Belonging: A study of the relationship between migrant women's social interactions and their perception of their own integration.

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Doctor in Education (EdD.)

Declaration

I, Nafisah Graham-Brown, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

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Word count 45,982

Abstract

Belonging: A study of the relationship between migrant women's social interactions and their perception of their own integration.

Migrant women settling in the UK face multiple barriers to integration. This qualitative study explored the experiences of six newly arrived migrant women who attended community ESOL classes (English for Speakers of Other Languages), focusing on the women's social interactions in English, the places in which social interactions took place and their sense of belonging. Belonging is defined as feeling at ease with oneself and one's surroundings (Miller, 2003). Data was gathered over one and a half years, using narrative interviews and oral diaries, and analysed using thematic and classic content analysis methods. The study concluded that women's social interactions took place in four main spheres: local community, public services, work and home. Data demonstrated that social interactions in English affected women's feelings of belonging from four aspects: material, relational, cultural and temporal. Findings indicated that social interactions supported women to build trust in people who were different to them and to learn cultural knowledge, practices and acceptable behaviours not formally taught in their ESOL sessions, which supported participants to gain access and to feel at ease in unfamiliar spheres.

This study will help teachers to recognise the contribution of social interactions to their students' language development and integration; policy-makers to plan for future ESOL and integration programme development and funding; and assist organisations in designing more effective community ESOL programmes. Recommendations include for practitioners to plan for activities to support social interactions outside the classroom, to consider the importance of digital skills in enabling ESOL learners to participate in online social interactions, and a more joined-up approach with public service organisations to support staff in those roles to understand how to best support migrant clients who are learning English.

Impact Statement

As the EdD is a professional doctorate, the rationale for study presented in 2.4 are rooted in the future impact that the study will have.

As an ESOL practitioner and leader, I am heavily involved in sector improvement through my role as National Co-Chair of NATECLA and management committee of NATECLA London. As part of my role, I also represent ELATT at various forums. I am passionate about disseminating what I have learnt to improve the quality of provision amongst providers of adult and community learning, and through providers, improving the experiences and outcomes of women who are settling in the UK. This research has supported me to continue sharing best practice with the sector. This impact statement presents impact that the thesis research and findings have already had and possible future impact of the thesis.

Impact that this research has already achieved

At my organisation, findings about the use of Whatsapp in supporting sustained relationships have informed teaching practice on our programmes. Involvement in an Erasmus+ project (see reflective statement) allowed me to apply my insights about Second Language Socialisation (SLS) and the process of integration to the project. Through my role at NATECLA, I have disseminated analysis about ESOL and Integration in England to inform providers and practitioners in the sector. I have led on a developing a framework to support organisations helping migrants and refugees with language to be aware of the value of informal and non-formal learning using knowledge gained from my early analysis about the value of social interactions. I have been involved in the consultation about the development of the government's ESOL strategy and the knowledge I have gained from the thesis has informed the advice given to Department for Education and Learning and Work Institute.

Future possible impact of the thesis

In my organisation, it is anticipated that we will use the findings about increasing opportunities for social interactions for our future funding applications. Also, the research will inform the design of our programme for this particular client group as we are more aware of their experiences. For example, creating courses that give participants confidence to interact with council staff more effectively. From a local area perspective, as per the research recommendations (6.2), we may develop migrant and refugee awareness workshops to improve communication by local authority staff.

From an academic perspective, two areas of potential impact are the methods I used (oral diaries for authentic and independent data gathering and narrative interviewing for ESOL students) and the theories and concepts: SLS and belonging. The use of these methods and concepts in research with ESOL students can provide a basis for future researchers' work, especially as these are currently under-researched concepts in the UK.

Finally, I will be using my time in the United States in 2019-20 to learn more about English as a Second Language in the US. The discoveries and insights from my thesis will hopefully be valuable to the international TESOL community to further enrich TESOL scholarship.

Acknowledgements

Subhanallah for the Blessings bestowed on me, and Strength I have found within me with Your guidance. Ameen.

I am eternally grateful to my supervisor David Mallows, without whom I would not be at this stage of my academic journey. I could not have asked for a more knowledgeable, conscientious and supportive supervisor.

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I would like to thank my parents, Hassan and Markizah, for instilling in me the drive for social justice, and the desire to make social change. Also, thanks to my half-mother Maggie for always being the voice of reason, and to Peter for looking after my well-being over these past seven years. Thanks to *all* my family who have encouraged me!

Thank you to the amazing women for taking part in this research, and for sharing with me their stories.

Thank you to ELATT for truly being a 'learning organisation'. The encouragement to take part in further study has enabled me to feel supported throughout my MA and Doctoral studies. Thank you also to my colleagues at ELATT for the opportunities I have been given over the years, and to my team for their encouragement whilst I have been completing this thesis.

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Last, but not least, I have to thank Bryan, for being an additional support for every EdD student. Our thesis years have been all the more enjoyable because of his workshops!

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Reflective Statement

"We don't see things as they are; we see things as we are". Anon*

This reflective statement is of my personal and professional development as an educator, leader and researcher during my EdD journey. I present motivations for undertaking the EdD, and how the elements on the programme have supported me to develop professionally and academically. Over the past seven years of the EdD, I have experienced continuous growth in my knowledge of teaching and learning, my education sector (ESOL- English for Speakers of Other Languages), and the field of refugee and migrant integration.

Journey to the EdD

My initial experience of further education was when I got a 'second chance' to complete my A-levels. Whilst working in the retail and catering sector, I realised that I wanted to teach and I decided to re-train as a college teacher. I completed a Post Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) Post-Compulsory at the Institute of Education (IoE). On the PGCE, my preconceptions about education and meritocracy were challenged. I learnt about the role of power imbalances and contexts in teaching and learning. I started working for an education charity in East London as an ESOL teacher on projects for newly arrived migrant women in London. Whilst on my MA in Comparative Education, my passion for social justice, which I had been so enthusiastic about in my youth, was re-ignited. I realised that I was interested in the experiences of the women I was supporting in my day-to-day work. As soon as I had finished my MA I set my sights on the EdD. The start of my EdD coincided with a promotion to Head of Curriculum at my organisation.

I chose the EdD for the structured first year of the programme. It was a challenging year as my research knowledge and skills were stretched, whilst learning my new role at work. It was also an enriching year and those in my year became a support network that has endured over the past seven years.

Foundations of Professionalism

Foundations of Professionalism (FoP), allowed me to explore multiple meanings of professionalism with reference to the experiences I had at my organisation. I was able to re-familiarise myself with the concepts and revisit them with the benefit of 5 years' teaching experience gained since my PGCE. I investigated the role of ESOL tutors

supporting migrant and refugee women in my organisation and how this differed from traditional FE tutor roles, using Celia Whitchurch's 'Third Space Theory' (Whitchurch, 2008). There were differences in expectation, which when not well communicated, could cause performance-related issues. I was able to re-examine my organisation recruitment and performance-management systems and introduce a coaching-based approach.

Method of Enquiry 1 and 2, and Initial Specialist Course

I was aware of the gaps in my knowledge about empirical research, as I had previously carried out secondary research. The modules were crucial in developing my knowledge of methodological frameworks and perspectives. I had to be explicit about my epistemological position. This was also my first experience of 'insider research' (Robson, 2011). I was surprised that we were encouraged to acknowledge our personal stances and values towards professional practice rather than to be neutral (Robson, 2011). I became more aware of my democratic and participatory values, which influenced my social constructivist stance (Garrison, 1995), believing in the cooperative construction of knowledge that is rooted in multiple social perspectives built through social interaction (Plowright, 2011). The stance became the basis for my theoretical and methodological framework.

An area of interest from professional practice at my organisation was the experiences of newly arrived women, who were settling in the UK and learning English. We had designed programmes to support them to become 'integrated' and I wanted to examine the effectiveness of our courses, as well as be able to develop future courses. I was interested in learning about the perceptions of the women themselves regarding the contested concept of integration (Morrice, 2011).

My MoE1 assignment was about a proposal for research to explore migrant women's own views. Unfortunately, I failed to sufficiently articulate, explain, defend and justify my assignment topic, which led to me writing an essay where the research questions were not adequately formed. The process taught me the importance of clarity about my topic.

In Methods of Enquiry 2 (MoE 2) I carried out a pilot project to better understand the experiences of out-of-classroom interactions of migrant spouse women using oral diaries, a method which I had not seen previously used on this type of research. I experienced the steepest learning curve and struggled to manage the demands of the research assignment together with work demands. The new understandings I gained were related to how research questions worked in practice and the types of errors that

could happen in data collection. In designing my proposal for the research questions I became more aware to pay extra attention to the wording of research questions to avoid ambiguity. However there were weaknesses in clarifying the link between theory and research for my readers. Feedback in the MoE 2 assignment was that my literature review, methodological frameworks and methods did not link as well as they could; the lack of clarity in writing has been an area I have worked hard to improve throughout the EdD.

My understanding of the complexity of social science research deepened, particularly the acknowledgement of multiple perspectives and different research data interpretation. The feedback received in my EdD interview and MoE 1 was both frustrating and constructive as it caused me to question the reality of my thought processes: I was unknowingly applying a 'cause and effect' understanding of research when constructing research questions and methodological frameworks. By MoE 2 and especially after the Initial Specialist Course (ISC), I started thinking of qualitative social science research differently.

I chose Rethinking Education: Psychoanalytic Perspectives on Learning and Teaching as my ISC. On this, I experienced a fundamental shift in how I viewed research and education. Through learning about psychoanalytic perspectives, I developed critical understandings of the complex relationships within the learning process, and how these could be interpreted vis-à-vis wider cultural and social power relations.

Before starting the EdD I was convinced that my research would measure the effectiveness of projects at my organisation. During the taught element, my view changed to being more experience-focussed as I recognised that an exploration of the experiences of our client group would be more valuable than an evaluation exercise. A greater understanding of the nature of insider and social science research influenced this. My research topic evolved to be about migrant women's experiences vis-à-vis settling and belonging.

IFS

The Institution Focussed Study (IFS) was a study of the role of out-of-class interactions migrant women's perceptions of their language development and integration. It was the most exciting piece of research I have carried out, mainly because of the research design, involving participatory research methods developed from Reflect for ESOL (Cardiff, Newman, & Pearce, 2007), and the oral diary method that I had developed in MoE2. I wanted to capture migrant women's voices with minimal researcher involvement. The process was enjoyable and the findings were fascinating. Findings

indicated that the migrant women had limited interactions in English. Participants accessed formal interactions (such as with staff at schools) to be able to access informal interactions (with other parents) (Graham-Brown, 2015).

I felt I gained confidence in research skills using the case study method, especially in different methods of analysis. Feedback from the IFS suggested more a more qualitative research project for my doctoral thesis as it was not possible to study the role and nature of social relationships of migrant women in the IFS. I was intrigued by the development of social relationships by migrant women settling in this country and wanted to research this longitudinally.

Thesis

The thesis has by far been the most challenging project I have ever completed. Based on the aim of the research, I selected a narrative inquiry method. Although I was the first in my cohort to have their proposal approved, the logistical issues related to gathering data, specifically ~~the~~ using the interview method with my participants, was one I had not anticipated. Coupled with that was an unprecedented cut (30%) to the adult education budget for all further education providers. This meant that work commitments increased as we tried to maintain our provision with fewer staff. The delays to the data gathering activity pushed my timeline back making completing this project particularly challenging. My work role also became increasingly strategic as I joined the Senior Management Team, and I struggled to maintain balance between my job and the EdD thesis workload.

Reading literature from broader fields of study was required to find a theory that could form a framework to explain the relationship between English language and integration. It took several years before I found the ideal concept to link my theories.

Contribution to professional development and knowledge

Reflecting on the development of my academic and research skills, I can truly see a difference in how I perceive the world. I am more reflective, analytical and critical and I continue to develop. I am also constantly assessing reliability and validity in all the assertions I make when reporting results of outcomes and achievements (professionally and academically).

Working in charity education sector and education research has required me to use different genres of writing for different audiences: writing for ESOL students, writing for work, fundraising, and academic writing. ~~The~~ Feedback from my EdD supervisor has

developed my writing skills to become more precise and succinct, and I have been able to make successful grant applications for my organisation.

Another contribution is in the assessment of student experience in my organisation. My acknowledgement of multiple perspectives (of experiences) has affected the way I view student experience. The understanding of research methodology from the EdD, has given me the tools to best capture this data and to analyse it critically.

I have more conviction in my own knowledge as an expert in my field. The understanding I developed in the field of ESOL and integration led to my organisation being invited to partner with UCL and others in an Erasmus+ research project. The project, which was about volunteer support in migrant language learning, raised the profile of my organisation and me in the ESOL field. At the same time my role at my organisation becomes more strategic and external-facing. I had been involved in NATECLA, the national body for ESOL previously and was invited to apply for the Co-chair role, which I have now been carrying out since September 2018.

From a personal development point of view, the EdD has undoubtedly forced me to become highly organised with time management. Consequently, my delegation skills improved and I have since grown a successful team. I have become a more reflective manager, taking a step back to look at issues from different perspectives. I believe that my research skills have developed me as a teacher and trainer.

Ultimately, the aim of this doctoral thesis was to better understand the experiences the of migrant women we support through giving them a voice I feel that I have met this aim. The personal and professional development I have gained as part of the process has been invaluable. Although it has taken me four years, it has been necessary to fully experience this process of 'becoming' an academic, one where I have been able to reflect on my thinking within my practice. A process that I would argue is crucial in a professional doctorate.

I am excited to share the findings of my study with colleagues and partners in the sector and look forward to future opportunities for further research and dissemination in this field.

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* There is disagreement about the origin of this quote- it has been attributed to Nin (1961), Patrick (1890) and the Talmud.

List of abbreviations

APPG	All Party Parliamentary Group
BERA	British Educational Research Association
BNIM	Biographical Narrative Interview and/or Interpretive Method
CCA	Classic content analysis
CIC	Commission for Integration and Cohesion
CV	Curriculum Vitae
DCLG	Department for Communities and Local Government
DFE	Department for Education
DWP	Department for Work and Pensions
ESFA	Education and Skills Funding Agency
ESOL	English for Speakers of Other Languages
EU	European Union
FANI	Free Association Narrative Interviewing
GLA	Greater London Authority
GP	General Practitioner
IFS	Institute Focussed Study
LS	Language Socialisation
MHCLG	Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government
NATECLA	National Association of Teaching English and Community Languages to Adults
ONS	Office for National Statistic
PIN	Particular incident narratives
PTA	Parent-Teacher Association
PTSD	Post Traumatic Stress Disorder
SCT	Socio-Cultural Theory
SLA	Second Language Acquisition
SLS	Second Language Socialisation
SQUIN	Single question aimed at inducing narrative
VLE	Virtual Learning Environment

1. Introduction

In this chapter I introduce my research and briefly discuss the issues that my research aimed to address. I also outline the organisation of this thesis.

My research concerns the experiences of migrant women learning English as they attempted to integrate into their local communities, with a focus on the social interactions in English that migrant women participated in and how these affected their perception of their own integration. Their perception of their integration has been explored through using a framework of belonging based on Vanessa May's concept of belonging (2013), discussed further in section 3.4.

For over 10 years, I have been delivering projects to support newly arrived migrant and refugee women to improve their English language skills, and to get involved in their local communities. My role is Head of Life Skills and Community Projects at ELATT, a London education charity. ELATT has been supporting migrants for over 30 years, specialising in delivering ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) with community programmes to support our client groups with their integration in London, one group being newly arrived migrant and refugee women.

The Institute of Migration defines a migrant as 'a person who moves away from his or her place of usual residence, whether within a country or across an international border, temporarily or permanently, and for a variety of reasons' (Institute of Migration, 2019, p.130). The umbrella term can include 'refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants, and persons moving for other purposes, including family reunification' (Eaves, 2015, p.16). The term migrant women in this study refers to women from non-EU countries, who have moved to the UK for refugee and family reasons or fear of persecution, and who do not come from countries where English is the majority language. They are reflective of the proportion of migrant women who move to the UK annually for family reasons on family and dependent visas (Home Office, 2017b)[1]. Although some may consider them voluntary migrants, based on our experience at ELATT, factors such as socio-cultural norms and other inequalities have meant that they often do not have agency over their decision to migrate. Therefore, they face similar challenges as refugee women when they are new to London and the UK. Newly

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[1] Data tables showed that in 2015 migrant women represented 75% of the total adults given family and dependent visas.

arrived migrant women are women who have arrived in the UK within the previous ten years. In this study, the terms migrant women and women refer to newly arrived migrant women.

Migrants face difficulties to be able to communicate in English when they are new to the UK (Mallows, 2014). The role of language and communication in enabling migrants to be able to function in their new country and community has been widely researched (Bryers, Winstanley, & Cooke, 2013; Esser, 2006; Morrice, Tip, Collyer, & Brown, 2019). The most important indicator of a person's ability to integrate is their confidence in using the language of the country they are settling in (Esser, 2006; Phillimore, Ergun, Goodson, & Hennessy, 2007; Simpson, 2012).

Besides language issues, migrant women especially, face multiple barriers to settling in the UK, (Eaves, 2015). They often have difficulties understanding their new environment and how systems work (Simpson & Whiteside, 2012). For example, many do not know how the schooling system works in England and how to support their children at school (Court, 2014; Simpson, 2011). They may not be aware of the rights they have in the UK in comparison to the rights in their previous countries (Eaves, 2015). Additionally, women may not be used to the diverse and multicultural mix of people in their new neighbourhoods and be at a disadvantage when it comes to understanding people from other countries (Roberts & Cooke, 2009). This includes knowing what constitutes acceptable behaviour when they meet and communicate with others (Morrice, 2007). This lack of knowledge together with the lack of language skills, often affect migrant women's level of confidence and how independent they are in everyday life (Eaves, 2015).

In this situation, migrant women have to construct new social relationships with people in their wider local community: people who are outside of their family circle and immediate ethnic community (Eaves, 2015). Wider local community comprises neighbours, parents of other children at the school or nursery their children go to, shop owners and service staff, public transport workers and public services staff (such as at council service centres, Jobcentres or libraries) (Graham-Brown, 2015).

The low level of confidence, together with other barriers affect how migrant women participate in their wider communities. If they are unable to overcome barriers to taking part in social interactions with their wider community groups, and/or live within communities where they are not connected or interacting with the wider community, they are less likely to feel they are integrated (Eaves, 2015).

One of the main challenges ELATT's clients tell us they face is to find opportunities to have meaningful English language interactions with others in their local communities. This is because they do not often have readily available contact with people outside of their family and immediate ethnic community in order to have social interactions in English. In 2013, research I carried out found that most of the reported out-of-class interactions in English by research participants were in shops and when using public transport (Graham-Brown, 2015, discussed in 3.3.4). The language used in these interactions was often limited to language around buying goods and accessing services. We at ELATT perceived these interactions to have limited potential to support development of complex language fluency and contribute to participants' integration. As a result, we designed projects that included opportunities for participants to take part in more meaningful social interactions, through either volunteering or engagement with external volunteers to our organisation.

The value of social interactions in migrants' language development and integration is an under-researched area (Heckmann, 2005). There is little existing research about migrants' out-of-class language use (Simpson, 2011), particularly social interactions that migrant women participate in during their daily lives and how these social interactions contribute to their perceptions of integration. Norton (1995) researched social relationships from an identity perspective, but did not specifically focus on wider social relationships. Cooke (2006) referred to the lack of opportunities for migrants to practice English outside of their classroom setting. There is also research carried out in America, Canada and Australia about the difficulties ESL students have in participating in their new communities (Warriner, 2007), social isolation of second language speakers (Miller, 1999) and the importance of social acceptance and peer support in learning a new language (Baquedano-Lopez & Mangual Figueroa, 2011). Many researchers say that migrants make friends in their ESOL/ ESL classes (Cooke, 2006; Domínguez & Maya-Jariego, 2008; Graham-Brown, 2015; Kanno & Varghese, 2010). Research by Dimitriadou (2004) with refugees studying in ESOL classes in London showed that friendships and social relationships developed between migrants in their ESOL classes. However she also found that there was little evidence that social relationship were being developed outside of the ESOL departments, or whether the classroom relationships continued after the courses had ended (Dimitriadou, 2010).

This thesis has built upon my earlier Institution Focused Study (IFS) (Graham-Brown, 2015), in which I compiled a typology of the interactions migrant women had with people in their wider community. The IFS findings were that women accessed formal places, such as ESOL classes and children's schools, to be able to gain access to

informal social interactions. Participating in informal social interactions in turn affected migrant women's perceptions of their confidence to use English language. I further discuss the IFS research along with other recent research, in section 3.3.4.

In this study, I explored the experiences of newly arrived migrant women and their social interactions in English to answer the following research question:

What is the relationship between migrant women's social interactions in English and their perception of their own integration?

The definition of integration I used was:

Integration is the process by migrants who are new to the UK, of becoming part of UK society. This process has multiple responsible parties including host communities and government.

(Graham-Brown, 2015, p.13)

In order to examine migrant women's perceptions of their own integration, I used a framework of belonging. Belonging is defined as feeling at ease with one's surroundings (Miller, 2003). I developed this framework using existing literature about integration, second language socialisation (SLS) and concepts of belonging (further discussions in sections 3.5-3.6).

This thesis is organised in the following way: Chapter 2 is the background to the research including the research rationale. In Chapter 3, I review existing literature and present a framework of belonging. The first part of Chapter 4 is a description of the methodological framework, including research methods, sample, ethical consideration and discussions of reliability and validity. The second part of Chapter 4 presents my analytical approach, and stages and methods of analysis. Findings and Discussions are presented in Chapter 5. Both findings and discussion are organised around my research questions, followed by a summary and discussion of findings. Chapter 6 contains conclusions about the study, limitations and recommendations for further research.

2. Background to the research[2]

In this chapter, I discuss the background to my research project, and provide rationale for the research project from academic and professional perspectives.

2.1 UK strategy for integration and cohesion

UK integration strategy is derived from and influenced by EU integration policy. The EU's definition of integration is:

"Integration is a dynamic, long-term, and continuous two-way process of mutual accommodation, not a static outcome. It demands the participation not only of immigrants and their descendants, but of every resident. The integration process involves adaptation by immigrants, both men and women, who all have rights and responsibilities in relation to their new country of residence.

"It also involves the receiving society, which should create the opportunities for the immigrants' full economic, social, cultural, and political participation.

"Accordingly, Member States are encouraged to consider and involve both immigrants and national citizens in integration policy, and to communicate clearly their mutual rights and responsibilities."

(Council of The European Union, 2004)

The definition has been used by nation states to formulate national integration policies (Council of The European Union, 2004). The definition suggests that integration has multiple responsible parties and therefore it is important that there is clarity about national integration aims.

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[2] A version of this chapter was published in the journal Language Issues (Graham-Brown, 2018)

2.2 UK government reports on integration and cohesion

Successive governments have been concerned about integration and cohesion (Casey, 2016; Community Cohesion Review Team, 2001; Crick, Brighouse, Brown, Coussey, & Hira, 2003). In the early 2000s, the disturbances in Northern England led the then government to set up the Commission for Integration and Cohesion (CIC) to review integration and cohesion and produce reports to inform policy-makers (Community Cohesion Review Team, 2001; Department for Communities and Local Government[3], 2008).

The CIC recommended promoting 'meaningful interactions', and stated that socio-economic factors often affected community cohesion, resulting in a situation where people were living parallel lives (Community Cohesion Review Team, 2001). It recommended setting a time limited expectation for migrants to achieve fluency in English (Community Cohesion Review Team, 2001). The language and citizenship requirements for those naturalising as British citizens were introduced in 2003, and later for those settling in the UK (Cooke, 2009). Subsequent reports focussed on ~~recommended~~ clearer rights and responsibilities for migrants, including learning English (Commission for Integration and Cohesion, 2007)[4], and the obligations of host communities (House of Commons Communities and Local Government Committee, 2008).

The concept of parallel lives was revived in Dame Louise Casey's 2016 review into social integration (Casey, 2016). Parallel lives is when different community members are perceived to live segregated lives to others in the wider area, and when the term is used it is mainly aimed towards minority ethnic groups, seen as being segregated from White British groups (Simpson & Finney, 2010). Casey's report highlighted that women from certain groups (majority ethnically from Muslim majority countries such as Pakistan and Bangladesh) were more likely to have parallel lives in segregated and closed communities with no social mixing (2016). Casey identified lack of English as a key factor in the women's inability to integrate (2016).

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[3] The Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG) had a name change in 2018 to the Ministry of Housing and Local Government (MHCLG).

[4] See http://tedcantle.co.uk/about-community-cohesion/ for a year-by-year account of differing government reports and policy responses for community cohesion.

Therefore, government commission reports concerning integration appear to have changed in the past 10 years. The CIC's reports recognised the effect of inequality and socio-economic deprivation on cohesion (Community Cohesion Review Team, 2001), especially as different groups perceived unfair distribution of services (Commission for Integration and Cohesion, 2007) and recognised the barriers people faced to access language provision (Commission for Integration and Cohesion, 2007).

Casey's review seemed to mark a change of tone. There was an increased emphasis on the idea that people were leading parallel lives, sometimes presented as out of choice, and that certain Muslim minority groups were resistant to integration (Casey, 2016). The responsibility was placed on the migrant to 'adapt' into their new society (Stone, 2017). Casey's report findings have been questioned by researchers as the research methodology is not clear (Crossley, 2018). However the findings were widely publicised in national newspapers with a pervasive message ~~perception~~ that migrants do not want to learn English and want to be segregated (see for example national news reports: Asthana & Walker, 2016; Peev, 2017; Stone, 2017).

Media reporting of reports such as the Casey review above, and reports by researchers over the past three years (Burnett, 2017; CIVITAS, 2016; Duru, Hanquinet, & Cesur, 2017) suggest that public perception of migrants has been influenced by government policy and media reporting.

The UK does not yet have an integration strategy (All Party Parliamentary Group on Social Integration, 2017), which would be a plan to enable the process of integration of migrants into British society, setting out what parties are responsible and how those parties should work together. In 2018 the UK government produced a green paper "Integrated Communities" to inform initial consultation for a national strategy for England (HM Government, 2018). The responses to the consultation, along with an Action Plan were published in February 2019 (HM Government, 2019a, 2019b), and a national strategy is due in late 2019.

2.3 English language for migrants in the UK

The importance of English for migrants settling in the UK and recommendations for increasing English language provision have featured in the above reports by researchers and review teams. English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) is the main type of English language course for migrants and refugees settling in the UK. Courses are generally taught in general further education (FE) colleges and adult learning providers.

From 2013 onwards, the body responsible for adult education in England, the Skills Funding Agency (SFA) (later renamed the Education and Skills Funding Agency (ESFA) under the Department for Education (DFE)), reduced funding for adult skills and this affected the funding allocated for ESOL classes (Foster & Bolton, 2017). It was estimated that the reduction in funding for ESOL between 2009 to 2016 was by £113million (Exley, 2017). The real term annual loss was approximately 60% when comparing figures in 2009 with those in 2016 (Foster & Bolton, 2017).

Because of the recommendations from reports mentioned earlier (CIC reports, DCLG reports and Casey Review), alternative funding by MHCLG, The Home Office and EU programmes has been made available for English language projects, which are distinct from FE and adult education ESOL (see Foster & Bolton, 2017). However from my calculations, the alternative funding listed in the briefing report (Foster & Bolton, 2017) and EU sources (Home Office, 2014) is an estimate of £40million annually, whereas the reduction of ESOL funding in FE has been estimated at £132million annually as at 2016 (Foster & Bolton, 2017).

Therefore, contrary to the recommendations of the earlier reports, and the announcements made about specific funds for learning English, these figures show there has been an overall reduction in funding for ESOL for migrants settling in the UK. At the same time, there has been a further tightening of the language testing requirements for applications for settlement and citizenship. It appears that the government chose to interpret the findings from the integration and cohesion reports as suggesting a need for indicators of competency levels that migrants must achieve to prove they are integrated (Blackledge, 2009; Cooke, 2009; Home Office, 2013), rather than a need for increased opportunities for migrants to learn English to be able to integrate.

Additionally, the ESFA continues to have strict eligibility rules for those applying for funded courses. For example, people on partner visas were not eligible for SFA skills funding until they had lived in the UK long enough to satisfy residency requirements

(Skills Funding Agency, 2016). Many migrant women who are mostly on dependent visas, have been ineligible for fully-funded courses. Therefore, even when satisfying residency criteria, they have not been eligible for a free course (Skills Funding Agency, 2016).

Those of us working in ESOL know the migrant women we support are usually highly motivated to study and improve their English skills to become integrated. However, the reduction of available funding and restrictions on eligibility has meant that they might not have been able to access the services to learn the language they need to take part in social interactions. Negative perceptions of migrants may also affect the ability of migrant women to mix with host community members.

2.4 Research rationale

Academic rationale: contribution to a body of research on how learning English supports integration and can be used to advise policy-makers on models of English language learning for integration.

As mentioned earlier, government commissioned reports about integration and cohesion have highlighted the importance of English to support social mixing between people in communities. Reports state that if migrants have a better command of English they will be able to converse with people better (All Party Parliamentary Group on Social Integration, 2017; Casey, 2016). However, neither reports refers to current relevant research about the relationship between interactions in English and being integrated. There is a lack of research of how someone who achieves a level of language competency will become integrated (Court, 2017). This thesis contributes to this growing body of research about the integration experiences of migrant women (discussed in 3.3.4) and in doing so, suggests ways in which learning English can support integration. Along with other research emerging in the field, it will be available to influence policy-makers when they are planning for ESOL funding and English and integration programmes to ensure effective and efficient use of public money.

Practice rationale: to support practitioners and delivery providers, such as my organisation, to create better programmes and identify best practice to share with other organisations.

ELATT has successfully developed several programmes to respond to the needs of local migrant women. The aims of ELATT to support our students to integrate into their communities continue to be of great importance to our organisation's vision. As an organisation that values research as a basis for creating our projects, ELATT is using this research to support the development of our future integration and cohesion programmes. It is hoped that other teachers and providers will also use the findings from this study to inform teaching and learning and future programmes in this field.

In this chapter, I have presented the background to my research, setting out key definitions to be used, policy contexts within which my research sits, and important dimensions to the research. Drawing together both the fields of ESOL and integration to set up my research background and context, I have highlighted the academic, policy and practice rationale for my research. More in-depth discussion on the concepts discussed in this chapter such as ESOL, social interactions, integration, cohesion are found within Chapter 3, Literature Review.

3. Literature Review

In this chapter, I present the main theoretical perspectives, which formed the conceptual framework for this research project. I set out my personal perspective about knowledge and the study of knowledge (ontological and epistemological viewpoint). I present the theory of second language socialisation to understand how English language is learnt by people who move to, and are settling in the UK. I then present and discuss theories of integration and belonging and examine the relationship between English language and belonging. In order to research migrant women's perceptions of their own integration, I used the concept of belonging as part of the conceptual framework for my research. Finally, I present my research questions.

3.1 Ontological and epistemological viewpoint

A researcher's ontological position is their assumption of what constitutes reality (Grix, 2002). My ontological position, which forms the foundation of this research, is that there is plurality of realities, as opposed to the positivist scientific position that there is one objective reality (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2005). My positioning is that a reality or truth, can only be known through humans' interpretations and construction of meanings (Blaikie, 2007). Therefore, the nature of reality is subjective.

Where ontology is about the nature of reality, epistemology is about how we gain knowledge about the nature of that reality (Grix, 2002), or 'how we know what we know' (Crotty, 1998). My epistemological standpoint is a social constructivist one, which can be both an epistemological position (Larochelle & Bednarz, 1998), and a methodological perspective (Flick, 2004). The constructivist position is that knowledge is constructed rather than inherently known (Crotty, 1998). Social constructivism suggests that the construction of knowledge is through individuals' social interactions with others and their environment (Crotty, 1998). The migrant women in this study may have had different perceptions of their experience of integration; my intention was not to fully know their 'truth', rather to gain an in-depth understanding of their experiences.

3.2 English: ESOL and Second Language Learning

As described in the Introduction, it is widely accepted that lack of language proficiency, especially at a functional level, is one of the greatest barriers to integration (see Esser, 2006; Simpson, 2012). Indeed if a person settling into a new society has no knowledge and ability to use the main language of communication, then it is seen to be entirely limiting to the person's ability to integrate (Eaves, 2015; Ipsos Mori, 2007; Phillimore et al., 2007). England has a long history of migrant language education. ESOL was formalised in national adult education provision in the 1990s (Rosenberg, 2007). The area of study of how people learn another language as an adult is second language acquisition (SLA). The term second language is taken to mean any language learnt as an adult, additional to the person's first language (Van Patten & Williams, 2014). Theories of SLA have evolved and developed over many years. One approach to SLA comes under the umbrella of socio-cultural theory. Developed from Vygotsky's theories, SCT's central principle is that human cognitive development takes place as a result of social participation (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006). Although there are 'experts' and 'novices' in learning interactions, SCT posits that knowledge is co-constructed and the nature of the exchange in learning means that is it not only top-down (Swain, Brooks, & Tocalli-Beller, 2002). Negotiation of meaning is within a context and through social interactions using mediation artifacts (in this case language) (Lantolf, 2011).

3.2.1 Language socialisation

A theory of SLA that is interested in the entire context of learners' experience is language socialisation (Watson-Gegeo & Nielson, 2003). Language socialisation proposes that 'novices are socialized into communities of practice across the life course' to 'use language appropriately in culturally significant activities' through socialisation using the same 'language, into local values, beliefs, theories, and conceptions of the world' (Howard, 2008, p.187).

