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Moving Language

The Language Geographies of Refugees and Asylum- Seekers in Glasgow

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Submitted in Fulfilment of the Requirements of the Degree of Doctor of
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Abstract

Over the past five years the UK has seen an increased number of refugees and asylum-seekers arriving on its shores as a result of ongoing conflicts happening around the world. Refugees and asylum-seekers make up only a very small percentage of the country's population, yet immigration concerns regularly make headlines and are a 'hot topic' for politicians seeking public support. Glasgow became home for a large number of refugees and asylum-seekers after it signed up to the 'dispersal' scheme nearly twenty years ago, and as a result the make-up of communities in the city is everchanging. It has increased multiculturalism and is a decidedly multilingual city. This thesis brings together work in language geographies and migration studies to explore the everyday language geographies of refugees and asylum-seekers in Glasgow. The central aim is to reveal the situated dynamics of 'talk'; what languages are used, in what combinations, and with what kinds of 'props' as people seek to 'get-by', make friends and express themselves, all the while considering the implications of the spaces involved.

Through the voices of refugees, asylum-seekers and associated professionals, this thesis explores different spaces of multilingualism and the associated emotional geographies of these spaces. Language is conceptualised in this thesis as an object in itself, engendering feelings of belonging (or not), and recognises that language is fluid and mobile, mutually constituted with the space in which it happens. The thesis explores four different sites of language use - journeys to the UK, the body, the classroom, and the community - to investigate the complex geographies of refugees and asylum-seekers as they seek to acquire English and settle in the city of Glasgow. Of importance is the part that language plays in positioning refugees and asylum-seekers in society, often relating to insider-outsider type dichotomies, but also thinking about how these divides may be overcome. Finally, the refugee and asylum-seeker body is conceptualised as the mobile linguistic stranger, simultaneously near and far, and the thesis uncovers how this figure comes to be and the implications of such a conceptualisation.

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contributions of others, this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Signature:.....

Printed name: Sophie Shuttleworth

Definitions and Abbreviations

BME: Black and Minority Ethnic

DWP: Department of Work and Pensions

ESOL: English for Speakers of Other Languages

EU: European Union

JSA: Job Seekers Allowance

NASS: National Asylum Support Service

NGO: Non-Governmental Organisation

RCO: Refugee Community Organisation

SRC: Scottish Refugee Council

SVPRS: Syrian Vulnerable Person Resettlement Scheme

UK: United Kingdom

UKBA: United Kingdom Border Agency

UKIP: United Kingdom Independence Party

UNHCR: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

WEA: Workers Education Alliance

YMCA: Young Men's Christian Association

Pseudonyms have been used throughout this thesis.

Chapter 1

Introduction

A refugee is a human being who has feelings, emotions, maybe a good previous job a doctor he could be. It doesn't mean an animal nor camp, not a beggar. Just give him confidence, treat him the way you like to be treated if you were him, and you will see what good things he can do. We aroused against tyranny, oppression, because we have a strong feeling of dignity, freedom. So don't torture us twice. It was enough for us to be looked down on in our country. (Ibrahim, 22, Sudan).

Refugees and Asylum-Seekers in the UK

More than 31.7 million people worldwide have been forcibly displaced in the last decade. The latest statistics (at the end of 2017) reveal that there are now 22.5 million refugees and 2.8 million asylum-seekers worldwide; these figures are the highest the world has ever seen and rates of displacement remain high, with estimates suggesting that a person becomes displaced every three seconds (UNHCR, 2017). It may be helpful here to provide definitions of the groups of people that this thesis considers:

Who is a refugee?

A refugee is someone who has been forced to flee his or her country because of persecution, war, or violence. A refugee has a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group. Most likely, they cannot return home or are afraid to do so. War and ethnic, tribal and religious violence are leading causes of refugees fleeing their countries. (UNHCR, 2018, n.p)

Who is an asylum-seeker?

When people flee their own country and seek sanctuary in another country, they apply for asylum – the right to be recognized as a refugee and receive legal protection and material assistance. An asylum seeker must demonstrate that his or her fear of persecution in his or her home country is well-founded. (UNHCR, 2018, n.p)

Ongoing conflicts around the world have led to the aforementioned record numbers of displaced people, and, while media outlets in the UK regularly report upon the 'floods' of migrants coming to the UK, official figures estimate there to be 119,000 refugees and asylum-seekers living in the UK, just 0.18% of the population (British Red Cross, 2018). The UK has introduced stringent immigration rules in an attempt to control the number of people arriving in the country, reflected in Home Office statistics that show not only a decrease in the total number of applications, but also a 24% decrease in accepted applications during 2016 (table 1.1).

Year	Total applications	Total initial decisions	Granted (1)	Granted as a % of initial decisions	Refused	Refused as a % of initial decisions
2012	21,843	16,774	6,059	36%	10,715	64%
2013	23,584	17,543	6,542	37%	11,001	63%
2014	25,033	19,782	8,150	41%	11,632	59%
2015	32,733	28,622	11,421	40%	17,201	60%
2016	30,603	24,984	8,466	34%	16,518	66%
Change: latest year	-2,130	-3,638	-2,955	-	-683	-
Percentage change	-7%	-13%	-26%	-	-4%	-

Table 1.1: Home Office Immigration Statistics, 2016 (www.gov.uk)

In addition to the figures in Table 1, there has been a number of new policies giving people other forms of protection. A new deal with France means that some asylum-claims can be transferred to Calais and approximately 10% of claims in 2016 are known to have been processed in Calais (Home Office, 2016, n.p). Furthermore, the Syrian Vulnerable Person Resettlement Scheme (SVRPS) allows for Syrian people referred to the Home Office by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) to be safely transferred to the UK and gain humanitarian protection¹. In 2015 this scheme was extended, and it was proposed that 20,000 Syrian people would be resettled in the UK by 2020. In the year ending March 2017, only 5,453 people had been resettled under this scheme (House of Commons, 2017), leading many critics to suggest that the UK government was not adhering to its own policies. A final pledge made by the government promised to resettle 3,000 children under the Dubs amendment², yet this was scrapped in early 2017 as the Home Secretary Amber Rudd felt that other schemes were allowing children to come the UK and that this separate scheme was unnecessary (*The Guardian*, 2017). This decision was challenged but the challenge failed, and at the time of writing only 350 children had arrived in the

¹ This scheme has been criticised for strengthening narratives around deserving and non-deserving migrants, as well as for ignoring ‘mobile’ refugees – those who are not in camps.

² The Dubs Amendment refers to an amendment to the 2016 UK Immigration Act tabled by Lord Alf Dubs. It has since been incorporated into the law, as Section 67 of the Immigration Act 2016. The amendment stated that: “The Secretary of State must, as soon as possible after the passing of this Act, make arrangements to relocate to the United Kingdom and support a specified number of unaccompanied refugee children from other countries in Europe.” (House of Commons, 2017, n.p). However, the scheme was brought to a premature end in early February by the UK Government. In total, 350 unaccompanied minors have been brought to the UK under the Dubs amendment, less than had originally been envisaged. This is despite the large numbers of unaccompanied children in Europe who could potentially qualify for the scheme.

