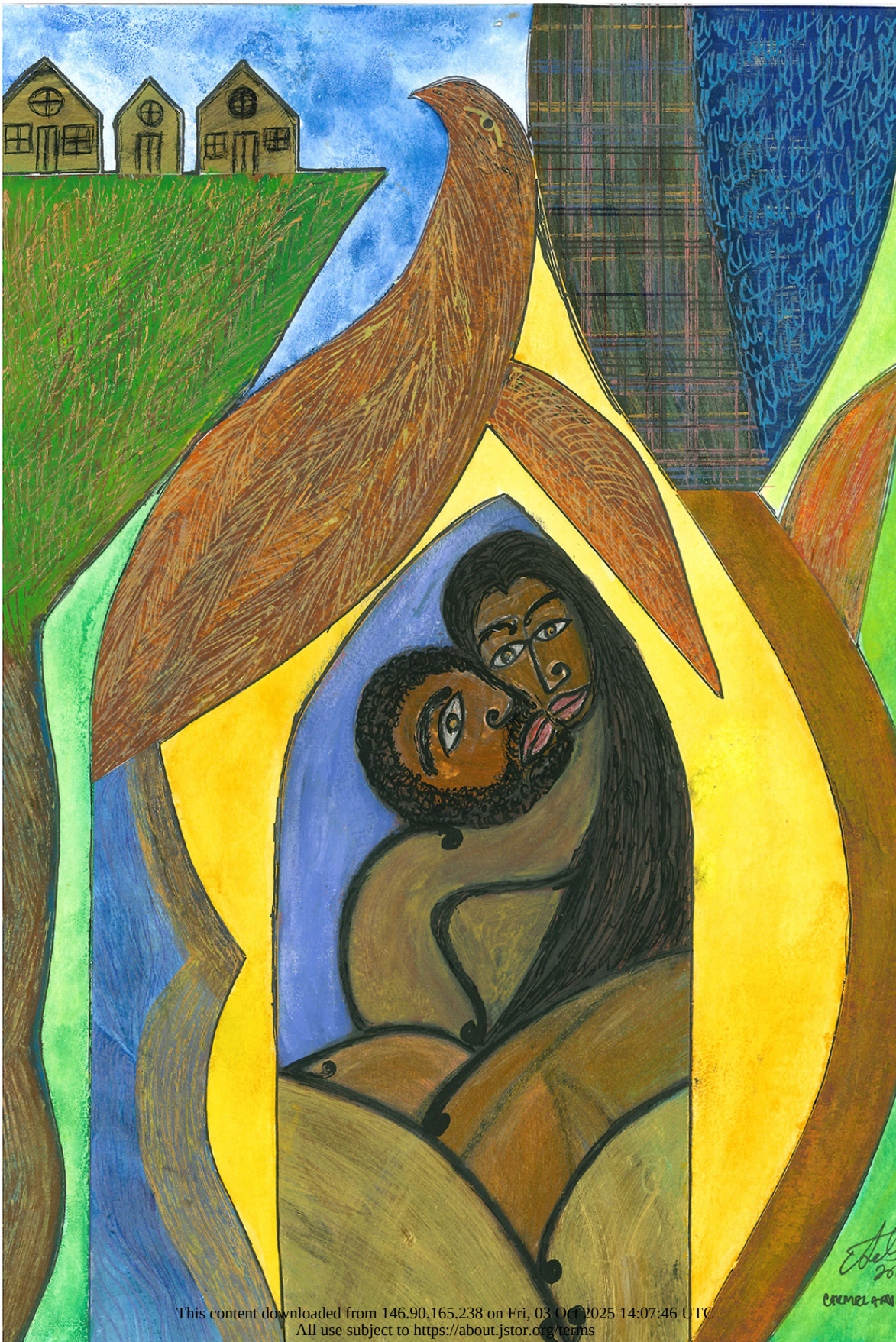

Section 5

Narratives of Integration

5.1 Integration and the Media: Reflections from a Participatory Project in Glasgow

Bethia Pearson, Sadie Ryan and Marzanna Antoniak

Introduction

Negative media representation of refugees, asylum seekers and other migrants has received considerable attention from scholars, who rightly point out the obstacle it presents for integration (Crawley *et al*., 2016). Media play an important role in providing information on migration and asylum to the general public; however, research has found that the way in which this is presented can influence public opinion on immigration issues (Boomgaarden & Vliegenthart, 2009) and can inaccurately represent and dehumanise migrants, refugees and asylum seekers (Philo *et al*., 2013). In this context, it is perhaps to be expected that integration scholars draw attention to communication-based work which 'gives voice to experiences that might be hard for receiving communities to grasp, and offers a counter to stereotypical narratives of migration and dependency' (Phipps *et al*., 2022: 92). Yet there is little scholarship on media and media-making as a potential part of integration processes in Scotland or indeed the UK.