Language socialisation is a theory of language learning that initially focused on child language development, (termed L1 socialisation), but in the past 30 years has been seen as a 'lifespan process' spanning a variety of settings and spaces (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011). It has been used in identity and ethnographical research. Recently, language socialisation has been used to study the experiences of adult second (or additional) language learning, termed Second Language Socialisation (SLS) (Baquedano-Lopez & Mangual Figueroa, 2011; Cook, 2011; Duff, 2010; Ortaçtepe, 2013). SLS is the process of a novice being inducted into a new group or community through the use of a 'new' language and to use the language (Duff, 2007). Regardless

of age, to be able to use a new language involves linguistic and social input, instruction and interaction to be able to participate with the new language in group-determined communicative practices (Duff, 2007). At the same time, this process is experienced using the new or destination language, for example how to use the language for functioning in daily life, through using the destination language.

The term 'language socialisation' is derived from Sapir's work on culture, language and identity (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011). Sapir argued that language was not just functional and was an individuals' vocalisation of a symbolic representation of what they saw as reality (Sapir, 1949). Sapir also identified that speaking a common language was an integral symbol of social solidarity stating that 'Language is a great force of socialisation, probably the greatest that exists'. (Sapir, 1949, p.15).

The theory is built upon the social theories of Bourdieu (Baquedano-Lopez & Mangual Figueroa, 2011). Bourdieu, in his theory of practice, hypothesised that society was organised into social fields (Hilgers & Mangez, 2015). These are socially ranked spaces, within which there are interrelations between individuals (players) mainly for the purposes of accumulation or re-distribution of different types of capital (Bourdieu, 1991). Capital is not only monetary and does not only exist in the economic form (money) (Bourdieu, 1983). It also exists as cultural capital (knowledge, skills and other cultural attainments such as from qualifications) and social capital (the amount of resources or potential resources that one could get from the participation or membership of a network or group) (Bourdieu, 1983). Therefore language knowledge and skills can be considered cultural capital to be gained by migrants when interacting within fields.

Social capital can also be divided into two main types depending on the relationship between players[5]. Bonding social capital is the social capital accumulated between close groups, such as families, religious groups, and friends from similar class backgrounds (Office for National Statistics, 2001). Bridging social capital is where there are relationships between people from groups that are different from each other such as differences in cultural groups, socio-economic background and educational background (ONS,2001). Research has shown that both types of social capital are important to help people get on in life, but that bridging social capital has wider benefits

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[5] There is a third form of social capital: linking social capital. This is the capital derived from the relationship between community and public agency (Zetter et al., 2006)

to communities because of the accumulated group relationships that can benefit many people (Granovetter, 1973).

Fields are not two dimensional spaces but constructed through the perceptions and experiences of players in their fields, and have a set of regulatory practices also commonly known as 'rules of the game' (Edgerton & Roberts, 2014). For example, in ESOL classes or workplaces there are practices regulating acceptable behaviour. Successful participation in these fields require individuals to have dispositions or habitual ways of being, that are compatible with those fields. This includes the ingrained knowledge and language of how to behave and to act/react in certain ways (Bourdieu, 1991). These dispositions are termed habitus, and formed from participation in social fields from early life, whereby situations and contexts create long-lasting and transposable ways of being and acting (Bourdieu, 1977). Habitus has also been likened to a person's identity (Bottero, 2010).

Schools are often used to illustrate the interactions between these key concepts (Bourdieu, 1977; Davey, 2009; Farrell, 2010). A commonly used example is that of a child attending school (see for example Morrice (2007) and Reay (1997). When a child is from a good socio-economic background and who has previously attended nursery starts school, they are likely to already possess *cultural and social capital* that could enable them to do well in the school (*field*). Their socialisation into becoming a 'good' school pupil (*habitus*) may be easier and it is likely that their behaviours and actions (*practice*) are all considered desirable in the schooling system. This situation would be different for a child from a lower socio-economic background, who may not have previously had learning experiences and the associated cultural and social capital that might come with those prior experiences.

Socialisation is the process of construction of habitus through the social interactions that take place within a field and the process is influenced by the systems and structure of the field (Davey, 2009). Therefore, part of the socialisation process of migrants who are new to the UK is learning English, including how to interact in English in the different fields in which they participate. The participation of the 'novice' in new communicative practices is influenced by a whole range of cultural, social and legal structures and systems (Duff, 2007; Moore, 2008; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011). Examples of places where a migrant could experience socialisation could be the following: public services (such as with service providers or government services, children's schools), English classes, at work and or places where you look for work. Additionally, one of the main influencing aspects in SLS is usually the novice's first language socialisation as

this is shaped ~~influenced~~ by the range of linguistic, cultural and discursive knowledges that a person already has (Duff, 2007), which could also be interpreted as their habitus.

According to Duff (2007), a key tenet of language socialisation is the role of experts or more proficient speakers of the language, acting as interlocutors of language for the novice, and implicitly or explicitly teaching them to 'think, feel and act in accordance with the values, ideologies and traditions of the group' (Duff, 2007, p. 311). Social interactions are key in developing language through creating opportunities for both positive and negative feedback from interlocutors during the 'process of negotiation for meaning' (Long, 2014, p. 53). Long's 'Interaction Hypothesis' posits that during communication, when learners experience difficulties in understanding negotiation for meaning takes place, which 'triggers interactional adjustments made by the…interlocutor' and this 'facilitates acquisition because it connects input…and output in productive ways.' (Long 1996, pp. 451–452) He suggests that the adjustments by the interlocutor's input, will cause explicit focus on language form by the learner, in order for the learner to adjust their response (output) (Long, 2014). Experts and interlocutors can be native speakers, non-native speakers but are more competent speakers than those who are learning (Gass & Mackey, 2014). They could also be from learners' own background and be second language speakers who have themselves gone through a process of socialisation (Atkinson, 2011).

One marked difference between SLS and SCT is that notions of 'asymmetry of power' are always acknowledged as part of a novice-expert relationship (Poole, 1992). Research by (Court, 2017; Norton, 1995; Roberts & Cooke, 2009) discussed the unequal power between interlocutors or experts, especially interlocutors outside the classroom environment . Norton's research participants showed how an interlocutor who is perceived to be non-sympathetic can have a negative effect on a learners confidence, and this is especially so with migrants and refugees who already possess feelings of inferiority (Norton, 1995). Hann's research of family members acting as interlocutors for ESOL learners showed participants who were more comfortable with speaking English with family members as they felt interactions with family members were more legitimate, and they were more likely to engage in interactions with them (Hann, 2017). These research examples shows that the lack of opportunities for migrants to interact with others, or interaction with people who are not sympathetic interlocutors can have negative effects on their socialisation.

However, in SLS there is also a strong emphasis that the traditional view of who is expert and novice is fluid and changeable according to environment, situation and new

knowledge to be developed (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011). For example, a new language learner might be a novice in their new setting in the UK, but they may also be an expert as a parent, an area that their teacher or peers may in turn be novices (Duff, 2011). Therefore, if interpreted in this way, SLS is a democratic approach to teaching and learning second languages as the existing knowledge and experiences of learners are acknowledged.

The appeal of SLS for me is that it takes a multi-disciplinary approach and has been researched in cross-cultural societies (Baquedano-Lopez & Mangual Figueroa, 2011). It is not only a study of SLA in English language, but also one that could be applicable universally as the language acquisition process is part of a larger process of socialisation into new places.

3.2.3 Researching language socialisation

As discussed earlier, much of SLA focuses on the acquisition of the new language. Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000) call this the 'acquistion metaphor' (p.155), and this is based on work by Sfard on learning theories as metaphors. Sfard's research presents metaphors as powerful agents of conceptual change (Sfard, 1998). There are two main metaphors to describe the learning process: the acquisition metaphor- or a description of knowledge as something to be acquired by the learner; and the participation metaphor- to describe knowledge as something that a learner participates in or that enables participation (Sfard, 2012).

Based on Sfard's research, Pavlenko and Lantolf presented an alternative lens through which to view second language learning, stating that second language learning is the 'struggle of concrete socially constructed and always situated beings to participate in the symbolically mediated lifeworld of another culture' (Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000, p.155). This metaphor is one of being physically immersed in a new culture and trying to participate within it, using language as one form of connection and communication. The two metaphors for second language acquisition:

- the acquisition metaphor, which is interested in the language level elements of SLA such as utterances, pronunciation, grammar rules or codes, and
- the participation metaphor, which views learning as a process of 'becoming a member of a certain community' (Sfard, 1998, in Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000, p.155)

(Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000)

Previous LS/SLS research design has generally involved research in two ways: The first has an analytical focus on 'speech, writing and gesture' (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011, p.10). The second is in ethnographic studies of 'shifting socio-culturally meaningful practices, events, situations, institutions, relationships' (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011, p.11). LS/SLS generally uses longitudinal study to capture changes in communicative practices over time. A key part of LS/SLS is researching the detailed changes to novices' communication practices within their evolving social and public spheres, especially recognizing the imbalance of power structures. The method of analyzing semiotic resources was problematic for this research project as the research aim was to study the out-of-class use of language in authentic private and public settings that participants were living. Recording of speech was not possible. Therefore I focused on the participation element, using self-reporting of social interactions, to research the relationship between participants' social interactions and their perception of their own integration.

3.3 Integration

In this section I review literature about definitions of integration and social cohesion, effective models of integration, how integration is perceived by people who are settling in the UK, specifically migrant women, and the role of English language in that process.

As presented in the introduction, for this study I used the definition of integration from my earlier research (2015):

> *Integration is the process by migrants who are new to the UK, of becoming part of UK society. This process has multiple responsible parties including host communities and government.*

This definition recognizes that there are many players in the integration process responsible for different aspects of integration.

Integration is a complex and contested concept (European Commission, 2003). A large and varied body of literature exists about the concept depending on whether the context is national (Dorling, 2007b; European Commission, 2003; Han, Starkey, & Green, 2010); historical (Rex, 2016); political (Bosswick & Heckmann, 2006a; Department for Communities and Local Government, 2012; HM Government, 2018; Saggar et al., 2012; Webb, Hodge, Holford, Milana, & Waller, 2016); social (Ager & Strang, 2008; Baquedano-Lopez & Mangual Figueroa, 2011; Morrice, 2007b); or individual (from an identity perspective) (Duff, 2008; Miller, 1999, 2004; Morrice, 2017; Ochs, 1993).

Some definitions define social integration as assimilation, whereby a person is expected to alter their habits and culture, and change their identity to become more like the people in the host community (Bowskill, Lyons, & Coyle, 2007). This definition has its origins in the models of acculturation of immigrants in the United States, theorised by researchers in the mid-1900s (Heckmann, 2005). In this definition, integration is viewed as a one-way process, in which migrants change their own culture and take on the culture or the new society (Heckmann, 2005). The responsibility is placed solely on the migrant and there is no obligation by the host community to support or be part of the process (Bowskill et al., 2007; Rudiger & Spencer, 2003).

The Labour government in the late 1960s began to adopt a multicultural approach to migration with a strong emphasis on equal rights and opportunity (Rex, 2016), for migrants who had come from post-war New Commonwealth regions such as South Asian, Caribbean and African immigrants (Saggar, Somerville, Ford, & Sobolewska,

2012). They enacted early race relations laws to promote multiculturalism, which were based on the rights of citizenship (Rex, 2016).

In the early 2000s, responding to the riots in Northern England, the then Labour government developed the concept of 'shared values' as part of wider social inclusion policies to support social cohesion (Young, 2003). The government adopted the Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy in the EU (Berry, 2011) (see 2.1)[6]. Principles such as 'participation' and 'equity' promoted a more inclusive form of integration, whereby each group worked together towards shared values, as opposed to earlier assimilationist ideas (Berry, 2011). Integration was seen as a way to acknowledge and celebrate cultural diversity across EU countries (Berry, 2011).

EU and UK policy objectives on integration have largely been in response to the increasing diversity of ethnic and cultural groups in post-modern societies across Europe, and challenges that pluralistic societies present (Zetter, Sigona, Flynn, & Pasha, 2006). One challenge is how pluralistic societies can be organised to reduce differences in opportunities and attainment between people and groups (Heckmann, 2005). Another is how to support groups within communities to 'get along' with each other- also termed social cohesion (Saggar et al., 2012). General understandings of social cohesion refer to the common values and purpose of people in society enabling people from different backgrounds to feel a sense of belonging and solidarity with each other (Hope Cheong, Edwards, Goulbourne, & Solomos, 2007).

3.3.1 Integration and social cohesion

The terms integration and social cohesion are often used together and interchangeably (Saggar et al., 2012) but there is a difference. Integration is about ensuring migrant groups are included into the existing structures of society and able to participate equally (see for example Ager & Strang, 2008a; Heckmann, 2005; Jansen, Chioncel, & Dekkers, 2006; Saggar et al., 2012). Social cohesion is about how people 'get along' with other people in their communities (Cantle, 2007; Hope Cheong et al., 2007; Jansen et al., 2006).

As described in the previous chapter (2.3) the UK government initiatives for social cohesion are through promotion of English language and social mixing. The CIC defined a cohesive community as one where there is common vision, similar opportunities, respect for diversity and a sense of belonging (Cantle, 2007). It was seen

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[6] See Appendix 1 for the Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy in the EU

that ethnic diversity and cultural differences between groups could result in low trust (Hope Cheong, Edwards, Goulbourne, & Solomos, 2007) and so social mixing would promote shared values and morals (Jansen et al., 2006).

However, some researchers suggest that cohesion is not only affected by cultural differences as when inequalities increases, 'everyone becomes more different from everyone else', leading to less cohesive societies (Dorling, 2007). There appear to be two broad approaches to social cohesion (Phillips, 2003). The first is based on creating shared vision and purpose (Jenson, 2010), through building social capital based on Putnam's theories of social capital; specifically developing bridging, bonding and linking social capital (Forrest & Kearns, 2001) through social mixing. Social mixing is seen to develop social networks and foster a shared identity (Forrest & Kearns, 2001). This approach is now considered mainstream and generally accepted (Hope Cheong et al., 2007). The second approach is by reducing inequalities of opportunity, poverty and minimizing exclusion (Phillips, 2003). This approach is less favoured as it requires greater state intervention (Phillips, 2003). In the UK, this approach could be seen to be opposite to the recent governments' policies on state involvement (Institute of Community Cohesion, 2010).

The approach of promoting social mixing to build social capital and enable social cohesion can be seen as one where responsibility can be placed on people in communities, specifically migrants in those communities (see for example Casey, 2016; HM Government, 2019b). Where there are divisions seen in groups living together, there is a risk that migrant groups will be seen to not be doing enough to enable social cohesion (All Party Parliamentary Group on Social Integration, 2017). In many cases 'diversity' is presented as being problematic in discourses about social cohesion (Jansen et al., 2006), resulting in negative perceptions of migrants as discussed earlier in the Background chapter (2.2 and 2.3).

It was important to highlight the distinction between integration and cohesion as the two terms have been used interchangeably by other researchers and in government documents. Cohesion is also sometimes suggested as an indicator of successful integration (Heckmann, 2005) and has been linked to a sense of belonging (Laurence & Heath, 2008). It is likely that living in a local area where everyone 'gets along' with each other will contribute to a person's perception of their integration. However, based on the earlier discussion, social cohesion is usually seen from a group, community or societal perspective, rather than an individual perspective, which is the focus of this study.

Integration and cohesion are related, because if communities are not cohesive, it is likely to affect a migrant's ability to take part in social mixing and feel belonging in their local community.

3.3.2 Dimensions of integrations

From the early 2000s the Council of Europe commissioned reports into effective models of integration (Rudiger & Spencer, 2003). The Common Basic Principles presented in 2.1 are an example of policies based on commissioned research reports (Niessen & Huddleston, 2009). Models of successful integration proposed integration as a two-way process[7] whereby legal and political rights are conferred to new migrants (European Commission, 2003), there is meaningful interaction between migrants and host communities, and migrants have access to jobs and other opportunities (Saggar et al., 2012). Berry and Heckman describe the process of integration as one where there is mutual change on both the part of the migrant and the host community as a by-product of the process of socialisation or acculturation[8] (Berry, 2011; Heckmann, 2005).

At the individual level, integration is dependent on the motivations and goals of a person, and can 'mean different things to different people at different times' (Bryers, Winstanley, & Cooke, 2013, p.6). Ager and Strang, in research commissioned by the Home Office, suggested that an individual could be considered integrated when they:

> ● *achieve public outcomes within employment, housing, education, health etc., which are equivalent to those achieved within the wider host communities;*

> ● *are socially connected with members of a (national, ethnic, cultural, religious or other) community with which they identify, with members of other communities and with relevant services and functions of the state; and*

> ● *have sufficient linguistic competence and cultural knowledge, and a sufficient sense of security and stability, to confidently engage in that society in a manner consistent with shared notions of nationhood and citizenship.'*

(Ager & Strang, 2004, p.5)

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[7] often nicknamed a two-way street (Bryers et al., 2013)

8 Bosswick& Heckmann (2006a) suggested that acculturation and socialisation mean the same. According to Berry (2014) socialisation only applies to primary socialisation, and secondary socialisation is always acculturation.

This suggests that the ability to integrate is highly dependent on migrants being able to access structures and systems and participate equally to others. This could include being awarded rights to access structures such as housing and education, language support so that migrants can participate in employment, and ensuring equal opportunities to access and participate through anti-discrimination laws.

For Lockwood, there were two parts to the integration process: system integration, related to institutions and systems, and social integration, which is enacted by individual actors (Lockwood, 1976). System integration is considered foundational to the ability to fully integrate, as it includes legal aspects such as rights and laws to allow a person to settle in the UK, institutional policy governing organisations, and organization of markets including mechanisms for payment/working between these (Esser, 2001). In contrast, social integration is 'the inclusion (or exclusion) of actors into a social system…and following on from this the equal or unequal distribution of characteristics among…categories of actors' (Esser, 2006, p.8).

Within social integration there are four dimensions of integration, developed from Esser's (2000) work: placement, acculturation, interactions and identification (Esser, 2000). These were later further developed and adapted by Bosswick & Heckmann (2006) as below:

- Structural integration- rights to access core institutions,
- Cultural integration- the mutual development of a new shared culture,
- Interactive integration- inclusion into the host community's social networks,
- Identificational integration- when a migrant person identifies that they belong in the new society.

However, Esser's original version of structural integration, or which he called 'placement', referred to an individual's ability to gain a place within core institutions (e.g. housing, health systems and labour market) (Esser, 2000) rather than the rights to access them (as per Bosswick and Heckmann 2006). The idea of 'placement' as a way of understanding structural integration creates a distinction between the two. System integration is awarding of rights, legal process and government policy, which are pre-conditions for integration (Bosswick & Heckmann, 2006). Whereas social integration is the ability to exercise those rights (Esser, 2000). An example of the distinction is the government stating that only people on certain visas are allowed to study at a college (system integration). Social integration would be the ability for 'eligible' people to access the courses at the college.

Esser also proposed that capital (e.g. social and cultural) affects the ability to access the dimension of structural integration as part of social integration (Esser, 2006, p.8). Participation and continual participation in the dimension (through activities such as work, attending education and visiting health services) is affected by the social, cultural and economic capital that a person has.

For my study, I selected Esser's conceptualisation of integration (Esser, 2001, p.16) for two reasons: 1) I could see that from the perspectives of women in my earlier research, Esser's framework better explained their personal construction of integration. 2) As I was focusing on social integration from an individual perspective, it was more helpful use Esser's 'placement integration' as a way of understanding the dimension of structural integration (Esser, 2001, p9-10).

Therefore, in this study the four dimensions of integration are understood as the following:

- **Structural integration**- being able to gain a place within core institutions. For newly arrived women to the UK, this involves getting support to be able to access services that they have the right to access such as housing, and health through their council and local healthcare providers. Either through English classes that are contextualized, through citizenship lessons about citizens' rights, or peer sharing/support.
- **Cultural integration or acculturation**- involves migrants gaining knowledge, behaviours and competencies to participate in the host society (Heckmann, 2005). However the process is mutual and the host community also changes (Bosswick & Heckmann, 2006). Learning the host country's language, English in this case, usually sits within cultural integration. Other examples are supporting new migrants to learn about the places of cultural and historical interest, such as museums and historical buildings and to share cultural knowledge such as 'British values'. It can also involve creating opportunities for settled members of the community to come together with new migrants to foster community relations through shared understandings.
- **Interactive integration**- concerns migrants' inclusion into the host community's social networks. For new migrants to the UK this continues to be a barrier to integration (Dimitriadou, 2004; Eaves, 2015; Norris, 2004; Ortaçtepe, 2013). Recent reports cited in 2.2 propose social mixing. Examples at a local level are events and activities, and participating in volunteering.

- **Identificational integration** is when a migrant person identifies that they belong in the new society (Nimmerfeldt, 2009). This dimension is seen as the final stage, when a person feels a sense of belonging to a new community, the stage where a migrant's has formed a new identity with a part to play in their life in the UK (Bosswick & Heckmann, 2006).

Cultural knowledge could be both a precursor to, and a result of structural integration, and vice versa (Esser, 2006). At the same time, in these dimensions (cultural and structural), interactive integration could be taking place (Esser, 2006). A combination of these dimensions are necessary to develop identificational integration (Bosswick & Heckmann, 2006), which is often described as the feeling of 'belonging'.

3.3.3 Research on measurements and indicators of integration

There have been several research reports about measuring integration (see for example Ager & Strang, 2004; Amit & Bar-Lev, 2014; Entzinger & Biezeveld, 2005; European Commission, 2003; Jenson, 2010; Saggar et al., 2012). Saggar et al (2012) used empirical research of social impact of integration; Amit and Bar-Lev (2014) used life satisfaction as a measurement; Eaves (2013) involved migrants themselves to select the goals they set themselves and to measure those in longitudinal research; Entzinger and Biezeveld (2005) and Ager and Strang (2004) proposed indicators of integration based on migrants' participation and outcomes in certain domains. Recently the Home Office have adopted Ager and Strang's framework of indicators of integration (Ndofor-Tah et al., 2019).

The framework was produced as part of a research report for the Home Office and used the four dimensions of integration in section 3.3.2 as the starting point (Ager & Strang, 2004, p.9). Ager and Strang's framework has 10 domains of integration grouped under four main headings: foundation, facilitators, social connections, and markers and means. Education, work, health and housing are domains that are key areas for participation for people in communities. They are considered markers as they give an indication of success in achieving participation, but are also considered means as participation in these domains can also support integration (Ager & Strang, 2004).

The framework included a list of indicators that could be used to gather data for evaluation and planning of refugee services, for example % in paid work under the employment domain (Ager & Strang, 2004). In the suggested indicators, Ager and Strang listed potential sources such as Home Office Citizenship Survey, Health Authority reports, Labour Force Survey, Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) records (Ager & Strang, 2004). The framework provides a set of common indicators for

funders and organisations working with refugee services. I had considered outcomes-based measurements early on in my research journey but recognized that they were not compatible with my research strategy. However, the domains that were identified by Ager and Strang as key areas of participation were useful to my study. The domains identified in the research: Education, Housing, Work, Health were used to anticipate places that migrant women participated in social interactions within.

3.3.4 Recent research about participants' own perceptions of integration

As the focus of my study is migrants' perceptions of their own integration, I looked at previous research involving the perspectives of migrants themselves. There were four recent studies looking at migrants' perceptions of what integration meant to them (Bryers et al., 2013; Court, 2017; Eaves, 2015; Graham-Brown, 2015). Based on these studies, I suggest that 'being integrated' is complex, non-linear and may have multiple pathways within the overall process. Participants of these studies reported that integration was influenced by their ability to fully access services, make relationships with people outside of their immediate family, ethnic and community circles, and gain independence through employment (Bryers et al., 2013; Eaves, 2015; Graham-Brown, 2015). The dimensions mentioned earlier- structural integration, cultural integration and interactional integration- could be used to explain the self-reported areas.

Additionally, participants for two of the studies highlighted the role of UK immigration policy and the power that the UK government had over allowing people permission to integrate through awarding residency status and rights to political participation (Eaves, 2015; Graham-Brown, 2015). Participants in Bryers et al's research identified barriers such as racism encountered in the communities they were settling in, which they viewed as influenced by wider UK immigration policy (Bryers et al., 2013). I saw these perspectives as belonging to Esser's system integration (Esser, 2000) (in earlier section 3.3.2), which is a dimension outside of the control of migrants themselves.

Time was also identified as an important part of the integration process, with some migrants taking longer to feel integrated than others (Eaves, 2015). Therefore, if the process of integration is viewed on a continuum, then it is reasonable to expect people to be 'integrated' in different areas of their lives and at different levels simply because of differing personal situations and length of time in those contexts. A person can perceive themselves to be well integrated in one area of their life, such as at their workplace, and not in another area, such as in their local neighbourhood, where they might spend less time (Graham-Brown, 2015).

Bryers et al's (2013) also re-conceptualised and further extended the existing integration metaphor. Previously, integration has been likened to a two-way street by researchers and policy makers, with migrants and the host community having a role to play (Strang & Ager, 2010). Through participatory activities in their study, Bryers et al observed integration as a 'spaghetti-junction' of opportunities and responsibilities. 'I.e. a complicated, dense set of intersections, crossroads and junctions going in lots of different directions.' (Bryers et al., 2013, p.33). Participants felt that integration was not static but a 'series of transitory moments of belonging' (Bryers et al., 2013, p.26). Participants of the Eaves study also used the term belonging, expressing that belonging was to feel that they were comfortable and at ease, and to be accepted and welcomed whilst retaining their own cultural identities (Eaves, 2015). Similarly, in early findings on my IFS research, participants had expressed that to be integrated was to feel comfortable, safe and 'welcomed in their new home' (Graham-Brown, 2015, p.57).

3.4 Belonging

So far, I have discussed theories of integration, establishing that structural, cultural and interactional integration are related to identificational integration. Next, I examine belonging as an indicator of identificational integration, and propose a conceptual framework to link social integration, SLS and belonging.

3.4.1 Belonging as a way of conceptualising 'being integrated'

Identificational integration is related to a new migrant's feelings of belonging (Bosswick & Heckmann, 2006). As discussed earlier in this section, the term belonging has often been used to describe when someone feels integrated. Belonging has been identified as an indicator of integration (Ager & Strang, 2004) and as a way of demonstrating the feeling of being integrated (Heckmann, 2005). Belonging is defined as a feeling of being at ease with oneself and one's surrounding (Miller, 2009). In my review of literature on integration and cohesion, I found many references to belonging, but without any accompanying definition (see for example Ager & Strang, 2008a; Department for Communities and Local Government, 2012; Forrest & Kearns, 2001; Saggar et al., 2012). There seemed to be an assumption of a shared understanding of what belonging is vis-à-vis integration and cohesion. Some writers suggest belonging is related to acquisition of rights through being a citizen of a nation-state (Strang & Ager, 2010), and contingent on whether migrants feel included or excluded (Morrice, 2011). I was unable to find sufficient explanation of the relationship between integration and belonging.

Outside of integration, there appear to be two main research fields where the concept of 'belonging' has been researched. The first is within Lave and Wenger's community-of-practice (Wenger, 2010). This type of 'belonging' refers to professional groupings (Ionescu, 2016; Whitchurch, 2009). I explored using this understanding of belonging as it has been applied to groups studying in adult education and ESOL previously (Duff, 2007; Ibarz & Webb, 2007; Norton & Toohey, 2001). The premise is that by studying together in a classroom setting, participants feel that they belong to a community of practice and this supports the development of their skills and confidence through non-formal and informal learning (Duff, 2007). However, when assessing suitability for my study, I felt that this understanding would not be suitable to support the exploration of belonging in relation to all the dimensions of integration, as it focused on classroom-based interactions and relationships.

Another type of belonging is related to identity studies (Conde, 2011; Krzyzanowski & Wodak, 2008; Said, 2018; Stets & Burke, 2000). This type of belonging has been

researched with reference to nationhood and transnationalism (Baquedano-Lopez & Mangual Figueroa, 2011; Erdal & Oeppen, 2013) and in relation to politics of belonging (Morrice, 2017; Sandu, 2013; Sicakkan & Lithman, 2005; Youkhana, 2015; Yuval-Davis, 2006). Again, I considered these concepts but I felt that neither concept was suitable to adequately explain the 'feeling' of belonging in relation to participants' social interactions in the community where those interactions took place.

Therefore I selected place belonging, which is an understanding of belonging as an emotional attachment (Antonsich, 2010). This type of belonging exists across academic disciplines, from geographers, sociologists, to cultural theorists and educators (see Antonsich, 2010, for a review of literature on belonging across disciplines). This concept of belonging describes belonging as a sense of ease with 'one's self and one's social, cultural, relational and material contexts' (May, 2013, p.3), and often unnoticed until there is change (May, 2013). It is also related to feeling comfortable, familiar and having confidence in the place (Yarker, 2019). Belonging is often described as a human need (Baumeister & Leary, 1995) and this particular concept is built upon the basis of relational self: that our identities and sense of self is formed based on our relationships with others (May, 2013). As it is intrinsically linked to individuals' identity, but rooted in context and place (May, 2013), I favoured using this explanation of belonging as a way of explaining migrant women's identity, as belonging allows identity to be explained as a transitory process of being and becoming (Yuval-Davis, 2006)[9]. Nevertheless, some findings in 5.3.2 suggest that 'the politics of belonging' could be used as a lens for a future study into experiences of women on their pathways to integration.

In this research, I will be using the term belonging to mean belonging as an emotional attachment to place also known as place belonging (Antonsich, 2010). The following is an explanation of the significance of the concepts of social spaces, places and integration.

3.4.2 Social fields and socialisation

Belonging suggests that we will feel at ease in a familiar social field (Bourdieu, 2000) and we will understand how to behave and 'play the game' to retain or accumulate capital. Habitus is largely unseen and comes across as natural or second nature (May,

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[9] See May, 2013 and Sicakkan& Lithman, 2005 for several other reasons for using belonging instead of identity.

2013). However, we will not feel comfortable if we are not familiar with a place (Yarker, 2019) or do not know how systems work (May, 2011). Integration at the local level is based on the successful inclusion of migrants into existing neighbourhoods and communities (Heckmann, 2005), which may be new and unfamiliar. Migration from one set of familiar social fields to a new place with unfamiliar social fields will affect one's feeling of belonging (Marshall & Foster, 2002). In order to feel at ease again, a person will have to become socialized into the fields of the new society. Part of this socializing is learning to use the new language, through the use of the new language in the field (SLS, section 3.2.1).

Habitus is helpful in conceptualizing an individual's relationship between self and society. The theory has been criticized for social reproduction of inequalities (see Bottero, 2010; Edgerton & Roberts, 2014; Nash, 1999). In order to overcome this, May suggested using belonging as a way of further extending habitus (May, 2013). Belonging is a relational concept with a focus on social interactions to enable access to, and changing of, social fields and habitus. The process of socialisation is not static and can be seen as a continuous process of socialisation through and into different fields (Davey, 2009), including unfamiliar fields in the case of migration to a new place. Therefore the process of socialisation could be seen as *the* integration process in order to become socialized into a community, that is to feel identificational integration or a sense of belonging.

3.4.3 Definition of social interactions

Social interactions are interactions that take place in the social space, rather than interactions with content that is social in the informal and friendship sense. This is based on the understanding of social interactions of Sandstrom & Dunn's (2014) study, Ochs' (1991) discussions of language practices for novice learners, and Sharma (1997)'s theory of social process. Sharma suggests that 'social interaction is communicative interaction, and that interaction is the simplest form of social process' (Sharma, 1997, p.162). Therefore all interactions between participants and other people will be considered social interactions for this research project, regardless if the interactions are purely transactional or include more meaningful transfer of knowledge.

3.4.4 Places of interactions

Places that migrant women's social interactions take place in are a representation of the social fields that they are integrating into. Therefore, it is important to clarify what is meant by a 'field' and to provide terminology for the research.

As described earlier in section 3.2.1, a field is not a two-dimensional space, rather a constructed representation of a social space that a person encounters, lives-in or interacts with. The study of spaces has usually been of interest to geographers (Massey, 1994). Recently, a greater understanding of how material objects can influence social spaces, social relationships and metaphorical aspects of space has meant that more consideration has been given to the physical aspects of place in studies of identity and belonging (Antonsich, 2010). The terms 'out of place' and 'know your place' are both indicative of how both the physical and social space can make someone feel. Whereas space might describe the physical area or location that structures, enables or constrains activities and interaction, place describes the social meanings that those interactions give to a space (Dourish, 2006).

Therefore for this research I use the term 'place' to describe the social fields that participants interact with and in. Place does not mean a specific physical building or institution, for example the ESOL classroom in ELATT's centre, but represents the socially constructed place of activity and interaction. The ESOL class, which may be within or outside of the physical room location, and consists of the students and teachers who form that class, along with behaviours, conventions and understandings that create boundaries for that particular place. Place can be both imagined and embodied simultaneously (Bennett, 2014). In my analysis and findings chapter, I have described each place that the research participants interact in based on their perceptions to support the reader to have an understanding of the places.