UK through this scheme, leaving questions about whether the UK government is indeed doing enough to help the millions of displaced people around the world.

Immigration is currently prominent in media, policy and day-to-day living; as conflicts, natural disasters and humanitarian issues continue to flare up around the world, people will always migrate. As Brexit³ negotiations are ongoing, it is likely that policy will change and in practice UK borders are likely to see increased protection and maintenance, designed to allow those categorised as ‘good’ migrants to enter and for ‘bad’ migrants to be kept out. It is not known how policy will develop, but governmental discussions on immigration, in tandem with those on Brexit, all hint at reducing numbers of migrants, cutting public expenditure and potentially making the UK a very hostile place to live for those deemed to be ‘different’.

Once in the UK, refugees and asylum-seekers are subjected to high levels of scrutiny, strict laws and regulations and placed under near-constant observation. They have little choice over what happens to them after they have lodged their claim for asylum and, designed to ease the pressure on local councils in London and the Southeast, are moved around the country to other cities and towns that have available housing and resources. This relocation takes place under what is called ‘the dispersal scheme’. It was introduced in 2000, with twelve main locations receiving large numbers of refugees and asylum-seekers: Birmingham, Manchester, Glasgow, Newcastle, Liverpool, Coventry, Plymouth, Hull, Leeds, Nottingham, Sunderland and Bradford (*BBC*, 2001). Of these twelve cities, Glasgow received the largest number of new arrivals (3,137) in the first 18 months that the scheme was in place (*BBC*, 2001; Darling, 2013). The rapid arrival of so many new people meant that city authorities and agencies in Glasgow had to act quickly to respond and to become a successful dispersal city.

Historically, Glasgow has been a predominantly white, working-class city that saw large-scale decline after the shipbuilding industry moved off the River Clyde. This sharp decline led to considerable poverty, with thousands of people living in slums right up to the 1950s. In the 1960s and 70s the city began to rebrand itself and redevelop many inner-city areas in an attempt to attract new people and businesses; a large part of this ‘clean-up’ was the quick creation of high-rise flats in the city’s suburbs, providing cheap yet modern housing for large numbers of inner-city dwellers. During the 1990s these blocks of flats fell into disrepair as the Council stopped investing in their upkeep, and people began to move to other areas of the city, leaving high numbers of empty housing units (Jacobs et al, 2007). Thus, Glasgow became a key dispersal location, in part due to the quantity of empty affordable housing available for refugees and asylum-seekers. While housing was in abundance, other services were not so readily available for the incoming population, and therefore the city responded in an arguably ‘ad-hoc’ manner to try to ensure successful resettlement.

³ ‘Brexit’ is the term that has been given to the process of the United Kingdom leaving the European Union. This process was a result of a Referendum held in June 2016.

The Scottish Refugee Council (SRC) relocated to Glasgow in 1999, ready for the influx of people who would need their help (SRC, 2018), while the British Red Cross was also located in the city, providing services for refugees and asylum-seekers (British Red Cross, 2018). As well as a need for housing and financial support – which was provided at a national level through the newly formed National Asylum Support Service (NASS) – the new arrivals required a range of other social and emotional supports which were predominantly met through the aforementioned organisations, as well as by a number of other national charities such as the Young Men’s Christian Association YMCA and Refugee Action (SRC, 2018). The past 18 years has seen a huge shift in the landscape of service provision in Glasgow, a sustained positive response to resettling refugees and asylum-seekers, and Glasgow is now considered a prime example of successful dispersal (Wren, 2007; Darling, 2016), with Glasgow City Council housing more asylum-seekers than any other UK council (*The Guardian*, 2017).

After the initial arrival of refugees and asylum-seekers, numerous small-scale grassroots organisations arose to provide services to the city’s new citizens. Faith-based communities in particular opened their doors, and a series of ‘integration networks’ were developed (Wren, 2007) that today still provide invaluable support and advice for refugees and asylum-seekers in Glasgow. As these service providers became more permanent, receiving official funding and recognition and deepening their insight into the complex needs of refugees and asylum-seekers, they became well-placed to fill gaps in provision left by the quick implementation of the dispersal policy. More recently, the city has seen another wave of organisations being established in response to the ‘refugee crisis’ occurring as a result of conflicts around the world. These newer organisations have joined a wealth of more established ones to continue offering an abundance of help for people arriving in Glasgow from other countries. Services provided by organisations in Glasgow include: help with the asylum system and general immigration advice; legal advice; financial aid; food and housing help; mental health support; social activities; and, crucially for this thesis, English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL). Of course, these services do not stand alone, and service users often utilise a range of them from different organisations, while challenges faced by the services in these areas of operation are highly interlinked and influential upon each other.

The Place of Language

There is no such thing as the “voiceless”. There are only the deliberately silenced or the preferably unheard. (Roy, 2004 in Tyler, 2006, p.199)

Language comes to the fore when considering the role that ESOL education plays in the lives of refugees and asylum-seekers. On arrival in Glasgow, it is quickly realised that, in order to be able to navigate the city, a certain level of English is required. Existing networks of refugees and asylum-seekers advise new arrivals on places where ESOL is provided, and it is through these

networks that life in Glasgow starts to become understandable. Learning English is crucial for refugees and asylum-seekers for numerous reasons, and many participants in this research expressed that it was the ‘number one’ thing that they wanted to do when first arriving in Glasgow. Learning English is often seen as a way of securing a future in the country, but it is also seen as the first building block in processes of settlement. Learning English can help refugees and asylum-seekers to express themselves, seek support and alleviate negative mental health (Delaney, 2016). Community ESOL classes arguably offer a unique site of language acquisition and social interaction. Usually run by third sector organisations, these classes foster an informal learning environment where students are able to attend lessons without having previously registered. Such informal community ESOL classes hence provide more than simply language education; they are spaces of friendship and social interaction, provide support, signposting and advice, and offer often isolated people the opportunity to get out of the house, to meet other people and to pass the time. Classes thus become a space of familiarity and indeed a community in their own right, where refugees and asylum-seekers can come together in an everyday space within the greater unknown space of Glasgow.

Moving towards a more conceptual discussion, language is intertwined with identity, culture and belonging. Language can be conceptualised as a space of belonging in itself, providing a sense of being ‘at home’, and lending articulation to all of the emotions that go alongside such a sensibility. Language is central to debates around citizenship and belonging (Valentine and Skelton, 2007), playing an important role in constructions and contestations of identity (Segrott, 2010). Language mobilises, empowers and strengthens national and community-level identities (Pred, 1989; Valentine and Skelton, 2007), while holding together multiple interests. Of importance to this thesis is the notion that language can also cause social and cultural exclusions, in turn creating hierarchies of languages and people, with those who do not have the desired language being separated from those who possess the ‘correct’ language skills. The links between language, identity and feelings of belonging comprise a thread that weaves throughout my research as I seek to uncover the role that different languages play in different spaces and at different times. Language is hence inherently performative, having tangible consequences as a result of uttered words and associations. This thesis carefully considers the different spatial and temporal happenings of linguistic performance and how these play out, unearthing different ‘language geographies’; disclosing the spatial elements of language that are both covert and overt in the use of English and origin languages.