By way of an intervention, this chapter presents reflections and findings from the 'Media and Migrants: Participation and Policy' pilot project at the University of Glasgow, which included a Media Lab in podcasting and newswriting skills for migrants and refugees. The aim of the chapter is primarily to share the 'lessons learned' from the participatory and multilingual approach of this Media Lab, which produced a podcast and a printed magazine. The chapter highlights the key challenges in bringing these into fruition, while also offering preliminary findings on the benefits of the process for participants. Overall, it is argued that such work has a clear role to play in contributing to processes of integration, but that more

research is required to both evidence this and to advance a conceptual understanding of the field that incorporates both integration studies and media sociology.

The project on which this chapter is based was a collaborative initiative between researchers (Ryan and Pearson, who are also a podcaster and a journalist, respectively) and the non-governmental organisation (NGO) Migrant Voice (with the Glasgow Co-ordinator, Antoniak). Migrant Voice works with all migrants to support their engagement with and participation in the media, with three UK bases in London, Birmingham and Glasgow. Its aim and methods are defined as follows:

> Migrant Voice's aim is to transform the debate around migration, campaign to protect migrants' rights, and challenge racism, xenophobia, and discrimination. They do so by working with different communities and facilitating spaces for discussion, running campaigns, delivering training, hosting arts and multicultural events, and telling migrant stories in migrants' own way. (Migrant Voice, 2023)

The organisation has been running Media Labs, a program of media training workshops, since its inception in 2010. Media Labs cover a range of training to include written, visual and audible media. The participant groups are decided by the team who are organising the training; however, the training content is mainly based upon the needs that are relevant at a specific time. These needs are determined by either a campaign that the organisation is running, a need for support that is brought up by members and partners or the identification of a gap in the discourse with regards to migrants' issues and stories.

The project received a £4444 British Academy Early Career Researcher Seed Funding award in March 2023, with a four-month spending window, which meant that the budget was allocated at an early stage without much flexibility. We planned a two-day intensive Media Lab on 25–26 May with two distinct strands: One group would work on podcasting skills and recordings, while the other would learn about newswriting and work on stories for a publication. The key outputs from the project were to be a magazine featuring the work of the participants on the magazine strand, and a podcast episode featuring the work of the participants on the podcasting strand.

This chapter proceeds as follows. First, we set out what media scholarship tells us about media access for refugees and asylum seekers *vis-a-vis* general patterns in source access for actors in civil society, and map the processes of integration to media representation, participation and consumption. Secondly, we share practical considerations for designing and carrying out the intensive Media Lab. The subsequent two sections are more thematic, based around multilingual participation and multilingual journalism. We then conclude with the lessons learned and a suggested research agenda.

Who Gets to Speak? Media Representation and Participation for Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Other Migrants

Scholarship on media representation has long told us that official sources will almost always dominate news coverage on any given topic (Manning, 2001; Cottle, 2003). This means that powerful actors, such as the government and opposition parties or large institutions such as the police and banks, will be quoted by journalists on policy and news events. Such reliable media access enables these actors to give the first interpretation of events, which tends to lead to narratives that are very difficult, if not impossible, to reframe (see Stuart Hall's (1978) work on 'primary definition'). It also gives a platform for powerful actors to set the agenda on issues in a way that obscures complexities and narrows the debate. In this context, NGOs and other 'unofficial' or less powerful sources typically compete for access with the government and other politicians.

Research by the Glasgow Media Group (Philo *et al*., 2013) found 'overwhelmingly hostile' coverage of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK, a 'relative absence' of refugees and their representatives, and that this media coverage led to stigmatisation and isolation of these groups. Migrant Voice (whose work is described in more detail in the next section) intervenes in this long-established dynamic by developing platforms for migrants to speak to journalists and supporting them to do so. This is an innovative intervention, even in the context of NGOs professionalising media relations in the last 20 years through, for example, offering case studies and photography to journalists (Davis, 2000). While members of the public are typically undervalued as sources because they are seen to express an opinion or experience rather than diagnosing the broader problem or suggesting solutions (Deacon & Golding, 1994), Migrant Voice challenges this devaluation by arguing that migrants themselves are experts in migration – experts by experience.