Spheres

The term sphere represents a loose general grouping of places, which have similar characteristics and activities. Habermas first used the concept of spheres when describing 'public sphere', which is an imaginary community: groups of people coming together to discuss issues of common concern (Fraser, 1962). Similar to places, spheres are not physical divisions but theoretical concepts (Martin, 2010) on a more macro-level (Calhoun, 2010). The term sphere has been more commonly used to describe the division between the public and private sphere (Biesta, 2012; Martin, 2010; Rudiger & Spencer, 2003) but sphere has also been used to describe other theoretical concepts: e.g. social sphere, political sphere, cultural sphere, academic sphere and economic sphere (Reay, 1997; Weedon, 2011; Whitchurch, 2012). The concept of spheres have been linked to Bourdieu's concept of fields through the interpretation of the public sphere as a site of political struggle for power (Conde, 2011). Calhoun, (2010) suggests that fields can be nested within spheres, fields being

more specific, and spheres more general. In this study I have grouped the specific places of social interactions within more general spheres. The basis for these groupings is discussed in 4.6.4 (Analysis) and 6.2 (Findings).

3.5 Aspects of belonging

Antonsich (2010) identified five factors that contribute to belonging. These are autobiographical, relational, cultural, economic and legal (Antonisch, 2010, p.647). May identified three key sources of belonging: cultural belonging, relational belonging and material belonging (which comprises place and objects) (May, 2013). In a later paper she described the temporal aspects of belonging (May & Muir, 2015). Other writers look at belonging from a variety of legal, political, social, cultural, physical, spiritual, ethical and emotional dimensions (Buonfino & Thomson, 2007; Sicakkan & Lithman, 2005; Sumsion & Wong, 2011). For this study, I used May's categorisation of sources of belonging as they complement the dimensions of integration (see Figure 1 below). Additionally, the importance of time and life histories has featured in the prior research discussed in 3.3.4.

I used the term 'aspects' (Antonsich, 2010) rather than 'sources' (May, 2013) to describe the different dimensions of belonging. All aspects are equally important and interlinked. The aspects are not linear and a person could experience one aspect of belonging and not another (May, 2013). Additionally, they could experience belonging differently across relationships and places (Hedetoft, 2002). However, in order for a person to feel that they fully belong to a place all aspects would have to be present (May, 2013).

Previously, my challenge was to operationalize the dimensions of integration, whereby I could gather meaningful data of participants' experiences. Using May's aspects of belonging I was able to map the dimensions of integration together with the aspects of belonging to identify experiences of belonging in these four aspects. If identificational integration is when an individual feels they fully belong (3.3.2), the aspects of belonging can be conceptualised as pre-conditions to achieving identificational integration.

Figure 1 below are the dimensions of integration mapped to aspects of belonging:

Identificational integration: when a migrant person identifies that they belong to the new place	
Dimension of integration	**Aspect of belonging**
Structural integration	Material belonging
Cultural integration	Cultural belonging
Interactional integration	Relational belonging

Figure 1:Dimensions of integration vs aspects of belonging

I discuss these aspects of belonging in the following section.

3.5.1 Material Belonging

Access to places

Belonging is described as 'comprising place and material objects' (May, 2013, p.148) and includes the familiarity that we feel in our surroundings, the sense of safety in our communities, how comfortable we are in our homes and public spaces, and is even influenced by our material belongings (i.e.things) (May, 2013). Place is affected by our senses including smell, sight, sound and even taste (May, 2013). Esser described placement as the ~~rights~~ ability to access a place and positions within society, including offer of opportunities (for example a place on a course or a job) (Esser, 2001). This aspect is the most important condition for giving access to forms of capital such as economic and cultural capital (Esser, 2001) as it is linked to the habitus of a person. Both these understandings can affect how we perceive a place and whether we are comfortable (at ease) with a particular place, and also whether we feel accepted or not in the place. Additionally access to place will affect development of cultural knowledge within the place and through interactions with people in the place (Esser, 2001). This is similar to Bourdieu's theory of habitus: developing cultural capital through socialisation in a field (Davey, 2009).

Both Esser and May contribute different understandings of this aspect. May's definition focuses more on sensory elements of material belonging, and how these can affect the way a person feels about access and opportunity to participate in a place (2013). As an example we can consider a community centre which claims to be inclusive, but has not been built to allow easy access by wheelchair users. Physical elements such as placement of light switches, sinks and table heights are perceived as sensory and affect how the wheelchair user might experience the place as welcoming, and their feeling of acceptance there. Esser focuses on the opportunity for people to exercise the rights to access and participate in a place, or equality of opportunity for access. For

example, council services ensuring that there are adequately accessible processes for people to apply for support that is due to them. Based on my knowledge of our participant groups and indicators of integration's markers and means (3.3.3), it was expected that participants would be more likely to report their experiences of accessing housing, education, work and health and social care.

Access to the places related to housing, education, work and health and social care, is also affected by knowing the 'rules of the game'. May suggests that 'collective understandings' of belonging are built upon 'negotiated accomplishments' (2013, p.82) and that the feeling of belonging must be reciprocated (May 2013). However, reports have found that migrants have particular vulnerabilities when accessing places of public services (Kofman, Lukes, D'Angelo, & Montagna, 2009; Policy and Insight Team, 2017). The term public services has been used in this research as a catchall term to describe local authority services including schools, health and medical services, and DWP services. For the purposes of this study, public services staff are customer services staff, caseworkers, social workers, job centre advisors and housing officers. It also includes staff at schools, hospitals and other health services.

The government's audit into racism experienced in public services also showed that people of BAME (Black, Asian or Minority Ethnic) backgrounds were more likely to experience discrimination when accessing public services (Kofman et al., 2009). Incidents of anti-migrant rhetoric, xenophobia and racism, when accessing public services have been reported by migrants (Kofman et al., 2009). There have been recommendations to better support positive interactions in public services settings (Orton, 2012). Research by a London local authority found that discrimination experienced could be due to a lack of migrants' language skills, the design of systems and the complexity of legal rights and welfare entitlements. Additionally discrimination could also be due to the lack of knowledge and awareness of staff working in public service institutions about migrants' needs (Policy and Insight Team, 2017). The report recommended training for staff to raise awareness of issues relating to migrant communities (Policy and Insight Team, 2017).

Based on previous research, I suggested that engagement in interactions in places that were formal could create opportunities for informal interactions, and I suggested that schools and colleges were examples of these formal places (Graham-Brown, 2015). For many migrants, formal places provide the main opportunity to can gain access to

acquaintances and support networks outside of their own ethnic groups (Court, 2017; Orton, 2012). People in these places can support migrants to feel an embodied sense of belonging (May, 2013).

Work was identified as one of the places of social interactions earlier in this section. There are similarities in access to and potential for discrimination in this place as those discussed about public services earlier. Work is also a place where informal social interactions can take place, and relationships can develop between different colleagues. Lave and Wenger's Communities of Practice concept discussed in 3.4.1 theorises the relationships between professionals with reference to professional development at work (Wenger, 2010) and these are built on the opportunity for meaningful social interactions at work.

Work also provides another element that can develop belonging, which is routine. Routine has been described as mundane, draining and repressive (May, 2013). However, routine is also important to providing stability and surety to lives, and providing confidence in what will happen next (May, 2013). This is especially true for migrant women who have moved and experienced uncertainty (Eaves, 2015). In Eaves' study a participant equated having a job and daily routine with belonging: 'Maybe in time once I have those things here I might feel belongingness to the UK…' (Eaves, 2015, p.85). The purpose and self-worth that work provides can be an important source of belonging.

3.5.2 Cultural Belonging

Cultural belonging and migrants

Culture is usually explained as the particular and distinctive 'ways of life' of a group; ~~and~~ social relations, mores, customs and beliefs all make up the meaning and values of the culture (Clarke, Hall, Jefferson, & Roberts, 2018). They are the cultural practices that enable people to socialise into social fields (May, 2013).

Language has a crucial role in the process of socialisation to a new culture, enabling the interpretation of the new social culture and learn new cultural practices (Poole, 1992). English and knowledge of UK history is usually listed under cultural knowledge that a migrant should learn to facilitate the integration process (See section 2.3). ESOL classes are places where cultural knowledge is learnt through the language learning

activities (Dimitriadou, 2010), but also in the interactions that take place between group members (Court, 2017).

It is common for migrants to be treated as a homogenous group of people, trying to integrate with the host community group, which is also often assumed to be a homogenous group (Cantle & Kaufmann, 2016; Stone, 2017). The 'two-way street' metaphor reinforces binary assumptions of migrants versus host community. As a teacher, I am often reminded that for the migrant women I have taught, the UK is the first site of hyper-diversity for them (as mentioned in Introduction). They are not only learning how to integrate into the 'host community', but also learning how to interact with other migrants who come from countries and cities different from them, which could also be homogenous. The ESOL classroom supports people to learn how to interact with each other through learning about each other's differences and similarities (for example in 'Getting to Know You' activities), norms and behaviours (classroom rules) and learning about linguistic diversity (listening to and understanding each other's accents). The expectations and knowledge about how to behave is learnt through interactions and relationships with others (May, 2013).

Culture is also largely unseen (Schein, 2012), and the culture of a group is only revealed when compared to behaviours, norms and attitudes of other groups (Fortman & Giles, 2005). However, in creating awareness of the cultural differences between groups, there is a risk of not being accepted by the group that is considered the dominant culture (Fortman & Giles, 2005). For example, people from migrant groups may not participate in cultural practices of the 'host community' such as meeting for a drink in the pub. By being seen not to participate in what could be considered a cultural norm, they could be seen as different. Trust can be affected by perceived differences including cultural difference (Gambetta, 1988).

However, culture is more complex than just one culture compared to another as there is no longer one dominant culture in the UK (Weedon, 2004). It is more likely that there are host or settled 'communities', which may consist of multiple cultural identities. As a result of 'transnational mobility', people are likely to have multiple belongings or form a hybrid cultural identity (May, 2013).

Culture cannot be separated from communication as culture is expressed through communication (Fortman & Giles, 2005) and, through interactions with others from different cultures such as people from migrant communities, who already have their own cultural identity, new cultural understandings can be developed (May, 2013).

Cultural belonging and systems

Culture can also be viewed as the way of structuring society (Baldwin, Faulkner, & Hecht, 2005). The phrase 'the way we do things around here' is often used to describe organisational culture (Bower, 1966) and much of the knowledge and practice from corporate culture has been used in organisational design of public services (see for example Gleeson & Knights, 2006; Shaw & Reyes, 2010). As part of cultural belonging, migrant women have to familiarise themselves with how organisations such as those providing services mentioned under material belonging (3.5.1) operate. For example housing services, doctor's (GP) surgeries and hospitals, education providers and workplaces. These organisations are characteristically bureaucratic (Reimer, 2004) as they are based on 'relations structured by general rules and principles' (p.91), and can exclude individuals and groups due to the organisational structures and objectives of the service (Reimer, 2004). Additionally, organisational culture is likely to be influenced by the perceptions and values of the employees themselves. I suggest it is likely that any public perception of migrants (as discussed in 2.2) will have an impact an institution's organisational culture. Organisational culture as described above also applies to non-profit organisations, businesses and sole traders.

Organisational cultural practices can dictate how an employer recruits and selects staff, and manages resources on a daily basis (Schein, 2012). Cultural practices in work settings can differ from experiences from migrant women's home countries (Eaves, 2015). Employability programmes in colleges or adult learning providers often present employment practices that are by-the-book, and focus on CV-writing and job applications (Department for Education and Skills, 2001). Employability programmes may be designed on the assumption that learners will gain work at larger organisations with standardised employment practices. However research shows that migrant women tend to go into entry-level employment through recruitment practices that may not be based on a formal application process (Eaves, 2015). Migrant women report a lack of confidence to find places to apply for and successfully gain employment and this can negatively affect their cultural belonging in this sphere.
Additionally, cultural practices in entry-level jobs, which are of a casual nature, may not be fair to migrants and could negatively affect cultural belonging. A Demos report (Paget & Stevenson, 2014) found that migrants lacking in English skills were at a higher risk of exploitation by employers who did not provide contracts of employment and information about rights at work.

Language- not just part of Cultural Belonging

Language is usually associated with the cultural dimension of integration (Bosswick & Heckmann, 2006). In frameworks of belonging, language is also often placed within the cultural aspect of belonging (May, 2012). However, I feel that this is not an accurate representation of how language underpins, and is also the key process in, accessing the other dimensions of integration. Esser (2006) linked language and structural integration for access to rights and services; language with interactional integration as crucial in supporting communication to build relationships with the host community; and language learning being a part of cultural integration, as a way of conveying knowledge about the host country.

Based on this I suggest that the ability to understand and communicate well enough in the host country language underpins the acquisition of knowledge for cultural belonging. A common language is a 'key tool for building trust' (Ipsos Mori, 2007, p.82), and affects the ability to interact to create relational belonging. Language skills also determines the ability to access material belonging through being able to understand and act on rights. Therefore the role of language in a migrant's process of integration can be understood as wider than simply communicative competency. Language forms the basis of learning about new culture, rights and responsibilities; the method of interacting with others to form social relationships; and it is the key to improving their personal situation in accessing services, or employment.

3.5.3 Relational Belonging

Relational belonging is about relationships with others. Who we feel we belong (or not belong) with affects relational belonging (May, 2013). The first source of belonging is our family (May, 2013). Friends and other people in our day-to-day community also affects feelings of belonging, though not all relationships affect belonging equally (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). I also attribute Bourdieu's social capital theories to this aspect. Being part of a group creates social capital that is a strong base for solidarity (Siisiäinen, 2000) and perceived belonging is reliant on concepts discussed in 3.3.1 such as bonding, bridging and linking in establishing trust in relationships (Strang & Ager, 2010).

As mentioned, family is usually the first place people feel belonging as they are the primary source of meaning in a person's life (Stillman & Baumeister, 2009). Socialisation theory suggests that our socialisation through our family develops our cultural understandings of the world (May, 2013), as well as an expectation of how other people who are similar to us will behave (Tanis & Postmes, 2005). This means

that as we grow up, we have an expectation of how people of similar backgrounds and/or experiences as us will behave, think and react to us.

Friends are also important to a person's sense of belonging and can sometimes represent the family that one has chosen (May, 2013). Friendships are generally built on similarities rather than differences, such as similarities in class, ethnicity or interests (May, 2013). We are more likely to feel we have more in common with people like us, as our habitus will be similar resulting from the same background, upbringing and experiences (early social fields) (Bourdieu, 2000). Migrants often link with people from their own background when they first arrive in the UK (Hope Cheong et al., 2007). The main reason for this is the perception of greater understanding of their experiences of migration and the likelihood of migrants receiving support from others like them (chain migration) (Morrice, 2007, p.166).

However, literature suggests that the fundamental reason for migrants seeking out other people like them is trust (Morrice, 2007). At its most basic, trust is 'a particular expectation we have with regard to the likely behaviour of others' (Gambetta, 1988, p.216). This expectation leads people of similar ethnic backgrounds and/or experiences to perceive trust in those they share a social identity with (Martin & Tom, 2005). Therefore, when they arrive in a new country, migrants are more likely to trust people who are from the same ethnic background as they are and so will build friendships with those people.

As discussed in 3.31, social capital is developed with the people we have strong ties to through bonding social capital (Office for National Statistics, 2001). Studies have shown that bonding social capital can be high amongst ethnic groups because of the immediate resources that the form of capital can provide such as information, emotional support and capacity-building support (Strang & Ager, 2010). However, there is a risk of over-reliance on homogenous groups, at the expense of integration into wider social networks (Morrice, 2007). This has caused bonding social capital to be perceived as 'bad' (Hope Cheong et al., 2007, p.31), and for migrants to be perceived as self-segregating and not wanting to integrate (see for example Han et al., 2010; Hope Cheong et al., 2007; Strang & Ager, 2010). However, it is generally accepted that these forms of support are crucial to helping migrants progress in the future (Collyer, Morrice, Tip, Brown, & Odermatt, 2018).

Acquaintances, strangers and communities

Government reports promote social mixing and 'meaningful' social interactions (HM Government, 2018; Ipsos Mori, 2007; Social Integration Commision, 2015). There is an

assumption that relationships with people we know well are more important to our sense of belonging compared to relationships with acquaintances and strangers (May, 2013). I had previously placed greater importance on social interactions that I coded 'meaningful' and I think that this stems from my teaching practice. As ESOL teachers, we are always encouraging our students to practice English with neighbours and friends. This is based on the belief that language interactions in shops or with public transport workers, which are of a transactional nature, would not give sufficient practice to our students to develop their language.

However, social capital theory suggests that we should not only focus on strong ties (Putnam, 2000). Granovetter (1973) suggests that weak ties, such as those with acquaintances or strangers, can be just as important to knowledge exchange. Bridging social capital is developed through those with weaker ties (Office for National Statistics, 2001). It is more likely that people with weak ties are different from the people who have strong ties, and therefore have different types of knowledge that both groups can benefit from (Granovetter, 1973).

A recent study also revealed that what a migrant might consider 'meaningful' as a social interaction may not match our understanding of 'meaningful'. In Ortaçtepe's (2013) study, his subject took part in three interactions, all with strangers, and he considered two of those meaningful. For his subject, a 'meaningful' social interaction was one with reciprocity- one where he was listened to -, in return for listening to the other person (Ortaçtepe, 2013). Therefore a 'transactional' English interaction could be taken as meaningful for the individual if the interaction was perceived as reciprocal.

Sandstrom & Dunn (2014) researched the power of weak-ties to well-being in community and found that acquaintances affected people's feeling of belonging. This is because community members learnt expectations of behaviour of the acquaintances they made in the community, be it a neighbour of shopkeeper. Rather than conceptualising ties as a binary of strong versus weak, there should be a 'tie continuum', which would begin with people that we interact with most regularly and face-to-face, all the way to strangers (May, 2013).

Previously I had not considered strangers as having an impact on a person's feeling of belonging especially if social interactions with those strangers were limited.. However, strangers in a person's locality, whom they do not know, but they encounter on a daily basis, begin to become familiar (May, 2013). This contributes to trust in the local area, as there is a development of predictability and familiarity that trust is built on.

Furthermore, the categorization of who is a stranger and who is an acquaintance is unclear. In my previous research, some participants called their neighbours friends, and for the others, their neighbours were called strangers (Graham-Brown, 2015). Research into diversity and trust from US and Canada showed that research participants in diverse neighbourhoods who talked to their neighbours regularly were more trusting than those who did not talk to their neighbours regularly (Stolle, Soroka, & Johnston, 2008). Their findings were that trust was challenging in diverse neighbourhoods where there were not enough social interactions (Stolle et al., 2008). Therefore, the types of everyday, ordinary and routine interactions by people in local communities or neighbourhoods created a sense of belonging for those people (May, 2013). May also suggests that 'community' is an alternative group to 'family' and 'friends' and a way people organise themselves to 'embody a sense of local belonging' (2013, p.122).

Online relational belonging

In my previous research, it was noted that online methods of communication instigated by the tutor, enabled participants to communicate with each other outside the class (Graham-Brown, 2015). The communication became a way of extending conversations and discussions that were started in the class. Since then other forms of online communication such as Whatsapp groups have been used at ELATT to support out-of-class communications and relationship-building.

Using Whatsapp people can feel like they are in two different places at the same time, thus over-coming the issues of geography and time (May, 2013). This in turn has created a world where people could live together even when apart (May, 2013) and this has created a sense of community for some users (Church & de Oliveira, 2013). Aharony's (2015) study of students who had moved away from home showed that they used Whatsapp to communicate with existing friends to ask for support on things they did not know. Furthermore, they relied upon friendships that had already been made using Whatsapp rather than starting new relationships (Aharony, 2015). Whatsapp communication was found to maintain existing social capital in Aharony's study (2015).

Whatsapp communication has been found to consist of mundane 'day-to-day' 'tosh', where the conversation was on-going (O'Hara, Massimi, Harper, Rubens, & Morris, 2014, p.1136). The nature of Whatsapp groups is that they also enable 'ongoing group relations' of groups that already see each other often (O'Hara et al., 2014, p.1137). Online communities can be an invaluable for belonging and support (May, 2013).

3.5.4 Temporal belonging

As mentioned earlier, belonging is related to time. Rather than being a linear process of historical points in time, temporal belonging is based on the relationship between memory and self and time (May, 2016). Other researchers use different expressions to describe this temporal aspect. Antonsich (2010) refers to it as the autobiographical aspect, and Kraus relates it to story-telling or narratives (Kraus, 2007).

The life story aspect of belonging

The importance of a person's first socialisation, to their subsequent continuous process of socialisation is significant and accounted for in the framework. Miller (2009) and Hedetoft (2002) note the importance of history in the formation of identity and belonging. Life stories are seen as not static records, but narratives that change as people experience and express their memories (Bennett, 2014).

This aspect of belonging accounts for the fact that migrants moving to the UK are not empty slates, with no prior experiences or conceptualization of their identities. At the same time it recognizes that historical or autobiographical experiences are not linear and that people's memories of such experiences may change depending on the present situation of the individual (Kraus, 2007). I have chosen to use the term life stories rather than life histories, based on the understanding that life stories are depiction of events in a person's life based on how they see their life at that particular moment (Miller, 2000). Additionally, using life stories takes into account that belonging is experienced in relation to time and future trajectories (May & Muir, 2015).

Developing a sense of belonging takes time

Past, present and future trajectories are also considered in this aspect of belonging. As a temporal experience, belonging is experienced in and through time (May, 2016). I take this to mean that time and experience affect how we see ourselves. Temporal aspects have sometimes been thought of as a linear progression (May, 2016). However, researchers who have looked at time and belonging have cautioned against viewing the trajectory as entirely linear (Bastian, 2014; May, 2016). When considering life stories affecting participants socialisation, these can be re-conceptualised or re-understood (e.g. by improved self-understanding and reflection) by participants differently at different times based on present experiences (Kraus, 2007).

Routine (discussed in relation to work in 3.5.1) and familiarity (in 3.5.3) are built upon the ability for something to be experienced over a temporal period. To develop familiarity and routine it is necessary to experience repetition. In turn this repetition

creates an expectation of future experiences. Therefore unlike material, cultural and relational belonging, temporal belonging is a vehicle for the entire socialisation process.

3.6 The framework for belonging

The framework for belonging illustrated in Figure 2 below, has been designed to enable exploration of the experiences of migrant women over the period of the study, and to examine the relationship between their social interactions and belonging.
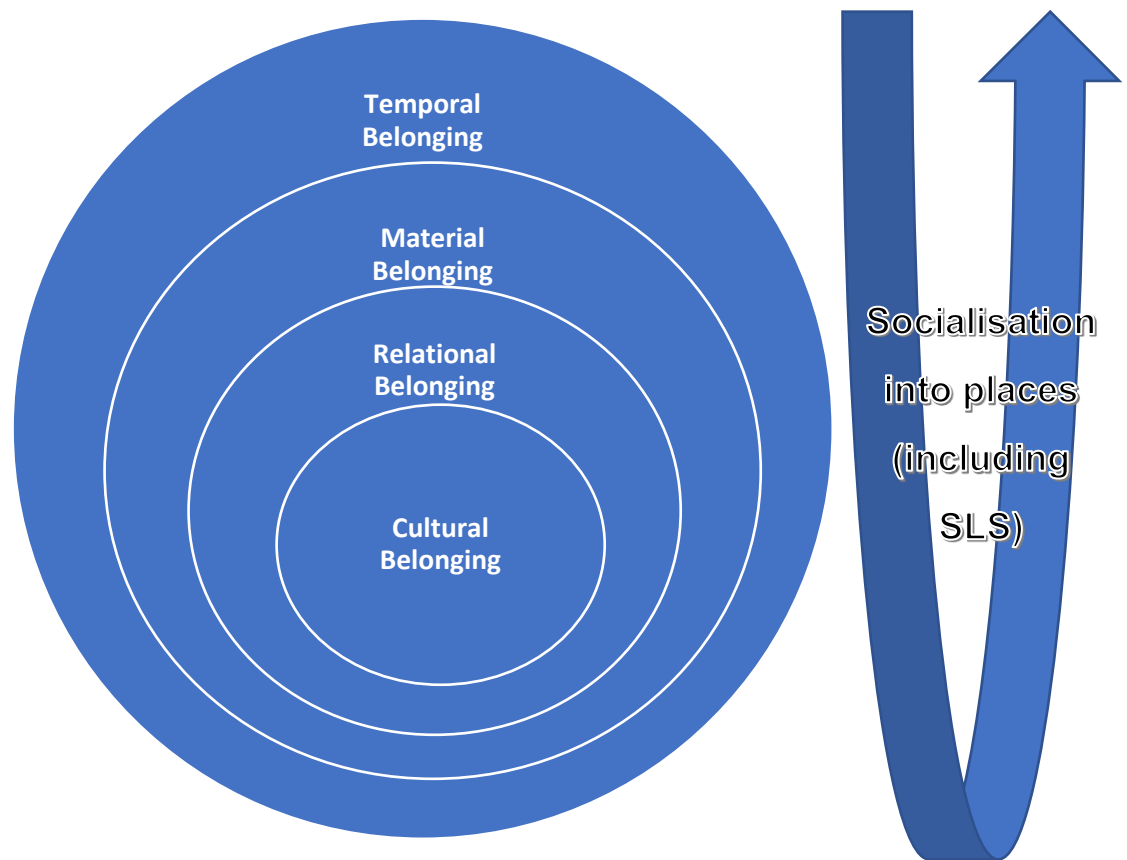
<div align="right">Figure 2: Diagram of framework of belonging</div>

Using Bourdieu's theories of habitus and social fields to explain belonging (based on May. 2013), the aspects of belonging described above are all part of the socialisation process and contribute to the feeling of belonging in each particular social field. There can be multiple belongings (as discussed in 3.5.2) and people could feel one aspect of belonging and not another, all aspects contribute to the overall sense of belonging to the new place.

3.7 Research Aims and Questions:

The aim of my research was to better understand the experiences of migrant women who are learning English, their social relationships and their sense of belonging.

My research question is:

What is the relationship between migrant women's social interactions and their perception of their own integration?

To address this question, I asked the following sub-questions:

1. *What are participants' integration experiences?*
2. *What are the places that migrant women participate in social interactions?*
3. *What is the nature of their social interactions within these places?*
4. *What are participants' feelings about their sense of belonging in these places?*

The following chapter is an explanation of the methodology used to research questions above.

4. Methodology

In this chapter I explain my methodological approach for my research. In the first part, outline the design, and describe my methods of data collection and the sample for research. I present my ethical considerations and end with a discussion about the reliability and validity of my research. In the latter part of the chapter, I describe the analytical approach, methods and stages used to derive findings.

4.1 Design

In order to best understand the perceptions of participants of the study and the development of their social relationships whilst they attended their community ESOL course, it was important that the study was qualitative, in-depth and the design that was chosen fully supported listening to authentic voices of participants and their perceptions. I used a narrative inquiry design to capture life stories of participants and to gather data on participants' perceptions over time.

Narrative inquiry as a research design has been described as a way of 'collecting, analysing and re-presenting people's stories as told by them' (Etherington, 2004a, p.75). It is a general design that captures lived experience over time and takes into account the interaction between personal experience and cultural context (Ehterington, 2004). Bruner suggests that narrative inquiry, particularly using autobiographical narratives, is a way of interpreting and reinterpreting experience, the narrative of which has been created in the mind (Bruner, 2004). Etherington (2004b) also suggests that the narrative approach can support us to better understand how socialisation impacts the creation of identity within local and wider sociocultural contexts. The narrative approach appeared to be a good fit because of the alignment with the social constructivist philosophy, and reference to socialisation and identity forming.

The research project involved six women over a 13-month period, whilst participants attended community ESOL courses at ELATT and the immediate period after their courses had ended. There were two main methods of data collection: narrative interviews and oral diaries. Analysis of data included narrative analysis, thematic analysis and classic content analysis approaches.

4.1.1 Research questions

In order to answer the research questions in 3.7, I added the following questions:

1. What are participants' integration experiences?
    a. What are participants' prior integration experiences?
    b. What are participants' experiences of being new arrivals?
    c. What are participants' experiences at the end of the research?
2. What are the places that migrant women participate in social interactions?
    a. Description of places of social interactions
3. What is the nature of their social interactions within these places?
    a. Types of social interactions
    b. Players in the places
    c. Activities within the places
    d. Relationships within the places
4. What are participants' feelings about their sense of belonging in these places?
    a. Material belonging
    b. Cultural belonging
    c. Relational belonging
    d. Temporal belonging

4.2 Methods of data collection

It was important for me that this research project was democratic based on my social constructivist stance and taking into consideration the background and experiences of the research participants. As discussed in the Introduction, migrant women whom we support at ELATT tend to have low levels of confidence. Their previous experiences of interviews would have been with people in positions of power such as with Home Office officers, council staff or prospective employers. Wengraf (2001) discusses the impact of past interview experiences of participants on the quality of subsequent research interviews and data collected. Therefore it was important for me to ensure that as the researcher, participants did not feel I had power over them, and that their responses were not influenced by their perceptions of what I wanted to hear, or their memories of any other previous interview scenarios they had experienced. These were also part of my ethical considerations discussed in 4.4 of this chapter.

I searched for specific guidance for conducting interviews with people who had experienced significant change in their socio-cultural environments, such as through migration, and also supplemented the interview sessions with an additional independent method of data collection, which was oral diaries. I had used and developed this method in my previous research. These methods are discussed in 4.2.2 and 4.2.3.

4.2.2 Narrative interviews

Narrative interviews were carried out over a 13-month period. Each participant had an initial biographical narrative interview method (BNIM) interview. Following this, bi-monthly semi-structured interviews were scheduled. Interviews began in December 2015, with the final interview being in January 2017. My initial project plan was to complete four interviews with project participants over a 9-month period from October 2015 to July 2016. However, each project participant encountered personal issues, which meant that I had to revise this plan, including the frequency of data collection. There were 14 interviews and 5.25 hours of oral diaries.

Wengraf's Biographical Narrative Interview and/or Interpretive Method (BNIM) was based on the earlier narrative interview works of Rosenthal and Schutze (Apitzsch & Siouti, 2007). Breckner used this method in studies of migration and belonging (see Breckner, 2002) and although the experiences particularly pertained to the lives of people migrating and settling in Germany, I felt that this method would be suitable for this research project because of the lived experiences of the participants and the impact on their socialisation experience.

BNIM has a rigid structure and Wengraf had developed in-depth guidance for carrying out interviews for data collection, and a framework for interpretive analysis (Kalekin-Fishman, 2002; Wengraf, 2001). BNIM consists of a three-session interview process (named subsessions) (Wengraf & Chamberlayne, 2006). The process is briefly summarised below:

- Subsession 1 and 2 are usually in one main interview, with subsession 3 to take place in the subsequent interview, if necessary (for example if there was not enough data from Subsessions 1 and 2).The guidance suggests that the main interview (subsession 1 and 2) should take around 2-3 hours (Wengraf, 2008).

- For subsession 1, it is imperative that the SQUIN (single question aimed at inducing narrative) question is used and that the interviewer does not ask any other questions apart from those that would carry on the narrative.

- In between subsession 1 and 2 there should be a break for the interviewer to select items from notes made, that will be probed in subsession 2.

- In subsession 3, further questions arising from the earlier subsessions can be explored using more traditional semi-structured interview strategies.

(Wengraf, 2008)

I encountered difficulties with this method in the first interviews that I carried out. The guidance and literature around interviewing suggested that it was not necessary to pilot this particular method (Wengraf, 2008). However, recognising that the participants of my research were students studying ESOL, and could probably find it difficult to tell their narrative without preparation, I had shared the SQUIN with them prior to the interview, to enable them to understand the question I would be asking. My SQUIN mirrored Wengraf's exemplars and is below:

"I'd like you to tell me about your life and your journey till now. I'll listen and take notes but I won't say much and I won't interrupt you. So please just talk and tell me about your life history, events and experiences that have been important to you up till now."

In spite of the preparation, the first issue I encountered was a lack of length of narrative forthcoming from my participants. In other researcher's examples (Buckner, 2005; Davey, 2009; Roseneil, 2012; Shoderu, Kane, Husbands, & Holly, 2012; Wengraf & Chamberlayne, 2006) participants produced an average one hour's data. In two of the research projects (Buckner, 2005; Shoderu et al., 2012) data produced was large and required several researchers to deal with. All but one of my participants only produced short narratives, some without going into 'particular incident narratives' (PIN). Not all

participants kept to what Labov would describe as coherent sequences (Patterson, 2008) and in some cases, their responses seemed not to respond to the SQUIN. This meant that in some cases, I had to explore general personal historical narratives before being able to focus on PIN in the second subsession.

Participant	Narrative interviews 1a	Time
Elma	Yes	36:58:00
Flora	Yes	27:00:00
Asma	Yes	15:00:00
Lucy	Yes	34:34:00
Noor	Yes	35:00:00
Samira	Yes	17:00:00

Participants also became exhausted during the process and two participants became upset as the stories they were re-telling were of particularly traumatic life experiences and were upsetting. One participant had to be referred to our safeguarding process as the information she disclosed was of a concerning nature (as per the project's ethics process, and my organisation's policies). This procedure then affected her availability to continue with the subsequent interviews.

All participants struggled to go in-depth with their narratives, which prompted me to reflect on their language level and ESOL needs. Previous studies using BNIM methods that I had researched above appeared to have proficient English speakers. My participants fed-back that they were tired from speaking for so long in English as it required much more thinking and effort than they had anticipated. Two participants felt it was difficult to talk about themselves and their experiences in such detail, as they were not used to it.

I researched an alternative method and identified Hollway and Jefferson's (2000) Free Association Narrative Interviewing (FANI). It was suitable for people who may have difficulties producing narratives, have difficulty keeping to coherent narrative sequencing and particularly suited to subjects that required longitudinal research to be able to research their narratives in depth (Hollway & Jefferson, 2008).