Thesis Aims: Journeying through Language

In considering the current landscape of refugees and asylum-seekers in the UK, service provision for this group of people in Glasgow, and the centrality of language in their day-to-day lives, this thesis brings together work in the respective fields of language geographies and migration studies

to examine the complex and diverse language geographies of refugees and asylum-seekers in Glasgow. This research has been a collaborative effort. Working closely with grassroots organisations in Glasgow, I have taken a ‘bottom-up’ approach to a ‘top-down’ process, considering the voices of those ‘on-the-ground’ to engender understandings of linguistic life in Glasgow. Working closely with refugees and asylum-seekers has allowed this thesis to be built around the lived narratives of those at the centre of the asylum system, those whose language geographies are at the heart of this thesis.

Taking into consideration the relative (im)mobility of refugees and asylum-seekers, their daily geographies are explored, all the while paying attention to the linguistic nature of such geographies. I have been able to look at the different spaces used by refugees and asylum-seekers, what languages are deployed, in what combinations and with whom, as they seek to make friends, forge relationships, access support and ultimately ‘get by’ in their new homes. These geographies are multifaceted and complex; they do not exist in a vacuum but are variable over time and space, imbued with meanings and emotions and have a range of effects on those involved. The lively and personal nature of language means that it is embodied in a range of ways by individuals, often closely related to which language is being spoken and its associated emotional geographies. A key spatial focus in this thesis is the community ESOL classroom, the varied material spaces for which formed the main location for fieldwork and provided valuable insight into English language acquisition *in place*, as well as providing a window into other spaces of language use. Given the sometimes divisive nature of language, and its ability to render someone *in* or *out* of place, language is particularly pertinent when exploring how refugees and asylum-seekers are positioned within society. I draw on work by Simmel (1908), Douglas (1966), Kristeva (1982) and Sibley (1995), among others, to think about the ‘linguistic strangeness’ of refugees and asylum-seekers and to address how certain insider/outsider dichotomies may lead to the creation and maintenance of borders and boundaries, with the ultimate aim of keeping local communities ‘pure’ and segregating those considered as ‘other’. The thesis moves through different geographies of multilinguality to uncover the transition from human object to human subject as language is acquired, moving from someone who is acted *upon* to someone who is able to interact with the world around them. Once a certain amount of English is learned, refugees and asylum-seekers are able to reclaim some of their autonomy, resilience, control and independence, all of which are vital to processes of settlement in a new place. Thus, the aims of this research are as follows:

- To reveal the situated dynamics of ‘talk’; what languages are used, in what combinations, and with what kinds of ‘props’ as people seek to ‘get-by’, make friends and express themselves, all the while considering the implications of the spaces involved.
- To investigate the different spaces of multilingualism and the associated emotional geographies of these spaces.

- In considering four different sites of language use - journeys to the UK, the body, the classroom, and the community - to investigate the complex geographies of refugees and asylum-seekers as they seek to acquire English and settle in the city of Glasgow. Of importance is the part that language plays in positioning refugees and asylum-seekers in wider society.
- To think about implications for how asylum-seekers and refugees are conceptualised in society, particularly in relation to their language use.

The above bullet points outline the broad aims and objectives of the research, yet they do not point to any specific questions or methods. Indeed, this research began with a deliberately open approach – avoiding too precise a specification of questions in advance of entering ‘the field’ – so as to encourage collaborative research (Cahill, 2004), and reflecting my view that the involvement of participants in helping to form research questions and thematics should be key to the project. While I began the project with these overall aims, it was not until I met with participants during the fieldwork stage, and through the many resulting conversations and observations, that more specific themes and concerns for the project could be identified. As is detailed in Chapter 4, the methods that I chose to use in the research allowed for co-production and collaboration between myself and research participants, and hence my decision to begin the research with broad objectives that could later be narrowed down and shaped by experiences in the field, led by participants (students and also educators) in the classroom. More organisationally, this thesis proceeds in the following sequence:

Following on from this introductory chapter, I first turn to the field of language geographies. ‘Language geographies’ differs from ‘geographies of language’, the latter being about such a fundamentally sited geographical distribution of language which this thesis precisely seeks to trouble. **Chapter 2** offers a comprehensive look at the history of the relationship between language and geography before moving through the discipline’s so called ‘cultural turn’ in order to explore the micro-geographies of language, from embodied geographies of speaking to the minutiae of everyday language use. I offer an in-depth review of Saussure’s (1906) contribution to the study of linguistic science, thinking about causes of linguistic diversity and change. I then tackle the politics of language and the politics of speaking, drawing out implications for the space in which speech happens and how language and space ought to be seen as mutually constituted. It is the *spoken word* that is the focus in this chapter, and in the thesis more generally, although reference is made on occasion to the geographies of the written word. Embodied language encompasses the performance and practice of language, and begins to unearth the ‘more-than-representational’ nature of language and how this may be studied. The chapter concludes by considering ‘unspoken’ languages; silence, gestural language and physical contact as an alternative form of communication, crucial for people without formal language skills as a result of refugee mobility.

Chapter 3 discusses the second field of work in which this thesis sits, migration studies. This review brings a geographical sensibility to migration research, and considers how refugees and asylum-seekers live in the UK. I first consider the mobility paradox; refugees and asylum-seekers by their very nature are a highly mobile group of people, often having been forced to travel long distances with an absence of appropriate help or support. Once in a destination country such as the UK, though, they are subject to immigration policy with little to no freedom of movement. I consider places of detention and the securitisation of migration as facets of this immobility, as well as charting methods of deportation and dispersal as further examples of forced mobility once in a host country. I then consider theorisations of home, and of domestic belonging, as an important space for refugees and asylum-seekers as they seek to build a new life outside of their country of origin. Here it is worth noting that I do not assume home to be fixed, static or singular, but instead reveal the complicated nature of what it means to be ‘at home’. The final part of the chapter tackles the everyday experiences of refugees and asylum-seekers in the UK as they embark upon processes of settlement, before thinking about the complex notion of integration and how refugees and asylum-seekers are positioned in today’s UK society.

Chapter 4 acts as a bridge between the first two conceptual chapters and the five empirical chapters that follow by introducing the methodological process that characterises this research. The first part of the chapter offers insights into the messy world of research with refugees and asylum-seekers, highlighting the importance of appropriate methods and potential problems. I consider literature in the field of collaborative and participatory research to contextualise the methods that follow. I then take each of my methods in turn, starting with ethnography, to explain what I did and why, but also to elucidate the contribution that each method made to this research. After a discussion about the intensive and multi-sited ethnographic work that formed the basis for this project, I consider my use of a field diary to offer my own personal reflections on being in the field. The in-depth ethnographic work meant that I was regularly reflecting on my own research practice and experiences, as well as scribbling down the goings-on in each research location; the result was a wealth of field notes, vital to the narrative of this thesis. Creative methods have proven helpful in certain types of research, and here I outline my own version of creative methods and offer an evaluation of their value for research with refugees and asylum-seekers, a particularly salient matter given that some of my methods did not require language. Creative methods allowed for different facets of language geographies to be explored from a range of viewpoints, ones that could later be built upon through verbal communication in interviews. This chapter then moves to discuss methods of analysis before concluding with an in-depth discussion of ethical issues arising from this kind of research.