Challenging mainstream media coverage is extremely difficult but it is possible (Schlesinger, 1990). In discussing a migrant-led participatory podcasting project, Wilbur *et al*. noted that:

> Discrepancies between deficit representations in the media and the lived experiences of newcomers make projects such as the podcast an important alternative site of change and activism. It is especially important to create spaces where such narratives are voiced by migrants with lived experience themselves, as opposed to being spoken for and about. This is particularly evident in media representations of migrants and, even more so, asylum seekers. It is crucial that newcomers frame their own stories and lived experiences to increase visibility, challenge marginalisation, and provide alternative ways of learning, working, and living together. (Wilbur *et al*., 2022: 3)

In the case of podcasts and radio, it is relatively straightforward to include 'narratives […] voiced by migrants […] as opposed to [migrants] being

spoken for and about' (Wilbur *et al*., 2022: 3). While participation may be modulated by a host or editor, direct speech is the primary medium in podcasting. In media representation research, direct speech constitutes the highest quality of media representation, as it allows individuals to represent themselves (Hughes & Mellado, 2015). However, this is less common in print and broadcast media due to the source hierarchy described previously, which privileges more powerful actors. In these contexts, refugees are more likely to be referred to as a homogenous group or represented via a quote from an NGO working in the area of the issue. In this way, not all access to the media is the same, nor can it be assumed to have the same benefits and outcomes. Local and community publications will not directly overturn mainstream narratives: however, there are also other ways that media participation can improve the lives of migrants as well as engage in the wider media landscape.

Table 1 Framework for refugee integration and media

Domain of integration	Media representation	Media participation	Media consumption
Rights and citizenship (foundation)	Representing refugee issues as human rights issues; representing refugees as individual humans.	Realising the right to expression; an opportunity to assert perspectives on citizenship and rights.	Learning about social and political issues via local and national media.
Language and cultural knowledge (facilitator)	Diversity of society reflected in media coverage; positive understandings of cultural differences.	Developing English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) skills; understanding media in new country/ region; sharing stories; encouraging multilingualism in communities.	Developing ESOL skills; learning about culture in the new country; receiving stories.
Social bridges, bonds and links (social connection)	Less polarised coverage of refugees would enable better social connections across types.	Forming links within refugee community and in wider community through sharing stories, interviewing and disseminating media outputs. Making contacts with journalists to encourage the use of refugees as sources.	Finding out about local events and initiatives; local media enabling a sense of community belonging.
Employment/ education (markers and means)	Positive role of refugees in using skills and qualifications in society.	Skills development (transferable communication skills and media skills). Refugees who are trained journalists able to work in media.	Finding out about local opportunities for employment and education.

In terms of how these considerations map on to the indicators of the conceptual model of integration (Ager & Strang, 2008), a multifaceted approach best captures the multiple ways in which media and processes of integration interact (illustrated in Table 1). This has been developed both through contributions from Migrant Voice as well as through interpreting established democratic media roles in the context of the refugee experience.

This framework assumes that media, in its various forms, is the connective tissue in a democracy. Specifically, it draws on the three classic normative roles of the media, namely *representation* of groups and issues in society; the provision of *information* necessary for citizens to take part in elections and have a good understanding of social, political and economic events; and acting as a *watchdog* against powerful interests in society (Curran, 1993). However, there are likely to be other outcomes of media participation in particular that may play a role in processes of integration. These may include outcomes related to wellbeing, such as confidence and self-esteem, or that relate to health, either through the health benefits of social connections or through receiving healthcare information through the media.

Intervening in the Debate Through a Participatory Media Project: An Intensive Two-day Media Lab

Research on media participation is not necessarily participatory in nature. It would have been possible for us to learn about existing refugee media projects by observing these in action and/or conducting interviews or focus groups with participants. However, we felt that it made ethical sense to take a participatory approach in our research. Participatory research 'recognizes that participants have knowledge about how their own life situations could be improved and can contribute to a more sustainable and effective outcome' (Yanay & Battle, 2021: 54). In this sense, it has potential for all research agendas aiming to affect social change. However, it has particularly powerful potential for research involving groups of people, like refugees, who are often structurally marginalised and deprived of agency in their own lives, and 'whose opinions are often dominated by others' (Collie *et al*., 2010: 142). Participatory research has the potential to amplify the voices and opinions of such participants, and 'can be a powerful catalyst for learners to reimagine themselves and their futures, despite the many uncertainties present in their lives' (Yanay & Battle, 2021: 51). For this reason, '[a]n assortment of participatory approaches is increasingly applied with refugee and migrant populations, being championed as having the potential to empower participants, dismantle power relations between researcher and participants, and cultivate reflexivity' (Frazier, 2020: 136).

