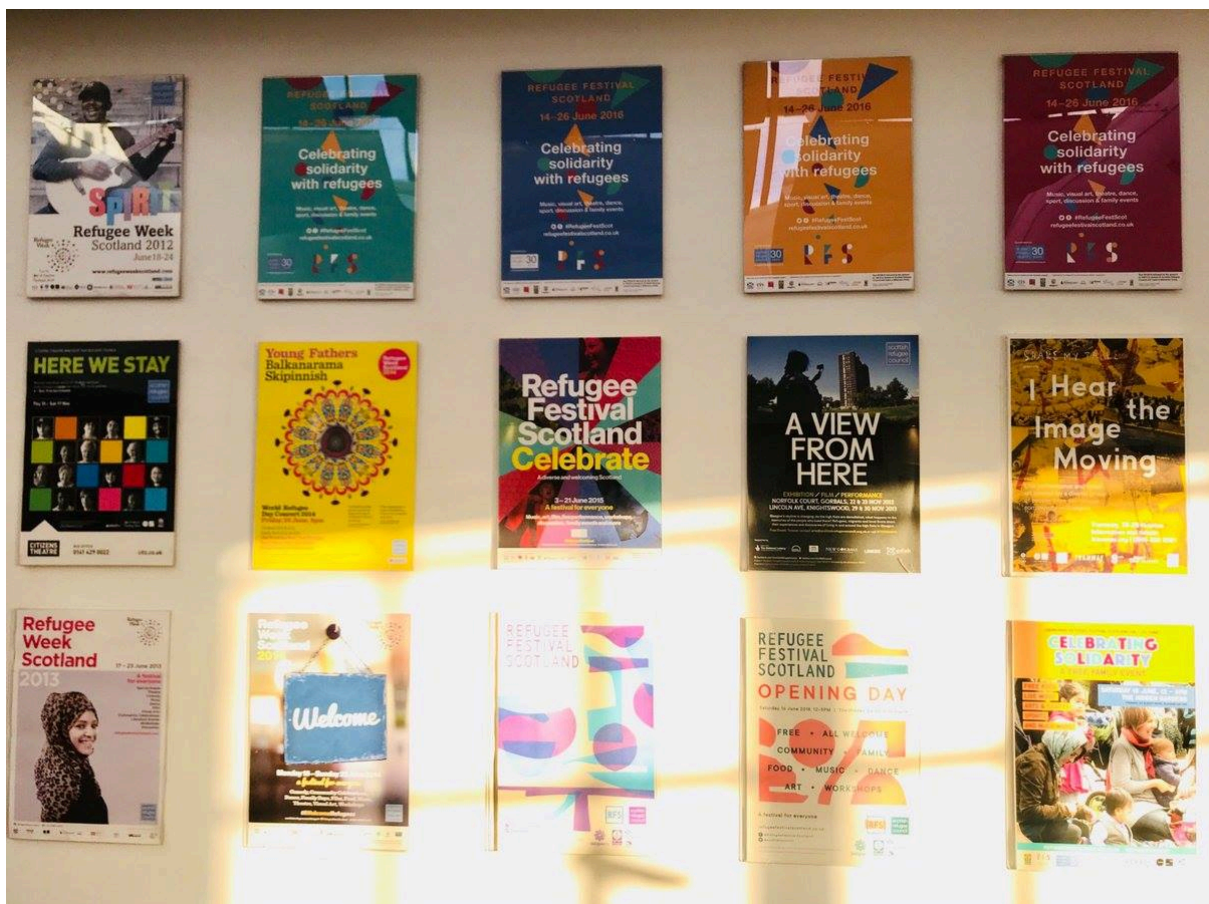


The Global City: Lessons from 20 Years of Scottish Migration Research and Ways Ahead

LIDC Migration Leadership Team
 Global Migration Conversation
 Glasgow, 14 January 2019



Source: Scottish Refugee Council, Glasgow

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Introduction: The Global Migration Conversations

The Glasgow event held on 14 January 2019 was the sixth in a series of Global Migration Conversations organised in 2018 and 2019 in locations including Nairobi, Delhi, Barcelona, Thessaloniki, New York, Beirut, Glasgow and Brussels by the London International Development Centre Migration Leadership Team (LIDC-MLT). This team was formed to develop a shared strategy for supporting migration and displacement related research by the UK's Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) and Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC). The Global Migration Conversations adopt an inclusive, consultative approach to assessing the scope, achievements and challenges of the existing portfolio of migration research in order to identify strategic opportunities and priorities for further research and to highlight best practice in impact.