Moving on from the ‘nuts and bolts’ of this research project, **Chapter 5** provides a full analysis of immigration policy in the UK, and how it influences the asylum landscape in Glasgow, bringing in a measure of empirical data to back up my claims in this regard. I begin broadly by providing an overview of up-to-date immigration policies before narrowing down to look at the Scottish situation

and then Glasgow as a site of dispersal specifically. I then outline the character of ESOL provision in Glasgow and what it means for current and potential ESOL students in the city. The chapter aims to create an understanding of policy and practice in Glasgow as a starting point for the following empirical chapters.

Chapter 6 traces research participants' journeys from the moment they left their homes in their countries of origin. Through highly poignant narratives, the chapter unveils the often traumatic time spent trying to get to the UK, and what happened upon arrival in the country once contact was made with the authorities. Languages are at the fore of these stories, exploring how languages are acquired at different points on route, where they are used and with whom. Conceptually, the chapter considers the notion of language 'on the move', highlighting the fluid and mobile nature of language and considering how languages change over time and space as people move with their languages across borders, boundaries and seas. The latter part of the chapter follows my participants' journeys once in the UK, from point of entry – often in the backs of lorries – to dispersal to Glasgow and their first few weeks in the city. Of interest here is the way in which participants found existing networks in the city to aid their navigation and also began to acquire English through these networks.

These journeys are fraught with emotional and psychological experiences, and **Chapter 7** works to encapsulate how these experiences tie in with language use. Language is an inherently embodied practice and this chapter explores the embodied geographies of speaking both English and participants' native languages, examining how these geographies differ depending on which language is being spoken, where and with whom. The chapter begins by looking at the highly embodied nature of speaking, unearthing what parts of the body are involved in making sounds and the associated meanings of this embodiment. I then address more cerebral processes of language use by thinking about translation, how participants' do this in practice and to what effect. The final part of the chapter concerns the very real emotional geographies of speaking and encounters with local people. Drawing upon existing work on 'emotional citizenry' by Askins (2016), it becomes evident that feelings of embarrassment and vulnerability are particularly prominent when interacting with native English speakers, in turn affecting the day-to-day geographies of refugees and asylum-seekers.

Keeping in mind the complex emotional and embodied language geographies of refugees and asylum-seekers, **Chapter 8** focuses on the spaces of community ESOL classrooms, constituted as positive emotional geographies, important in the lives of those featuring in this research. The overall space of the classroom is shown to be a safe space where participants feel that they can relax, practise English and meet other people. Thus, the ESOL classrooms are more than simply a space of education, but also one of support, friendship and care. The methods of teaching and acquisition are explored in this chapter to uncover how ESOL classes equip refugees and asylum-seekers with the skills that they need successfully to navigate daily life in Glasgow. The chapter concludes by suggesting that community ESOL classes are vital in aiding processes of settlement and promoting feelings of belonging as learners acquire English and gain the ability to live independently in the city.

The final empirical chapter investigates the everyday language geographies of refugees and asylum-seekers in Glasgow. **Chapter 9** looks at language in the city, considering local and refugee communities as containers for linguistic performance and practice. The chapter begins by returning to the (im)mobility paradox investigated earlier in the thesis, now considering the different spaces across the city where refugees and asylum-seekers spend time. It is found that they have a very limited social geography in the city, but with complex language geographies occurring in, and between, different spaces of language use. Conceptually, the chapter thinks about ‘language communities’, asking how these play a part in identity formation and maintenance, maybe promoting feelings of being ‘at home’ in a language, as well as about how they may influence insider-outsider type dichotomies. Crucially, this chapter explores how language works to categorise refugees and asylum-seekers as linguistic strangers and the resulting impact upon their day-to-day geographies.

Concluding this thesis, **Chapter 10** weaves together salient themes presented throughout this thesis to demonstrate the fluid and complex nature of refugees and asylum-seekers’ language geographies. I propose five key recommendations for policy and practice in relation to ESOL provision in Glasgow before moving through four more conceptual contributions to the relevant fields of literature. I draw on the notion of language in motion, and languages on the move, before going on to consider the highly embodied and emotional characteristics of language. I suggest that language acquisition involves, or enables, a movement from human *object* to human *subject*, reflecting how the written thesis progresses, to draw attention to the ways in which, as refugees and asylum-seekers acquire language and become able to interact better with host populations, they gain autonomy and are able to relate to the world around them, in turn triggering processes of settlement. Finally, I offer a conceptualisation of refugees and asylum-seekers as ‘mobile linguistic strangers’, discussing the othering of this group of people and the impacts that this othering has on their lives in Glasgow.

Conceptually, this project bridges translation studies, language studies, refugee and migration scholarship and human geography in new ways to offer some key conceptual and substantive contributions to these fields. In tackling questions around language and migration from a geographical stance, this thesis reveals the spatial element to migration, not as static, but as constantly mobile and changing. Furthermore, it highlights the geographical importance of language, and how space influences language use, interpretation and embodied experiences. Crucial here is the work that this project has done on linguistic embodiment: while standard linguistic studies have provided a scientific approach to the act of speaking, little work has been done to date on the emotional, felt and affectual qualities of language, something that is brought to the fore in Chapter 7. The geographical contributions made here to linguistic scholarship allows for new ways of thinking about, and conceptualising, the work that language does in the world, the important identity politics at play and in enabling language to be considered as a space, something *in* which one can belong. The work in this thesis brings new conceptual possibilities into play for existing studies in ‘language geographies’, troubling ‘geographies of language’ and what one might expect from a study into such a topic. Importantly, I *do not* ‘map’ origin languages and spaces of language acquisition, at least not

in traditional ways. I am not concerned with the ‘science’ of English language acquisition, nor the technicalities of linguistic differences, but instead focus on a rich narrative and ethnographic approach to language geographies. Through poignant memories, the movement of language is narrated by participants in the research, and how languages mix and merge over time and space is told by those experiencing such mixings and merging’s. Chapter 6 hence conceptualises language as fluid, not mono-directional, and closely linked to surrounding space. This thesis encounters language *as it happens*; the moment it is performed, ‘stuttered’ into speech acts, interpreted and felt, all through and beyond the distinct spaces of ESOL classrooms. Finally, language is ‘felt’, as an embodied and emotional presence/absence: mobile lives are seemingly still in a place that *speaks* differently, rendering research participants mobile, linguistic strangers. What follows then, is a journey through language, movement and settlement, told by refugees and asylum-seekers living in Glasgow in 2016 and 2017.

