisition locations have implications for the design of sociological provisions and systems to meet the dissimilar states of refuge-seekers, and at the same time to provide for the availability of information to asylum seekers for navigating integration processes and systems.

Generally, refugee integration is a revolving geopolitical issue that will always be complicated, but cumulative understanding gained from information behaviour investigations will reveal emergent information needs at any given point in time. This will enlighten all involved and strengthen the capacity of refugee integration processes and systems to deal with the sociological and psychological consequences of forced displacement in any given population whenever they arise.

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Appendix A: Ethics Approval

Ethics Approval System

You are Olubukola Olajumoke Odunfan (Research Student)

Return to Main

Application ID: 421

Title of research:
Information behaviour of Refugees

Summary of research:
This study is an investigation into refugee experiences with information during integration to discover
a. What are the situations of information lack during transition?
b. What are the gaps/information needs in such situation?
c. How do refugee make sense of the gap situation?
d. If a connection/relationship exist in the information needs?

How will participants be recruited?
Participants will be recruited through the Scottish Refugee Council and the British Red Cross during the Refugee festival Scotland between 18 - 26 June 2016.
A5 size fliers stating the purpose of research will be distributed during the festival period.

How will consent be demonstrated?
Informed consent form signed by the participants.

What will the participants be told about the conduct of the research?
Participants will be told the research aims to find their information needs, seeking behaviour and uses during/for integration through narrative interviews.
The conversation will be recorded and notes will be taken during the interview and the audio recording is to accurately record the information provided and will be used for transcription purposes only however if they feel uncomfortable with the recording at any time during the interview, it could be turn off upon request.
The narratives of experiences will be combined with personal information that includes name, age, country of origin, date of arrival to identify the different information needs at different points of integration and will also enable the information needs to be related and compared.
The findings from this study will be published and presented however individual names and other personally identifiable information will be anonymous unless permission have been given through consent form.

Can you please provide more details about what the participants can expect. Is this a questionnaire or an interview? What data is going to be collected and how is it going to be used? Is any personal information being asked for and if so why, and how is anonymity going to be handled? More details are required here and you may need to discuss some of these points with your supervisor.

What will participants be expected to do?
Participants are expected to respond to interview questions and participation in the study is voluntary - they can decline to take part in the study or decline to answer any questions and are free to withdraw from the project at any time and there are no consequences for withdrawal.
It is also very important that participants are told that they free to ignore any questions or withdraw from the process at any point (and also ask for their data to be withdrawn).

How will data be stored?
The interview data will be handled as confidentially as possible with files pass worded
Interview data files will be pass worded and securely stored on a pass worded computer, university H Drive and on a pass worded personal storage disk as back up.

Again if there is personal information how is security going to be handled.

How will data be processed? (e.g. analysed, reported, visualised, integrated with other data, etc.)
Recorded interviews will be transcribed, then analysed with NVIVO software.

How and when will data be disposed of?
Interview data will be deleted after 5 years.

Appendix B: SRC Mandate

Joint confidentiality/data sharing mandate

Scottish Refugee Council

In order to help you we need to record information that you give us about yourself, your family and other people associated with you.

We keep this information confidential. The only people who see it are those who need to. We do not use the information for anything except our work with you.

We do sometimes need to share your details with other organisations. These include:
- Our partner organisations* who work alongside us to provide services to you.
- UK government agencies involved with your asylum claim or other official functions.
- Accommodation providers.
- Health services and other local government services.
- Other organisations that may be able to help you.

Our work is checked by official bodies such as the Office of the Immigration Services Commissioner or the Legal Services Commission, and they may ask to see the information we hold about you. This is to protect you from getting bad advice.

Normally we tell you before we share any details, and agree with you what information we will share. If, for any reason, we have to share information without telling you first, we will tell you at the next opportunity what we have done.

If you have any questions about this, please ask your adviser before you sign this paper.

Name of Service User: _____

I give permission for the Scottish Refugee Council and its partner organisations* to share my details with other organisations, as described above.

I give permission for my file to be reviewed, as described above.
I also give this permission on behalf of any members of my family or other people who are associated with me.

Date: _____   Signature: _____

JCDB Reference number: _____

This document has been explained in _____ before being signed

* The partnership currently includes: British Refugee Council, Scottish Refugee Council and Welsh Refugee Council, but may be extended to include other organisations.

Appendix C: Informed Consent Form

Consent for Participation in Research Interviews

Name of department: Computer and Information Science
Title of the study: Information behaviour of Refugees

- I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above project and the researcher has answered any queries to my satisfaction.
- I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time, up to the point of completion, without having to give a reason and without any consequences. If I exercise my right to withdraw and I don't want my data to be used, any data which have been collected from me will be destroyed.
- I understand that I can withdraw any personal data (i.e. data which identify me personally) from the study at any time.
- I understand that anonymised data (i.e. data which do not identify me personally) cannot be withdrawn once they have been included in the study.
- I understand that any information recorded in the investigation will remain confidential and no information that identifies me will be made publicly available.
- I consent to being a participant in the project
- I consent to being audio and/or video recorded as part of the project

Participant's Signature: _____	Date: _____
Researcher's Signature: _____	Date: _____