The observations provided in this report do not seek to be exhaustive, but rather to identify some key themes which will feed into a broader 'global' migration research agenda. The full outputs of this process will be published later in 2019. This report aims to stimulate ongoing discussions among participants and to feed into future Migration Conversations. Reports from the other conversations can be found on the project website.¹

The Glasgow Migration Conversation brought together 40 researchers, policy-makers, practitioners, representatives of migrant and refugee associations and arts organisations working in the field of migration and based in Scotland and in the North of England. The aim was to identify: priority areas for migration research; pathways to impact that have been, or are likely to be, promising; and platforms for communication and collaboration that could help to bridge research, policy, practice and public engagement in the future. Participants discussed their work at the local, national and international levels funded by a range of bodies including local and national government, private funders and the UK Research Councils, among others. The event took place under Chatham House rules. As such, all references are generalised.

Good Research Practice and Impact in the Region

Participants spoke of how the uniqueness of Scotland's migration and migration studies landscape is frequently obscured by homogenising discourses and representations of the UK. Scotland's rich history of research collaboration in the field of migration was identified as a particular strength of the region. The long-running Glasgow Refugee and Asylum Migration Network (GRAMNet)² of scholars and practitioners, with whom the LIDC-MLT organised this event, is an excellent example. Indeed, some stakeholders present had been involved in effective partnerships for 20 years. Participants were keen to explore how they could share this best practice and lessons learned with stakeholders in other global research contexts, especially in the field of inclusive research, equitable partnerships and meaningful impact. Many of the issues raised as challenges in previous Migration Conversations, they reflected, especially in terms of collaborative partnerships, were working well across

¹ See: www.soas.ac.uk/lidc-mlt

² See: www.gla.ac.uk/research/az/gramnet/

Scottish institutions and did not require any particular focus besides ongoing funding and support. There is nevertheless a risk where things are working well, pointed out one participant, that the funders will 'lose interest' or take for granted effective partnerships which need ongoing, long-term resources to sustain them. This was identified as a problem with 'challenge based' funding calls and what another participant called 'the relentless pursuit of innovation' (see more below on funding challenges in the region).

Various participants highlighted the difficulties relating to measuring impact and affecting policy change in the Scottish and global migration context, given that the types of 'impacts' that policy makers and/or funders want to see are often not easily measurable or quantifiable. These could include, for example, expected improvements in wellbeing, empowerment or happiness, as well as evidence of how the voices of research participants have been central to the work or how the research practice has enabled 'participation'.

'In Scotland, we have decades of experience of working together across policy makers, NGOs, academia and the arts. People can look to the Scottish experience to help us approach the migration issue differently from the "Westminster bubble"'

- Academic researcher

Participants noted that it is easy to write an impact agenda in the sense of ticking the boxes required from, for example, UK Research and Innovation (UKRI), but we need to question the impact-led agenda of the UKRI and critique what it does to the research *in itself*. Impact, pointed out one academic participant, is quite a violent term which does not do justice to some of the more nuanced change that research can bring about. The idea of 'impact' as a metaphor for effective research also fails to fully capture the idea of co-production.

It was argued, however that transformation in how 'impact' is understood needs to also occur within universities, for example the ways in which universities interpret and enforce the impact agenda. It was suggested by one researcher that whilst the UKRI may be more open to nuanced indicators of impact, it is often university institutions who are more rigid in how they approach it.

The lens through which we look at impact also needs to be widened. For example, participants noted the need to look at the human side of impact, with one participant suggesting an alternative indicator of impact as 'research being a mutually enriching human experience' for the researcher and researched, which fully recognises everybody's contribution and includes appropriate remuneration, for example for gate-keeping and the facilitation of research.