Hollway and Jefferson developed FANI when interviewing what they termed 'defended subjects': their participants were people who had been affected by crime and the criminal justice system, and found it traumatic to talk about their previous experiences (Hollway & Jefferson, 2017b). They too had started their research piloting the BNIM method and found difficulties with eliciting narratives from their participants (Hollway & Jefferson, 2004). Rather than focus on individual sessions they focused on collecting data over the period of the research, and they were able to gain data on the whole narrative (Hollway & Jefferson, 2004). In this adapted method, after each interview, the researcher listens to the recording, and makes notes of open-ended questions to ask in the next session. In order to ensure standardised topics, an interview frame, based on the research question and any prior data is used.

Researchers need to be aware of adaptations and revisions to their research design over the period of their study, and ensure there is a clear record of revisions or adaptations to avoid distortion at analysis stage (King & Horrocks, 2010). I ensured that I kept detailed records to exhibit any revisions made.

I used this method of interviewing and preparation for future interviews for each participant and found I was getting more narrative from participants. I also recognised that any non-sequential telling of their stories, was meaningful in itself, and noted these as part of my field notes and initial listening. FANI is based on psychosocial analytical methods, and recognises that for some individuals, the recollection of meaningful narratives is based on unconscious links rather than factual sequences (Hollway & Jefferson, 2004). Therefore the method is particularly suitable when researching identity and perception of interview subjects (Hollway & Jefferson, 2004). Additionally, the non-sequential telling of stories resonated with the temporal aspect of belonging discussed in 3.5.4, whereby people do not necessarily remember events in sequence, but based on how they currently feel or perceive their memories.

4.2.3 Oral diaries

As mentioned in 4.2 I also used oral diaries to gather data about participants' social interactions in English and used these in preparation for exploratory interview questions in the free association narrative interviews. Oral diaries are a method of participatory data collection that involves participants making recordings about their experiences. The diaries were kept over a period of 1 year.

Although paper diaries and video diaries have been used previously in research with ESOL students (see for example Norton, 1995 and Callaghan, 2011) there are relatively few research projects using oral diaries to gather ethnographic and

biographic experience over time. Some biographic narrative methods suggest using diaries and observations as additional methods of data collection for triangulation, for example in BNIM, where the method is also an interpretive method (Wengraf, 2008). This was not the reason for using oral diaries in my research, as I am not attempting to triangulate the data or prove a form or 'truth' in the experiences of my participants. Instead, my research focus on participants' perceptions meant that oral diaries supplemented the reflections produced in the narrative interviews, or served as a record of PIN (particular incident narratives) for further exploration. For example, I found out about Elma's child's accident from listening to her oral diary, and was able to explore her experiences in her next interview. They also supported participants as an aide memoir so that when they came to their interviews, they could remember significant events and PIN that had happened in the time since the previous interview.

Based on my previous experience using oral diaries, I gave training sessions to participants and a laminated guide of oral diary questions. The questions were designed to support participants to record the factual parts of any interaction that took place (e.g. date, time, who was there) before moving onto more reflective questions such as how they felt about the interaction and how they felt about the other person. The list of questions are shown below:

```
Oral diary questions

    1.   When did the interactions take place:

              a.   Today's day and date

              b.   When did you use English to communicate today?

    2.   What was the interaction about:

              a.   What happened? Say a bit about the situation

              b.   Who did you speak to?

              c.   What was the conversation about? What did you say? What did the other person say?

              d.   Were there any communication problems?

    3.   How did you feel?

              a.   Did you feel that the other person listened to you? Did they give you time to speak? Did they help you to
                   communicate with them?

              b.   Were there any communication problems?

    4.   About the other person/party:

              a.   How are you related to this person?

                        i.    If they are a friend, are they a good friend?

                        ii.   If they are a family member, do they  support you with your life?

                        iii.  It they are a teacher/key worker/other service person, how do they help you?

                        iv.   If they are a shopkeeper/TfL worker/library assistant, do you know their name or see them
                              regularly?

              b.   Do you speak to them regularly? How often do you speak to them?

              c.   Does this person help you?

              d.   Do you help them or give them your time?
```

Figure 4: Oral Diary Questions

One participant found it easy to reflect and be critical about the interactions they had. The majority of participants were able to follow the questions broadly and produce rather meaningful diary entries but not answering all questions. One participant did not follow the instructions at all, but instead chose to record her personal feelings about her life, which in itself was quite a valuable resource for questions to explore in the narrative interviews.

I collected oral diary recordings from participants on average every fortnight. This enabled me to conduct initial analysis to form semi-structured interviews in time for the next interviews. Additionally, there were also ethical reasons for this, which are discussed in 4.4. Overall both methods of data collection worked well to produce data to answer my research question.

4.3 Sample

This research is of women who came to the UK on spousal or family reunion visas and were still considered new to the UK and have been here under 10 years (newly arrived according to the Home Office criteria). The sample was both purposive and opportunistic.

Purposive sampling is where people are selected to ensure that participants meet certain characteristics (Cohen et al., 2005). The sample was purposive to ensure participants reflected the wider composition of migrant women from non-English speaking countries. Statistics from 2013 showed that women from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh formed the largest group of applicants (Home Office, 2017) for spouse and settlement visas. Therefore it was important that women from these countries listed participated in the research. The non-English speaking majority countries with the next largest numbers were China, Thailand, Sri Lanka, Afghanistan, Nepal and Iraq (Home Office, 2017) and I was confident that the groups of ELATT were representative of these groups and it was likely that participants would be from some of these countries. The women who took part in the research and their countries of origin:

Name (chosen by participants)	Country
Elma	Somalia via Egypt
Flora	India
Asma	Pakistan
Lucy	China
Samira	Afghanistan
Noor	Morocco via The Netherlands

Figure 5: Participants and their countries of origin

Participants were also at similar English language level and were able to participate on the research project without requiring interpreters. Participants were students who had achieved at least Entry-Level 3 English or ESOL. This meant that they could:

- Speak to communicate information, opinions and feelings on a range of familiar topics, in formal and informal situations.

- Listen and respond to information and narratives on a range of familiar topics, and use strategies to predict meaning and clarify understanding on some unfamiliar topics.

- Engage in discussions with others, making relevant contributions and responding to the contributions of others.

Functional descriptors for Entry Level 3 and Level 1 Source: Welcome to the UK LLU+ (Dudley, Kelly, Kirsh, Moon, & Tranza, n.d.)

By mitigating the need for translation services I avoided the issues that translation can cause, such as incorrect interpretation of messages, or influencing the response with their own opinions (Esposito, 2001). Translators would have also been an added cost. Additionally, the aim and design of the thesis was to support empowerment and participation and using translation services where participants might be relying on a stranger to express their opinions was contradictory to the epistemological values of the study.

There were also several other reasons for choosing participants at this level of English. Based on pilot and previous research (Graham-Brown, 2014, 2015), participants at this level were also able to:

- Participate in out-of-class interactions with confidence because they would be confident in the use of certain language structures.

- Confidently participate in semi-structured interviews that could last up to one hour without using interpreters, but be able to use tools to aid independent translation if necessary.

- Discuss their experiences negotiating the immigration system, as this is the minimum language level for applications for residency.

Sampling was also opportunistic (or convenience sampling) as it relied on ELATT students being available and willing to take part in the research (Burton, Brundrett, & Jones, 2008). This has affected how representative the sample was of the population of migrant women, as the intention was to include women from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Of the twenty women invited to participate, nine were of Bangladeshi origin but none of them was able to participate in the research project. However, as the makeup of ELATT students reflected Home Office statistics, participants still were a representative sample of wider immigration groups. Please see Appendix 6 for a more detailed table of the participants' profiles.

4.3.1 Challenges with this participant group

One challenge was the issue of attrition. I originally intended to recruit five women so that a minimum of three women would participate until the end of the research period.

In November 2015, six women applied to join the research and completed informed consent forms. After the initial introduction to the research meetings, only five of the six participants participated in interviews. Additionally, after initial interviews, I realised that each participant was facing difficult personal situations and therefore all were at risk of leaving their course at ELATT at any time, and that this could affect the number of participants on the research project. Between April and June I recruited a further three participants but only one of them continued.

Apart from experiencing precarious personal situations, it was also difficult to schedule the interviews with participants. Many had busy lives and the only time they would come to ELATT would be for their English class, after which they would either have to leave promptly to collect their children from childcare or school, or return home to care for their relatives, or go to work. The in-depth and individual interviews were difficult to schedule and carry out within the time periods I had set myself.

Participant	Number of interviews
Elma	4
Asma	3
Flora	3
Lucy	5
Samira	4
Noor	3

Figure 6: Table of number of interviews with participants

Although there were challenges with using narrative interviews with this client group, the data that I was able to gather about the lives and experiences of these women is rich and in-depth. As someone they trusted, they were honest about their feelings and perspectives with me (please see discussion in 4.4 about ethical considerations vis-à-vis vulnerable participants). Based on this research, I would recommend the method of interviewing used in the research, however, would caution future researchers to consider the challenges and put in place strategies to support the researcher and participants.

4.4 Ethical Considerations

The main ethical issue was one of power relations, which is especially with reference to the insider researcher role (Costley, Elliott, & Gibbs, 2014). Participants were aware of my role as head of department and this may have affected the decision by some women whether to take part in the research or not. Based on experience of previous research projects, I delivered the introduction to research, and the idea of informed consent in stages. This ensured that when communicating the idea of informed consent to prospective participants, participants were comfortable to decline to participate if they were not interested, and to know they had the right to withdraw subsequently. As discussed earlier, some participants agreed to take part but did not make themselves available for interview.

I also ensured that I delivered information about the research in a lesson format so that they could understand the terminology used in the informed consent forms. I allowed them time to read and think about the research project (including hand-outs that they could take home) and ensured that they understood that all responses were fully voluntary. If at any point in the research they felt uncomfortable to respond to questions, they were told they had the opportunity to decline and or withdraw.

The methods of data collection attempted to mitigate issues of imbalance of power between researcher and research participant. I recognised the risk that participants might respond to research questions in a particular way so as not to appear to give an incorrect answer to the researcher (me), a senior manager in the organisation. My role could reinforce power differences between the researcher and participant (Hammersly & Traianou, 2012) and participants could potentially be in a vulnerable position having disclosed personal information about themselves to the researcher. Apart from the duty of care for the participant, there was also a risk that these power differences could cause inauthentic research responses (Hammersly & Traianou, 2012). Therefore, it was imperative that participants understood that there was not an expected answer, but they could answer the question, as they felt comfortable to, without the risk of this affecting their position as a student at the organisation.

As discussed in 4.2.3, apart from interviews, to ensure that this research process was participatory, and data was as authentic as possible, oral diaries were chosen as an additional method of data collection. With this method, I recognised that the likelihood of disclosure of confidential situations was higher. Part of the rationale behind regular reviewing of oral diary entries was to ensure any disclosure would be acted upon in a timely manner and appropriately. British Educational Research Association (BERA)

guidelines were used but in all situations, organisational Safeguarding Policies took priority (British Educational Research Association, 2011). As discussed previously, I had to refer one participant onto ELATT's safeguarding procedures after the initial interview, and we supported her throughout her time on the research project.

I ensured that informed consent was fully understood by participants, and other people who were important to the participant such as their spouses and family members. Previous experience had shown me that family members of migrant women are involved in the decision-making process of whether they will participate in research. In my previous research, I had made a leaflet explaining the research project, including informed consent to use to communicate with family members and I produced this for this research too. I also added a further question and answer session, although no one took the offer up.

The safety of data once collected, including confidentiality issues, was also considered. Participants are not referred to by their real name in any saved document or file; pseudonyms chosen by participants themselves have been used from the first session. Additionally, I have tried to remove or replace any data that could give away participants' identity- e.g. borough names, job details. All data files are either stored on the university assigned drive, ELATT's secure servers or in ELATT's cloud, which is subject to regular cyber-security testing.

4.5 Reliability and Validity

It is generally accepted that there are additional challenges in proving robustness of research and ability to generalise findings in social science and qualitative design (Gerring, 2001). Robson suggests using a scientific attitude towards research design to ensure that research is robust: meaning that the research is systematic, sceptical and ethical (Robson, 2011). Systematic research design involves ensuring that certain concepts are adhered to (Gerring, 2001) and both Cohen (Cohen et al., 2005) and (Denscombe, 2009) provided clear frameworks which I used to create the research design. Typically, social science researchers will have the themes of accuracy, accountability, generalisations and proof to consider when dealing with data, analysis and conclusions (Webster & Mertova, 2007).

Validity of research centres on the validity of data and accuracy of analysis in the research. Yin (2009) lists three types of validity in empirical social science research: construct validity, internal validity and external validity. Construct validity is concerned with how data is collected and analysed for the concept being measured (Yin, 2009). Denscombe poses these questions: 'Has the research asked the right questions? Are the data sufficiently precise and detailed?' (Denscombe, 2009, p.141) To answer the first question: whether the correct questions have been asked, the conceptual framework of the research (discussed in Chapter 3) shows that critical evaluation of the context and existing theories have formed the basis of the research question and design. Furthermore, the interview framework used is described in 4.2.

To answer Denscombe's second question, most social science research guidance suggest using a variety of data collection methods to enable triangulation of data to verify the accuracy of the data (Cohen et al., 2005) and the sufficiency of the data (Yin, 2009). In this study, the narrative inquiry method used was to deal with data that was in-depth and entirely based on individual perspective (as described in 4.1). Therefore triangulation of data did not seem an appropriate approach. Indeed narrative researchers have argued that the nature of narrative inquiry is at odds with the attempt to use multiple sources of data to verify a biographical narrative of lived experience (Webster & Mertova, 2007). Instead, they suggest emphasis should be placed on the process of narrative method used to gather data (described in detail in 4.2) and the analytical framework and tools (described in 4.6) (Webster & Mertova, 2007). The former supports proving the accuracy of the data (construct validity) and the latter ensure findings presented are robust (internal validity) (Webster & Mertova, 2007).

'Truthfulness' is also part of ensuring validity (Denscombe, 2009). However, the usual mechanisms to test for truthfulness also did not seem to suit the narrative inquiry design. Webster and Mertova suggested new criteria for reliability and validity in narrative inquiry based on Huberman's research (2007). Other researchers such as Clough, Bold and Czarniawska also dismiss the usual tests for reliability and validity as not suitable for narrative research (Clough, 2002; Bold, 2012; Czarniawska, 2004) and also present alternative concepts. Most of the concepts address validity and reliability by thinking about the accessibility by the reader of the research, rather than a search for an 'ultimate truth' which, according to the epistemological stance of narrative inquiry arguably does not exist (Silverman, 2013).

To ensure I had tested for reliability and validity of this study I used a combination of Bold's and Webster and Mertova's concepts: access; honesty, verisimilitude, trustworthiness and authenticity; and transferability (Webster & Mertova, 2007).

4.5.1 Access

Access is concerned with a) the access by the reader of the research to the participants' world and access to the process by which knowledge has been constructed between the participant and researcher; and b) access to the data (transcripts), research and field notes which has formed the findings of the research (Webster & Mertova, 2007). Therefore, access means setting the scene for the research well, so that the reader is able to have access to the cultural context of the participant. The methodology, including research design and the detailed account of how the research was carried out, along with the conceptual framework for analysis enables the reader access to the process of knowledge construction in my research. To ensure integrity, it was important that risks and challenges were also presented, as these limit the risk of giving positive findings when the data may not show this. More importantly, in narrative inquiry, the constraints, challenges and limitations are part of the whole context of the narrative and may give important information about the research and participants. In part 4.2 and 4.3, I explained these constraints (e.g. opportunistic sampling), limitations (e.g. oral diaries limited responses) and challenges (e.g. participant experiences; BNIM interviews).

Additionally, participants' life stories were created using pen-portraiture, which is a method of analysis but also for presentation to enable the reader to gain an understanding of research participants' contexts (Howatson-Jones, 2011).

4.5.2 Trustworthiness, verisimilitude and authenticity

These criteria are particularly addressing the 'reliability' of the research as in narrative inquiry it is highly unlikely that conducting the same research again will return the same results (Moen, 2006). For an alternative test for trustworthiness the researcher needs to demonstrate the trustworthiness of their research by showing that they have accurately represented the complex participants' stories, and that the narrative constructions from the research are truthful to those participants (or the original constructors of the narratives) (Korstjens & Moser, 2018). One strategy is to ensure there is credibility from prolonged engagement and persistent data collections (Korstjens & Moser, 2018). A more usual test for trustworthiness is in the confirmation by participants of the truthfulness of the representations of their narratives (Webster & Mertova, 2007). All participants were invited back to meet with me at the end of the research period to confirm the interview data.

Bruner (1991) suggested verisimilitude in narrative research as an alternative to tests for falsification in scientific procedures. Verisimilitude is the appearance of being true or plausibility (Webster & Mertova, 2007). Bold asks the question: 'Are the findings consistent with other findings and my own understanding? (Bold, 2012, p.5)' Narrative is a familiar and conventional form and our memories are organised in narrative (Bruner, 1991). Therefore a test for verisimilitude is one of plausible narrative construction, and this will be based on the reader's own reference of narrative. Using independent readers in the writing process of this thesis has supported the test for verisimilitude. To achieve authenticity Webster and Mertova advise to ensure enough information is provided, and to pay attention to sufficient narrative coherence (2007). As part of ensuring the authenticity and verisimilitude of this research, two colleagues have read the complete research, as critical others and experts in the field. Additionally, one migrant woman from a separate programme read the report to give feedback on plausibility.

4.5.3 Transferability

One of Bold's tests for what I understand as 'external validity' is whether findings are applicable in similar contexts (Bold, 2012). In-depth qualitative research tends to be specific and therefore there is not usually an attempt to make claims that findings are generalised (Clandinin & Huber, 2010). However, Webster and Mertova suggest that transferability of findings should be considered. My research has given insight into the experiences of six migrant women on their pathways to integration. Although I am not able to generalise findings across the entire group of migrant women who are learning

English and settling in the UK, I am able to confidently share the findings regarding social interactions in places and identify transferable insights into the experiences, for other women who are in similar situations as my participants.

So far in this chapter, I have detailed the methodology of this research. The research design is a narrative inquiry and I have discussed the methods of data collection, including challenges, limitations and constraints, and ethical issues. I have also given careful consideration to issues of validity and reliability of the research study. My analytical framework and data analysis is explained next based on the questions in 4.1.1.

4.6 Analysis

4.6.1 Analytical approach

The formal data analysis process was completed over approximately 13 months. In actuality, data analysis began as early as after each participants' first interviews as I used the first BNIM interviews to form the questions I would ask for the following interviews. As with Hunter's experience (Hunter, 2010), the analysis process was messy, with no clear demarcation between early data collection, and the 'writing up' process, and went through many complex phases with different iterations of categories, themes and theory development.

Hatch (2002) stated that:

"Data analysis is a systematic search for meaning. It is a way to process qualitative data so that what has been learned can be communicated to others. Analysis means organizing and interrogating data in ways that allow researchers to see patterns, identify themes, discover relationships, develop explanations, make interpretations, mount critiques, or generate theories. It often involves synthesis, evaluation, interpretation, categorization, hypothesizing, comparison, and pattern finding. It always involves…"mindwork" …Researchers always engage their own intellectual capacities to make sense of qualitative data. (Hatch, 2002, p.148)

In order to gain answers to the research questions in 4.1.1, data was analysed in three stages:

- Part A: analysis of the narrative interview transcripts;
- Part B:
  - identifying places that migrants participated in social interactions;
  - describing the places of social interactions;
  - describing social interactions and relationships within them;
- Part C: analysing participants' feeling of belonging

The analytical processes and methods I used are summarised in the table below:

Research Questions	Analyse for:	Analysis method used	Priori data/codes
RQ1	Sequencing of life story: 1. *L1 Socialisation (**Life stories prior to migration**)* 2. *SLS **Migrant (Life stories as a migrant in UK/London**)*	Narrative analysis (FANI) combined with thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke (2006) 6-phase guide)	Basic *a priori* codes: Education and prior language learning. Other coding is inductive.
RQ2	**1. Identify places** that migrant women participate in	Classic content analysis (Typological analysis)	Literature review and prior research 1. Places 2. Description
RQ2	**2. describe places** that migrant women participate in	Thematic Analysis (Braun and Clarke)	Literature rev/ prior research
RQ3	**3. Identify social interactions** and relationships within the places	Classic content analysis (Typological analysis)	Literature rev/ prior research 1. Interactions 2. Name 3. Description
RQ3	**4. Nature of the social interactions** • What are the other players or experts in the places? • Relationships within the places? • Activities within the places?	Thematic Analysis (Braun and Clarke)	Literature review: context/players/communicative acts/ language use/power relationships
RQ4	Impact of social interactions on 1. *Material Belonging* 2. *Cultural Belonging* 3. *Relational Belonging* What are the participants' **feelings** about their sense of belonging?	Thematic Analysis (Braun and Clarke)	From Literature review of belonging

Figure 7: Table of the analytical process

I used MS Excel spreadsheets to organize and manipulate all my data. I ensured that codes were recorded alongside quotes from the narrative interview texts to allow for a return to the original interview transcripts if necessary.

4.6.2 Participants' experiences prior to migration

As discussed in 3.5.4 it was important to gain information about participants' life stories prior to migration and as new migrants to enable an understanding of their integration process, and feelings of belonging. The FANI method supported out-of-sequence narration based on the importance participants give to those memories, or how they recall memories (Hollway & Jefferson, 2017b). The narrative analysis process I used was based on Hunter (2010)'s use of Rosenthal and Fisher-Rosenthal's Stages in Practical Analysis (Rosenthal & Fisher-Rosenthal, 2004, p.261). The stages are broadly: analysis of biographical data; reconstruction of story into pen-portrait; thematic analysis.

The method of narrative analysis requires the researcher to hold the whole story during the process of analysis to be open to changes in coherence and contradictions (Hollway & Jefferson, 2004). Based on principles of gestalt ('the idea that the whole is greater than the sum of the parts' Hollway & Jefferson, 2017a, p.61), the first stage was to understand each participants' whole story. In order to do this I had to listen to the data repeatedly, making extensive electronic notes. The value of this process was that I was able to gain an in-depth understanding of each individual's life story prior to the start of the research process and at every stage, and so was then able to recognize the changes reported by participants as they participated over the research period. Hollway and Jefferson suggest making links utilizing theory and reflexivity to start interpreting the whole context (Hollway & Jefferson, 2017a). Based on the conceptual framework I was highlighting data relevant to the theory and then reflecting upon the data I had identified, making notes before the next stage.

The next stage of data analysis was to produce pen portraits to use later in data presentation, and to enable the participants' whole story to be present through the analytical process (Golsteijn & Wright, 2013). The production started with re-sequencing narrative interview texts so that each participant's text was in sequential order, and after this further re-writing text into third-person narrative or biographical narratives. This was to enable thematic analysis to take place across life-stories of the participants (Hollway & Jefferson, 2004).

After this stage, I used thematic analysis. Braun and Clarke have called thematic analysis a foundational form of qualitative data analysis, especially suited to 'complex, diverse and nuanced' research (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.78). The stages are briefly: 1.Familiarisation with data; 2.Generating codes: using *a priory* coding and inductive coding; and then categorising 3.Generating themes: using identification and pattern recognition; 4.Reviewing themes: interpretation using conceptual framework of

belonging, data manipulation and further interpretation; 5.Defining and naming themes; 6.Producing text for the report.

To capture these complex and diverse experiences of participants, the biographical narratives were divided into Part A1- prior to moving to the UK, and Part A2- just after arrival in the UK, to enable thematic analysis of participants' experiences. After this stage, data was coded and categorised, then analysed and organised based on the patterns to enable reporting as per Braun and Clarke (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.79). This involved analysis of Part A1 text for codes and themes of importance, starting with limited *a priori* codes from existing literature as described next.

There is little in current literature about pre-migration factors that could influence a person's future integration (Morrice et al., 2019). Most literature on integration list English language ability, work experience and level of higher education being influential factors in future labour market participation (Heckmann, 2005; Rubin et al., 2008). Prior education level, literacy level and work experience are also thought to influence future language learning ability (Allemano, 2018; Esser, 2006). Therefore, apart from the level of education, prior language learning and work experience, the remaining headings were based on inductive thematic analysis of the text.

The resulting data were organised into these categories:
- Basic information (e.g. country of origin, ethnic background)
- Family situation including role of spouse
- Socio-economic background/situation
- Prior language-learning experience
- Prior education/schooling
- Jobs and Work experience

Additionally there emerged a section related to identity, which was organised into these headings:
- Visible identity
- Independence and efficacy
- Emotional/ feelings

I subsequently prepared the pen portraits for presentation. The narratives were not all equal in length and content as some participants had been through more life experiences compared to others. However, keeping to the common headings enabled a degree of standardisation between the narratives.

4.6.3 Participants' experiences as new migrants

The data for the period of when participants had just arrived in the UK were coded and then organized under broad categories derived from the integration types listed in the literature review (structural, cultural, interactional, identificational). These consisted of the initial reactions, feelings and barriers experienced when the research participants all had just moved to the UK and since.

The categories were:

•   Initial emotions

•   Support from immediate family/husband

•   Citizenship/rights knowledge

•   Language-specific barriers

•   Other barriers

•   Support received

•   Personal motivation

The text from each group was then manipulated and grouped together to enable further analysis of their perceptions and experiences to identify themes.

4.6.4 Places of social interactions

In order to identify and name places that migrant women participated in social interactions, I used typological analysis, whereby a deductive analysis was applied based on predetermine codes (Hatch, 2002). Part of classic content analysis (CCA), instead of generating themes, the number of times each code is used is counted (Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2007). CCA typically starts with *a priori* codes (Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2007), and for this research I started with codes that had come from the my earlier research (Graham-Brown, 2015) (see Appendix 8 for these).

After this stage, analysis continued with the inductive codes (Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2007), adding codes as I analysed both the narrative interview texts and oral diary texts. I added to these codes when I found additional places that I had not listed in my *a priory* codes. I identified approximately 61 places (in Appendix 8) that subsequently underwent a process of rationalisation and reduction. I also identified which places were most important (most accessed or participated in) by each participant through using a diagrammatic exercise.

Places of social interaction	Number of women who reported most participation in the places	Sphere represented
ESOL class group including via Whatsapp	6	Local Community
Hospitals and GPs	3	Public Services
Schools and/or nurseries	4	Part Local Community, part Public Services
Home (including temporary home)	3	Private
Local authority services	4	Public Services
Ethnic community	4	Local Community
Local community or religious organisation	3	Local Community
Work	1	Work
Business	1	Work

Figure 8: Places of social interactions

Based on the recurrence of participation in the place from the data, and importance given to the places in the data, I drew 'diagrams' or 'maps' of the places for each participant (see Appendix 9). Using these diagrams, I sorted places into groups either based on similar categories (e.g. nursery and childcare centre).

The analysis for Part B2 and B4 was using thematic analysis, using Braun and Clarke's (2006) method (see 4.6.2). For Part 2B, I analysed each place or group of places to produce a description of the places and the interactions within those places. The descriptions were using a combination of common knowledge of the places (for example the basic description of the local housing office), together with thematic analysis of participants' data about those places.

After compiling the descriptions of the places, I went through a process of renaming and regrouping certain places that I had initially marked separately. For example, I put 'Community Group' and 'Ethnic Group' together because of the description being similar when I was analysing the data.

Where a place of participation was not physical but online or on the phone I chose to use the main group rather than starting up a separate group. For example, where Flora's interaction with the council housing department was both in person and on the

phone, these have been grouped together under local authority services. This is because my reading of the data was that characteristics of the place carried on being true even when Flora was not physically in the council's service centre. Phone, Whatsapp or other forms of online communications were seen as a medium for participation in the place, rather than being seen as a separate place.

See section 3.5.3 for a discussion of online spaces as an extension of places.

4.6.5 Identifying and describing social interactions

To analyse parts B3 and B4 (identifying and describing social interactions and relationships within the places) I selected the main places identified in 4.6.4 for each participant and proceeded to organise data into these sections per individual and places:

1.   Context

2.   Social interactions that took place- this identification was using typological analysis as described in 4.6.4

3.   Players

4.   Communicative acts

5.   Language used

6.   Power relations

After this stage, I used thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke (2006) described in 4.6.2). After this identification and pattern recognition, I applied a descriptive process to ensure that each social interaction, player, communicative act and language use was described well.

Following this was the interpretation stage where I theorised the significance of these patterns (Braun & Clarke, 2006) using the conceptual framework from Chapter 3. For example looking for patterns of participation in domains identified as places of markers and means listed in 3.3.3, players in the field and the different power relations between the players (3.5.3), and the significance of language use (3.5.2).

This process of description and interpretation of themes was applied to the remaining stages. Once I had identified data and coding for each cell in the spreadsheet, I combined the different cells into a new table, which pivoted the themes identified earlier by places of social interactions rather than by individual participant.

The themes underwent a further process of interpretation using the conceptual framework. At this point I made a change to number 6- Power relations, and instead used this section to focus on social relationships within the places.

4.6.6 Participants' perception of belonging

Data from the final interviews with participants was analysed for their perceptions of their own experiences about changes since the beginning of the research project.

Participants' feelings about participating in the places

Participants' data was analysed for their feelings about participation in places, and categorised based on codes of relational belonging, material belonging and cultural belonging. Additional self-perception from a temporal (time-change) point-of-view was also recorded.

Based on the interpretation of belonging being a feeling of 'at ease', positive evaluative expressions such as increase in confidence, feeling happiness, feeling comfortable and relaxed were coded as expressions of belonging. Negative evaluative expressions such as sadness, insecurity and pain were coded as not belonging. Data was organised for patterns and themes similar to the process described in 4.6.2.

Themes from Part A were compared to themes from Part C in a process of interpretation, synthesizing, evaluation and hypothesizing in order to generate theory for discussion of the aspects of belonging.

Participants' perceptions and aspects of belonging

Data manipulation was crucial in recognizing and identifying patterns. I organised the emergent themes based on the different places of social interactions and presented this in an iteration of the findings chapter.

There were themes which were expected based on review of literature and previous research during the conceptualization of the framework. From the aspect of material belonging, it was anticipated that the data would confirm the importance of access to a community. From the aspect of relational belonging, the importance of friends and relationships with classmates was an anticipated theme. Within cultural belonging, it was expected that data would show the value of social interactions to learning about diversity and new cultural knowledge. In the temporal aspect of belonging, it was anticipated that social interactions would affect memory and changes in self over time.

The process of interpretation, synthesizing, evaluation and hypothesizing mentioned earlier revealed new themes from the data, including the social interactions in employment and job-searching activities, access to public services, the importance of acquaintances and strangers and the affect that repetition and routine have on perceptions of belonging.

Further reorganization using tables and diagrams enabled me to reconsider the themes based on aspects of belonging such as in Figure 9 below. Highlighted themes indicate new themes from analysis of the data.

Aspect of belonging	Local community sphere	Public services sphere	Work sphere
Material Belonging	Access to a community	Access to services	Experiences of access to work
Relational Belonging	Importance of friends as replacement for family - Whatsapp as a tool for extending communications	Building trust - The importance of weak ties	The value of a customer-facing role
Cultural Belonging	Learning about diversity	Language of bureaucracy	Experiences of employment
Temporal belonging: Rather than being located in one sphere, the temporal aspect is experience across spheres.	Memory and changes to memory over time (previous experiences and life stories)		
	Repeated experiences over time		
	Routine and familiarity		

Figure 9: Participants' perception of their own belonging

Data tables also supported me in drawing conclusions from the discussions, as it was easier to see the findings from a 'bigger picture' point-of-view. The process also enabled me to identify themes, which were not significant enough to include considering the limits on the length of the thesis.

In this chapter I presented the methodological framework for data collection and management. I detailed the stages of analysis and methods of data analysis used in order to formulate findings about the relationship between social interactions in English and sense of belonging. The process required careful staging and slightly differing analytical tools for the different research questions. In the chapter 5, I present my findings and discussion.

5. Findings and Discussion

In this chapter, I present findings from the research. The chapter is in three parts:

- Findings from participants' narratives and discussion of the life story aspect of belonging (RQ 1)
- Findings from analysis of the social interactions that participants reported, places in which interactions took place, and the nature of those social interactions (RQ2 and RQ3)
- Discussion of themes related to aspects of belonging, which suggest the relationship between social interactions and belonging (RQ 4)

5.1 RQ 1: What are participants' experiences at the start and at the end of the research project

5.1.1 Participants' life stories

Participants' experiences as newly arrived migrants in the UK, their situation at the start of the research, and their situation at the end of the research period is presented below as a part of their life story. Themes related to participants' life stories and aspects of belonging, derived from narrative and thematic analysis, are presented in 5.1.2. Appendix 6 has a table of participants' profiles that can be read in conjunction with these stories.

As discussed in 3.5.4, life stories are important to the temporal aspect of belonging. Life stories are seen as not static records, but narratives that change as people experience and express their memories (Bennett, 2014). Apart from the experiences that participants bring with them when they moved to the UK, the experiences they have encountered as a newly arrived migrant, and throughout the period of the research, are likely to affect the perception of their belonging.

Belonging is experienced in relation to time (May & Muir, 2015) and the framework shown in Figure 2, shows the temporal aspect of belonging as the basis within which all other aspects are experienced. In order to convey the pathways that participants experienced in their integration journey, these texts of life stories, derived from pen-portraiture have been used. As discussed in 4.6.2 pen-portraiture is part of narrative analysis and can also be used in the final written thesis to support dissemination of participants' 'perceptions, experiences and feelings in a lively, authentic, meaningful and accessible way' (Campbell, McNamara, & Gilroy, 2011, p.15). This method is particularly suitable for 'voiceless populations' (Golsteijn & Wright, 2013, p.308) and so

meets the thesis aim to give a voice to migrant women. The abridged life stories are a tool for the reader to be able to learn about participants' stories.