We chose to adopt a participatory approach to our research by running a Media Lab in collaboration with the organisation Migrant Voice. This

Media Lab would simultaneously support refugees' media participation and create a site for us to explore the refugees' media participation collaboratively with the refugees. The design of the Media Lab drew on three events run at the University of Glasgow in the winter of 2022–2023, as well as Migrant Voice's long experience of running similar workshops in London, Birmingham and Glasgow. Migrant Voice's Media Labs have included media interviewing skills, autobiographical writing and analysing selected press articles, led or supported by a qualified teacher of English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL). This section outlines our key practical considerations in planning the intensive Media Lab which is the focus on this chapter, with the intention of highlighting the best practices.

We limited the workshops to 12 participants (six for print journalism and six for podcasting) who were either asylum seekers or refugees, or who had experience of being a migrant. This low number was decided on the basis of the level of funding, the anticipated range of language skills and support, the limited podcasting equipment and the intense nature of the workshops, which involved both training and outputs. Beyond these factors, we expected that a lower number of participants would increase the possibility that everyone participating could receive individualised support, and would make it more possible that everyone would have a visible role in the outputs. We wanted to ensure that all the participants were able to learn new skills or develop existing ones, and that the training could be responsive to their needs. Additionally, we decided to run the workshops over two weekdays in May. We were aware that a weekend might be difficult for those with caring responsibilities, while weekdays might be more difficult for those with work commitments; on balance decided to prioritise the needs of those with caring responsibilities, due to the fact that people in the asylum system are often not allowed to work.

To recruit participants, we cast the net wider than our known networks. Migrant Voice already have a highly engaged and active network in Glasgow. Being able to advertise the workshops to this network was a clear advantage of our partnership. However, we were aware that an increasing number of organisations in the city offer media or storytelling projects, and that there might be interest from people not (yet) a part of the Migrant Voice network. We shared a flyer (Figure 1) with a wide range of organisations and networks, including the University of Glasgow and national/regional and local organisations based in different areas of the city. The flyer and application form were shared in English, after being edited for accessibility by Antoniak, but we noted that applicants were welcome to respond using other languages if they preferred. Everyone who completed the application form did so in English, although it is possible that some used translation software or had help from a friend.

We received twice as many applications as we had places, which indicated both that the networks we used for dissemination were successful and that there was clear demand for opportunities to develop media skills.

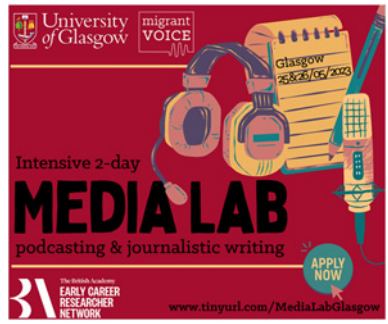

Figure 1 Media Lab advert

The applicants included people who had been professional journalists in their home countries but had struggled to pick their careers back up after moving to the UK. In some cases this was because they were unable to work while in the asylum process; in others, it was because there were limited opportunities for them to work in languages other than English. Others had struggled because they had left behind their networks, contacts and industry-specific knowledge in their home or previous countries. We also had applications from aspiring journalists in the early stages of building media careers for themselves. Our applicant pool also included people whose primary interests were activism and supporting other migrants (e.g. by speaking up for migrants' rights, improving public understanding of the issues faced by migrants, or sharing information with migrant communities) and who wanted to develop their media skills in order to pursue these goals. Some applicants were already involved in media-making, some had concrete plans for starting their own media projects, and some were just beginning to consider the possibility of media participation.

After considering the applications, we chose to bring together a range of people with different types and levels of journalistic experience. Ultimately, we selected the applicants whose personal statements suggested that they would benefit most from taking part and who appeared to be the most deeply engaged with the project. Taking this selection approach meant that we were able to accept applications from people with diverse backgrounds in terms of their professional and personal experience, skills levels, interests, migration histories, and home countries and languages. After contacting the applicants to let them know whether or not we were able to offer them a place, we arranged one-to-one video calls with each of the successful applicants so that we could get a fuller understanding of what they wanted to get out of the workshops, discuss their initial ideas for the magazine and podcast episode, identify any topics they would rather avoid and go over the project's research consent procedure with them. This process also helped to offset the 'intensive' nature of the Media Lab and enabled greater planning in advance.