A researcher with a background in theatre and the arts suggested that another way to rethink impact is to interrogate its scale. For example, micro-transformations or

serendipitous moments that do not necessarily have lasting or high-level impact, are still profoundly transformational for the participant (and the researcher) and should be valued.

The New Scots Refugee Integration Strategy 2018-2022 has an evidence group set up to answer questions around recognising impact and was hailed as a best practice example.³

Knowledge Production across Disciplines

The New Scots Refugee Strategy was flagged as a ‘ground-breaking’ example that should be celebrated especially when it comes to knowledge production across disciplines: it is made up of thematic groups, each of which involves various disciplines. However, the strategy functions with virtually no funding, so is contingent on the good-will of partners. Currently, it has a limited focus on refugees compared to other migrants and, it was noted, various other migration themes have stalled and cannot be progressed further without additional funding.

Crucial to communicating knowledge across disciplines is the need to rethink what is valued as ‘knowledge’; for example, one researcher shared that dance had been an invaluable starting point for a recent research project on refugee wellbeing in camps, and yet many academic disciplines might not consider dance a form of knowledge. Bridging across the arts and social sciences has the potential to forge such links and cross borders of knowledge production. We need, it was said, to get out of our offices to further explore the potential of this type of knowledge-making and, in this context, researchers lamented the lack of seed funding for networking, travel and for scoping out new sources of data for future research and analysis.

The Funding Environment

Participants noted that the GCRF/AHRC/ESRC and other funding agendas and criteria affect the types of research being done, influence what counts as research, and who counts as a researcher. Examples given by participants included requirements to work in ODA countries for GCRF grants (although this does not necessarily apply to AHRC and ESRC funding), and restrictions around who is able to apply for funding. For example, one organisation was not able to apply for funding through UKRI but is doing the same research with funding from different institutions (e.g. EU, Home Office). Various projects therefore ‘work around’ each other.

It was suggested that a piece of research be commissioned to look at the question: ‘What are the impacts of funding approaches on the types of research taking place?’ The UKRI is not benign or neutral, but embedded within, and has an impact on, ‘the researched’. One researcher noted the need to be vocal about the political strategies and agendas underpinning research decisions. Part of this is also being brave enough to reflect on what

³ <https://www.gov.scot/publications/new-scots-refugee-integration-strategy-2018-2022/pages/3/>

did not work to the Research Councils, and being welcomed by them to do so without fear of reprisals or compromising access to future grants (being seen as a ‘bad’ researcher). It was agreed within the group that UKRI needs to fund reflection and learning, looking at how to avoid bad practice and the negative aspects of knowledge production. Part of this should involve joining up the research already taking place, for example looking at what about the New Scots Refugee Strategy has been successful and what has not?

Another issue raised was that ODA funding is increasingly awarded to UK businesses and institutions (for example it is given to UKRI but still counted towards the ODA commitment) rather than directly to the Global South. This is both a challenge and an opportunity – a challenge to the researcher to think about their positionality and their role in research partnerships, and an opportunity to look for ways to use funding to publish with authors in the Global South. It was felt that a lot of good research is coming from the ‘bottom-up’, whether that means Global South to North, or from communities to policy makers, and so we need to have a debate on how funding bodies can strengthen that.

It was suggested that we also think about how to leverage other funding sources that may be seen as problematic or that we feel uncomfortable about as opportunities to do things differently. For example, how might we use resettlement funding as an opportunity to do bottom-up research? Or how can we better understand the role of the private sector with respect to data sharing in research and its related ethics?

The Need for Seed Funding: Finding and Filling Research Gaps

Without appropriate seed funding, and universities granting academics the time to explore and forge meaningful partnerships, it was suggested that the design of much current research determined by the researcher’s personal interests or on their existing contacts. Indeed, many researchers can have ‘successful’ careers without interrogating the challenges of co-production, and assessing whether their research is helpful or even appropriate in certain contexts, or whether it may even be harmful to migrant communities. Often research projects which are conducted abroad but funded from the UK take place, for example, without an initial scoping visit ‘to the field’. In this context, the ‘subjects’ of research can be represented, categorised and spoken about in ways which make them feel uncomfortable. One example given was how research which focused on girls and women with experiences of FGM (conducted by people from outside of the community and without the appropriate cultural sensitivity) had served to make some participants feel stigmatised or criminalised.