Elma

Elma met her British Somali husband in Egypt. She came to join him with their one-year-old child in 2012. When she arrived in the UK, she, her husband and her daughter lived in her mother-in-law's house. She soon experienced controlling behaviour by her husband; he restricted her movements and made her fear an Islamophobic attack if she went outside in her abaya and hijab[10]. He told her they could not afford fees for her to study English and he did not give her enough money for basic expenses. She later discovered that he had another family. He threatened to have her deported if she complained about him.

One day she left the house and met a woman who spoke Arabic. The woman advised her to go to a local Somali community group. She started studying English and got a job through the community centre.

After her second child was born, she decided to leave him. Unfortunately, there were complications with her visa due to application errors by her husband. She left to live with her aunt and later went to social services. She was supported to get temporary accommodation for her and her family and to change her immigration status.

She was provided short-term accommodation in Brixton and stayed there for five months. After that, social services moved her to Bromley. She tried to apply for school for her daughter in Bromley, but she was told they could not give her a place as she was still in temporary accommodation.

At the start of the research project, Elma was living in temporary accommodation in Bromley, taking her daughter to school in Clapham (approximately 10 miles away), and then on three days of the week travelling to Hackney to drop her son off at the childcare provider before coming to ELATT for classes (an additional 9 miles). She was studying Level 1 ESOL qualifications. She also completed the Community Guides training, a programme to encourage and develop people to become area guides for other women who were new to London.

She lived alone in a B&B with her two children and she received £200 per week to live and provide for her children. She was working on her application for Indefinite Leave to

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[10] Religious clothing worn by some groups of Muslim women.

Remain. She was being supported to apply for child maintenance payments from her husband.

At the end of the research, Elma reported a large increase in confidence. She attributed this to both an increase in cultural knowledge through her development in English and through the learning she had gained from friendships she had made and strengthened over the life of the project. She also commented on the role her ESOL course played in her English language development, friendships, learning cultural practices and supporting each other:

"…When I…chat with the others, I felt like, 'Oh everyone has a problem, but in a different way…"

She had to overcome several unusual and serious situations such as the hospitalisation and surgery of both her children, and then her emergency surgery and hospitalisation from appendicitis. In these situations, she was reliant on friends she had made from her daughter's school and old neighbours from her previous accommodation. She said she trusted her friends with her children and vice versa, and regularly had her friends' children over for sleepovers. She said that the most important thing to her feeling comfortable was to know that if something happened to her, her children would be safe.

She also gained her permanent right to live in the UK and subsequently needed to complete a large number of forms for different agencies to apply for benefits such as child benefit and housing support. In the past she had paid for help to complete these forms. Her friends encouraged her to try to complete the forms herself. When she achieved this on her own, she said she felt that she could now do anything. She felt that she could understand the service staff at the agencies better. Although there were still issues to overcome such as her daughter's school location, she felt confident that she could get the situation resolved.

"I feel like, oh now you improved English, you can do everything…I'm going to have a bright future."

Flora

Flora's family arranged her marriage as was their custom and she married a British Indian man. When she came to join her husband in 2009, she and her husband lived in a shared house. Her husband worked full-time and over the weekends, but they always spent one full day together every week visiting places in London.

Flora found voluntary work in a community centre. After a year, they liked the quality of her work and she started to work two-days a week, paid. She carried on working for a few months.

In 2011, Flora received her Indefinite Leave to Remain. After that, she started volunteering in a school and started a course for Supporting Learning in Schools. At the time, she and her husband were trying to have a baby but encountered difficulties and they were advised to undergo treatment. Flora had to give up work as she suffered from ill health. They had a daughter, born in 2011.

In 2014, Flora and her husband decided that she and her daughter would go to India before their daughter turned three. Unfortunately, her husband died suddenly and unexpectedly whilst Flora and her daughter were away in India.

After her husband's death, they were made homeless and had been living in hostel accommodation. They had a small single-bed room with shared bathroom and kitchen facilities. Her husband's family had cut contact with her, only getting in touch on her daughter's birthday and special occasions. Some of her husband's friends were still in contact and they visited them when they could. She was receiving regular counselling support for her bereavement.

At the start of the research, Flora and her daughter were living in the hostel in Newham. She attended an ESOL course at ELATT and attended a counselling session every Thursday. She also started a course to prepare her to become a teaching assistant.

At the end of the research period, Flora reported improvement in her feeling about her language ability. She said she felt better about her language, and more trusting of her classmates. She felt they were friends and that she was comfortable with them. However, she still felt a lack of confidence to start conversations.

She also reported more confidence to speak more at the GP or the bank compared to before when she would not express herself fully.

"…I have to express myself, I have to tell it is right or wrong, so…I have to try…If he or she don't understand then they can ask me again and I have to explain…so that hesitation is gone now."

Her housing situation had not changed and she was feeling increasingly frustrated with her situation. However, she did not report an increased ability to complain about the situation. She felt that she was spoken to by the services, rather than being updated on their situation or included as part of the conversation.

Flora reported that her daughter's happiness was important for her, and she felt that her daughter was happier. She had been able to give her daughter opportunities to experience celebrations, to visit places on family days and have holiday experiences. Her existing family friends played an important role in supporting Flora to be able to do these things with her daughter, as they would drive them or go together with them.

Flora continued to report being sad and down from the sudden death of her husband and continued attending counselling sessions.

Lucy

Lucy met her husband through an introduction by a friend. After getting married, she came to the UK in 2010 by herself, leaving her daughter behind. Her daughter was still completing her secondary school study. Lucy lived with her husband and his daughter (her stepdaughter) in London. Her husband worked as a kitchen porter and so had a low income.

He did not give her enough money to run the household and so she supplemented this with her savings. She wanted to start working as quickly as possible but was unable to find jobs teaching Mandarin (a form of Chinese) at schools that would accept her level of spoken English. She relied upon the ethnic Chinese community to get teaching work, but unfortunately was regularly taken advantage of by people paying her less than minimum wage, or expecting her to work for free, as a favour.

Lucy also had difficulties with her stepdaughter who bullied her verbally, and did things to her belongings. In their arguments, her stepdaughter was racially abusive to her and her husband also made racist comments.

Lucy started studying ESOL and the Life in the UK test. She passed the test. She started studying on a teaching assistant course in Camden and came to ELATT to study ESOL. She also had made friends with an older English man and some English university students she had met whilst using public transport. They had informal agreements to practise language together as a language exchange- Chinese in exchange for English.

At the start of the research, Lucy was still looking for job opportunities and trying to get as many qualifications as possible. Her daughter had moved over to join her and was studying at a UK university. Although they were not living in the same house, she saw her daughter more regularly. She was learning English at ELATT and studying on another vocational course at a different provider. She was also practising English with

an English friend and still regularly saw the older man who had conversations with her on her commute.

Lucy reported an increase in her confidence using English. She said she was more confident to talk to different people. She felt that her pronunciation and listening skills were better, meaning that she could understand people and they could understand her better. However, she still felt a lack of confidence to converse in more complicated or in-depth interactions. Lucy gave the example of conversations with people on a personal level, where she perceived they did not have interests, backgrounds or education level in common. In addition, she reported lacking in confidence to participate in job interviews.

Lucy reported many trust issues with making friendships. She said that she felt alone but at the same time reported that she did not want to befriend people as she had been let down by previous friendships. She felt that the lack in confidence in people had led to a lack of confidence in herself. She also felt that her ESOL classmates were not able to be her friends because they did not share the same ideas or education levels and interests.

"… but you know, (to) make friend…you really need the same idea and the same life,…you can't change."

Lucy had been looking for work for the period of the research project and had recently become friendly with a lecturer from UCL. The lecturer was trying to help her secure some part-time teaching at the university. Lucy said she had become more selective about work she accepted, after the job she worked over the summer, where the employer treated her badly. She now only accepted tutoring jobs for children whose parents had been to prestigious universities.

Samira

Samira married her husband through an arranged marriage and came to the UK in 2011. When she first arrived in the UK, her husband was helpful and did a lot to help her learn about how to travel, go to the GP, go to the shops and other activities. She described him in a positive light as a person who supported her well when she first came to England.

In 2012, her husband got depression and he was also diagnosed with a form of PTSD. She had to do quite a lot of the household management and took charge of the day-to-day running of the household including visiting the council offices to complain about her

housing situation. They had two children and at the start of the research, she was pregnant with their third child.

At the time of her first interview, she was living in a one-bedroom flat. All four family members were sleeping in one room. All her neighbours were older people, living individually in one-bedroom flats. It was a quiet area, mainly reserved for elderly people, and the residents complained about her children. The flat was on the third floor of a council block without a lift and this required her to carry her buggy up flights of stairs.

Samira started ESOL classes in 2011 when she first came to the UK. She started an Entry 2 class at, an education charity in Hackney. Samira also had interrupted learning because she stopped when she got pregnant with her first child. She re-started learning at a Hackney women's project, but when the charity closed down she was referred to ELATT.

At the start of the research project, Samira had been working hard to get a better place to live. The family was still living in over-crowded temporary accommodation. She was studying on a childcare course and a Level 2 English course at ELATT.

Samira reported a large increase in confidence at the end of the research. She felt that she could solve problems, she could now find answers online and that she could now do things for herself, and even helping others with their problems. She had become impatient with the delays to her housing situation and found out about local councillors from other people in her groups of friends. She wrote to the local councillor who investigated her case and with further follow-up from Samira, she was moved to semi-permanent accommodation not long after she had her baby.

She also had to deal with the birth of her child alone, as her husband was at home with their children. She applied to change her son's school, passed her driving test and applied for allocated parking from the council. These tasks all involved bureaucratic processes such as form filling or procedures to follow and Samira said she felt good that she was able to do these tasks independently. She attributed her increase in confidence to the support she received whilst on her course at ELATT, the increased language skills, knowledge about rights and cultural knowledge, and the support of the people from the groups she knew.

She felt that her friends were important as a replacement for family. She felt that friends could give different ideas and perspectives for solving problems and she had made many friends from various classes and groups that she had participated in. In her

new home, she regularly hosted neighbours and said that she quickly felt comfortable in the new area through interacting with the neighbours.

"That is why…I'm feeling, happy with my friends, when I'm (in) touch…messaging…I'm feeling better. That is why it's important to…have more friends. If I don't have friends maybe if I…have some problem I can't solve, I can't share with no one. That's why I want to-, I make friends."

Samira reported regular and confident use of social media and online communications with friends. She said that keeping in touch via Whatsapp had greatly helped the relationships to grow from regular social interactions. The group of classmates would only meet each other during class times and interactions would not have extended out of the class. At ELATT, she said that the teachers' encouragement for students to participate in a VLE (virtual learning environment) and Whatsapp group contributed to classmates interacting with each other on non-class days.

Asma

Asma's family arranged her marriage to a British Pakistani man. She came to join him in 2014. Asma lived at her in-laws' house with her husband when she first arrived. She was expected to help with house chores and with caring for her father and mother-in-law. Her husband worked full-time so she was at home with her in-laws alone much of the time. She was expected to be home all the time and had her movements monitored by her mother-in-law.

She had to ask her husband for money and did not have any income of her own, as she was not working. She was not used to being reliant on someone else for money. She started studying at ELATT and made friends with classmates. She also started looking for work.

At the start of the research project, Asma was suffering from stress and not coping well. She was depressed. She studied at ELATT on three sessions a week but had to leave promptly after her sessions. Asma had to leave her studies for several months because of her personal situation.

Asma came back to the research project near the end of the data collection period. She had overcome all of the previous issues, which had caused her to suspend her learning for a period. She was no longer experiencing controlling behaviour at her in-laws' home. She reported that the support from her wider family and cooperation from her husband meant that she was able to take the time she needed to evaluate her

situation, and make changes for herself. She reported trying to talk about difficult situations more at home. She was also able to access health services she needed.

Asma reported that her friends from her ESOL group were supportive and helped her overcome her personal challenges. When she went away, they kept in touch via Whatsapp.

"Now I, I can talk…I'm sharing with my friends everything. Before that…you know, I keep in me, everything I keep in me so…at the end of the day…I'm crying. Crying all the time."

Asma identified that gaining a job made a great difference to her increase in confidence, because of the social interactions that she was having with people.

"When…I started my work. Every day I meet with different people, I make friends, so I speak with them and I'm more confident, becoming more, more, more confident every day."

She reported feeling brave and confident, and that 'happy times were back'.

Noor

Noor and her husband moved to London together in 2013 because they feared religious intolerance in The Netherlands. She did not know many people in the UK. She had a lot of support from her husband because he spoke English fluently.

She used online sources for information. For example if she wanted to visit a mosque, go shopping, or visit a government department, with the help of her husband. She found it difficult to access services or get a job, as the processes were different to those in The Netherlands. She felt that she had more freedom in the UK, as she was comfortable to wear Islamic dress.

At the start of the research project, Noor was studying on an ESOL course with ELATT. She was looking for opportunities to start to provide a service to help women with alternative therapies. Her aim was to be to get closer to God.

During and at the end of the research period, Noor reported that she was more relaxed and comfortable with her classmates and she felt that her increased confidence in class, positively affected her confidence out-of-class. However, she still felt concerned about trusting people too quickly. She also felt that although friends could be relied upon for help in place of family, they could never truly replace family members. She felt that it was easier to interact with people who were of the same religion, as they would

have something in common but that she was happy to meet with people of different religions although it would depend on the personalities of the people.

Noor had been offering alternative therapies services to women in her mosque community and she felt good that she was able to do this. She felt confident to offer this treatment wanted to continue improving her skills.

Noor still felt less confident to access different places because of the way she dressed. She felt that certain places were not accepting of her being dressed in the 'niqab' religious clothing. She felt comfortable living in the areas that she knew and had become familiar with. Watching the news, she felt concerned about the rise of Islamophobia in London. However, she said that she felt more comfortable in London compared to her previous home in the Netherlands, where she felt persecuted for her choice of religious dress. She said she felt that English people treated people well and were polite.

"Yeah, there is a bit of change. I'm more, like, confident because you have no one here, you are in the…environment, and…you know the places. Yeah, you're more confident."

5.1.2 Participants' experiences as newly arrived migrants affecting their belonging

As discussed in the literature review, an individual's starting point in SLA is influenced by factors such as their previous experiences of learning, their school attainment, previous work experiences, literacy and skill in first language, age and other influences (Duff, 2007; Kings & Casey, 2013) (see section 3.2.1). In second language socialisation this has been described as an individual's first language socialisation (Pavlenko, 2004). Therefore, a person's previous socialisation will also affect their integration process and progress towards feeling belonging. The life story aspect (see section 3.5.4), was identified as one of the aspects of belonging, and is discussed in relation to the participants of the study and the experiences up to the point that they started on my research project. The following themes emerged from the data analysis of life stories. Each of these themes is related to the aspects of belonging discussed in 3.5.

Previous experiences of life changes- temporal belonging

Some participants presented as more independent and more able to access help ~~more~~ than others. For example, Elma and Samira talked about their pathways with more confidence and described several challenging situations that they had overcome. Elma was able to leave a controlling husband and Samira was able to support her family and care for her husband's health by herself. Both women had refugee backgrounds. They had early experiences of loss of family members, and of having to look after siblings and working. It may be that their previous experiences of learning to live in another country or to be in charge of their family units gave them transferable skills to settle in the UK. As discussed in 3.5.4 temporal belonging is the relationship between memory and self and time (May, 2016). Therefore, I suggest memory of experiences overcome in the past can affect a person's efficacy. Efficacy is the feeling that a person has control over outcomes (Stillman & Baumeister, 2009). Therefore if a person has a memory of a previous positive outcome, they could feel efficacy in future. In the situations of Elma and Samira, the life story aspect could have affected their resolve to overcome situations they encountered, and I think this could be interpreted as resilience and resourcefulness.

Additionally, data suggested that memories of experiences in the past could influence how a person might react in the future, the level of confidence with which they do so. Elma's previous impression of the UK, formed when she lived in Egypt, gave her confidence to leave her house in London when her husband instructed her not to. Elma's confidence to reach out to a stranger who spoke Arabic may have been influenced by her recognition and familiarity with people she had grown up with in Egypt through her temporal belonging. Noor's confidence with her new area was based on previous familiar experiences of a similar European country (The Netherlands). However, for participants whose prior experiences were limited to places that were different to the UK, and those without familiar systems, they felt less confidence and ease in their new area from the lack of life stories to contribute to their temporal belonging.

Previous experiences of learning English- cultural belonging

All participants had come to the UK within the previous six years and had learnt English to at least a basic level in the countries that that had previously come from. This was through learning English at school as a subject (Flora, Asma, Elma and Noor), studying English to a higher level at university (Lucy) or learning a basic level of English through

popular culture and family members (Samira). Elma had experience of learning an additional language as a young person when she and her family fled to Egypt.

Some participants had continued to learn English (through studying ESOL) with other colleges/providers before and had progressed (Samira, Lucy, Elma), whereas others were new to an ESOL class as they had either recently arrived (Asma), or had not joined a course before (Noor and Flora). In spite of participants' levels being broadly similar, working towards Level 1 in ESOL (B2 CEFR)[11], there seemed to be a lack of confidence in their own language ability.

"When I arrived in UK, I faced…one challenge. Language, this language, English."
Asma

As discussed in 3.5.2, the knowledge of English and confidence to use the language plays a significant role in cultural belonging. Participants were developing their language at a level that should have allowed them to access places, and to the cultural information contained within those places, but they all expressed a lack of confidence in their language ability. The ways that they had previously learnt English may have played a part in their lack of confidence. Participants who had not studied English in the UK might not have learnt the language within the context of everyday use. In my professional role, I have encountered students who are able to pass reading and writing tests, but unable to use English in interactions as they had learnt the language using online methods, or classroom worksheet activities. Of the participants, Samira, Elma and Asma exhibited the most confidence to interact in English early on in the research. These three participants had reported learning English by talking to others such as family members, through popular culture on television or radios, or through use of local English in their country of origin. Therefore, the knowledge of English that these participants had gained was developed through interactions with others, and not just through classroom lessons.

As discussed in 3.5.2, culture and communication cannot be separated (Fortman & Giles, 2005). Therefore if migrants had learnt language as a subject, separate from cultural elements unique to the UK, it is likely that their cultural belonging was low. Participants' sense of belonging was affected by their confidence using English in the UK, and some participants felt more confidence than others.

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[11] See Appendix 3 for ESOL descriptors

Previous pattern of social interactions outside of class- relational belonging

Apart from Samira and Lucy, remaining participants reported low participation in social interactions outside of their class at the start of the research. Noor and Flora expressed a reluctance to make friends as they felt that it took a long time for them to trust other people. Lucy had friends whom she had met in public places such as bus stops, trains and at the library. She participated in 'language exchanges' with the friends, in which she taught them Chinese, and they helped her practise English. Asma was isolated due to her family situation, and Elma was unable to maintain friendships, as she regularly had to move accommodation. These reasons for not taking part in social interactions were influenced by more than just perceived language levels. Barriers such as difficult personal situations or precarious living arrangements affect a person's ability to participate in social interactions.

As discussed in 3.5.3 family and friends play a large role in giving meaning to a person's life (Stillman & Baumeister, 2009) and being part of a group creates social solidarity (Siisiäinen, 2000). Participation in social interactions with others affected participants' early feelings of relational belonging. Of the participants, Samira reported having the greatest number of friends such as parents she knew from her 'Stay and Play' group and nursery, and friends made on the ESOL classes she had attended in the past. Although she did not have a local ethnic community group, she felt confident that she had support from others. In contrast, Elma received support from her own ethnic community and with this support was able to leave her husband. When Elma was moved she lost the regular support of her ethnic community group.

In 3.5.3 it was discussed that migrants usually search for those from the same ethnic background due to trust (Tanis & Postmes, 2005) and perception of support (Morrice, 2007). However, based on the experiences of these participants, the nature and quality of that support might not be good. Lucy reported seeking out people from her home community group (the Chinese community) but did not receive the support she needed. Asma, Noor and Flora were reliant on their husbands for support and the outcomes were mixed. Therefore although support from own ethnic community group is important for newly arrived women, it is important not to assume the support would be suitable and appropriate. However, the knowledge that they are able to get help and support may affect their confidence levels.

Relational belonging is affected not just by the relationships with others in the community (whether of a similar background or different) but the support that newly arrived migrants feel that they can get from those relationships.

Home environment situation at the start of the project- material belonging

If belonging is a 'feeling at ease with oneself and ones surrounding' (Miller, 2009), then it is likely that safety and security will also impact a person's feeling of belonging (Sumsion & Wong, 2011). In Ager and Strang's indicators of integration (mentioned in 3.3.3), safety and security was listed as one of the domains to facilitate integration, as if a person does not feel secure and safe, they may not be able to feel integrated (Ager & Strang, 2004). In the belonging framework, safety and security is related to place, one place in particular being the home. All participants reported issues with housing, or not feeling unsafe/uncomfortable at home. Three participants were living in temporary accommodation: in hostels with inadequate cooking/living facilities (Flora), or in temporary housing that was overcrowded (Samira) or temporary housing that was not suitable for their children's schooling situation (Elma). Lucy experienced bullying at home and Asma experienced controlling behaviour. Noor reported issues with tenancy and house sharing. Material belonging is defined as being able to access places and be comfortable in those places (section 3.5.1). It is likely that the lack of being comfortable with their home affected their material belonging.

In my study, material belonging was related to places outside of the private home environment based on my research focus, which was social interactions in English. Although participants may have used English language at home, it was difficult to ensure that they would only report interactions in English. Therefore, the focus was on social interactions in places outside of the home. However based on the data, the affect of home to material belonging, and to an overall sense of belonging is an area that could be further researched.

Prior experiences of support from public services- material belonging

As newly arrived migrants, they had received a lot of support from organisations, local healthcare services and local authority services. There were several interactions reported with professionals and workers of this sphere. The interactions were considered social interactions as they were situated in the social world (discussed in Section 3.6.2). In these interactions, the data suggested there was some imbalance of power based on the roles of the people providing the service (for example a housing officer appeared to have absolute control over whether someone is awarded housing). These interactions showed that there was access to support by participants and also indicated that they had gained sufficient cultural knowledge to exercise their rights to get the support. However, support they received did not seem effective. Participants reported being able to ask the particular case worker/ health worker for support but

none of the participants escalated their requests when their cases were not resolved. Participants could therefore be seen to have material belonging to a degree, as they were able to access the services that could get them help to solve their problems.

Barriers to social integration

My research did not intend to study the barriers to integration that people face. However data in the above section confirms existing research about barriers to integration (Ager & Strang, 2008; Dimitriadou, 2010; Morrice, 2007). The examples from my research are housing issues (Flora, Samira, Elma, Noor), confidence using language (all), childcare and caring responsibilities (Flora, Asma, Elma, Samira), family situations (Lucy, Samira, Elma), lack of work opportunities (Lucy, Asma, Noor) and health and wellbeing (Asma, Flora).

5.1.3 Participants' early sense of belonging

Participants' early sense of belonging was affected by their social interactions in places that they were already participating in. Literature about needs of newly arrived migrants is usually focused on functional needs such as where to access services such as housing and ESOL classes (Baynham & Simpson, 2010). The analysis of migrant women's early experiences shows that all migrant women were already accessing services with a good degree of confidence.

However, there were differences in the perception of belonging of the participants. As discussed in 3.5.4, Miller (2009) and Hedetoft (2002) note the importance of history in the formation of identity and belonging. This is part of the temporal aspect of belonging shown in Figure 2. Participants with previous experiences of migration and life-changes and those with more experiences of interactions and support from groups of people were more confident in the relational, material and cultural aspects of belonging.

The next sections presents analysis of places in which social interactions take place, the nature of those social interactions, and how those social interactions affected participants' sense of belonging from the different aspects of belonging.

5.2 RQ2: What are the places in which social interactions take place?

The places of social interactions identified in the data have been categorised under four main spheres:

Local community:

- ESOL class group (informal such as the non-teacher led conversations)
- Schools and nurseries (informal elements such as meeting parents at school gates)
- Ethnic community or religious community (for example a Somali community group)
- Local area community (for example a local park group)

Public services:

- Hospitals and healthcare services (such as GPs and health visitors)
- Schools and nurseries (formal elements such as paperwork and meetings)
- Local authority services (such as the Housing Department and Jobcentre Plus)

Work:

- Employer workplaces
- Job-searching and prospective work

Private:

- Home

5.2.1 Local Community sphere

The ESOL group

Participants were all part of the same ESOL course. As part of the course, the teacher encouraged students to continue communicating with one another outside of class time. Students would interact with each other before and after class, and during their break times. The teacher further enabled out-of-class communication by introducing a virtual learning environment (VLE) platform, and suggested they form a Whatsapp group. Some students in the class had been on previous courses with ELATT and others had only recently joined the course.

Participants did not describe places in this sphere as their physical school/college/community buildings. In the ESOL group, the non-teaching and learning part of the ESOL class was described as the place in which the group interacted in the

absence of the teacher, or teacher-instructed activity. As mentioned, this was in the time before and after the class or during breaks when students were in the student café and the ESOL course provider's common areas, and when the group was not attending classes in the formal classroom deli pattern. Participants also described activities taking place outside of the provider space such as when members of the group met up in parks, cafés or in houses. There was also an online aspect of the group, which was not physically bound as it was using apps like Whatsapp and the teacher-led VLE.

Schools and nurseries (represented in both the Community and Public services spheres)

Three participants had children in school and nursery. The majority of the parents' participation in school/nursery was in two places: at the school building with school administration itself (management, teachers and policy) and at the 'school gates' with other parents. The formal place was included in the public services sphere (5.2.2 below). Samira and Elma both had two children, one child in school and the other attending nursery. Samira also attended additional activities such as 'stay-and-play' groups at the nursery. Flora had a daughter in school.

Ethnic and religious community

Elma received support from a Somali group, which helped her find English classes, and then later with form-filling and advice. The group also had a social element, organising celebrations for Somali diaspora living in South London. Elma only periodically visited after she was moved further away from the area.

Noor was involved in religious activities at the Local London Mosque, attending the mosque daily, and more than once a day. She described a serious environment, somewhat formal place, where people were focused on worship. However, there were other spaces within the place, which were more relaxed. There were study groups, which also had a social element. She met other women and was able to ask for advice if she needed it. She also described being invited to join people for tea, coffee or meals before or after services.

5.2.2 Public services sphere

The places represented in the public services sphere are local authority services such as the housing office, hospitals and GP surgeries, the Job Centre, the Citizens Advice Bureau and schools (e.g. in formal teacher meetings and with administration). Based on the similarity of descriptions and types of social interactions, the places are presented jointly as a sphere.

The spaces of the public services sphere were described as highly formal and there were clear division of spaces that were authorised for physical access to those with permission. There were many instructions to follow, usually stated on signs and posters. The spaces were not designed to be comfortable and are usually sparse and cold.

Schools and nurseries

At their children's schools or nurseries, participants did not necessarily report this place as the physical school building although the classroom and office were mentioned. Elma and Samira also talked about the local locations of schools. They had both been moved by council/social services and they were unable to move the their children to more local schools. While the school gate and PTA meetings were described as quite relaxed and informal, dealings with the school office and meetings with teachers (parent-teacher meetings about children's performance) were described in a more formal and transactional way.

Hospitals and healthcare services, Local authority services

Four participants described several interactions with hospitals and GPs and four participants reported interactions with authorities responsible for housing, immigration, social services and advice services. Elma and both her children had serious illnesses and accidents causing hospitalisations. Samira was caring for her husband who had PTSD. Additionally, she was pregnant and gave birth during the period of the research. Asma and Flora had support for depression. Elma, Noor, Flora and Samira needed housing related support. Samira and Elma also had immigration support needs.

5.2.3 Work

This is a formal sphere. Two participants (Asma and Lucy) reported several interactions in the work place and in the act of looking for work. Both participants experienced different employment types. They reported similarities and differences with work in their home country or previous experiences of work.

Both Asma and Lucy were able to get casual work, for which working hours were not guaranteed and subject to change with little notice. Asma left her first job because she was unhappy with the shifts she was given. She quickly found another job in the same type of job but with better shifts. Asma worked in small beauty salons, for individual owners. Lucy was paid at much less than minimum wage for teaching jobs and Asma never received an employment contract. Lucy also accepted a short-term role of a nanny on a yacht for a six-week period during the summer holidays in 2016.

Based on their experiences of looking for work, the place 'job-searching' was identified. The place was incorporated into the 'work' sphere, as there were similarities with work place. Although job searching did not have a physical space, I interpreted the job-searching activity as a place based on the cultural, physical and material elements of the activity, and the interactions between employers and participants. Lucy attended interviews for teaching jobs, and later tried to start a language school and language classes of her own.

5.2.4 Private

This is an informal sphere and includes the homes of participants and family member or close friends' homes.

Home

This is a private space, usually in the homes of the husband's family, except in the cases of Flora, Samira and Noor, when they first moved to the UK. Later Elma also moved out of her husband's family accommodation.

All participants except Noor had come to the UK to join their husbands, after a period of separation, some waiting up to two years for visa approvals. Additionally, they all had not spent much time with their husbands. Therefore, additional to learning about their new life in UK, they were also learning to live as a married person. Only Lucy talked about the difficulties of living with someone when they did not seem to have things in common with each other. The multiple socialisations into roles and place were likely to also affect the women's perceptions of belonging.

Places excluded from research

Two places of social interaction presented complications at the analysis stage. The aim of my research was to examine the social interactions that participants took part in using English. However there were two main places reported in the narrative interviews, which were problematic due to the lack of clarity of the language that was being used, or where participants reported there were multiple languages being used, including English. One of these, the home, was mentioned in earlier in 5.1.2. The second place was ethnic community organisations including religious organisations.

A recent report on Indicators of Integration suggested relationships with people who shared similar cultural backgrounds, practices and faith (usually close family members) contributed to a sense of belonging (Ndofor-Tah et al., 2019). Therefore, I think there is potential to explore these places in other research.

Additionally, in early analysis of data, it appeared that women with more support from husbands and families were more likely to develop confidence in English and take part in more social interactions. Bearing in mind the point made earlier about socialising into new roles as married people, as well as being a new migrant, it appears that there are challenges to integration for this group of women, that has not been researched previously. Samira and Flora reported that when they first arrived in the UK, their husbands taught them how to use public transport, encouraged them to join activities in the area and supported them to practise English. Samira's husband taught her English phrases and encouraged her to join ESOL classes. Flora's trajectory was positive in her first two years in the UK when her husband was still alive. She started a paid job and secured a role volunteering as a teaching assistant. Based on this early analysis, it seems that this would be an interesting area for other research in the future.

5.3 RQ3: What is the nature of the social interactions?

In order to understand the nature of the social interactions, four sub-questions were applied to the data analysis:

- Who are the people within the places?
- What are the activities that take place within the places?
- What types of social interactions take place within the places?
- What are the social relationships within the places?

5.3.1 Local Community Sphere

Players

Participants described their involvement in schools/nurseries in two areas: school gates where they dropped off their children and the parent teachers' association (PTA) membership and meetings. The data shows 'the school gate' as a tangible concept. This is the usual coming-together of parents dropping-off at school in the morning or collecting their children at the end of the school day. This was described as a time when parents talk to other parents and children. The PTA meetings were held in a meeting space within the school grounds.

The research participants described their ESOL group as a place with a diverse mix of students- of the 11 students in the cohort there were 8 country nationalities represented with different ethnic backgrounds. Membership of the group provided a lot of opportunity for interactions in the common language they were learning- English- with people who were from different backgrounds and spoke different languages. Participants' abilities and previous learning experiences were diverse meaning that the group consisted of people with different perspectives.

Activities and practices

In the school setting, all participants reported lots of opportunity for interaction with other parents through the school relationships, either at the school gates, through the PTA meetings or other organised activities. Elma reported a steady increase in friends made through her daughter's friendships at school. Samira was also successful in starting relationships with other parents through her involvement in stay-and-play and early years groups. Flora did not have the same relationships with other parents, although she described many opportunities to interact.

The main activity of the ESOL group was interacting with and supporting each other. The activities in this place are discussed in the section on social interactions within the places.

Social Interactions and Relationships: ESOL group

Many of the early social interactions reported were about getting to know each other as they started to form relationships with each other. Using English, they described and talked about themselves by giving and receiving personal information. They also talked about their lives and personal situations, and future aspirations. Part of these introductory interactions were likely to be teacher-led as part of building rapport with students and promoting collaborative classroom behaviour. These early teacher-led activities extended to subsequent out-of-class interactions.

The places were generally described as a democratic place of participation. Participants described that some people had more experience in some areas, and others in different areas; therefore everyone brought knowledge to the place.

Participants reported that talking to people from different countries was challenging and talking to other classmates was a way to practice speaking and listening to each other's accents:

"To communicate with other people from different countries…English is the main language that we use, so we only speak in English." Elma

"Sometimes to understand the accent is difficult" Samira

All participants reported misunderstandings related to accents that they encountered in daily life and the exposure to different accents in the ESOL group helped them develop better listening skills. For four of the participants the only language of communication they could use was English as none of the other students in their class shared a common language. The other participants reported a conscious decision not to use their own languages to include other classmates in their conversations:

"We speak English because, you know, Nana, Mehra...they don't understand." Samira

Large common language groups sometimes made students from other backgrounds/language groups feel less included - Elma noted that some students who spoke the same language would stay within their language groups in the break and possibly meet up with each other without involving all the other students. In contrast, same-language groups felt more inclusive for Flora- Bengali speaking students were easier for her to communicate and feel comfortable with. For Asma, Muslim and Asian students were easier for her to communicate and feel comfortable with, and to share experiences and get advice from. However, Samira noted that there was a conscious effort to ensure the non-Urdu speakers were able to understand, so they talked in English, which was the common language.