Creating Space for Multilingual Participation

Although the workshops were primarily delivered in English, it was important to ensure that the participants were able to take part in the project and produce journalistic work in whatever languages they chose. Migrants in the UK are often required to use English to access various kinds of support (e.g. Fassetta *et al*., 2016; Weir *et al*., 2018; McKelvey, 2021), and this can often create barriers to access. This requirement may also limit migrants' participation in the UK media landscape, despite the fact that language differences can be bridged using subtitles, voiceovers and translations of text. Integration models (Phipps *et al*., 2022) emphasise the importance of multilingualism; however, the details of what this looks like in practice might not always be intuitively obvious. Chapter 2.2 of this volume provides a positive vision of what multilingual practice can look like in the context of language learning, Chapter 4.2 shows what it can look like in the context of a community mapping day, and Chapter 5.2 discusses the importance of multilingual practice in narrative-based education. In this chapter, we discuss our efforts to work multilingually but also acknowledge some of the practical challenges we encountered in attempting to work across languages. We hope that an open discussion of these challenges will prove useful to others aiming to create multilingual spaces. Below, we first discuss the provision of interpretation as a way to allow the participants to take part in the workshops in languages other than English. We then go on to discuss issues relating to the creation of multilingual media outputs.

The pre-workshop meetings with the participants were a useful way of helping us confirm whether they would be comfortable using English in the workshops or whether they would like us to arrange an interpreter. Although we had asked about their language background and the need for language support in the application form, we wondered whether some participants might hesitate to request an interpreter due to the belief that it might make us less likely to accept their application. In practice, only one successful applicant required language support, and she had requested an interpreter in her application: all others chose to take part in English, and this preference was confirmed in their pre-workshop meetings. One participant told us that she was choosing not to use an interpreter because she had a very low level of trust in the interpreting services available to her in Glasgow. While this was concerning, she was still able to participate fully in the workshops and to produce high-quality journalistic work in English.

Another participant said that he had chosen to take part in English because he was keen to practise and improve his English. Learning English remains extremely important for many migrants to the UK, and with cuts in the provision of English classes and other learning opportunities (Meer *et al*., 2019), workshops like this can be a valuable opportunity to practise

using English. While we made sure that this participant was aware that there was no obligation to use English only, we respected his choice, and instead of encouraging him to take us up on our offer of providing an interpreter, we instead focused on making sure that the workshops were delivered in a way that was accessible to English learners, delivering them at a manageable pace, minimising the use of technical jargon and taking regular pauses to check that everyone understood the content.

As noted, only one successful applicant requested an interpreter, and we were able to support this request because of our grant. Our interpreter provided us with consecutive interpretation, where the speaker pauses at regular intervals to allow for interpretation. This type of interpretation worked well in that it successfully allowed the participant to take part in the workshops in her own language, but it did significantly slow down the pace of the workshops. In future work of this kind, we will know to factor interpretation time into our scheduling. Another challenge was that not all of the research team and media trainers were experienced in working with interpreters. Working with interpreters is a skill which needs to be developed; without experience, it is hard to know intuitively how regularly to take breaks to allow consecutive interpretation. In future work of this kind, we plan to allow time for a discussion between the interpreter and the facilitators in advance of the workshops, where the interpreter will brief the facilitators on how they work.

The participant working with an interpreter was working on the magazine strand, meaning that everyone working on the podcasting strand was working in English. We had considered the possibility of creating a podcast episode with interpretation and had decided that it would be possible. Interviews could take place via interpreters and (with prior permission from the interpreters), then the interpretation could be layered over the original language audio, creating an episode accessible to English-speaking listeners. However, in practice, interviewing through an interpreter would have been very challenging for the participants. A more workable way of managing this might have been to ensure that the group included speakers who shared languages and could interview each other in their languages of choice, with English-language voiceovers being added during post-production if necessary.