‘If you problematize the experiences of people of colour as some kind of risk to society you are more likely to get funding; but if you frame them as a group that has been “problematized” you are less likely to get funding.’

-Academic researcher

There is also a need to make sure such that engagement with research participants is not tokenistic and recognises the hierarchies of power of knowledge within migrant communities, including in relation to gender. As one participant commented: ‘there are important divisions within communities – we need to ask, how do they define themselves?’

Participants called for labels to be challenged, noting that some people do not want to be labelled ‘refugees’ or ‘black’ and that researchers should not have to compromise and use these categories in order to respond to research calls, get funding, do the research or get published. One researcher highlighted that we do not *have* to replicate the same language and categories used in other research. Scotland, it was said, is well placed to learn from the mistakes of others, and to not buy into the same compromises, given that it is newer to migration research.

Approaching communities directly is important for finding out about research gaps and needs. This has been the approach of the migration and education agenda in Scotland which, despite very limited resources, is conducting and collecting new databanks in order to shed crucial light on this side-lined issue. Other issues where important new collaborative research is being done are in relation to immigration and asylum and bail hearings; the uses and impacts of new technologies; ESOL and refugee resettlement.

‘Often education and migration are siloed as different issues in data (e.g. poverty, language) and there aren’t many places where they cross over. Working with teachers here we’ve been able to cross the door into schools and change practice. We have some exciting new data which now needs looking at.’

- Local authority representative

A local government participant noted that many research proposals submitted to them are turned down because ‘they aren’t telling us anything we don’t already know: the gap is knowing the gaps.’ We do not always need to do research in Scotland to know that trends/challenges from other contexts are also present here, they stressed, and we should recognise research from other contexts rather than replicating it. It was felt by this participant that time and resources could be better spent getting on with policy solutions using learning gathered from elsewhere. Another participant echoed these sentiments, noting that they also see waves of ‘fashionable new topic projects’ which are often shaped by political priorities and posturing (examples given included gender-based violence, modern slavery and anti-extremism) which often come from Westminster politics and global agendas. Local and national funding bodies are often, in this context, inundated with the same types of proposals. It was suggested there needs to be conversations in higher education and research institutions to steer students and researchers towards gaps, rather than replication. Nevertheless, other participants pointed out the value of replicating certain types of research and of comparative work, especially across cities.

Getting the right people in the room is central to addressing gaps in migration research, and it was felt that we must build knowledge always with the people who we are working with, from the start. ‘The conversation needs to start in a different place’, said one participant, echoing calls at the Delhi Migration Conversation to de-centre the migration research agenda, from the centre to the margins.⁴

In this vein, a key research gap identified by participants was the question of public engagement and political opinion in relation to migration. There was also a perceived dearth of media studies and understanding of how media impacts public opinion in Scotland in comparison with, and in relation to, other parts of Great Britain. Little was also known, it was said, about how the different criminal justice system in Scotland impacts the lives of migrants compared to elsewhere in the UK? Other more general gaps identified in research in the region included: human rights, history, health, education, political theory, family policy and social policy, environmental studies, linguistics, cross-temporal analysis and theorisation of the local and the global.

‘We have to ask to what extent we are even able to have an open conversation about the challenges of migration – racism, xenophobia etc.? How far do we take the public with us? It seems to me they are missing from this conversation and we have a bit of a bubble of our own.’

– Representative from INGO

Partnerships: Getting the Right People in the Room

Participants reflected on how academics are pushed hard to get grant funding and, as a result, are pressured into forming ‘partnerships’ however they can and which are not always equitable or genuine. Moreover, often NGO partners lack resources and are unable to deliver without being adequately remunerated for their time, participation and facilitation in research projects. It was felt that the push by funders and universities for researchers to demonstrate engagement, impact and partnerships means that these are occurring at a superficial level. The trust, longevity, and sustainability needed to build genuine partnerships are compromised as a result. It was felt that, as researchers, we need to interrogate our motivations to apply for certain funding, including university pressures, and career progression. We also need to engage in conversations about our research that are transparent, frank, and humble.