Perception of differences between people or groups was a barrier to communication for some participants. For four of the six participants, the UK was the first place they lived where they met people from cultures and backgrounds different from theirs. In the ESOL group, Lucy talked about not understanding Muslim students because they did not have the same experiences as she did. She had previously only mixed with people who were university colleagues in China. She said she felt like she and the Muslim students had nothing in common. Flora (in the early stages of her course) and Noor reported that they self-segregated by keeping to themselves because they felt they could not trust others.

Participants also recognised that they were able to practise grammar and accuracy, whilst they practised speaking:

"(My classmates) they are very helpful…If I stuck somewhere…they trying to complete my sentence. So…I learned a lot with my friends." Asma

Practising fluency within a safe group was important to allow them to internalise the language they had learnt resulting in confidence to use English in other situations and with other people outside of the ESOL group.

Participants used online platforms to extend communication.

"We did Whatsapp chatting…if she want to know something or I want to know something." Flora

Whatsapp and the VLE were used by the participants to text and record speeches to communicate with each other in English. Elma, Samira, Flora and Asma reported that this was a method of practising English with each other outside of class.

However, not all students participated in the Whatsapp group equally. The students who participated in the Whatsapp group seemed to be composed of the students who were from South Asia and the Middle East. The Chinese and Spanish speaking (non-EU) students did not participate in the same way. Lucy did not participate in the Whatsapp group however, she also reported a lack in confidence using digital communication and that she did not have anything in common with the other students in the class.

Apart from practising English, social interactions were also about developing knowledge about life in the UK and supporting each other. They talked about their new life in the UK. They described and compared experiences of living in the UK, cultural differences between them or that they had experienced, and discussed laws and common practices.

"I learned from my (classmates)…about the cultures and the people…In this country it's okay if you…put your finger like this (shows a gesture) and…it means…'Come here.' So it's not a big deal but…in my country it means very bad." Elma

Participants reported sharing information about popular topics such as celebrations in the UK, learning about each other's cultural practices, and information related to driving tests and Life in the UK tests. Although the topics in the class supported participants to learn a great deal about citizenship and life in the UK, the discussions continued outside the classroom and involved participants sharing personal experiences additional to those discussed in the class session.

"She tell me, 'I have too much problem, I can't go outside by myself and I can't read the form, fill the form…the council, doctor and my husband as well doesn't help me.' She requested, 'Can you help me, please?'" Samira (talking about another student asking her for help.)

They also practised asking for, giving and receiving advice from each other. As a follow-on from the previous type of interaction, those who had experienced situations, such as passing the Life in the UK Test, would give advice to others in the group. Participants reported discussing challenges they faced in their lives and giving and receiving advice to support each other. Whatsapp communication enabled them to send messages to each other for information or advice outside of the days they met in class. This meant that as well as feeling supported at any time when they were away from the group.

In the ESOL group, people who had been through more experiences and knew more about systems of public administration e.g. benefits, driving tests, housing, seem to have been listened to by others more. Participants like Samira, who had passed her driving test, were perceived by others to be more knowledgeable mainly from personal experiences and expertise in navigating systems.

"I can communicate with the society now." Elma

Social interactions within the ESOL group played a role in three main ways. For participants, this was the first site of authentic language practice and hearing the different accents that English is spoken in. As mentioned in 5.1.2, participants' level of English should have enabled them to feel confident. However, the diversity of English that they encountered in London is likely to have affected the confidence to use English. Practising and learning from each other supported the development of confidence to use English out-of-class.

Social interactions also were the vehicle for learning about new culture and citizenship-

related topics. Social interactions enabled migrant women to receive and give support to each other, and share experiences. On days when they did not meet, online social interactions enabled them to continue practising language, giving and receiving support and sharing experiences.

As shown in the framework diagram (Figure 2) and discussed in 3.2.1 and 3.4.2, the process of socialisation is contingent on learning to use new language, through the use of the new language in the field (second language socialisation). The social interactions in the ESOL group highlighted in the findings shows this process of socialisation, including the development of language and cultural knowledge that affected participants' identity.

Social Interactions and Relationships: The School Gate

 In the school setting, similar 'getting to know you' and daily small talk interactions as with the ESOL group took place but with a focus on participants' children's relationships and activities. There were also similar interactions related to helping each other. The data showed a variety of interactions which were informal and related to friendship-building for example taking part in gossip, speaking about what happened to them that week before/after school/ESOL class, and the opportunity to share funny stories or frustrations.

Elma said she eventually found the confidence to approach other parents at her children's school because of her confidence from the ESOL class. Samira was more confident and talked about several friendship groups she had made from previous playgroups and nursery that her son had attended. Flora however, reported limited confidence to start conversations with other parents. The school gate was an intimidating place for Flora as she found starting conversations with other people difficult even in her own language. There were two other parents who spoke either Bengali or Gujarati, her home languages. She reported a slow development building relationships with them and none with English-speaking parents at the school gates.

"I just stand there, watch my girl play. I couldn't say anything." Flora

For Elma and Flora, low confidence in English language was a barrier to building social relationships with other parents who were fluent speakers. At the school gates, participants reported being invited to children's birthday parties as soon as their children started Year 1 at school. Flora was reluctant to attend birthday parties but took her daughter as it was expected. She reported feeling unable to mix with other parents at the parties. Earlier in the research, Elma reported being afraid to talk to other

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parents. She felt that she needed a better command of English and she saw them as having a higher status than her because of their language ability.

Some participants reported use of Whatsapp to communicate with each other. As with the previous section, the use of online social relationships supported the interactions to continue past the school gate, and endure.

"We have a Whatsapp group and…we contact each other, we message each other and we meet, we bring our children together, we have picnics sometimes together." Elma

"They are missing me, they ask when I am coming to see them" Samira.

Samira's friendship group (from her child's previous nursery and Stay and Play group) contacted her on Whatsapp to ask her to meet up, suggesting that those relationships were still maintained although her son had started school.

Elma participated in the PTA for her daughter's school after another parent encouraged her:

"At first I was like 'No, no, no,' because I was afraid. I was, like, 'If I go there, I can't speak…English well, so what shall I tell?' Then she said to me, 'This is your child's school as well. You…need to know what's going on." Elma

Prior to this, she had no knowledge of what a PTA was. Through interactions with other parents she found out about the PTA and became aware that she has the option to attend it. Later in the research, Elma reported the most number of friends that she had made were from her daughter's school. She said that they all spoke different languages so they all communicated in English and that they met up and did things together outside of school. Samira also reported many relationships with other parents made from the nurseries and schools that her children attended.

Social interactions in the school setting supported newly arrived migrant parents to take part in what seemed like frivolous chat (gossip, the activities of the week) but this served to socialise them into the group of parents and to build relationships and trust with them. Social interactions also support them to learn about culture related to schools' and other parents' expectations of them in the UK school system.

Similar to social interactions in the ESOL Group, the school gate also supported the socialisation of participants. Part of the process was the experience of routine and repetition as per the discussion of temporal belonging in 3.4.1. Belonging develops when there is a 'comfortable and familiar' feeling in a place (Yarker, 2019).

5.3.2 Public Services Sphere

Players

The roles of the medical professionals and administrative staff in hospital and GPs are defined. It was clear that staff had important and critical tasks to do and so it was a formal environment with little opportunity for meaningful social interactions. Participants saw doctors as possessing a lot of knowledge, nurses less so. In this sphere, administrative workers were the ones that participants communicate with the most. These were hospital receptionists, admissions team staff or caseworkers in local authorities and the Home Office. There were also other customers or patients in the sphere. However, communication between these groups was not common or encouraged due to privacy.

Activities and practices

The activities of the school are formal: there were expectations concerning attendance and punctuality, completion of work and parents' participation in homework and projects. Elma and Samira, who were requesting new school places for their children, were dealing with a formal process. The place was also described as requiring lots of participation by parents through helping children with their homework, helping children with activities set by the school e.g. dressing up for World Book Day or volunteering on class visits. There was an expectation to be involved in the school learning activities at home.

In formal public services places, the access to specialists, advisors and managers were protected or restricted by reception staff or lower level advisors. There were systems for how to get appointments or to be seen if they walked in. In some cases, it was to take a number and wait, in other cases appointments needed to be made on the phone or on advisor invitation. All housing workers and advisors also used rules and policies with regards to housing in their responses to participants and participants accepted those responses without complaining. Only one participant had escalated her case to the local councillor in Hackney. The other women (Flora and Elma) had been told to wait, and they did.

Although bureaucratic, it was not always clear from the council or other provider websites how the process of getting an appointment worked. Noor recounted a day she and her husband waited in a queue only to find out that everyone in that queue had taken a ticket to see an advisor, and by the time they realised this many more people had joined the queue and they had to go back to the end of the waiting time. She said

that processes and procedures were vague and therefore they were reliant on what the advisors said.

Social Interactions and Relationships: schools/ nurseries

In schools, teachers and especially head-teachers have clear power and responsibility because of their positions. Requests for attendance by teachers at parents' evenings were seen as compulsory along with any other homework set/activities.

Teachers talked to parents about children's progress, issues or problems. All participants with children said they talked to teachers in English. The parents' evenings were the main way of having these discussions at school. With the children who were still in nursery, there was the opportunity on a daily basis to speak to the nursery nurses and/or teachers when they collected their children. Generally, parents reported that teachers updated them about issues with their children:

"I said, 'How is my son in school? He is okay?' And she said… 'his understanding is okay, but he need a teacher to speak with him, because the language he can't speak properly'…(She said) 'Every Tuesday from two o' clock to three o' clock, you have to bring him and stay with him.' I told her, 'It's okay, I'm coming with him,' Samira

These interactions seem to be less about discussion, but more about accepting what the teachers had already decided was the appropriate action for their children. Samira's description of her interaction gives the impression she had not been involved in discussing any alternative intervention for her son.

Flora also reported lack of involvement about her daughter:

"(My daughter) she didn't tell anyone, so they didn't notice the whole day she was in the wet dress. After that, she get cold," Flora

As it was formal, it was also difficult for parents to question actions taken by teachers. When Flora's daughter didn't tell her nursery teacher about her wet dress, the teachers said that it was her daughter's fault. Flora described incidents where her daughter came home from school with cuts as she had fallen over and the teachers had not noticed this. Flora felt that she was not able to question teachers' responsibility over things that happened in school time.

Participants also had to communicate with school administration about absences, illnesses or accidents. For example, Elma regularly had to tell the school that she was not able to collect her daughter on time and to give permission to another parent to take her daughter. These interactions were formal and transactional.

Social Interactions and Relationships: local authority services

Council administrators, advisors and workers seemed to hold the power in other places within the public services sphere. Participants were always in need of something from the council, were disadvantaged by bureaucratic systems and process, and often reported confusion and that the systems did not make logical sense. The felt they were not always given a clear answer. In spite of this, participants reported formal service, which was polite and they felt that their workers/advisors were trying to be helpful.

Many interactions were related to listening to instructions or processes. Flora had to attend a meeting in the Job Centre:

"…so she is my allocated officer, Antoinette. Yeah, that day she just want to know any change in my circumstance or not. Because they have my old details, so…that day she wanted to know any change or not. Then she told me… if anything change in-between, so I have to tell her. Otherwise I will lose next appointment." Flora

When she arrived, she found that the purpose of the meeting was to inform her that she needed to let them know if there was any change in her circumstances. The interaction was described as one sided, with little discussion or opportunity to negotiate her position. Any questions were to clarify the instructions, and often they were closed questions.

Other forms of interactions were requests made by participants for basic services, for which they had the right. Elma requested a school place closer to their temporary home with the council:

"I tried to apply school for my daughter…near where I live, but the school says that… 'Because you live in bed and breakfast, we're not allowed to give a school for your child, unless you have a private house, or a temporary house, or a normal house, or council house'" Elma

These exchanges were more complicated and usually meant that participants had to have an understanding of the way council bureaucratic systems worked. Participants' developing English language skills created an additional barrier to ensuring they understood the process correctly. When Elma finally got a permanent house, she found she still could not get a place for her daughter at the local school:

"I tried to apply…where we live now but we couldn't get it. They said, 'There's a long waiting list and you are…number 26.' There's another 25 kids…waiting in…the same class as my daughter's year. She's going to be Year Two in September…there's

another 25 kids that are in Year One and they want to go to same school. So…they said…maybe in September, hopefully, like a year." Elma

Participants were disadvantaged by bureaucratic systems and process, and often reported confusion and that the systems did not make logical sense. The felt they were not always given a clear answer.

Participants also requested for further clarification. Flora wanted to know why other families in the hostel had secured accommodation when she had not. Participants generally did not complain and did not report knowing how to complain:

"I accept it because they said no they are not going to send me any temporary or anywhere, I have to wait, I asked how (long) is the (wait for the) house…Then they showed a list, one of the lists, their retailer list." Flora

Flora and Elma reported that they felt there was nothing they could do about the system and they just had to accept the decisions made by their key worker or social workers. There was a sense that there was something not right with the system but they were not aware of their rights to make any changes.

Unlike Flora and Elma, Samira escalated her requested more suitable accommodation as her living situation was over-crowded. When she was unsuccessful with the council team, she escalated this request to a local councillor. She reported that she had heard about her local councillor through someone:

"That is why I went so many time to councillor to tell them, because I had too much problem here, I have three children in one bedroom." Samira

She was able to get a meeting with the councillor at the surgery and then he sent her a letter inviting her to meet with him to discuss her options of moving to a larger property.

Social Interactions and Relationships: health services

Interactions in medical and health services were related to listening to instruction, and also responding to questions about the health area being discussed. There were two places where there were highly positive interactions reported. When Samira was pregnant, interactions with her health worker, nurses and doctors were positive. Flora also reported receiving positive support from her bereavement counsellor. She felt that he tried to understand her when she was trying to explain complicated emotional experiences and could not find the right words. Samira's family planning nurse used Google to help her understand the implications of different birth control interventions.

In hospital, Elma said that the character and manner of the nurses were a determining factor for how she felt on the ward:

"So…the doctors were kind and very nice. I was happy with what they say and how they explained to me and how they were dealing with me…but the nurses, some of them…were rude, very rude!" Elma

She reported that she was not treated well by some nurses, and that other patients agreed with her when they talked. However she did not complain about it and formed the opinion that nurses were rude for no reason. In general participants reported doctors and specialists were more sympathetic and supportive in social interactions, helping them to understand their health situation or treatments.

However, they found that nurses and administrative/support staff were not so helpful. Elma described a situation where her toddler fell into a road:

"I said (to the ambulance controller), 'Please can you come, he's just a baby, and he's bleeding, and I think he broke his hand,' but they said, 'No, Sorry, we can't come, but you, you can call 111, or you can just take a taxi or something.'…I didn't have money with me…I was shocked actually…" Elma

There were also a limited number of interactions with other people within the place, who were not staff such as other clients, reported. Elma had limited interactions with other patients about the nursing staff. However, it was not usual to talk to other customers or clients in these places.

In hospital/medical settings participants reported that they did not have enough information from medical professionals. Although doctors were described positively for the way they communicated with participants, Elma and Samira said they had a lack of sufficient information about their situations. Samira said she did not really know what was happening with her husband's condition despite attending his appointments with him and reporting that she was confident she could understand his doctor.

Social interactions in the public services sphere reveal a lack of agency by participants and I suggest that this lack of agency is due to the social interactions that they experienced. Relationships were of a formal nature and participants reported an awareness of hierarchy of the people they were interacting with e.g. teacher, head teacher, doctors and nurses. In the school and the local authority settings, school staff and caseworkers' interactions were instructional, giving little room for participants to respond with queries. From the descriptions of the interactions, it seemed that

participants' own experience and knowledge was not valued. For example not engaging with parents about their own child development.

Although the interactions were not negative, some of them are described in ways that suggest the public service staff were indifferent and dismissive. Therefore the interactions were not all positive either.

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Social interactions within more formal places, where there are strict boundaries and expectations of behaviour affect participants' socialisation process. As discussed in 3.4.4, interactions within spaces give social meanings to a space (Dourish, 2006) and so participants' interactions within these places affect a person's development of identity and belonging.

5.3.3 Work sphere

Players

Asma had three jobs over the time of the study. She generally worked for sole traders (her boss), and had some colleagues. In her employment, the boss was the decision-maker. She also had many clients, whom she talked about positively.

Lucy found that in schools there were several staff with hiring responsibility and it was not always clear to her who was in charge of hiring. She would communicate with one contact and then later discover that there was someone else reviewing her application.

With community centres and libraries, Lucy said it was easier to know the person to talk to if she had attended the library or community centre as a client. Lucy also had prospective business partners. She communicated with one in Chinese, she spoke to the other in English.

Lucy also met private clients and children, who were her students. Later as a nanny on a yacht, she was involved in the daily care of two children.

Activities and practices

Employability skills (the ability to write an application form, an application email, respond to job descriptions and pass at an interview) were important to Lucy's job sector. Lucy reported that she felt that employability skills were almost more important than the skills of the job itself. For the jobs that Lucy was applying for, schools had minimum standards of English language competency even though the job did not involve using English to teach. She was able to read/write and complete forms/letter to a high standard of language but the fluency, accuracy and pronunciation of her spoken language let her down. She did not perform well in interviews and believed that this was why she was unsuccessful.

Asma's process of application was of a different nature, which was through her contacts and asking for work:

"I got one job…at salon. So I work there only one month…I wasn't happy that time with my work…I left that work and…then my one friend, she giving me some number…for…the other salon manager. So I called there, she said, 'You can come for a trial." Asma

After starting, she found different employers had different activities/expectations. For her first job, Asma was expected to carry out the shifts that she had been scheduled without complaint and she left the job. She was able to gain another one shortly after. There were also expectations of how she would talk to clients and make them feel comfortable and welcomed.

In trying to start her business, Lucy had to make presentations to potential customers. She had two different business partners - a Chinese trainee teacher whom she had met through a class at ELATT, and a friend who had recently returned from being abroad and was unemployed. It was difficult for Lucy and she was only successful where she had sought venues with Chinese-speaking contacts. In other venues, her presentations were not successful. The trainee teacher friend later decided to open a business without her while the other decided to go to university and left Lucy to continue without him.

When Lucy worked on the yacht as a nanny, her work activities included being involved in quite personal spaces with the family. The family extended their holiday without

consulting with Lucy, as this was considered normal for the family. Lucy negotiated for them to let her leave.

Social Interactions and Relationships: work

The interactions within the work and employment place were mostly formal, especially at the stage of looking for work. These interactions took place in both text and spoken from: For example, completing forms and CVs online, talking in interviews including presenting qualifications, information about previous experience, and responding to questions, queries and requests for information.

In Lucy's experience, schools have a lot of power in decision-making and in setting the recruitment standards. Lucy reported she was frustrated by the fact that there were many people teaching Chinese without adequate teaching qualifications or skills. The processes meant that at school-level she thought they were not able to adequately assess Lucy's teaching abilities. Lucy had to conform to the systems and meet required standards to have the opportunity to gain employment in a school.

In Asma's experience, interactions at work took place when communicating with clients or customers. For example, greeting customers, asking customers what they wanted, making conversation/small-talk with customers having treatment and asking for and receiving payment:

"I'm relaxed because…I meet different people (clients) every day and I talk with different people and… I speak to them…something…I, every day I learn new things so this is good, really…good for me." Asma

Asma reported that she enjoyed this small talk and that it helped her develop her confidence to communicate well. She enjoyed communicating with customers and felt comfortable. Therefore, it seems that she perceived there were positive relationships with customers.

There were also interactions about work conditions such as changes in hours and other requests. Asma was able to discuss issues with her employer and was able to choose to leave the job she wasn't happy with. Although the employer has more power in the employment relationship, in Asma's case she was confident that she would find another opportunity and she did.

Lucy's business ideas involved constant communication with community centre staff about her proposals. The interactions were of a persuasive nature to convince the centres to give her work. When Lucy worked as a nanny, she had to work all day into

the evening, caring for the children and teaching them Chinese. Social interactions were of an instructional nature.

Social interactions in the work sphere differed for the two participants, and based on the different activities. Social interactions enabled Asma to get entry-level work, and then to build on her confidence dealing with customers once she had work. However for Lucy, her social interactions in English with language schools and community centres did not help her achieve her goals, which was to get skilled work.

5.4 Main summary of findings

Main findings indicate that there is a relationship between social interactions in English and my research participants' perception of their own integration.

Participants' experiences of integration prior to starting the research were varied. They were affected by previous experiences of life changes and migration, their previous experiences of learning English, the social interactions outside of their ESOL class that they were already participating in, their home situation at the start of the project and the existing support they were already receiving. Although not the focus of this research, barriers to integration were also identified.

Participants participated in social interactions in places within four spheres: Local community, public services, work and home.

Within the local community sphere, participants took part in social interactions with people in their ESOL group and the parents at their children's schools. They built relationships with other classmates and parents outside of the ESOL provider and school setting. The nature of the relationships was informal and supportive, with social interactions such as giving advice, making social conversation and helping each other with language practice. Participants also used online communications to extend their social interactions.

Within the public services sphere, participants took part in social interactions with staff working in schools or nurseries, and with staff who worked in local authority and health services. The nature of social interactions was formal and instructional. Participants made requests for support and were given procedures to follow. Finding indicated that public services staff were perceived to hold authority and participants' main activity was asking for support and assistance.

Two participants were involved in the work sphere. The social interactions for one participant were with employers and customers and the other with prospective employers and prospective customers. The nature of the relationships was different with the different types of employers and customers.

5.5 What are participants' perceptions of their belonging

Participants' situations at the end of the research project showed that all participants had increased their confidence in using English, they had all increased their confidence to interact with other participants in the ESOL group. Five of the six participants had supported each other. Three participants had improvements in their housing situations, two gained jobs and one was volunteering. One was no longer experiencing controlling behaviour at home. All participants reported increase in confidence in their life in the UK.

At the end of the research, it was expected that participants would experience belonging in different places, and different degrees (3.5.2). As shown in the summary (5.4) above participants were able to overcome many issues in their lives and reported increased confidence to use English in different spheres. Elma and Samira reported the greatest positive feelings related to sense of belonging. Both reported feeling comfortable at home and in other spheres such as public services and local community. They reported a greater ability to advocate for themselves and others. Their data also showed an increase in social relationships. Asma reported an increase in happiness and confidence and attributed this to the improvement of her relationship with her family at home, and working. Participation in social interactions at work had made her feel more confident in her area and more positive about her future. Noor, Flora and Lucy reported less positive sense of belonging. Noor felt at ease in most places such as the mosque, the jobcentre and in her local area. However, she reported low trust of people who were not like her and fear of Islamophobia in public areas and on public transport away from her local area. Flora's confidence was affected by her housing situation, which did not improve, and this affected her self-confidence to solve problems for herself and her daughter. She was still lacking in confidence to speak English outside of her ESOL class group and her therapy sessions. However, her data showed an increased participation in leisure activities with her daughter with greater happiness reported after the activities. Lucy was affected by her experiences trying to find work. She perceived unfairness in recruitment processes. She also reported low trust of people who were different from her. She continued to report making new acquaintances with ethnically Chinese people in London, in spite of many of her previous relationships being of an exploitative or unequal nature. She had found a group of university tutors, who were Chinese, and reported some promising work opportunities through these connections.

All participants reported an increase in confidence in English from social interactions with others either within the ESOL group or with other migrants and service staff outside of the group. However all participants reported low social interactions with 'English people' or host community members, although this did not seem to directly affect their sense of belonging in all places.

The following is the discussion of research findings of participants' perceptions of their own belonging in the four aspects of belonging.

5.5.1 Material Belonging- access to places

Access to a community

As discussed in 3.5.1, interactions in formal settings could create opportunities for interactions in informal settings, with schools and colleges suggested as one such formal setting. Data from this current research shows that ESOL groups and children's schools were an important place for participants to access and participate in interactions. This research illustrates the importance of formal places such as education establishments in providing opportunities for migrants to participate in social interactions and create relationships. In this situation, participants were not friends but they were developing relationships based on their shared experiences. In section 3.5.3 the term 'community' is used to describe people who come together based on shared experiences, social ties or shared spaces. Samira and Elma's relationships with other parents are examples of this (see 5.1.1). Although participants described the people from their ESOL group and school gates as their 'friends', based on their descriptions I feel that community is an appropriate way of describing the relationships.

The examples of the ESOL group and the 'school gate' show the importance of a physical space as a starting point to building social ties and local support networks for migrant women. ESOL classes were where migrants study English, and the interactions among the ESOL group members outside of their formal class learning also appeared to be of great value to the migrants' perception of language development and sense of belonging. Flora's main opportunity for regular social interactions in English was with other parents through the school (see 5.3.1). Children's school and nurseries are also recognised as sites for language learning (All Party Parliamentary Group on Social Integration, 2017), with many local authority and community learning providers holding family learning classes in such places. Data from my research suggests that as well as language learning, access to social interactions at 'school gates' and other parent-to-parent engagement activities supported participants' access to a community. Participants who participated in social interactions

at their children's school and with their ESOL group reported an increased feeling of belonging to a group or community.

Access is also related to knowing the 'rules of the game'. As discussed in 3.5.1 May suggests that 'collective understandings' of belonging are built upon 'negotiated accomplishments' (2013, p.82) and that the feeling of belonging must be reciprocated (May, 2013). Elma participated in the PTA for her daughter's school after another parent encouraged her. She described how she went to the meetings and just listened, until she felt she understood 'the way to talk' in the meetings. When felt confident, she said she started talking in the meetings. Elma's example of accepting the invitation to join the PTA, and then attending meetings until she felt confident she could participate is an example of socialisation into a new place. Her subsequent increase in confidence to fully participate in the PTA meetings is an indication of her sense of belonging in the place.

Therefore as suggested in the framework (Figure 2), social interactions developed participants' material belonging, through access to a group of people including sympathetic interlocutors.

Access to services

As discussed in 3.5.1, migrants have difficulties accessing public service places. From a sensory perspective, the places in the public services sphere are formal and have physical boundaries, which can indicate where people are allowed to access. The restrictive physical space can be seen as intimidating. Although child-friendly, schools and nurseries were seen as formal places. There were signing-in procedures, locked doors that prevented unauthorised access and rules about access and safety.

From an equality of access perspective, the practices in public services places described by participants show that access to specialists, advisors and managers were protected and restricted by reception staff or lower level advisors. As described in section 5.1.2, all participants were already confident to access several places within the public services spheres with routine issues such as housing and general medical needs. However, during the research, circumstances that were more unusual took place and in these situations, lower levels of confidence to access less familiar types of public services were reported.

One area where there appeared to be lack of confidence for participants was to complain when standards of service were not met and/or to challenge when insufficient information was given to them. Both Elma's children had accidents and required emergency attention. However, there were different standards of service experienced

in both situations. When the school rang for an ambulance for her daughter's playground accident, an ambulance came. However when Elma rang for an ambulance for her son's fall in the road she was told to take a bus. She was sent to the wrong hospital and waited, before being sent on to a different hospital. She attempted to ask for information but was told to wait. They experienced an estimated wait time of 6 hours. She said she felt at the mercy of the 'people in charge'.

Three participants had ongoing housing issues (described in 5.1.1). Flora, who had been living in a hostel with her four-year-old daughter reported being made to feel that her request for better accommodation was not fair and reasonable,:

"…Because they said first to me, they are going to move me…within four months from there to a temporary house. But I have waited eight months there but they didn't do anything so I went to ask them, and they said, 'No,' they are not going to send me any temporary house." Flora

Using policies and processes, the housing officer justified the long waiting time. There was a lack of transparency about why some people in the hostel had gained housing when she had not and this caused her to feel not worthy of permanent housing. Participants seemed to think that they could not change anything and just accepted what advisors had told them. Elma and Flora's responses above showed that they felt there was nothing they could do apart from to wait as they had been instructed. This could also be seen as an indication of a lower cultural knowledge- that is the rights that they had as residents.

Only Samira escalated her complaint to the local councillor but only after visiting the council many times and being given the information about how to contact the local councillor by another community organisation:

"I went so many times to council, but they…didn't do nothing. Then I found someone to help me and give me the councillor number. I went to the councillor, I told them, 'Please, I am pregnant, another baby is coming, where I put bed for her?" Samira

In Samira's example, the persistence she showed could have been affected by her self-efficacy she had gained as a result from her previous experiences (discussed in 5.1.2).

My research participants reported feeling powerless and lacking in confidence in these places and I suggest these were related to the interactions that they had there with staff. Such interactions reduced Flora and Elma's confidence to access services. As discussed in 3.5.1, the lack of English language skills is likely to have played a part in

the lack of confidence. However, negative interactions with staff in public services places also contributed to a lack of participants' confidence in their ability to deal with difficult situations. Whereas, the participant who had positive interactions with their caseworkers or services staff built confidence to feel more confident about bureaucratic processes. Samira reported a higher degree of confidence to escalate complaints because of the support and advice from advisors and friends.

For migrant women on my research, interactions with public services staff affected their feeling of material belonging.

Experiences of access to work

As described in 5.2.3 Lucy experienced challenges to gaining work, whereas Asma was able to gain work three times. Lucy perceived that she was discriminated from high-skilled jobs in teaching Chinese that she was applying for. In her experience, she found that English-speaking people had the advantage even when the job involved being able to teach a different language. She also claimed that those fluent in English with low or no Chinese teaching qualifications were employed and she was disparaging of this practice.

Migrants are often discriminated from higher skilled work because of the perception of their language level (Paget & Stevenson, 2014) and this could be due to the lack of fluency or incorrect pronunciation. Lucy was able to be self-critical and identified that it was her spoken English language fluency that prevented her from being successful. She had been shortlisted for interview through her written applications.

Asma was in work at the end of the research; she had been looking for any type of work and took on lower-skilled jobs. The method of application was in person and through personal connections. She had also changed jobs to an arrangement that suited her better. The ability to get work quickly and then change jobs could be from the confidence she gained from working or because of her previous work experiences (owning her own business in Pakistan).

For these two participants, access to work was affected by the requirements of the employers of different job types. For the jobs Lucy was looking for, employers were looking for candidates with specific minimum requirements. Asma was able to gain employment using social connections although the jobs were not secure.

Asma also reported a large increase in confidence from working. She said this was due to the increased social interactions she was having with clients and she identified the

act of working as affecting her confidence. For Lucy, being unable to gain work affected her negatively:

"…You just feel very sad, you don't want to do anything… so I, I feel I'm not good (at English). You have good quality and nobody know you…" Lucy

Lucy had been offered interviews from written applications she had made. However, when she went for the interview, she did not pass because of her spoken English skills. When she approached non-Chinese speaking community centres to talk about setting up classes, the results were similar. It seemed that introductions were not sufficient to gain work in higher skilled jobs. A higher level of formal language proficiency was required. However, when Lucy opted for an entry-level job role, she got a job through her contacts. When on the job, she found she was able to communicate her demands to terminate her working contract, indicating that social interactions play a greater role in getting jobs and negotiating job conditions in the entry-level job market.

The affect of lack of work on a person's confidence has been noted in 3.5.1. The statement above shows the impact the experiences of not getting work has had on Lucy's confidence. These two participants had previously worked all their adult lives; with them reporting that work was important to them. I could see that work played a significant role in their self-perception of their identities. The experiences of these two participants lead me to suggest that work or lack of work affected their feeling of material belonging.

5.5.2 Relational belonging

The importance of friends as a replacement for family

As discussed in 3.5.3, family is the first place we feel we belong. However, for newly arrived migrants, family might not be available or close. Three participants did not have friends from their own ethnic community. Participants were creating new relationships during the research programme. Samira had built up a network of other parents from her son's nursery and school. These parents sent her messages saying they missed her as she had moved. This in itself is an indication of belonging to a group. Of the participants, Samira presented as confident and was able to overcome many challenges over the period of the research. She regularly reported feeling good and happy, and confident that she could do anything she needed to. As described in 5.1.1 she successfully complained to a local councillor to demand the council rehome her and her family only weeks after giving birth, and made Home Office applications independently.

Samira reported that she valued friends a lot, as she did not have anyone from her home community for support, and that she viewed friends as replacement for family:

"Because I don't have family here…if I need some help or something…friends are (good).I have friends, they can help me. And also if I'm bored or feeling sad I can see them." Samira

Elma too relied on friends for help, especially with childcare when she and her children were in hospital for emergencies. She was part of a group of about seven parents from her daughter's school and they regularly helped each other out. They were all from a variety of backgrounds with only two parents born in London and one with an English background.

Apart from support networks, participants also identified that their friends helped them to not feel 'bored', 'sad' or 'lonely' contributing to their feelings of happiness:

"…the more I tried, the more they helped me, and the more they come closer to me." Elma

As discussed in 3.5.3 friends are also important to a person's sense of belonging and can sometimes represent the family that one has chosen (May, 2013), and that communities can be built on similarities such as shared experiences or interests. In the case of the research participants, it is the local school/ESOL group that has drawn them together to move from classmates and acquaintances to becoming more like friends.

As well as giving and receiving support such as advice and sharing concerns with each other, their developing friendships supported them to feel confident that they had support for their children. Elma said that she was no longer worried about her children if something happened to her. She was confident that her friends would step in to help and this made her feel calmer and more confident.