Chapter 2

Mapping Language: From the Border to the Body

The study of language and geography, hereafter ‘language geographies’, has developed and changed direction over the past century. The term language geographies is used here to include all studies that focus on the relationship between language and geography, from cartographic geolinguistics to the spaces of words on the page. It is a broad term that addresses a range of domains that could be of concern for geographers. Language geographers have approached – and continue to approach – language from a range of angles, and four broad areas of interest are language, linguistics, literacy and literature. Those with an interest in language may look at forms of written and/or spoken language, involving language groups, multilingualism and dialectology. Geographical studies that are focused on linguistics explore *how* language is written and spoken, and the impacts on culture, society and the individual; literacy studies include the sociology of who can read and write, while literary geographers tend to study the ‘stuff’ that is written and what this can reveal. This literature review will predominantly focus on the first two of these categories – language and linguistics – in line with the aims of the thesis.

This chapter begins by tracing the origins of early language geographies, summed up under the title ‘a linguistic science’, and referred to within geography as ‘geolinguistics’. This approach developed in line with broader geographic thought, focusing on the mapping and description of language variations around the globe, echoing earlier efforts by Saussure to map out and describe differentiations between languages and dialects. Geolinguistics and cartographic dialectology were the starting point for language geographies, which then moved towards a social and cultural focus with the development of cultural geography. This cultural focus also encouraged scholars to begin to look at the role of language in our everyday lives, tied up with power and identity (Withers, 1993). The development of what is termed ‘cultural geolinguistics’ mirrored the linguistic turn that occurred in philosophy, accepting that language is not culturally homogenous; it is complex and dynamic and has many intricacies that are of great interest to geographers. Human geography experienced its cultural turn in the 1990s and here a conceptual change of direction can be identified. The cultural turn created possibilities for language geographers to engage with cultural and identity politics, looking at the role that language plays in ordering society. One response to the discipline’s cultural turn has been a move towards embodiment and issues around representation – everything that words seemingly cannot do – which has created opportunities for language geographers to explore the performative, embodied and affectual nature of language, revealing the complex yet dynamic facets of language. Although a fairly comprehensive body of literature exists around this more recent approach, studies that branch from here remain tentative and err on the side

of caution in their arguments and statements. There has been recognition from scholars that language geography is a broad field with numerous lines for development, but it is yet to be established as a fully recognised subfield within human geography, with scholars yet to engage in all of the possibilities that the subfield may offer. The chapter concludes by highlighting areas that, although relatively understudied in geography, could help to promote a more continued and innovative approach to language in human geography.

A Linguistic Science

As geographic thought developed in the late-19th century, several scholars began to take an interest in the place of language within the geographic field. The popular emphasis on exploration and cartography in geography at the time helped to develop what is now termed 'geolinguistics'. Geolinguists worked alongside dialect geographers to study the languages in the world and how and where they were spoken (Withers, 1993), while also commenting on the spatial distributions of particular language features (Trudgill, 1975) as a means to investigate how people may portray their geographical origins through language. Geolinguistics is a relatively new term to describe this older interest in the relationship between language and area, with it not being recognised as a subfield of academic geography until the latter part of the 20th century, despite similar work being undertaken in previous decades (Trudgill, 1975). In the 1930s Hans Kurath began producing linguistic atlases of dialects in the United States, followed by the work of Charles Thomas in the 1940s and Delgado de Carralho and Cassidy in the 1950s and 60s, each being interested in the spatial distribution of dialects and how to represent this data through cartographic techniques.

Relationships between territories and language have been of interest to geographers for years, and, as the expansion of multilingual empires occurred, language became more prominent in studies about distant locations (Mackey, 1974 cited in Williams, 1988). Trudgill (1975) suggested that geolinguistics was the key way in which language and geography could be combined, adding social and spatial understanding to studies of linguistic change, but this work was done in a rather orthodox scientific manner. He went on to argue that the role of the geolinguist was to correlate their data with 'preconceived geographical units' (p.231), thus resulting in a linguistic science, in part as originally fostered by Ferdinand de Saussure, the Swiss linguist whose work led to important developments in semiotics. These preconceived geographical units often consisted of defined areas on a map, separated by landforms or political boundaries. Geolinguists regularly studied only one dialectic fact, or unit, thus resulting in defined areas in relation to one particular sound or word, without considering the full range of dialectic differences (Saussure, 1916). This application of scientific 'laws' to language meant that phonological and linguistic variances were reduced to geographic areas, yet excluded variations such as age, gender, nationality and other

cultural or social factors (Breton, 1991). Neolinguists⁴ argue that this scientific approach to an inherently social and cultural phenomenon was the downfall of geolinguistics (Trudgill, 1975).

The scientific approach to language data led Trudgill to contend that ‘linguistic geography has been geographical only in the sense that it has been concerned with the spatial distribution of linguistic phenomena’ (Trudgill, 1975, p.240). This arguably narrow view of the relationship between language and geography meant that there was little movement towards further developments, effectively ignoring Saussure’s call for a sustained study in cultural and social linguistics (Saussure, 1916). Williams (1988) proposed that language had never been a prominent element in geographic studies: there was a general feeling amongst geolinguists that their work could aid linguistic studies, yet this relationship was not reciprocal, with many other geographers asserting that geography had little space for language studies (Trudgill, 1975). This outlook meant that the field of language geographies became stagnant, with language geographers’ enthusiasm waning towards the end of the 20th century.

The main output of geolinguistics were linguistic atlases (figures 2.1 and 2.2): cartographically showing linguistic areas and where languages had come into contact, interacted and influenced one another (Breton, 1991). Atlases were an efficient way of communicating data; ‘isoglosses’ were drawn across maps to signal linguistic boundaries, highlighting areas of supposedly homogenous language use. These broad language areas were found to be too simplistic, however, and further investigation highlighted the complexity of language distribution (Mackey, 1974 in Williams, 1988). As more data was collected, isoglosses began to cross the maps in seemingly haphazard ways (Trudgill, 1975), leading geolinguists to recognise the importance of looking at *why* isoglosses occurred in certain places (Brice, 1996); these realisations followed arguments made by Saussure nearly a whole century earlier. The linguistic atlases and the published material that accompanied them were subject to flaws from the outset; Pred (1989) felt that they did not consider the subtleties of language or the place-to-place differentiations. Furthermore, he argued that language has both powerful and political implications, whereas the scientific approach to geolinguistics meant such implications were ignored, calling into question the accuracy and value of the work.

⁴Neolinguistics is an Italian school of thought that emphasised the importance of geography in language.