Multilingual Journalism: Practical Considerations

As mentioned previously, the key outputs from the project were to be a magazine featuring the work of the participants on the magazine strand (see Figure 2) and a podcast episode featuring the work of the participants on the podcasting strand. The first day of the magazine strand was spent discussing how newspapers work, what counts as ‘news’ and newspaper production (with an introduction to InDesign software). Although ‘what is news’ is broadly similar in most journalistic cultures, this early

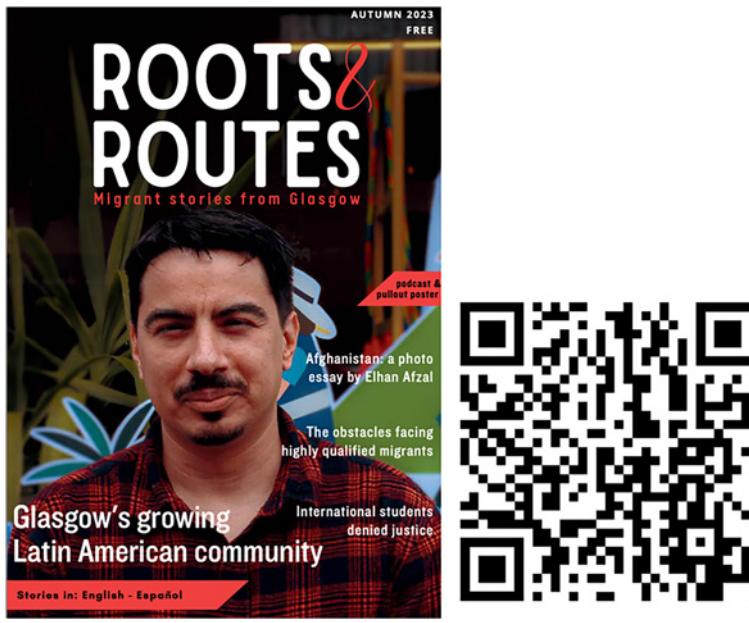

Figure 2 Media Lab outputs: The cover of magazine and the QR code for the Voices of Change podcast

discussion foreshadowed an ongoing theme of the editing process at large, namely the tension between conventional journalistic norms (e.g. fact checking and editorial oversight) and the idea of the unobstructed voicing of alternative narratives. As the editing process continued beyond the end of the workshops, not all the participants were available throughout. Some participants initially indicated that they wished to be part of the editing process; however, their wider circumstances and the need to make progress with the magazine meant that this fell by the wayside. Extensive editing by someone other than the writer is typical in mainstream publications, but the extent to which participants can drive editorial processes is a key consideration for participatory media projects. It is likely that a different approach would have been taken in a longer project and with a different range of participants. Firstly, editing involves a specific set of skills, such as headline writing, and warrants dedicated training. Second, it is often the case that editors and subeditors are more naturally drawn to editing than writing, but everyone in our Media Lab wanted to write. Lastly, editing involves an in-depth understanding of the audience of a publication and how to 'sell' stories to this audience. This is something of a cultural balancing act that also draws on journalistic conventions and a preoccupation with grammar. In short, it cannot be taught in two days.

The podcasting strand also ran into issues in the editing phase: all of the participants were interested in learning to edit audio. To this end, we

had planned a step-by-step tutorial to allow the participants to edit their own interviews. However, information technology (IT) issues and time constraints meant that we were not able to complete this tutorial within the workshops. Two of the participants, who had particularly high levels of IT literacy, edited their interviews at home after the workshops, and their edited interviews were included in the final publicly released podcast episode. The other interviews were edited by the research team: The aim of this edit was to preserve as much of the key content of the interview as possible, while reducing length and removing repetition. We responded to the participants' desire to learn audio editing, and our revised understanding of the time required for this led to us organising an additional follow-up session focusing solely on editing.

Many of the issues faced in bringing together the magazine related to working multilingually. In the run-up to the workshops, we had not considered a multilingual publication due to the work involved *vis-a-vis* the length of and funding for the project. However, during the second day, we had conversations with several participants that led us to decide to delay the publication and publish some stories in different languages. These conversations included discussions about certain communities having many members who have just begun to learn English; discussions about who the participant thought their audience was, or who they wanted to read the article; and discussions about the importance of reflecting the language use of the participant. Two stories would eventually be published bilingually, to different extents, as explained below.

During the research and writing of a feature about the growing Latin American community in Glasgow, it became clear that many Salvadorans who have recently arrived in Scotland are not fluent in English. In a discussion with the author working on this piece, it was decided that for this community, reading an article about itself was key, so it should be translated into Spanish and published in both Spanish and English. We achieved this at the eleventh hour and with the generous assistance of a Salvadoran asylum seeker known to Migrant Voice. With a complete article being translated, it was necessary to confirm the final edited version of the article before sending it for translation to avoid any need for subediting across languages later. There were further practical considerations: we needed more high-resolution, high-quality photos to run across two features rather than one; we needed a headline that would work in both languages; and we considered whether to use the same pull-quotes for each one (these are usually chosen to appeal to the anticipated reader, which, of course, is linked to the language of publication).