I suggest that for participants who had developed a good network of friends, they felt a stronger sense of relational belonging. Social interactions with friends and other sympathetic interlocutors supported the socialisation process, and increased participants' relational belonging as suggested in Figure 2.

Whatsapp as a tool for extending social interactions

I was struck by how close the participants reported their ESOL group had become, regularly exchanging messages, organising meet-ups out-of-class in local cafes, or each other's houses. Past ESOL classes I had taught and the research participant group from my earlier studies had not maintained the friendships they had made during

their course of study with us. Reasons for friendships not enduring are similar to findings by (Dimitriadou, 2004) in her thesis. She found that women with families tended to be more restricted by family commitments and geographical issues. The women on our programmes are often mothers and some travel from other boroughs to Hackney. The difference that I noted between the former examples and my research participants was the increase in the use of Whatsapp for communications, which I had not seen previously.

As discussed in 3.5.3, online communities can be an invaluable tool for belonging and support. My research participants, who used Whatsapp, said that they were able to remain in touch even though they were not available to join in physical meet-ups. The group was also a site for asking for advice and support from each other when they were not able to meet face-to-face.

Participants used Whatsapp to maintain relationships in periods of absence. In Elma, Samira and Asma's experience, although they were moved by their housing services or had to have a break in study for maternity the Whatsapp group created enabled them to continue the existing relationship they had with the ESOL group. They were still able to participate and benefit from personal support and updates about their ESOL course. Aharony's (2015) research suggests that Whatsapp maintained existing social capital (3.5.3). For my research participants, the use of Whatsapp allowed them to maintain the social capital they had accumulated in the group over time, through remote ways of continuing to share their experiences.

Close relationships mean frequent interactions (May, 2013). Although research participants reported using Whatsapp for planning where to meet and to talk about homework, most of the more frequent interactions reported were of social chat and sharing news with each other:

"When we've been to class, usually we talk, or otherwise we have a Whatsapp group, maybe if anybody have any gossip or anything. So that time we chat on Whatsapp group…" Flora

Even when the participants had seen each other physically in class, they would still message the group later that day. O'Hara et al's research shows that Whatsapp is not just a replacement but also an extension for groups that already see each other often (O'Hara, Massimi, Harper, Rubens, & Morris, 2014). The addition of Whatsapp seemed to support the building of relationships between participants who were actively using the mode of communication, creating closeness between them, even when they did not see each other on a daily basis.

The data from this study suggests that participants benefitted from using Whatsapp to engage in social interactions in English with their peers in the ESOL group, and that these interactions deepened their social connections to form friendships. These participants reported greater support networks and more friendships contributing to their relational belonging. Therefore, the additional opportunity to interact with others continued to support the socialisation process, and affecting participants' perception of relational belonging.

The value of weak ties

As discussed in 3.5.3 interactions with people who were considered weak ties, such as acquaintances or strangers, can contribute to the development of trust in the local area. Talking to other people they encountered in the places that they lived enabled participants to learn expectations of behaviours of people around them. Samira and Elma reported many interactions with shop workers and neighbours and Asma with customers. Noor regularly interacted with strangers in her religious community. This contributed to their trust in the local area, as there was a development of predictability and familiarity that trust is built on. Participants who reported taking part in interactions with others in their local area and daily lives also reported they were confident in their areas:

 "Yeah because…you know…(the)…more you…live and the more you learn…the language and…you have a connect(ion) with society…the more that you trust and the more that you feel confident…" Elma

Concerning increasing their confidence in an area and their sense of belonging, it appears that interactions with strangers can increase familiarity with people in the neighbourhood and area, and increase migrants feelings of trust in the local area. However, concerning creating relationships with people from the 'host' community, the weak ties would need an amount of time for any relationship to develop. I suggest it is possible to feel a sense of belonging when some aspects of belonging have good levels of confidence, whereas others do not, as exhibited in Elma's situation.

Public services staff providing services to participants could be classed as acquaintances or strangers. For some participants, they had been assigned workers to their cases. For example Flora had a housing caseworker, and Elma has a social workers. The familiarity of these workers helped participants to feel safe and trusting, in spite of the situations that they were in, which in some cases were highly stressful. Perceptions by participants of the way they were treated also affected their trust in the service. If they were perceived to be polite, friendly and supportive, participants were

more likely to feel comfortable. Flora said that her housing officer was kind and spoke to her 'nicely'. Elma built up a good rapport with her social worker that they were able to joke with each other. In these situations, prior experiences of the interactions with service staff supported participants to know what to expect.

However, where a participant had to encounter a different place or person with no point of reference, it was unlikely that there would be any weak ties. For example, Lucy found it difficult to approach some community centres, as she had never participated in social interactions with the people working in those centre, and was unsure of how to approach them. However, as she had visited her local library often, she felt confident to approach the library coordinator to offer to deliver Chinese language classes there.

For my research participants, prior experiences of social interactions with strangers, usually public services staff, affected their feeling of relational belonging. However, there was a lack of reported opportunities to take part in social interactions with host community members and this could affect relational belonging and the ability for migrants to take part in social mixing.

Language and interactions: developing trust in others

In 3.5.2, the relationship between language and belonging was discussed, emphasizing the role of language in building trust. Participants talked about the importance of trust in enabling them to develop social relationships with people they met. In the ESOL group, they felt that trust was first developed with other ESOL classmates.

As discussed in 3.5.2 English language skills play a large role in confidence for migrants to participate in social interactions and all participants made the link between their confidence in English and levels of confidence to talk to other people. Elma also linked interactions in English with the development of trust, which she identified was due to the ability to 'understand' the other person:

"….the key thing is the language, because if you can't…communicate with the others and you can't understand them, they can't understand you…You don't feel confident at all. Yeah, you can't trust and…they can't…" Elma

The definition of trust in 3.5.3 is that it is a particular expectation regarding the behaviour of other people. Without the ability to communicate and understand each other, it would be difficult for newly arrived migrants and others to build trust in each other. However, trust is also built upon prior experiences of others' behaviours. Both Lucy and Noor reported that they found it difficult to build trust with people who were different from them. Noor attributed this to the discrimination she had experienced from

non-Muslims in The Netherlands, where she had previously lived, and Lucy talked about her lack of prior experiences of meeting people who were different from her:

"Before…(I was at) school, then work at school (university), so I never have chance (to meet other)…people…I always at school…so I don't have…many time (to) work with the people, like a team…" Lucy

She felt that if she did not have anything in common with a person, she would not be able to build trust with them. Lucy reported that her friendships were mainly with Chinese-speaking people. Her interactions with English-speaking people were typically with university-educated people who became friends with her to participate in informal language exchanges. However, her interviews suggested that the language exchange friendships replicated a teacher-student archetype, which was a familiar archetype for her. Lucy's experiences match the existing literature that people are likely to trust people they feel they share a social identity or similar experiences with (section 3.5.3). Nonetheless, Lucy still reported an increase in confidence to participate in social interactions with others, even if these were not often, and only with selected people.

Participants reported that the ESOL group provided a safe space for participants to practise social interactions in English and build their confidence. All participants reported that their ESOL Group had supported them to gain confidence to interact with others.

My research suggests that participating in social interactions enables people (migrants and host community) to comprehend each other, and to develop knowledge and awareness of each other's behaviours, which can support building trust between different people. Trust is identified as an important element in building relational belonging, as it is related to the confidence in others' (May, 2013). My research participants reported developing confidence from their increase in language skills, and this affected their confidence to take part in social interactions, which I suggest affected their feeling of relational belonging.

With exception of Lucy's case, almost all participants' reported social interactions in the local community sphere with other migrants who had moved to the UK, like them. This meant that there is likely to have been a high level of bonding social capital, e.g. support for each other. However, these participants were missing opportunities to gain bridging social capital- that is relationships with people who were different from them. As presented in the introduction, migrant women reported that they find it challenging to have social interactions in English with people from the host community. They are also perceived to not want to get involved in their communities (2.1). When considering

social cohesion (see 2.2 and 3.3.1), the involvement of the host community is crucial to enable social mixing, so can people 'get along' with others in the community. In the absence of meaningful social interactions, May's research suggests that weak ties can also support the development of relational belonging (May, 2013).

For research participants socialisation took place in many places, through different types of interactions and with different people who played different roles. All of these interactions contributed to participants' perception of their relational belonging, as well as material and cultural belonging in different spheres. This is represented in Figure 2 by the stacked circles that show that all forms of belonging are developed as socialisation takes place.

The value of customer-facing jobs

In my previous research (Graham-Brown, 2015), one inconclusive finding was that opportunity to work could either be a barrier or a support for participants to increase confidence using English. I suggested that customer-facing roles increased participants' social interactions in English. Again, this was based on the experiences of only two participants.

The current thesis findings for one participant who was in work is similar. Asma reported that she experienced a quick and significant growth in confidence and attributed this to her work. Specifically, she identified that this was due to the opportunities she had to speak to customers on a daily basis, and the social interactions she participated in with customers from different backgrounds. As described in 5.4.1 she had just returned from Pakistan after a period of absence because of her personal circumstances. She was depressed and had low confidence before going to Pakistan and so the change in her confidence in work and life was substantial. For this participant the customer-facing role with regular social interactions affected her feeling of relational belonging.

5.5.3 Cultural belonging

Learning about diversity

As defined in 3.5.2, culture can be seen as 'ways of life' and describes how people from social groups act and think. Cultural integration is dependent on migrants' knowledge and understanding of life in the UK, their rights, responsibilities and shared values. My research participants' social interactions supported the development of knowledge of life in the UK, rights and responsibilities. Where the specific knowledge was not learnt in their ESOL class, for example passing the UK driving test, content of

the Life in the UK test (history, law and procedures), processes for children's school applications and visa applications, participants shared their experiences and taught each other.

Apart from the knowledge described above, social interactions also supported participants to develop values of diversity, tolerance and inclusion of others. The social cues that the group practised are an example of how social interactions with the ESOL group reproduced learnt social values and behaviours that they then practised in daily lives. For example, the act of not speaking their own language with those who shared a similar first language so as not to exclude others was a real world practice of inclusive behaviour. As described in 3.5.2, for most of my participants, London was the first time they had lived in a super-diverse city. All participants reported instances where they did not know how to behave with people from different backgrounds, including having communication difficulties with those who had different accents. Earlier in the research, Asma described her frustrations at being unable to understand a bus driver with a Jamaican accent. Later when she started working, she participated in social interactions with customers who spoke with the Jamaican accent and built confidence to interact with them. Elma also described important norms and behaviours that she learnt:

"For example in my country when people do something for you…we don't use 'thank you'. Before, when someone did something nice for me…I just walk away. One day I was on a bus with my buggy, and a lady got up and moved her buggy to the side so I could put my buggy. I just did that and sat down. Then she said 'thank you'. And I was like, Oh my God, I should have said 'thank you' because in this country they always say 'thank you'. So I said 'Thank you' and the lady said 'Yeah yeah yeah'..." Elma

Elma had learnt about formal language and polite phrases to use in her ESOL class, but it remained a conscious act that she had to remind herself to do, and over time would internalise. Through regular interactions, she was able to practice the accepted norms. The incident also revealed the type of cultural misunderstandings that can happen between groups of people, who do not share similar cultural conduct and behaviour. These cultural misunderstandings could affect trust between groups. Participants in my research reported learning cultural norms from their interactions and relationships with others. Other examples are Asma with her customers, Samira with her neighbours and other parents, and Noor with her mosque congregation. These learning experiences increased their sense of cultural belonging.

Participants reported that they learnt about cultural practices whilst practising speaking and listening in their ESOL class and their ESOL group. Through their narratives, they also described socialisation into social groups such as the PTA, neighbourhood groups and workplaces using social interactions to make sense of, learn and reproduce cultural practices and behaviours, norms and attitudes.

Social interactions were important for participants to know the 'rules of the game' in the different places that they participated. As hypothesised in the literature review, social interactions strengthen cultural belonging, through the development of new cultural understandings. As represented in Figure 2, the combination of aspects of belonging affect cultural belonging.

The language of bureaucracy

Participants had to understand systems and processes for applying for support in situations such as housing, immigration and welfare benefits. They also had to remember facts for their complicated cases, and report these to advisors/case workers. The skills involved were listening to advisors/case workers in order to understand these bureaucratic processes. The skills they developed also included sequencing complicated instructions. Samira was applying for a parking permit with the council:

'I filled the form for the appointment for parking. I went to council, I take the form…(but) I sent my license paper for a photo card. And now I'm waiting for the photo card to come…' Samira

As discussed in 3.5.2, bureaucracy in public services can be viewed as part of cultural knowledge, and familiarity with systems and processes can increase participants' confidence to deal with public services. Bureaucratic systems of a country can be taken for granted by people who have been socialized into those systems. The example above of the stages that exist in an application process can confuse migrants who are new to these systems.

Elma, Samira and Noor reported that they have been able to overcome bureaucratic issues. For Elma, the interactions with her case worker were helpful to support her understand and work through the requirements of her housing situation:

"(When I got my document in the post)…I went to Lambeth Housing, and then I said, 'Now I got my…'Leave to remain. So I need house.'…My caseworker laughed at me, and he said, 'Nothing's gonna happen in one day." Elma

In 5.4.2 earlier, I had discussed the importance of positive interactions with public service staff in supporting participants to feel confident about accessing public

services. Elma always reported positive interactions with her caseworker. As with other cultural practices and expectations, social interactions help support and build the understanding of the culture. I suggested that bureaucratic processes are also a type of everyday culture that we interact with and that social interactions supported migrant women on this project to build their confidence to deal with the bureaucratic processes.

Elma's social interactions with her friends also helped her to increase confidence to fill in forms for the Home Office and housing. Prior to this she had paid for someone to fill the form for her. Elma, Noor and Samira reported being able to complete complex applications for different government functions independently resulting in successful applications. Research participants' social interactions supported them to access cultural knowledge and learn cultural practices, and this developed their cultural belonging.

Experiences of employment

Lucy and Asma's experiences of work culture were limited to entry-level jobs: Asma in beauty therapy and Lucy as a short-term nanny on a yacht. For Lucy the nanny job was different to how she had previously applied for jobs, and her prior experiences of working. There was no application process or contract and this unsettled her. Agreements were made on text message. Asma also did not mention a contract, only a day's trial and then a subsequent job offer. Asma, who had less prior work experience compared to Lucy, was able to get work with ease. The cultural 'way of getting work' that Asma pursued, could have been similar to her previous job-searching experiences, and this could explain why she was highly confident in communicating with her employer, including making decisions about whether to stay in the job or go and look for a new one.

In her nannying job, Lucy reported she was treated as a general servant and expected to work long shifts. Asma was able to use the casual status of her work to her advantage and left when she was unhappy with the shifts she was given.

In the experiences of these two participants, work practices of employers affected the cultural belonging experienced in this sphere.

5.5.4 Temporal belonging

As discussed earlier in the chapter (5.1) participants' experiences as newly arrived migrants and at the start of the research, affected their temporal aspect of belonging. I also suggested that the temporal aspect underpins the whole socialisation process and therefore how participants develop and experience material, cultural and relational

aspects of belonging (section 3.5.4). From the data, I suggest that temporal belonging is experienced in three main ways: repetition, routine and through memory.

In each of the aspects, we can see how participants have experienced belonging over time. In the material aspect of belonging, Elma's example of repeatedly attending PTA meetings and watching until she felt confident to participate is also time-related. The observation of activity at the PTA gave her knowledge of what happened, and the next times she attended the meetings, she continued to build recognition of the activities. Within the relational aspect of belonging, the development of relationships with others is also contingent on time and repetition. In the same PTA example above, apart from the activities, Elma would also have been developing relationships with other parents in the groups, and so building an expectation of how they would behave, developing trust in them. Similarly, in the cultural aspect of belonging, learning and experiencing new cultural knowledge is also affected by how often the activity is repeated.

As discussed earlier, temporal belonging is the relationship between memory, self and time (May, 2017). Elma and Samira's experiences prior to moving to the UK seems to have affected their material belonging. For other participants who did not have prior experiences of moving, the understanding of how a new public services place operates is likely to be affected by the memory of interactions in another public services place within the sphere. I suggest that there is a transferability of expectation of how things are done and the social interactions that will take place.

The third way temporal aspect of belonging affects sense of belonging is through routine and familiarity. As discussed in 3.5.3 and 3.5.4, routine can support increase in confidence in the work sphere and local community sphere. As seen with Asma, the routine of being in work supported her to develop confidence and ease in the work sphere. Social interactions at work helped her build confidence to speak in English. In the local community sphere, routine interactions with acquaintances and strangers in the local community can create familiarity (May, 2013).

Therefore as suggested in 3.6 the temporal aspect of belonging is a crucial part of the process of socialisation towards gaining a sense of belonging.

5.6 Discussion on significant findings

Social interactions allowed participants' access to a community of people. Social interactions supported migrant women to build trust in people who were different to them, and created their own community of friendships and support. Participation in social interactions with this community supported women to feel less lonely or isolated, and contributed to their increased confidence. Whatsapp is a powerful tool for extending social interactions and strengthening relationships and contributed to the development of the group's social relationships. This finding is significant because of the possibility for migrant women to maintain relationships created over the period of study as discussed in 5.5.2.

Despite participants' reported social interactions being with other people who were different to them, those interactions were almost always with other migrants, settled or newly arrived, in London (as discussed in 5.5.2). Overall participation in social interactions was lower than I had anticipated at the start of the research, but participants reported the lowest participation in social interactions with 'White English' people, those my participants would consider host community. This finding is significant because of the emphasis on social mixing (discussed in 2.3) by the government. Research also points to the role of the 'host community' in supporting migrants to integrate (section 3.3.1), and this should include host community participation in social mixing to enable community cohesion. The lack of host community participation in positive social interactions with newly arrived migrant women will also affect whether they fully develop a sense of belonging, and not just partial belonging in some aspects of belonging.

Another finding was that social interactions with acquaintances and strangers in participants' local community supported the development of trust in local area and belonging. This is also a significant finding because of the perception that only 'meaningful social interactions' (Casey, 2016) could support integration and sense of belonging. It suggests that more ~~than~~ can be done to encourage participation in social interactions by migrant women with people they encounter daily in their communities. This would support language development and enable relationships to develop.

Social interactions supported migrant women to learn cultural knowledge, practices and behaviours outside of classroom sessions. These gave them access to cultural activities (for example the PTA), and the ability and confidence to manage bureaucratic processes in their own lives. Findings indicate that cultural knowledge is more often learnt from social interactions with other people (see section 5.5.3). This finding is

interesting because there is an expectation that newly arrived migrants will learn most of the cultural knowledge they need within an ESOL class. A suggestion could be to encourage volunteers to support newly arrived migrants with learning cultural knowledge and practising social interactions.

As suggested in 3.5.2, language was not just part of cultural knowledge. Findings indicated that language was the method of interacting with others to form social relationships to build confidence to interact in English. Language formed the basis of learning about new cultures and knowledge about rights and responsibilities. Language was also the key to improving personal situations in accessing services and employment.

Finally, time-related aspects such as repetition and routine affected all aspects of belonging. Findings indicated that routine affected development of trust in different places, and development of trust to build relationships. The findings have highlighted the importance of stability and security of housing, education and work for migrant women who are settling in the UK. Time also impacts on the length of time it takes to develop cultural aspects of belonging, for example English language proficiency. Considering the annual cuts to funding for ESOL, the findings from this study suggest that migrant women should be enabled to learn English over a stable and longer period of time, and that an investment into longer-term programmes to support integration could be more effective. A recent large-scale longitudinal project found similar findings (Collyer et al., 2018).

6. Conclusion

"I'm feeling very good because...before when I came here...my speaking was not...good and understanding...my listening...was not good…. I want to make friends but I can't speak with them... Now I make, make a lot of friends... I had before eight, nine friends. Now...I have fifteen, fifteen more friends." Samira

This is your new home, this is where you live and this is where you belong now…" Elma

The aim of the study was to research the relationship learning English and integration, focusing specifically on the relationship between social interactions in English and migrant women's sense of belonging.

Participants described a multitude of personal challenges such as housing issues, family issues and medical emergencies and so I was aware that it would not be possible to claim that all participants had achieved 'joy, contentment, happiness or fulfilment', described by May (2013) as products of having a sense of belonging. However, as people have multiple belongings, and belonging itself is a state of social change (May, 2013), participants did report feeling at ease, confident and comfortable in several places of social interaction in their lives, and so I suggest these indicated their sense of belonging. The relationship between participants' social interactions in English and their feelings of belonging was positive.

The study set out to contribute to academic knowledge about how social interactions affected participants' perceptions of their own belonging. Recognising the limitations of this small and qualitative study, I am aware it is not possible to extrapolate results. However based on the findings, I suggest that social interactions supported participants to build trust, developed social ties, and share and gain cultural knowledge resulting in a greater sense of belonging, characterised by being comfortable to participate in places in their local community, trusting of others in those places, and self-reported confidence.

6.1 Limitations of the study

The first limitation of the study is that it is not possible to apply generalisations to the population of migrant women due to the small number of participants of the study. The aim of the study was to investigate the relationship between social interactions and belonging and this required an in-depth research design, which at this stage could not be achieved with a larger sample size. However, as a recommendation for further research, it may be appropriate to focus on one aspect of belonging and explore the opportunity to research this with a larger sample of women.

A second limitation was on the number of social interactions recorded. Although I had a large amount of data, I was expecting to have more social interactions reported. For two participants issues relating to their personal situations caused interruptions in study and these personal situations also affected their ability to participate in social interactions. However, a recurring issue from my previous research is the lack of sufficient opportunities for participants to take part in social interactions out of their classroom sessions as reported by my participants. It is not possible to know exactly how much the low number of reported social interactions were due to the reporting mechanism, meaning the oral diary method, which is reliant on participants' self-reporting, or the genuine lack of opportunities to participate in social interactions. If there are future research projects examining this issue, it may be appropriate to examine how to best enable reporting of social interactions to get the most accurate data. This limitation is also part of the recommendations.

The final limitation is in presenting the volume of narrative data of participants' life stories. Some participants have lived through and experienced many situations, and these have been shared with me in rich details in their narrative interviews. It is a limitation that a researcher cannot always present research participants' lives in enough detail and richness, whilst maintaining a focus on the research aim.

Finally, there were many other areas of interest in the study, which I was not able to explore due to the tight focus and word count of this thesis, and I have listed them in 6.3 under recommendations for further research.

6.2 Implications for professional practice and contribution to professional knowledge

Professional practice

As mentioned, one of the rationales for this research (section 2.4) was to inform future programme design at ELATT. There are some implications for ESOL professionals, which we will use to adapt and revise our delivery, but also to disseminate to others in the field.

Firstly, by understanding the lives of our students outside of the classroom better, specifically about their participation in social interactions in English, we can think about how they are developing their language and belonging within their communities. This knowledge could support better design of course content and practice activities for students outside of their ESOL course. This research, although limited in generalisability, suggests a positive relationship between participation in social interactions in English and a migrant's sense of belonging. The challenge for ESOL providers is how to enable opportunities for ESOL students to take part in social interactions in English, outside of their classes.

Secondly, encouraging students to use online communications such as Whatsapp to maintain social interactions with each other outside of class times could support students to take part in online social interactions in English, and develop social relationships in order to support each other. Practitioners should also consider necessary development of digital skills within the ESOL classroom to support the use of online social communications out-of-class.

Finally, providers specialising in ESOL for migrants could engage with public service organisations to offer training and support for their staff that provide services to migrant clients. Support could be so that the staff can better understand migrant-related issues, especially how to better support migrant clients with low levels of English language skills in their interactions.

Contribution to professional knowledge

As described in section 2.4 (academic rationale for research), there has been a lack of research about the relationship between learning English and integration. This thesis findings have shown that learning English, supported these research participants to develop confidence to take part in social interactions, which in turn positively affected their feeling of belonging. Participants' experience also showed that taking part in social interactions supports a person to develop trust in other people in their area or

community. It is hoped that policy-makers can use this research along with other recent research on the impact of language and integration to make decisions on future funding for ESOL provision and integration projects.

Additionally, it is hoped that this research will give insights to policy-makers about the experiences of migrant women to counter any misinformation about the willingness of women to learn English and integrate.

Finally, the role of 'host and settled communities' is made clearer in findings from this research. Participants reported limited social interactions with people they deemed 'English' and 'UK people', instead relying upon networks of other migrants. It would be interesting to explore how to involve everyone who has a part to play in the integration process of migrants who are settling in the UK, such as host community groups.

6.3 Recommendations for further research

There are a number of recommendations for further research based on the limitations of this study and interesting phenomena discovered during the analysis stage.

Firstly, the ability to generalise the findings are limited by the small sample size. One recommendation would be to explore how to increase the sample to a more representative size, without losing the narrative element of the research.

Based on data from some places, I think there is potential for further exploration in a different piece of research. I was specifically investigating social interactions in English by participants but in two places participants were not able to be clear about what language was used, possibly because of code-switching between languages. Given the increased interest in multilingualism and the impact of using first languages in learning English, further research about the value of multilingual places in supporting migrant women's integration could be carried out.

Another area of interest is in the value of entry-level work to a person's development of language and belonging. Further research into the experiences of working ESOL students is necessary to establish whether being in low-paid work supports or inhibits language development.

Additionally, it seemed from early data analysis that women who had more supportive home environments at point of arrival in the UK, were more likely to have more confidence in English and take part in social interactions in English. It would be interesting to explore the effect that the home environment and support from family members can have on a migrant women's progress in English and personal development, and what type of support is most successful.

Finally, there is opportunity to further research language socialisation in the UK context.

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Appendix 1 EU Common Basic Principles

COMMON BASIC PRINCIPLES FOR IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION POLICY IN THE EUROPEAN UNION:

The explanations provided are intended to give direction to the common basic principle. The description is indicative, by no means exhaustive and will be further developed in the future.

1. Integration is a dynamic, two-way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants and residents of Member States.

Integration is a dynamic, long-term, and continuous two-way process of mutual accommodation, not a static outcome. It demands the participation not only of immigrants and their descendants but of every resident. The integration process involves adaptation by immigrants, both men and women, who all have rights and responsibilities in relation to their new country of residence. It also involves the receiving society, which should create the opportunities for the immigrants' full economic, social, cultural, and political participation. Accordingly, Member States are encouraged to consider and involve both immigrants and national citizens in integration policy, and to communicate clearly their mutual rights and responsibilities.

2. Integration implies respect for the basic values of the European Union.

Everybody resident in the EU must adapt and adhere closely to the basic values of the European Union as well as to Member State laws. The provisions and values enshrined in European Treaties serve as both baseline and compass, as they are common to the Member States. They include respect for the principles of liberty, democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the rule of law. Furthermore they include respect for the provisions of the Charter of fundamental rights of the Union, which enshrine the concepts of dignity, freedom, equality and non-discrimination, solidarity, citizen's rights, and justice.

Members States are responsible for actively assuring that all residents, including immigrants, understand, respect, benefit from, and are protected on an equal basis by the full scope of values, rights, responsibilities, and privileges established by the EU and Member State laws. Views and opinions that are not compatible with such basic values might hinder the successful integration of immigrants into their new host society and might adversely influence the society as a whole. Consequently successful

integration policies and practices preventing isolation of certain groups are a way to enhance the fulfilment of respect for common European and national values.

3. Employment is a key part of the integration process and is central to the participation of immigrants, to the contributions immigrants make to the host society, and to making such contributions visible.

Employment is an important way for immigrants to make a visible contribution to Member State societies and to participate in the host society. At the workplace integration of immigrants can be promoted by the recognition of qualifications acquired in another country, by training opportunities that provide skills demanded at the workplace and policies and programmes that facilitate access to jobs and the transition to work. It is also important that there are sufficient incentives and opportunities for immigrants, in particular for those with the prospect of remaining, to seek and obtain employment.

The targeting of measures to support immigrants in the European Employment Strategy is an indication of the important influence of employment on the integration process. It is important to make greater use of the European Employment Strategy and the European Social Inclusion Process, backed up by the European Social Fund (ESF), including the lessons learnt from the Equal Community Initiative to reach the Lisbon targets and to promote the combat against all forms of discrimination at the workplace. It is important that Member States, in cooperation with the social partners, pay particular attention to and undertake effective action against discrimination in the recruitment policies of employers on the grounds of ethnic origin of the candidates.

4. Basic knowledge of the host society's language, history, and institutions is indispensable to integration; enabling immigrants to acquire this basic knowledge is essential to successful integration.

The importance of basic linguistic, historical, and civic knowledge is reflected in the increasing emphasis placed by several Member States on introductory programmes that focus on putting together the most appropriate toolkit to start the integration process. Pursuing such programmes will allow immigrants to quickly find a place in the key domains of work, housing, education, and health, and help start the longer-term process of normative adaptation to the new society. At the same time, such programmes become strategic investments in the economic and social well-being of society as a whole. Acquiring the language and culture of the host society should be an important focus. Full respect for the immigrants' and their descendants' own language and culture should be also an important element of integration policy.

5. Efforts in education are critical to preparing immigrants, and particularly their descendants, to be more successful and more active participants in society.

Education is an important way to prepare people to participate in society, especially for newcomers. However, lifelong learning and employability are not the only benefits of education. Transferring knowledge about the role and working of societal institutions and regulations and transmitting the norms and values that form the binding element in the functioning of society are also a crucial goal of the educational system. Education prepares people to participate better in all areas of daily life and to interact with others. Consequently, education not only has positive effects for the individual, but also for the society as a whole.

Educational arrears are easily transmitted from one generation to the next. Therefore, it is essential that special attention is given to the educational achievement of those who face difficulties within the school system. Given the critical role played by education in the integration of those who are new in a society – and especially for women and children – scholastic underachievement, early school-leaving and of all forms of migrant youth delinquency should be avoided and made priority areas for policy intervention.

6. Access for immigrants to institutions, as well as to public and private goods and services, on a basis equal to national citizens and in a non-discriminatory way is a critical foundation for better integration.

If immigrants are to be allowed to participate fully within the host society, they must be treated equally and fairly and be protected from discrimination. EU law prohibits discrimination on the grounds of racial or ethnic origin in employment, education, social security, healthcare, access to goods and services, and housing.

Consequently, transparent rules, clearly articulated expectations and predictable benefits for law-abiding immigrants are prerequisites to better immigration and integration policies. Any legal exceptions to this accessibility must be legitimate and transparent.

Access also implies taking active steps to ensure that public institutions, policies, housing, and services, wherever possible, are open to immigrants. These steps need to be in accordance with the implementation of the Council Directive concerning the status of third-country nationals who are long-term residents. It is important to monitor and evaluate the success of public institutions in serving immigrants, and that adjustments are being made on an ongoing basis.

Conversely, uncertainty and unequal treatment breed disrespect for the rules and can marginalise immigrants and their families, socially and economically. The adverse implications of such marginalisation continue to be seen across generations. Restrictions on the rights and privileges of non-nationals should be transparent and be made only after consideration of the integration consequences, particularly on the descendants of immigrants.

Finally, the prospect of acquiring Member State citizenship can be an important incentive for integration.

7. Frequent interaction between immigrants and Member State citizens is a fundamental mechanism for integration. Shared forums, inter-cultural dialogue, education about immigrants and immigrant cultures, and stimulating living conditions in urban environments enhance the interactions between immigrants and Member State citizens.

Integration is a process that takes place primarily at the local level. The frequency and quality of private interactions and exchanges between immigrants and other residents are key elements of greater integration. There are many ways to encourage interaction. An important aspect is a greater focus on promoting the use of common forums, intercultural dialogue, spaces, and activities in which immigrants interact with other people in the host society, and on the sustained education of the host society about immigrants and immigrant cultures. Good cooperation among the different involved actors is necessary in order to stimulate these processes.

Furthermore, implementation of active anti-discrimination policies, anti- racism policies, and awareness-raising activities to promote the positive aspects of a diverse society are important in this regard.

The level of economic welfare in neighbourhoods, the feeling of safety, the condition of public spaces, and the existence of stimulating havens for immigrant children and youngsters and other living conditions are all aspects that affect the image of the people who live in these areas. In many Member States, immigrant population groups are often concentrated in poor urban areas. This does not contribute to a positive integration process. Positive interaction between immigrants and the host society and the stimulation of this interaction contribute to successful integration and are therefore needed. Therefore, improving the living environment in terms of decent housing, good health care, neighbourhood safety, and the availability of opportunities for education, voluntary work and job training is also necessary.

8. The practice of diverse cultures and religions is guaranteed under the Charter of Fundamental Rights and must be safeguarded, unless practices conflict with other inviolable European rights or with national law.

The cultures and religions that immigrants bring with them can facilitate greater understanding among people, ease the transition of immigrants into the new society and can enrich societies. Furthermore, the freedom to practice one's religion and culture is guaranteed under the Charter of Fundamental Rights. Member States have an obligation to safeguard these rights. Furthermore, EU law prohibits discrimination in employment or occupation on the grounds of religion or belief.

However, Member States also have a responsibility to ensure that cultural and religious practices do not prevent individual migrants from exercising other fundamental rights or from participating in the host society. This is particularly important as it pertains to the rights and equality of women, the rights and interests of children, and the freedom to practice or not to practice a particular religion. Constructive social, inter-cultural and inter- religious dialogue, education, thoughtful public discourse, support for cultural and religious expressions that respect national and European values, rights and laws (as opposed to expressions that violate both the letter and spirit of such values and rights), and other non-coercive measures are the preferred way of addressing issues relating to unacceptable cultural and religious practices that clash with fundamental rights. However if necessary according to the law legal coercive measures can also be needed.

9. The participation of immigrants in the democratic process and in the formulation of integration policies and measures, especially at the local level, supports their integration.