Figure 2.1: A linguistic atlas showing different dialects in Germany (2013) (Source: www.uni-marburg.de/~naeser/sendai-eng.html)

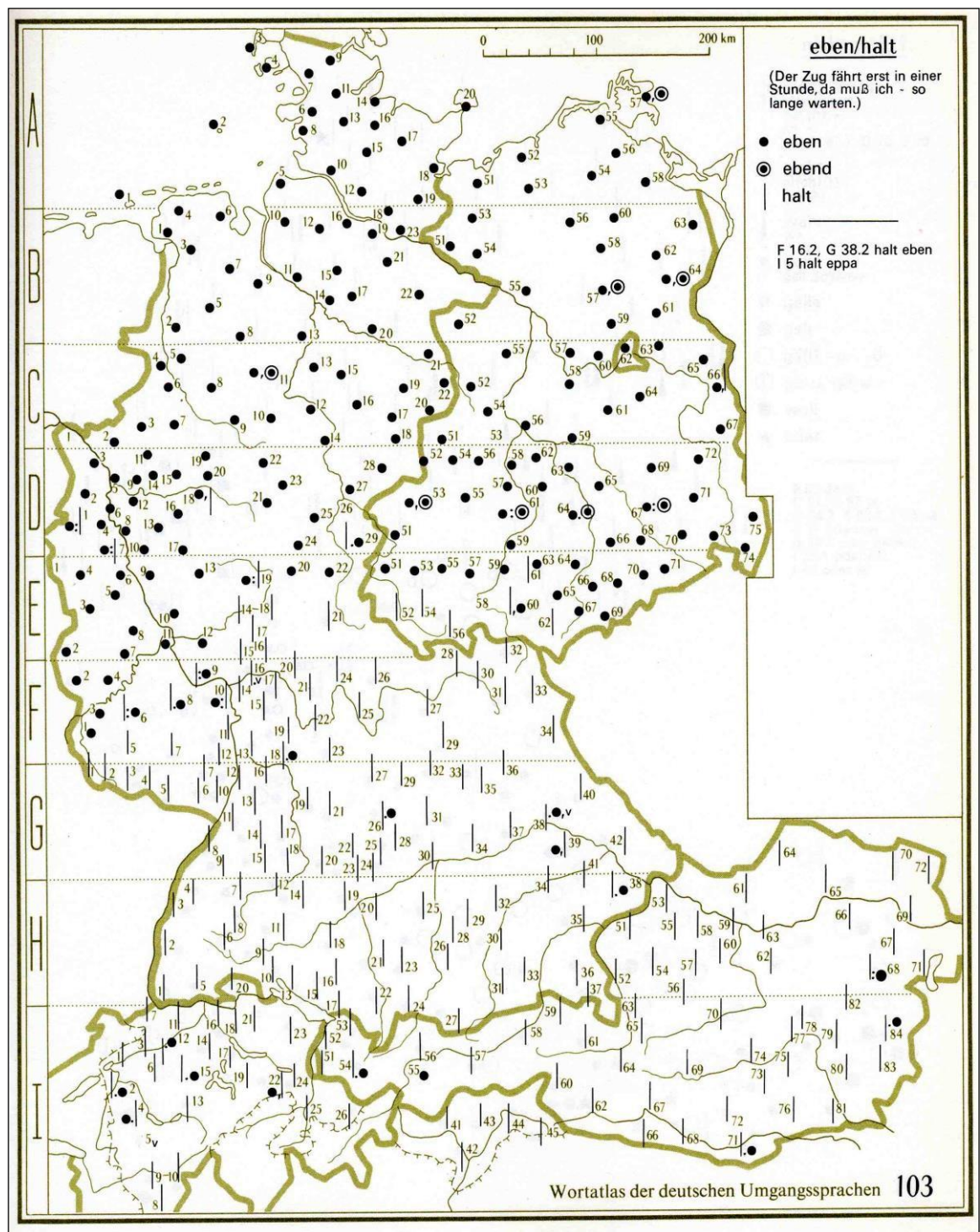


Figure 2.2: A linguistic atlas showing areas in Southern Germany where the word ‘halt’ is used over the word ‘eben’ (2014) (Source: www.linguistik-online.de/29_06/hentschelKeller.html)

The scientific approach to creating linguistic atlases often meant that only one type of dialectal characteristic was mapped at a time, and boundaries were drawn with little acknowledgement of transition zones. Moreover, the temporality of change was ignored in linguistic atlases (Saussure, 1916). It was found that a language boundary does not always constitute a language barrier, and that linguistic atlases did not allow for bi- or multi- lingual people (Mackey, 1974 cited in Williams, 1988), arguably a result of ignoring external influences on language. More recent

research in sociolinguistics shows that linguistic surfaces are continuous and cannot be subject to the lines and boundaries once so assertively drawn by cartographic geolinguistics (Jackson, 1989). Rather than invalidating geolinguistics, however, this renewed awareness and interest in geolinguistics provides opportunities for further and more sustained geographical inquiry.

Causes of Geographical Diversity

Saussure simplified a complex argument by stating that we can deduce the basic cause of differentiation in language to be down to geographical space. If a language was to be transported from point x to point y , what would happen? After a certain amount of time, various differences in grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation and so on would separate the original language (S) at its origin (x) from the relocated language (S') at its destination (y). However:

It is wrong to imagine that only the transplanted idiom will change while the original idiom remains fixed or vice versa. An innovation may begin on either side or on both sides at the same time. (Saussure, 1916, p.197)

For example, considering (as this thesis does) language on the move, take a linguistic feature (a)

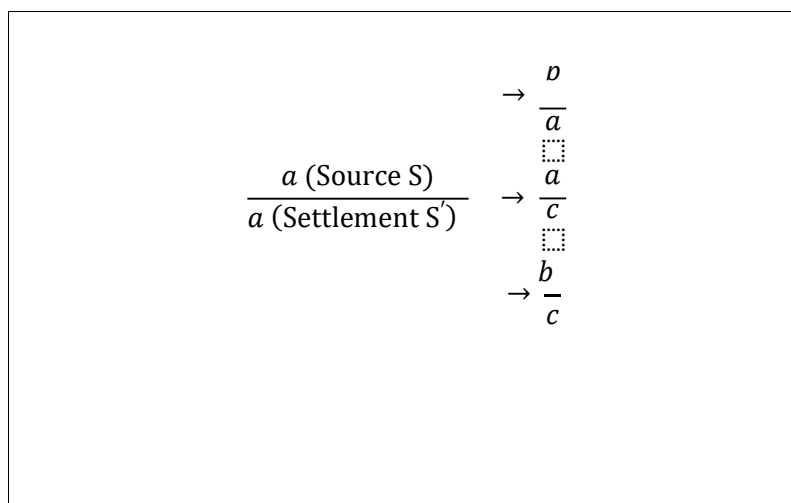


Figure 2.3: A diagram showing the different ways differentiation can take place (Saussure, 1916)

that gets replaced by b or c . Differentiation in this figure may occur in three different ways:

Thus, a switches to b in S (in situ) but remains the same in S' (after relocation); a stays the same in S but switches to c in S' ; or a switches to b in S and to c in S' (see figure 2.3). Saussure contributed a set of arguments that had the potential to open up geolinguistics to a more dynamic and exciting view of language – and its spaces – than this subfield tended to adopt. Such a view is what, in part, energises this thesis.