Another article was initially planned to be presented bilingually. This article was written in Kurdish Sorani by a participant who had only recently begun to learn English. At an early stage, it was difficult to clarify the story brief and details in a way that came anywhere close to a typical editor–journalist interaction. Our interpreter (who, fortunately, was able

to act as both an interpreter for speech and a translator for text) modulated these discussions during the workshop, but once the full text arrived the interpreter/translator was unavailable, and we could not find a replacement within the timeframe. Thus, it was impossible to be sure of the nuances of what was in the article and to carry out the usual level of fact-checking. Overall, a conventional editorial oversight was not possible, and this raised questions about the kinds of stories that could be included if we ran a project like this again. For all the reasons above, only a summary of this article was published in the magazine and only in English.

We also encountered a further practical issue at the production stage of the magazine. Some languages will take up more (or less) space than the English text, and this affects the publication layout. Additionally, in the case of Arabic script-based languages (such as Arabic, Urdu, Persian, Kurdish Sorani, Pashto and others), the font may need to be enlarged, as the text in equivalent size appears smaller than in Latin script-based languages and may therefore prove difficult to read. Another common issue is that texts in languages based on Arabic script can become corrupted by software, with the text appearing backwards in print. The work of a digital editor is likely to be challenging for a multilingual publication, as they will find themselves having to ensure the texts written in scripts other than Latin-based correspond with their English equivalents in the layout of the page.

In Conclusion: Lessons Learned and Future Research Agenda

We acknowledge that the sections above focus largely on the challenges we encountered. This is partly because the project we describe is a pilot project, and one that is innovative in its approach and exploratory in nature. In carrying out this work, we learned a great deal. A lot of our learning came from noticing flaws in our original approach and planning. We were highly responsive to the needs and interests of the participants, which necessitated flexibility. This meant that we did not stick rigidly to a predetermined plan. We hope that an honest description of the challenges we encountered will prove useful to others who plan to carry out similar work.

We share our experiences not to discourage others from taking a multilingual approach but to encourage others to plan carefully and allocate the time and resources necessary to create inclusive multilingual spaces. Being open to the possibility of multilingual working emerging organically is important but, in some circumstances, is not enough. If we do not provide the necessary scaffolding (e.g. interpretation and translation), we risk multilingual speakers defaulting to English as the path of least resistance, and speakers who are not yet fluent in English opting not to take part at all. Our experiences also show that we cannot assume that interpretation and translation processes will be seamless and automatic. In

reality, they can be complex and messy, and the tensions that arise may require more time and attention than we expect.

Overall, the magazine editing process demonstrated that multilingual journalism, both in terms of the journalistic process and the production process, is challenging. It requires having a network of informal contacts who might be prepared to do translation work at short notice (thankfully, we could access such a network through Migrant Voice), as well as funding for interpreters. It also requires the time to ensure due diligence can be done on fact-checking and the potential nuances of complex topics, as well as working with production editors and printers with knowledge of working in different scripts. That said, we firmly believe its benefits can outweigh this effort, and the solution is likely to lie in organisations sharing resources to co-produce such publications. We also envision that a model could be developed whereby such publications have articles re-printed in the local or mainstream press, working with editors and journalists from these media outlets.

It is also important to acknowledge the project's successes. Our responsive participatory approach meant that the participants reported getting a lot out of the workshops. In a final evaluation session, we asked the participants what had changed for them in the past two days. A sample of their answers included: 'Gained confidence to be involved with media', 'New skills and professional experience', 'An eye opener realising other peoples' stories, problems', 'Feeling more confident talking to strangers about my experience' and 'Believing in myself'. In a follow-up questionnaire, the participants provided more in-depth evaluations of their experiences, including the following:

> 'The media lab was a good experience for me and it was a great opportunity to meet very experienced and expert journalists and I saw some good people who want to do good work for their journalistic future. […] The opportunity to write for a Scottish magazine and convey the message I wanted was an unprecedented opportunity for me.'

Beyond these practical lessons in how to run participatory media projects, the Media Lab has made an important contribution to an emerging research agenda that investigates the ways in which different kinds of media engagement and participation can improve the lives of refugees, asylum seekers and other migrants, and best practices for this, especially in refugee integration research. The table in the first section of this chapter began to map out ways in which media may play a role in processes of integration beyond the scope of this specific project. We suggest that future research engages with this multifaceted approach to media and integration, while also factoring in the type of media outlet. For example, as the table indicates, local media may play a particularly important role in certain domains of integration (such as social connection), while national and mainstream news will be more relevant to others (rights and

citizenship). This assumption deserves closer analysis, particularly in the context of growing attention to the concept of the 'local citizenship' model for countering the exclusion of migrants in cities (United Cities and Local Government, 2021) and the ongoing decline of local media. An additional key development will be how growing research on media and integration engages with or challenges wider scholarship on both media representation and participation, and multilingual working. Lastly, attention should also be given to the more indirect potential of media participation to influence policy, which means it may link with less obvious domains, such as housing. Our future work will seek to both shape and contribute to this agenda.