⁴ <https://www.soas.ac.uk/lidc-mlt/outputs/file133830.pdf>

Including refugee and migrant voices in setting the research agenda was flagged as an on-going challenge and participants noted that the structures and measures in place for research and policy making are set up for academics and policy makers and remain largely inaccessible to many participants. Examples shared included not having a crèche service available, not paying people for their time, or holding meetings at times that do not allow for school pick-ups. It was felt that as long as these things remain unchanged, researchers will not see true representation and will continue to ask, 'Why aren't the right people in the room?' Participants also noted this about the Conversation itself – asking why there were so few people with refugee or migration experiences involved.

It was pointed out by one refugee scholar present that there are particular challenges faced by refugee researchers and academics themselves – they have an important perspective to bring to the migration research landscape and yet often lack the necessary resources to make this important contribution. Participants celebrated the fact that more scholarships for asylum seeking and refugee students were becoming available across Scotland and other UK universities,⁵ but they also lamented that similar opportunities did not exist at the post-doctoral level or for early career researchers. Migrant and refugee scholars and researchers face particular challenges negotiating the precariousness of the landscape for early career researchers in the UK which often comes with poor pay, short-term contracts and an expectation that the worker will be mobile, single, young and able to move to where opportunities present themselves 'as and when'.

Moreover, one participant reflected on the 'whiteness' of the Scottish research landscape and how this dominated and shaped the agenda to a significant degree, including how scholars based in Scottish institutions engage with partners globally (sometimes without postcolonial sensitivity). 'We need more people of colour in our higher education institutions', they commented.

One participant celebrated the fact that as part of a grant from the GCRF, they had been able to bring over scholars from abroad to share practice in Scottish schools and higher education institutions. Other important exchanges were taking place in Scotland between academia and NGOs in the form of visiting institutional residencies. As has come up in past Migration Conversations, participants felt there was need for more opportunities for exchange among scholars from different global regions including through funded residencies. One participant commented that it would be valuable to have Southern perspectives on northern migratory phenomena – 'what would a Southern Sudanese academic or someone from the Former Republic of Yugoslavia have to say about Brexit?'

'Often migrants themselves have no say in how knowledge is made about them.'

- Academic

⁵ See for example Article 26 <http://article26.hkf.org.uk/student-bursaries/2017-18>

Methodological Reflections (i): ‘Innovative’ Methods and Relationality

Throughout the conversation, the process of research was discussed consistently in relation to the topic and product of knowledge; indeed, it is imperative, participants stressed, to link all stages of research.

It was felt that researchers face pressure to be methodologically ‘innovative’ in funding calls, but that we need to remember that using existing methods in a new context, or using an existing methodology that is ‘new’ for the researcher, can also be innovative. It was felt that being overly constrained by a pre-planned methodology can limit being open to changing directions as opportunities present themselves when doing research.

‘I find methodology problematic from the outset. What about serendipity, event, fleeting moments of connection? These are often overlooked’.

-Academic researcher

There was much discussion on how building relationships was fundamental to conducting good research. One participant commented that ‘fun is a great methodology: smiling, knowing how to relate to people’. Another reflected on the power of ‘being there, showing up, staying late’ when doing their ethnography, and the importance of making ourselves available to spend time and build relationships with people and not always talk about research. Participants noted that the researcher cannot get a sense of people’s everyday by putting them into a ‘crisis’ category or research subject category. Part of this focus on relating to people involves humbleness, that is, earning your right to be there.

Researchers who had conducted research in this way (with a focus on spending time with people in their everyday lives) found that this sometimes led to sharing experiences as friends, and that they felt an ethical duty not to put this type of conversation into their research. Rather, they had attempted to re-introduce these discussions when back in the ‘researcher’ setting, letting participants lead on whether they would like to explore the topic again as research. One participant noted that ‘some knowledge is not yours to have, and that’s okay.’ Using art, for example, one participant stressed, is not about getting people in the best possible conditions so that they divulge information (i.e. ‘to get people emotional’) but rather to open new avenues for knowledge production and making research participants feel more comfortable through offering a range of modes of expression.