It would be illusory to believe that space alone causes the change in the linguistic feature, since, unaided, space itself is unable to influence language. While it is easy to forget about temporal influences because they are less concrete than space, it is the factor of time – or rather, change in language use over time – that is the main cause of linguistic differentiation. Saussure hence argued that geographical diversity should, in fact, be called temporal diversity. As such:

Take two differentiating features b and c. No [individual] speakers have passed from the first to the second or from the second to the first. To discover how linguistic unity became linguistic diversity, we must go back to the original a for which b and c were substituted. (Saussure, 1916, p.198)

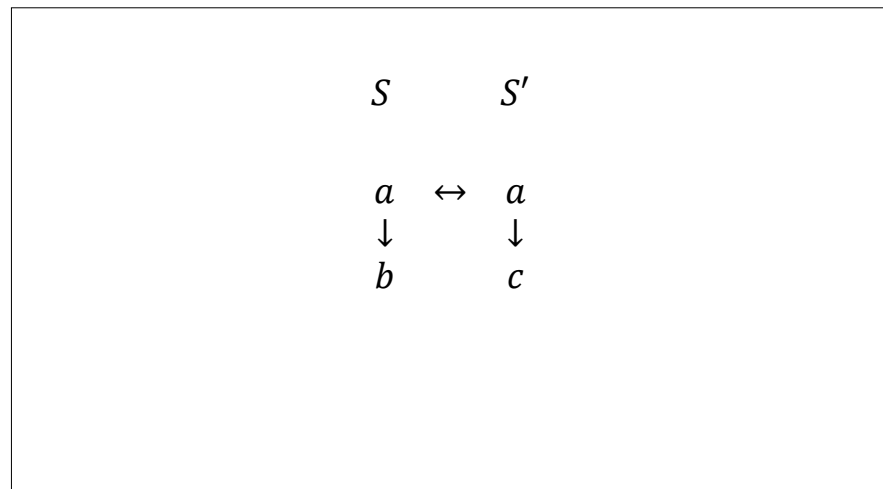


Figure 2.4: A diagram showing how a linguistic feature can become differentiated. (Saussure, 1916)

Figure 2.4 above shows how one idiom, or one linguistic feature, can indeed become differentiated, but it does not *explain* this divergence. Undoubtedly though, spatial difference was necessary, and so time and space combine to make linguistic diversity. The evolution of language will not be uniform throughout a territory but will vary from one area to the next. Saussure focused attention on changes of vowel sounds to show how languages change, and he recognised that each dialectal fact has its own distinctive ‘zone’ and is not necessarily in line with variability in other geographical facts; and hence his distaste of using singular and precise isoglosses to represent linguistic or dialectal boundaries. Saussure was thereby early to recognise that such boundaries are messy and do not follow strict rules. He also argued that each element of a dialect could change in its own ‘zone’ and over different time scales, which can be illustrated using the following diagrams; which capture elements A and S, staying the same over a given time period in one portion of their space, but mutating into E and Z over the same period in other portions of their space (in effect a partitioning of their original ‘zones’).

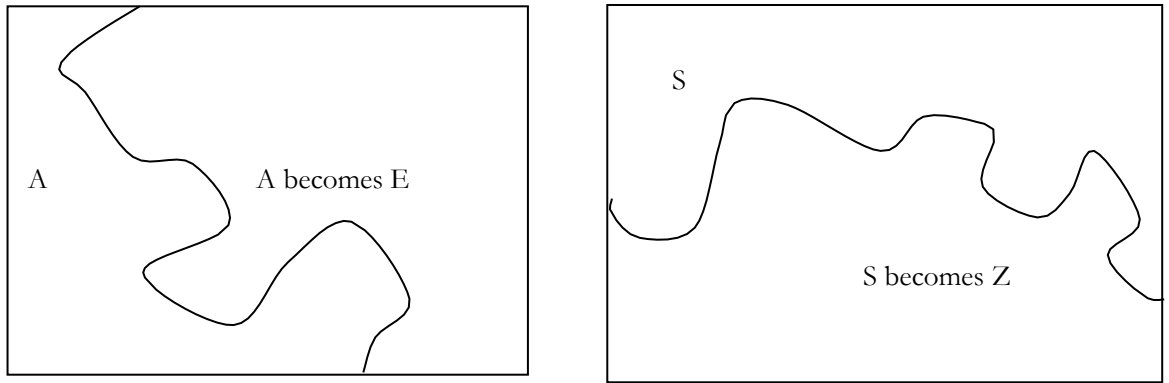


Figure 2.5: Diagrams showing spatial variations of dialect. (Saussure, 1916)

These illustrations show how different changes can take place independently of one another. They show the potentially emerging diversity of regional speech forms throughout one territory and, together with Saussure's previous illustrations, show how these types of changes may evolve quite naturally and unpredictably.

Research in dialectal characteristics was the starting point for linguistic cartography, branching off from geographic linguistics. Saussure argued that the model linguistic atlas is Gilliéron's *Atlas Linguistique de la France* (1902) because it only included a small number of dialectal characteristics, allowing an in-depth representation of the geographical differentiation of dialects. Where Saussure and the early geolinguists hence differed was in their use of isoglosses or lines to separate these changes and dialects:

The current practice, which differs from ours, is to picture dialects as perfectly defined linguistic types, bounded in all directions and covering distinct zones placed side by side on a map ... but natural dialectal transformations produce entirely different results ... the notion of natural dialects is therefore incompatible with the notion of fixed well defined zones ... we may define a dialect by the totality of its characteristics, which involves choosing one point on a map and encompassing only the regional speech forms of a single locality since the same peculiarities will not extend beyond this point; or we may define a dialect by one of its characteristics, and simply map the spread of this characteristic, which obviously is an artificial procedure since the boundaries we mark of correspond to no dialectal reality. (Saussure, 1916, p.201-2)

What Saussure appeared to favour here, then, was the model of a linguistic surface – with many undulations continually winding around one another – reflecting the fact that language (dialects, regional speech and so on) are never like homogenous blankets spread out over each space (the same consistency, texture and colour throughout), but rather is always changing in more-or-less subtle ways from place to place. Never is language the same, or at least *exactly* the same, from one point to the next, however adjacent.

On the use of isoglosses, Saussure hence suggested an alternative view:

The boundaries of dialectal characteristics have been called “isogloss lines” or “isoglosses”. This name, coined on the model of *isotherme*, is obscure and inappropriate, for it means ‘having the same language’. Since *glosseme* means ‘idiomatic character’, the expression *isoglossematic lines*, if practical, would be more appropriate. But I prefer to use *innovating waves*, a descriptive expression that goes back to J. Schmidt. (Saussure, 1916, p.203)

Linguistic atlases may show multiple lines coinciding or overlapping in one area; as in figure 2.6.