Allowing immigrants a voice in the formulation of policies that directly affect them may result in policy that better serves immigrants and enhances their sense of belonging. Wherever possible, immigrants should become involved in all facets of the democratic process. Ways of stimulating this participation and generating mutual understanding could be reached by structured dialogue between immigrant groups and governments. Wherever possible, immigrants could even be involved in elections, the right to vote and joining political parties. When unequal forms of membership and levels of engagement persist for longer than is either reasonable or necessary, divisions or differences can become deeply rooted. This requires urgent attention by all Member States.

10. Mainstreaming integration policies and measures in all relevant policy portfolios and levels of government and public services is an important consideration in public-policy formation and implementation.

The integration of immigrants is deeply influenced by a broad array of policies that cut across institutional competencies and levels of government. In this context particularly consideration needs to be given to the impact of immigration on public services like education, social services and others, especially at the level of regional and local administrations, in order to avoid a decrease in the quality standards of these services. Accordingly, not only within Member States but also at the European level, steps are needed to ensure that the focus on integration is a mainstream consideration in policy formulation and implementation, while at the same time specifically targeted policies for integrating migrants are being developed.

Although Governments and public institutions at all levels are important actors, they are not the only ones. Integration occurs in all spheres of public and private life. Numerous non-governmental actors influence the integration process of immigrants and can have an additional value. Examples in this respect are, trade unions, businesses, employer organisations, political parties, the media, sports clubs and cultural, social and religious organisations. Cooperation, coordination and communication between all of these actors are important for effective integration policy. The involvement of both immigrant and the other people in the host society is also necessary.

11. Developing clear goals, indicators and evaluation mechanisms are necessary to adjust policy, evaluate progress on integration and to make the exchange of information more effective.

Irrespective of the level of integration policy efforts, it is important to know whether these efforts are effective and make progress. Although it is a process rather than an outcome, integration can be measured and policies evaluated. Sets of integration indicators, goals, evaluation mechanisms and benchmarking can assist measuring and comparing progress, monitor trends and developments. The purpose of such evaluation is to learn from experience, a way to avoid possible failures of the past, adjust policy accordingly and showing interest for each others efforts.

When Member States share information about their evaluative tools at European level and, where appropriate, develop European criteria (indicators, benchmarks) and gauges for the purposes of comparative learning, the process of knowledge-sharing will be made more effective. The exchange of information has already proven to be useful within the National Contact Points on integration. Exchanging information provides for

taking into account the different phases in which Member States find themselves in the development of their own integration policies and strategies.

(Council of The European Union, 2004)

Appendix 2 Example course content for ESOL community course

Course Outline:

<div align="right">

Classroom:

Community Centre:

</div>

SEPTEMBER 2018				
Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
24 – **Classroom** **10am-12:30pm** Course introduction	25	26	27 – **Community centre** **9:30am-11:30am** Volunteering in conversation club **12:30-1:30pm** Community lunch	28
OCTOBER 2018- Black History Month				
Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
1 – **Classroom** **10am-12:30pm** ESOL class **1-2:30pm** Language Lab	2	3	4 – **Community centre** **9:30am-11:30am** Volunteering in conversation club **12:30-1:30pm** Community lunch	5
8 – **Classroom** **10am-12:30pm** ESOL class **1-2:30pm** Community leadership training	9	10	11 – **Community centre** **9:30am-11:30am** Volunteering in conversation club **12:30-1:30pm** Community lunch	12
15 – **Classroom World Food Day** **10am-12:30pm** ESOL class **1-2:30pm** Language Lab or workshop	16	17	18 – **Community centre British Summer Time** **9:30am-11:30am** Volunteering in conversation club **12:30-1:30pm** Community lunch	19
HALF TERM HOLIDAYS 22-26 October				
NOVEMBER 2018				
Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
29/10 – **Classroom Halloween** **10am-12:30pm** ESOL class **1-2:30pm** Language Lab or workshop	30/10	31/10	1 – **Community centre** **9:30am-11:30am** Volunteering in conversation club **12:30-1:30pm** Community lunch	2

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
5 – **Classroom** **10am-12:30pm** ESOL class **1-2:30pm** Community leadership training	6	7	8 – **Community centre Diwali 9:30am-11:30am** Volunteering in conversation club **12:30-1:30pm** Community lunch	9
12 – **Classroom Remembrance 10am-12:30pm** ESOL class **1-2:30pm** Language Lab or workshop	13	14	15 – **Community centre** **9:30am-11:30am** Volunteering in conversation club **12:30-1:30pm** Community lunch	16
19 – **Classroom** **10am-12:30pm** ESOL class **1-2:30pm** Language Lab or workshop	20	21	22 – **Community centre** **9:30am-11:30am** Volunteering in conversation club **12:30-1:30pm** Community lunch	23
26 – **Classroom International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women 10am-12:30pm** ESOL class **1-2:30pm** Community leadership training	27	28	29 – **Community centre** **9:30am-11:30am** Volunteering in conversation club **12:30-1:30pm** Community lunch	30

DECEMBER 2018- Universal Month for Human Rights

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
3 – **Classroom** **10am-12:30pm** ESOL class **1-2:30pm** Language Lab or workshop	4	5	6 – **Community centre** **9:30am-11:30am** Volunteering in conversation club **12:30-1:30pm** Community lunch	7
10 – **Classroom** **10am-12:30pm** ESOL class **1-2:30pm** Language Lab or workshop	11	12	13 – **Community centre** **9:30am-1:30pm** Skills Sharing Workshop / Celebration Lunch	14
17 – **Classroom**	18	19	20	21

International Migrants Day 10am-12:30pm ESOL class 1-2:30pm Community leadership training			NO CLASS/LUNCH	

JANUARY 2019

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
7 – **Classroom** **10am-12:30pm** ESOL class **1-2:30pm** Community leadership training	8	9	10 – **Community centre** **9:30am-11:30am** Volunteering in conversation club **12:30-1:30pm** Community lunch	11
14 – **Classroom** **10am-12:30pm** ESOL class **1-2:30pm** Language Lab or workshop	15	16	17 – **Community centre** **9:30am-11:30am** Volunteering in conversation club **12:30-1:30pm** Community lunch	18
21 – **Classroom World Religion Day** **10am-12:30pm** ESOL class **1-2:30pm** Language Lab or workshop	22	23	24 – **Community centre** **9:30am-11:30am** Volunteering in conversation club **12:30-1:30pm** Community lunch	25
28 – **Classroom Holocaust Memorial 27/01/19** **10am-12:30pm** ESOL class **1-2:30pm** Community leadership training	29	30	31 – **Community centre** **9:30am-11:30am** Volunteering in conversation club **12:30-1:30pm** Community lunch	1 Feb

FEBRUARY 2019- LGBT History Month

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
4 – **Classroom** **10am-12:30pm** ESOL class **1-2:30pm** Community	5	6	7 – **Community centre** **9:30am-11:30am** Volunteering in conversation club	8

Action Forum event			**12:30-1:30pm** Community lunch	
11 – **Classroom** **10am-12:30pm** ESOL class **1-2:30pm** Language Lab or workshop	12	13	14 – **Community centre** **Valentine's Day** **9:30am-11:30am** Volunteering in conversation club **12:30-1:30pm** Community lunch	15
END OF COURSE				

Appendix 3 ESOL Functional Skills Descriptors

Entry 3	Level 1
At this level, adults can	*At this level, adults can*
listen and respond to spoken language, including straightforward information and narratives, and follow straightforward explanations and instructions, both faceto- face and on the telephone	listen and respond to spoken language, including information and narratives, and follow explanations and instructions of varying length, adapting response to speaker, medium and context
speak to communicate information, feelings and opinions on familiar topics, using appropriate formality, both face-to-face and on the telephone	speak to communicate information, ideas and opinions, adapting speech and content to take account of the listener(s) and medium
engage in discussion with one or more people in a familiar situation, making relevant points and responding to what others say to reach a shared understanding about familiar topics	engage in discussion with one or more people in familiar and unfamiliar situations, making clear and relevant contributions that respond to what others say and produce a shared understanding about different topics
An adult will be expected to:	*An adult will be expected to:*
listen for and follow the gist of explanations, instructions and narratives in different contexts	listen for and understand explanations, instructions and narratives on different topics in a range of contexts
listen for detail in explanations, instructions and narratives in different contexts	listen for and identify relevant information from explanations and presentations on a range of straightforward topics
listen for and identify relevant information and new information from discussions, explanations and presentations	use strategies to clarify and confirm understanding, e.g. *facial expressions, body language and verbal prompts*
use strategies to clarify and confirm understanding, e.g. *facial expressions or gestures*	provide feedback and confirmation when listening to others
listen to and respond appropriately to other points of view	

Department for Education and Skills, 2001, p. 18

Appendix 4 English Language Levels ESOL and CEFR

<u>ESOL and CEFR Levels</u>

ESOL	CEFR
███████████	C1
Level 2	
	B2
Level 1	
	B1
Entry-level 3	
	A2
Entry-level 2	
	A1
Entry-level 1	

Taken from (Mallows, 2013)

Appendix 5 Participant difficulties

Participant	Examples of the difficult personal situations they were experiencing
Elma	Homeless and in temporary accommodation in a different borough from the one that her older child was in school, and younger child was in nursery. Threatened with eviction. Later threatened with deportation. Her daughter was awaiting surgery and then had a playground accident. In the final few months of the research her son had an accident and was in hospital and she too was hospitalised for illness not long after.
Asma	Experienced controlling behaviour from her in-laws and as a result was experiencing stress and depression. She returned to Pakistan to give her time from her husband's family but later managed to return to live with her husband.
Flora	Homeless and in temporary accommodation with her 4 year old child after the sudden death of her husband. She had regular issues with the temporary accommodation including violence and threats from other service users. Suffering from depression.
Lucy	Experienced bullying from her stepdaughter and husband for wanting to work and be independent. Experienced being taken advantage of by a two employers and people who promised her work.
Samira	Carer for her husband, a refugee who suffers from PTSD, and three children. Was placed in temporary and unsuitable accommodation by the council and had to fight to be relocated.

Brief table of personal circumstances of participants

Appendix 6 Participant Profiles

Name	Basic information (e.g. country of origin, ethnic background)	Family background	Socio-economic background/situation	Work experience Home country	Education Level	Prior language-learning experience
Elma	Somalia via Egypt, Somali, lived in UK for	Large family. Father died when she was young. At 13, family fled to Egypt. She had to look after younger siblings.	Destitute in the refugee camps, relied on relief. Had to work as a teenager.	Yes 2 yrs in Egypt and a year in the UK.	Went to school in Egypt. Did not finish secondary school as was ill in hospital.	Learnt Arabic at the refugee camp in Egypt. Learnt a little English when working as a tour guide.
Flora	India, Bengali, lived in UK 6 years	Small family. Very close to brothers.	Good socio-economic situation. Were able to live comfortably.	No, but worked in the UK for less than a year.	Completed secondary school.	Had learnt English in school and college in India. She had an intermediate level of English when she came to the UK.
Lucy	China, Chinese, lived in UK for five years.	Small family; had a grown up daughter. Had elderly parents in China.	Financially independent having worked in many high level jobs and achieved high level qualifications.	Yes 35+ yrs, worked for all her adult life, straight from university.	Highly qualified and has studied to MA level, a professor in Mandarin, a mandarin test teacher, Confucius school scholar and has a teaching certificate.	Had been learning English for more than 20 years, not fluent yet and had a lower level of speaking and listening (lower intermediate level) than in reading and writing.
Samira	Afghanistan, Afghan, lived in the UK for four years.	Lived with a large family. Father killed in the war. Mother was disabled and	Very low income and Samira was working from a young age.	Yes 3+ yrs as a nursery assistant and tailor at home.	Mid secondary- had to look after her mother and family.	Fluent in three languages from Afghanistan. Learnt basic English from television and others.

		Samira had to look after her mother and younger siblings.				
Asma	Pakistan, Pakistani, one year in UK.	Large and extended family.	Family had good socio-economic situation; could afford to live comfortably, owned a shop.	Yes 2 yrs as a boutique dress-maker	Completed high school.	Learnt English at school and from family members. Had an intermediate level of English when she moved to the UK.
Noor	The Netherlands, Moroccan	Average family size for Netherlands. Close to sister and family.	Family in good socio-economic situation. Moved to UK with husband.	Yes 3+ yrs in office jobs.	College educated.	Had learnt Dutch as a young child. Learnt English at school but as a subject and also through watching English language shows on television.

Appendix 8 Codes: Places of social interactions

a Priori Codes of areas identified by IFS
Community Centre
Playgroup
Work place
Doctor's Surgery
Hospital
Child's school
Nursery
Travel- underground
Travel- bus
At a SELT English test centre
At a LIUK English test centre
At a Driving test centre
At the bank
Talking to estate agents
At a local corner shop
At a retail store
On social media/ online/ websites
On Whatsapp

Places	Codes after Inductive analysis
1	Community Centre
2	Playgroup
3	Work place
4	Doctor's Surgery
5	Hospital
6	Child's school with teachers
6a	PTA
6b	School gates
7	Nursery
7a	Nursery teachers
7b	Nursery parents
8	Travel- underground
8a	Station
9	Travel- bus

10	At a SELT English test centre
11	At a LIUK English test centre
12	At a Driving test centre
13	At the bank
14	Talking to estate agents
15	At a local corner shop
16	At a retail store
17	On social media/ online/ websites
18	On Whatsapp
19	Home- in-laws/husband
20	Home- own
20a	Home- neighbours
21	Public- street/open places
22	ESOL class
23	College
24	Home Office
25	Home- other families
26	Social Services
27	Housing support services
28	Travel-trains
29	Child Maintennance agency
30	Library
31	Family friends home
32	Home Community
33	Children's Centre
34	Mosque
35	Home- temp/hostel
36	Volunteer placement
36a	Prospective employer
37	Friend's houses/other people
38	Jobcentre
39	Council
40	CAB
41	Child's friend's home
42	Opticians
43	Counselling services
43b	Physio
44	Temple
45	Café/restaurant
46	Park
47	Workshop

48	Conversation Club
49	Driving lesson
50	Places of interest
51	Utilities/services

**Appendix 9 Diagrams of places of social interactions**

Elma

Mapping of Elma's Spheres Social Interactions
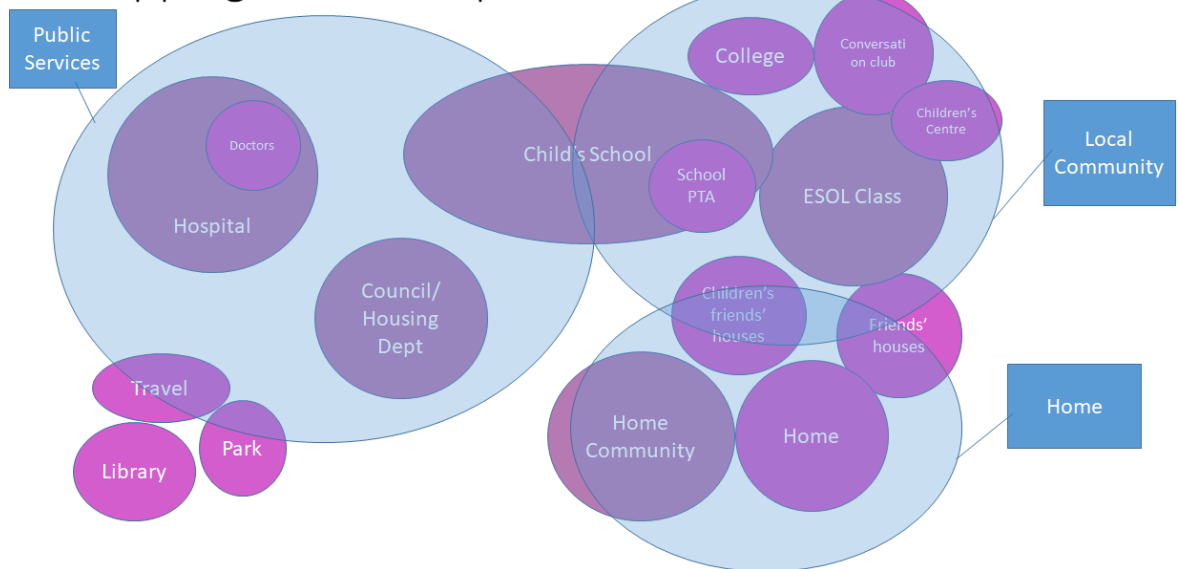
The data shows that Elma's main places of participation are with her home community, in her ESOL class, at the hospital, home, and in the homes of her child's friends. The other places that she participates in most are at the school and in the PTA, with and at the council.

Flora

Mapping of Flora's Spheres Social Interactions
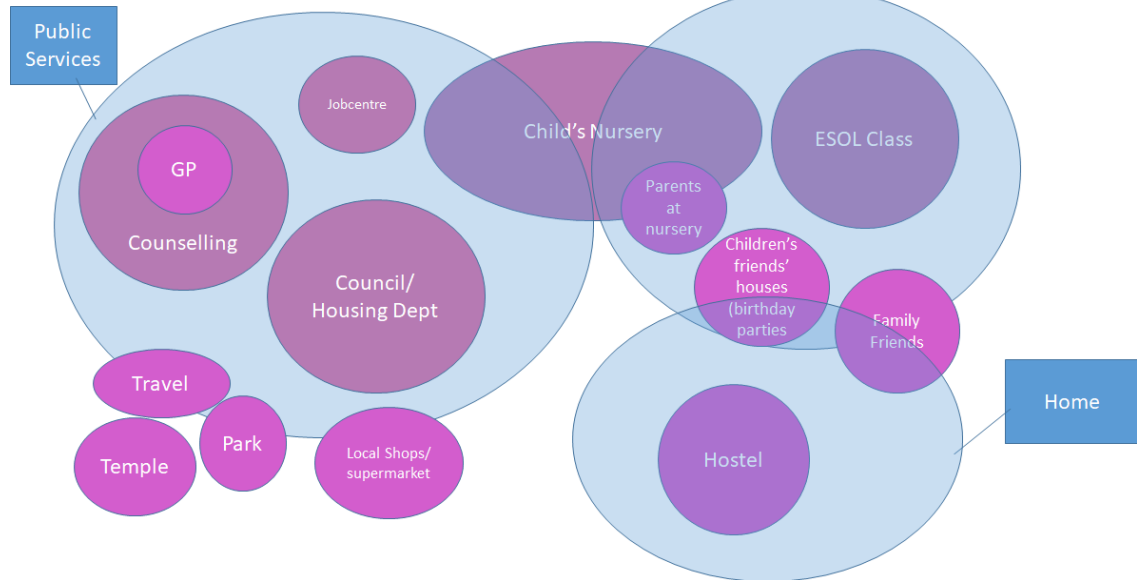
The data shows that Flora's main spheres of participation are at her child's nursery, with people in her hostel accommodation, in her ESOL class, her counselling sessions and with the council. Other areas that she participates most in are with parents at the school gates of her nursery, the jobcentre, at the homes of family friends, the GP, at the temple and in the park.
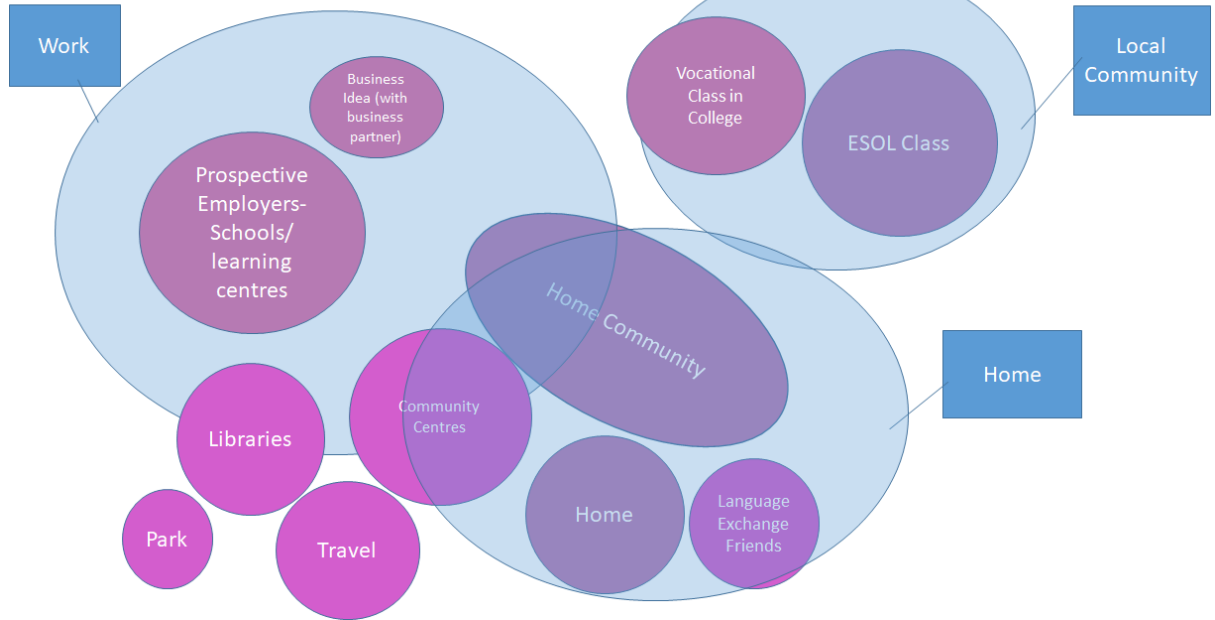
Asma

Mapping of Asma's Spheres Social Interactions
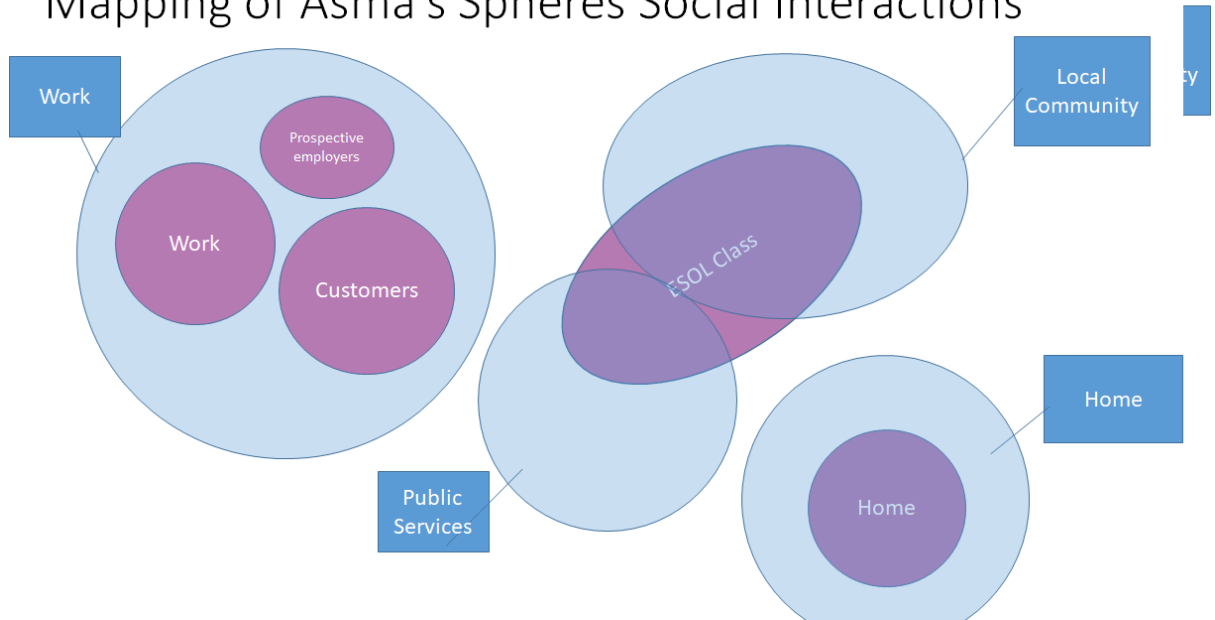
The data shows that Asma has very limited participation in places. The main places she participates in are in the home of her in-laws, in her class and with classmates out of class via phones and WhatsApp, and other online communications, and in her workplace.

Lucy

Mapping of Lucy's Spheres Social Interactions

The data shows that Lucy participates in these places the most: in her home with her husband and family, but also with friends who visit and have a language exchange arrangement, in her ESOL class and vocational qualification class, with her home community, and with prospective employers as she is constantly applying for jobs (mainly in schools to teach Chinese). Other places are in her own business set-up, which involved partners, the library, in work and volunteer work placement.

Samira

Mapping of Samira's Spheres Social Interactions
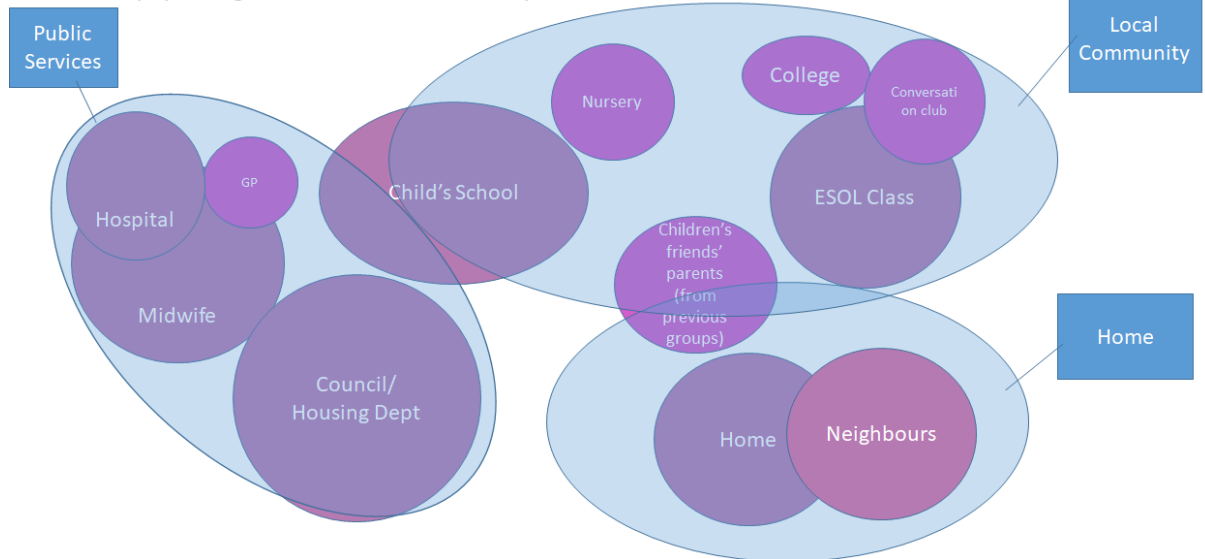
The data shows that Samira participates in these spheres the most: in her class, at the college she attends for childcare, at the council, at home with her neighbours, and at the GP and health visitor. She also participates in these spheres: the nursery, her child's school, her childcare work placement and a conversation club.

Noor

Mapping of Noor's Spheres Social Interactions
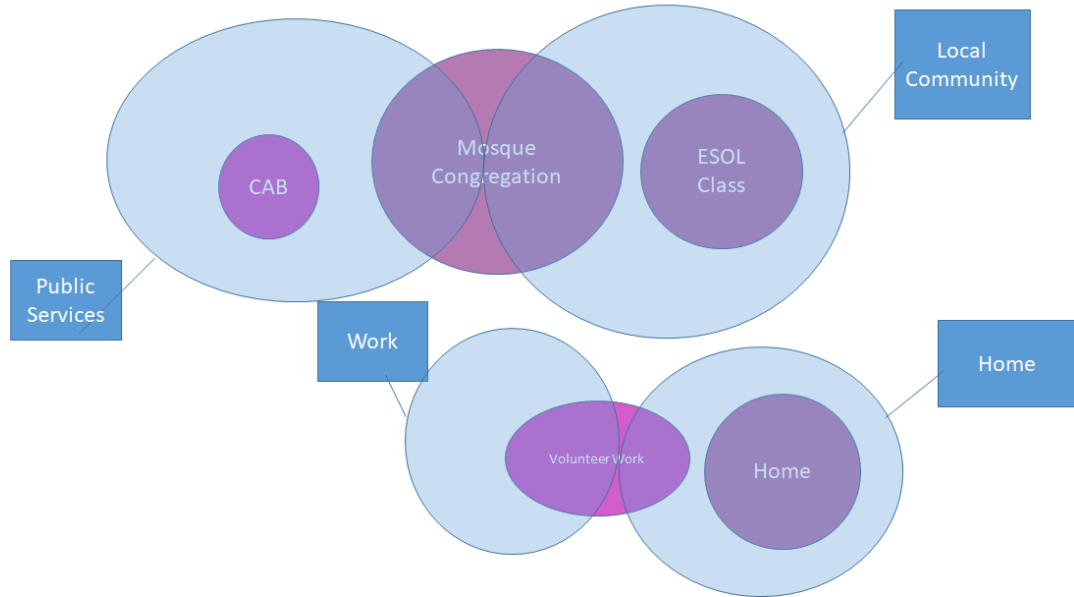
The data shows that Noor had smaller number of participation in places and they were concentrated to two main places- the mosque and home.

Appendix 10- Types of Social Interactions

Category	Types of interactions	Formal/
Asking for information	Questions about diagnosis	Formal
Asking for information	Requesting support for understanding complex medical terminology	Formal
Asking for information	Requests for information	Formal
Asking for information	Requests for services.	Formal
Asking for support- from social group	Requests for help	Informal
Asking for support- from social group	Requests for support	Informal
Asking for support- from social group	Requests to other classmates	Informal
Asking support- from public services	Requests for help to ambulance operators, reception/admission staff, triage nurses and waiting for information	Formal
Asking support- from public services	Requests for support	Formal
Building relations- business	Making business plans with other people.	Formal
Building relationships	Asking each other questions about children and family	Informal
Building relationships	Asking for information about each other	Informal
Building relationships	Giving information to others	Informal
Building relationships	Greetings	Informal
Building relationships	Other parents to be friendly- mainly asking how they are some in English some in Bengali	Informal
Building relationships	Requesting and giving information to other mosque-goers.	Informal
Building relationships	Saying hello and good morning to hostel caretaker/manager;	Informal
Building relationships	Taking part in the PTA	Informal
Building relationships	Talking about children to her friends	Informal
Building relationships	Talking about emotions and personal mental health situation	Informal
Building relationships	Talking about food- they always cooked for each other.	Informal
Building relationships	Talking about real llife situations.	Informal
Building relationships	Talking to child on phone/video call- reassuring them that Elma will be home soon.	Informal
Building relationships	Talking to daughter about school, playing with daughter, looking after daughter.	Informal
Building relationships	Talking to other children's parents	Informal
Building relationships	Talking to teacher at the school	Formal
Business proposals	Presenting ideas/pitches to people about the value of Mandarin classes in libraries and community venues.	Formal
Complaining	Expressing frustration to the staff	Formal
Getting advice and support- from social group	Asking for advice	Informal
Getting advice and support- from social group	Asking questions about advice and guidance received	Informal
Getting advice and support- from social group	Consulting others on decisions	Informal
Giving information	Communicating with school admin about absences, accidents etc	Formal
Giving information	Giving information to others about her experience and qualifications	Formal
Giving information	Making payments- giving information to staff to make payments	Formal
Giving information	Requests for information and giving information	Formal
Giving information	Responding to queries and requests for information	Formal
Giving information	Responding to requests for information from administrators	Formal
Giving information	Safeguarding process support from teachers and external organisations	Formal
Giving information	Taking part in the PTA	Formal
Giving information	Talking to child on phone/video call- reassuring them that Elma will be home.	Informal
Learning- from experts	Listening to talks about the religion.	Formal
Learning- from experts	Talking to teachers about her daughter's progress and issues/problems	Formal
Learning- from social group	Discussing with other mosque-goers about topics in the talks or about the	Informal
Learning- from social group	Discussions about legal position, rights and options	Informal
Learning- from social group	Listening to others' ideas	Informal
Learning- from social group	Talking about language.	Informal
Learning- from social group	Talking about real llife situations.	Informal
Learning- from social group	Talking to other children's parents	Informal
Receiving information	Requests for information and giving information	Formal
Receiving information	Talking to daughter about school, playing with daughter, looking after daughter.	Informal
Receiving information	Talking to nursery nurses	Formal
Receiving information and instructions	Being told the rules by hostel manager/caretaker	Formal
Receiving information and instructions	Getting messages from the school about tasks for children to complete (homework)	Formal
Receiving information and instructions	Listening for understanding of complex medical terminology	Formal
Receiving information and instructions	Receiving advice for recovery (physio for son's fingers)	Formal
Receiving information and instructions	Requests/instructions to do thing you need to eat this medicine; you need to take this scan	Formal
Receiving information and instructions	Taking instructions	Formal
Receiving information and instructions	Taking part in the PTA	Formal
Receiving information and instructions	Talking to teachers about her daughter's progress and issues/problems	Formal
Receiving information and instructions	Talking to teachers at the school	Formal
Self advocacy	Appealing a decision	Formal
Self advocacy	Making demands of staff based on rights not being met	Formal
Serving customers	Asking customers what they wanted- personal consultation about the service	Formal
Serving customers	Asking for and receiving payment.	Formal
Serving customers	Greeting customers	Formal
Serving customers	Making conversation/small talk with customers having treatment	Formal
Supporting each other	Advice and guidance for each other	Informal
Supporting each other	Other patients- sharing, supporting each other	Informal
Supporting each other	Updating family members about their condition and talking about other things (taking mind off the situation)	Informal