Some researchers shared experiences using ‘home-based’ methodologies, where researchers visited people’s homes. However, there were sensitivities around this approach, for example, working with children who may not have control over their home space, or being restricted by universities about being in certain spaces (e.g. 1-to-1 interviews with participants in home settings). One researcher commented on how university ethics procedures for migration research should go beyond tick- box exercises. Instead, there is a

need for more critical ethics on what research in migration studies looks like – how do we conduct research with people ethically when they, and we, are on the move?

'We need a "deep ethics" as opposed to tick box ethics. Ethics can be iterative. Institutional ethics polices are too rigid and protective and this can lead to concealment of true research.'

-Academic researcher

Participants highlighted ways of asking questions/researching that highlight refugees' agency. For example, you can ask someone to retell their traumatic experience, or you can ask how they cope with it in their everyday lives. It was highlighted that people are often over-researched and come well-rehearsed, with a burden to represent themselves in a certain light. Others come to the research having retold their stories over and over without it changing their daily lives, leading to mistrust of the researcher and a hesitancy to tell their story yet again.

Methodological Reflections (ii): The Arts

'People think it's good because it's "art" and that it is therefore inherently tied to social justice, but this mindset can lead to people operating without ethical accountability. As with all methodologies, arts-based methodologies must be interrogated.'

- Researcher with an arts background

One participant noted that, in light of the shortcomings of some traditional social sciences methodologies employed in migration studies, 'art refocuses where the expertise lies' i.e. with the artist. It was felt that 'the arts' is a very broad term and that not all art practice is necessarily inclusive, refocuses where the expertise lies, or facilitates the co-production of knowledge. In practice, it was felt, some arts processes are as extractive as an interview.

A recent project conducted by one of the participants had involved a scoping of good practice of the arts in refugee research. They concluded that good practice does not start by setting up the division of researcher and researched. Instead, it begins from recognising 'life,' for example, through eating food together, dancing, doing work together, listening to music, as potential ways to start the research process. Knowledge which is co-constructed through this approach is shared and discussed together and findings are not taken away to be written up separately by the 'researcher' away from the 'researched'.

It was noted that many researchers feel uncomfortable with arts-based methods, and that we need to ask what makes us feel uncomfortable? One researcher with a theatre background felt that we need to immerse ourselves in the art practice we expect our participants to use, making ourselves vulnerable and genuinely engaging with our own practice. It was felt that if the researcher is not willing to do this, they should not expect participants to be open about their own lives.

'Art creates horizontality.'
- Researcher

While participants broadly welcomed arts-based approaches in their work and programming, one person from a local authority also stressed that sometimes, for example when data about something very empirical are needed (such as local authority housing needs, or the number of beds needed in foster care for unaccompanied minors, or the scale of language provision in schools) a question might be better answered using more traditional methods.

Process and Context

Participants felt that researchers should be encouraged to write about processes, not just about the end product of their research. One early career researcher felt that many of their peers were under pressure to produce a finished product, not reflect on what went wrong, how difficult it was, or the processes used.

Others echoed this sentiment, calling for methodology sections of papers to include what *did not* go well. One participant noted that leaving out what did not work is itself a specific way of producing knowledge. It was also felt that methods are part of people 'performing' academia, for example through focusing on extracting rather than engaging in people's everyday lives. Participants shared that there is a need to interrogate the process within the method.

In this context, and because of the specific politicisation of the migration issue, the question of research process and integrity relates to the question of truth and reliability of data. One researcher shared that truth is often context-specific, it is not about getting behind a supposed 'façade' of what research participants tell NGOs, to get at the 'real truth'. It is instead about recognising the contextual nature of truth.

Truth has a temporal dimension too in migration studies, and as noted in past Migration Conversations,⁶ people's stories change over time, and they may re-tell stories differently at different times in their lives. For example, once someone is settled and granted refugee status, they may recount their earlier experiences of being a refugee differently. Various

⁶ See for example <https://www.soas.ac.uk/lidc-mlt/outputs/file136798.pdf>

participants felt that we should not mesh displacement experiences together into ‘the refugee narrative’: we should, instead, focus on contextualised stories.