References

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

Boomgaarden, H.G. and Vliegenthart, R. (2009) How news content influences anti-immigration attitudes: Germany, 1993–2005. *European Journal of Political Research* 48 (4), 545–571.

Collie, P., Liu, J., Podsiadlowski, A. and Kindon, S. (2010) You can't clap with one hand: Learnings to promote culturally grounded participatory action research with migrant and former refugee communities. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 34 (2), 141–149.

Cottle, S. (2003) *News, Public Relations and Power*. SAGE Publications.

Crawley, H., McMahon, S. and Jones, K. (2016) *Victims and Villains: Migrant Voices in the British Media*. Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations, Coventry University.

Curran, J. (1993) Rethinking the media as a public sphere. In P. Dahlgren and C. Sparks (eds) *Communication and Citizenship: Journalism and the Public Sphere* (pp. 27–57). Routledge.

Davis, A. (2000) Public relations, news production and changing patterns of source access in British national media. *Media, Culture & Society* 22 (1), 39–59.

Deacon, D. and Golding, P. (1994) *Taxation and Representation: The Media, Political Communication and the Poll Tax*. John Libbey.

Fassetta, G., Da Lomba, S. and Quinn, N. (2016) *A Healthy Start? Experiences of Pregnant Refugee and Asylum-Seeking Women in Scotland*. University of Strathclyde International Public Policy Institute Centre on Health Policy.

Frazier, E. (2020) When fieldwork 'fails': Participatory visual methods and fieldwork encounters with resettled refugees. *Geographical Review* 110 (1–2), 133–144.

Hall, S. (1978) *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order*. Macmillan.

Hughes, S. and Mellado, C. (2015) Protest and accountability without the press: The press, politicians, and civil Society in Chile. *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 21 (1), 46–67.

Manning, P. (2001) *News and News Sources: A Critical Introduction*. SAGE Publications.

McKelvey, R. (2021) Language provision in the Scottish public sector: Recommendations to promote inclusive practice. *Social Inclusion* 9 (1), 45–55.

Meer, N., Peace, T. and Hill, E. (2019) *English Language Education for Asylum Seekers and Refugees in Scotland: Provision and Governance*. GLIMER Project.

Migrant Voice (2023) Migrant Voice. See www.migrantvoice.org (accessed 22 August 2023).

Philo, G., Briant, E. and Donald, P. (2013) *Bad News for Refugees*. Pluto Press.

Phipps, A., Aldegheri, E. and Fisher, D. (2022) *The New Scots Refugee Integration Strategy: A Report on the Local and International Dimensions of Integrating Refugees in Scotland*. University of Glasgow.

Schlesinger, P. (1990) Rethinking the sociology of journalism: Source strategies and the limits of media-centrism. In M. Ferguson (ed.) *Public Communication: The New Imperatives* (pp. 61–83). SAGE Publications.

Scottish Government (2018) New Scots: Refugee integration strategy 2018 to 2022. See https://www.gov.scot/publications/new-scots-refugee-integration-strategy-2018-2022/pages/6/ (accessed 30 November 2023).

United Cities and Local Government (2021) Local citizenship and migration: Fostering the right to the city for all. See https://learning.uclg.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/28_local_citizenship_and_migration.pdf (accessed 28 August 2024).

Weir, K.E.A., Wilson, S.J. and Gorman, D.R. (2018) The Syrian vulnerable person resettlement programme: Evaluation of Edinburgh's reception arrangements. *Journal of Public Health* 40 (3), 451–460.

Wilbur, A., Rahemtulla, Z., Amburgey, E., Karim, S., Marif, D.K., Rambharat, C.M. and Alsaleh, M. (2022) The power of narrative storytelling: How podcasts as an arts-based practice enhance solidarity and social activism in adult education. *Studies in the Education of Adults* 54 (2), 1–16.

Yanay, H. and J. Battle. (2021) Refugee Higher Education & participatory action research methods: Lessons learned from the field. *Radical Teacher* 120, 50–60.