The mass displacement of Scots people from the Highlands and western islands of Scotland in the 18th and 19th centuries (Highland Clearances) was identified as scantily explored and memorialised in migration studies in the region. This came as a contrast to the previous Migration Conversations where historical displacement phenomena were widely discussed and used to contextualise and interpret present day events.

Conclusion

The Glasgow Conversation echoed a number of themes from previous Migration Conversations, including the importance of migrant and refugee voices, co-production of knowledge and also regarding the integrity and transparency of the research process. There is a rich history of productive collaborations in Scotland across the NGO sector, academia and policy makers which other regional hubs could learn from. Collating some of this best practice on partnership working and disseminating knowledge and critical reflections on methodology and reporting should be a priority task for the Migration Leadership Team going forwards.

Appendix: Programme

Programme

9.00-9.30: Registration and Coffee

9.30-10.00: Introducing the Global Migration Conversations

This introductory session will set the scene and explain the aims and purpose of the Global Migration Conversations and how they fit together and why we have come to Glasgow to draw inspiration from the Scottish experience.

10.00-11.30: Panel 1: Taking Stock and Learning from 10 Years of Migration Research in Scotland

In this panel discussion, we will take stock and explore the learnings from the last ten years of migration research in Scotland. Participants are invited to reflect on highlights of successful research projects and collaborations – on what has worked well and why – as well as considering the future direction of migration research in Scotland and in the North of England. Questions addressed will include the following: (i) what can other countries learn from the Scottish experience in relation to migration and effective research collaborations across policy, practice and academia? (ii) How can the Scottish experience help us to approach the migration debate differently from the so-called ‘Westminster bubble’; and (iii) what are the practical and political implications of a) working and conducting research with migrant communities; and b) engaging with the public on the topic of migration at local, national and regional levels? Each panellist will speak for 5-10 minutes. The chair will then facilitate a discussion engaging participants and the audience.

11.30-12.00: Coffee

12.00-13.00: Group Discussions 1: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives

This salon discussion seeks to map the landscape of different disciplinary perspectives in migration research in Scotland and the North of England. Participants are encouraged to draw on concrete examples and discuss their own research. Facilitated by a member of the Migration Leadership Team, the discussion will touch on questions including the following:

1. What research is taking place across different disciplines? What projects do you see as exciting and cutting edge and why?

2. What can different academic disciplines contribute to the study of migration?
3. Where are the synergies and spaces for collaboration across academic disciplines?
4. Are any disciplines and important topics under-funded/missing from the migration debate? Why do you think this is?

13.00-14.00: Lunch

14.00-15.00: Group Discussions 2: Meaningful Methodologies

This salon discussion will explore best practice in terms of methodological innovations and practice in migration research. What makes research meaningful for all stakeholders and fosters impactful knowledge production? Again, participants are encouraged to draw on concrete examples and discuss their own research. Facilitated by a member of the Migration Leadership Team, the discussion will touch on questions including the following:

1. What methods have you used / have colleagues used to conduct successful migration research?
2. What does the co-creation of knowledge mean to you, versus traditional 'extractive' models of research?
3. How can we help researchers to talk to each other across the qualitative/quantitative data divide?
4. How can we negotiate questions of power and participation in research, especially when working in partnership with communities at risk of marginalisation?

15.00 - 15.15: Coffee

15.15 – 16.45: Panel Discussion 2: From Glasgow to the Global

While this morning's panel focused on a discussion of the migration research landscape in Scotland at the local and regional level, in this final panel participants are invited to consider the role of researchers and practitioners in Scotland and in the North of England in the *global* conversation on migration. Participants will share experiences of collaborating with other partners globally and opportunities for international collaborations going forwards. Participants will discuss developments including the Global Compact on Migration and Global Compact on Refugees, as well as the impact of Brexit and funding opportunities going forward. Other questions will include the following: (i) where are the international spaces to work collaboratively and make meaningful impact; and (ii) how can we reach out to the wider public with new knowledge on global migration?

16.45-17.00: Closing Reflections

A summary of the day's events and information and reflections from participants at previous migration conversations on the learnings from the Glasgow event.