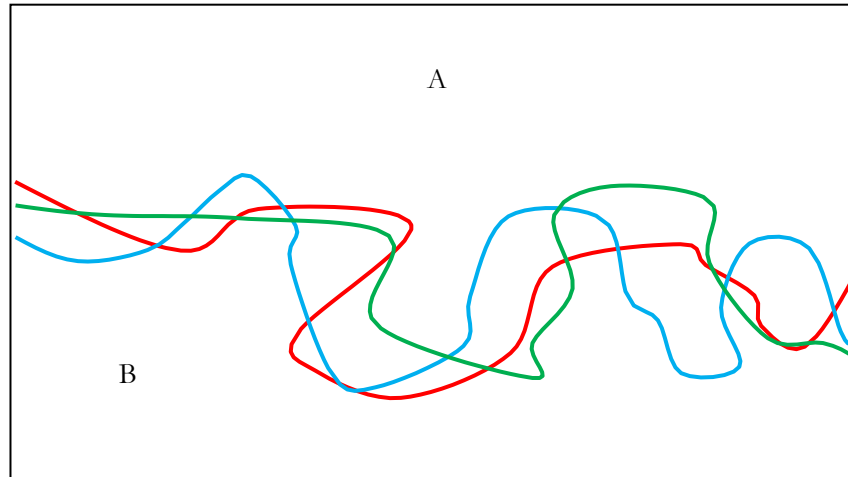


Figure 2.6: Isoglosses separating two dialects (Saussure, 1916)

Areas A and B, separated by this zone of isoglosses or isoglossematic waves, clearly have some divergences and thus host two differentiated forms of speech, but exactly where a linguistic boundary might be identified and drawn between them is evidently impossible to specify definitively. In these terms, a particular dialect may be defined by a ‘sufficient accumulation of such concordances’ (Saussure, 1916, p.203), but their foundations are social, political, religious and more, all closely entwined with what he termed ‘external linguistics’.

Saussure went on to argue that it is also impossible to set up and to create clear boundaries between languages. He suggested that the size of territory makes no difference and that, where two languages border each other, the zone of convergence is always going to be complex and difficult to define. In looking at the zone between Italian and French, he wrote:

There are points where we can say ‘French predominates here, here Italian.’ But in the intermediate the distinction would disappear. The dividing lines between languages, like those between dialects, are hidden in transitions. Just as dialects are only arbitrary subdivisions of the total surface of language, so the boundary that is supposed to separate two languages is only a conventional one. (Saussure, 1916, p.204).

Saussure evidently had much in common with geolinguists when it came to his study of language and geography. By taking language as a system, and in recognising its external influences, Saussure helped to influence the work of geolinguists such as Williams, Withers and Zelinsky, who otherwise may have continued to implement a strictly scientific and somewhat simplified approach to the geographical distribution of languages. However, it is worth noting that Saussure’s work was

carried out at the turn of the 20th century, meaning a significant period passed before geolinguists adopted his approach. Saussure undoubtedly had some influence on geolinguistics throughout the 20th century, but because it was not formally recognised as a subfield until the mid-1970's (Trudgill, 1975), this influence was perhaps not overtly clear until the subfield was established and could be reflected upon. Later developments in geolinguistics began to look at cultural and social factors, replicating the work carried out by Saussure on 'external linguistics', to which I will now turn.

Ferdinand de Saussure (1857 - 1913)

Born one year after Freud, the founder of psychoanalysis, and one year before Durkheim, the founder of modern sociology, it is a happy coincidence that Saussure's modern linguistics fits comfortably between these two fields in the social sciences (Culler, 1974).

Saussure examined the relationship between speech and the evolution of language by taking language as a structured system of signs (Culler, 1974); the notion of a system is central to Saussure's arguments, and he viewed language as a system and speech as the social manifestation of this system.

Freud, Saussure and Durkheim all recognised that society needed to be recognised as a reality in itself, a set of institutions or systems which are more than the contingent manifestations of the Spirit or the sum of individual activities. (Culler, 1974, p.xii)

To understand people's individual experiences of reality, the social norms underlying these experiences needed to be studied. For example, when faced with a marriage or game of football, an observer unfamiliar with these systems would be able to describe what was happening, but be unable to grasp the meaning; the actions are meaningful only in the context of a set of institutional conventions (Culler, 1974). Context was important to Saussure, arguing that to learn English is not to simply be able to speak in sentences, but to be able to create new sentences with new meanings (Saussure, 1916): this was what it meant to truly understand the system of language. Saussure challenged positivist thinkers by taking events *and* their meanings as their object of study, arguing that collective social systems such as language are internalised by individuals, thus making behaviour possible.

He proposed that linguistics, alongside psychology and sociology, is part of a science that he termed 'semiological'; a general science of signs. Saussure's belief was that semiology would study the various systems of conventions which enable human actions to have meanings, and hence to become signs (Saussure, 1916):

If we are to discover the true nature of language ... we must consider it in relation to other systems of signs; and reciprocally, we shall shed new light on ritual, customs, and social behaviour in general by considering them as types of "languages". (Saussure, 1916, p.14)

Not all of Saussure's suggestions were taken up immediately, or with great gusto, and it was only in the latter part of the 20th century that the importance of his teachings came to be realised:

Saussure's emphasis on speech as the primary manifestation of language and his insistence that linguistic analysis must be concerned with abstract units and relationships rather than physical manifestations were well reasoned and proved to be very influential for linguistic theory formation and beyond, laying the groundwork for structuralism. (Coulmas, 2013, p.3)

Indeed, what is now called “structuralism” arose when anthropologists, literary critics, and others saw that the example of linguistics could help to justify what they sought to do in their own disciplines; and, as they began to take linguistics as a model, they realised that they were in fact developing the semiology that Saussure so long ago proposed (Culler, 1974, p.xiv).

For Saussure, language is a link between thought and sound; thoughts have to become ordered, and sounds articulated, for language to occur. Thoughts and sounds then combine to provide communication. Saussure maintained that written language exists solely for the representation of spoken language, a written word being just an image of a vocal sign, and he argued that ‘nothing is present in written language without having first been tested in spoken languages’ (Saussure, 1916, p.168):

Language and writing are two distinct systems of signs; the second exists for the sole purpose of representing the first. The linguistic object is not both the written and the spoken forms of words; the spoken forms alone constitute the object. But the spoken word is so intimately bound to its written image that the latter manages to usurp the main role. People attach even more importance to the written image of a vocal sign than to the sign itself. (Saussure, 1916, p.24)

Saussure’s theory of language proved influential across the social sciences. Although his influence in geography was delayed, it is arguable that his approach to language helped to shape not only 20th century geolinguistics, but more recent approaches to language geographies as well (even if these intellectual roots are rarely made explicit or even acknowledged).

External Linguistics

Saussure’s primary view of language as a system excluded everything that was outwith this system, but he recognised that what he termed ‘external linguistics’ dealt with many important elements that are related to language. Firstly, he felt it was important to consider the links between the history of a language and the history of a race or civilization. Saussure argued that ‘the culture of a nation exerts an influence on its language, and the language, on the other hand, is largely responsible for the nation’ (1916, p.20). Secondly, he deemed it important to look at relationship between language and politics, with a particular focus on political history, taking into account events such as colonisation and the change that this brought about to a language. In addition to this more historical approach, Saussure began to look at internal language politics as well, and how some governments allow the coexistence of several languages while others strive for linguistic unity. Finally, he suggested that once a nation has reached an advanced state of civilization, the development of special languages is favoured; juridical language and scientific terminology are just two examples.

In considering the relationship between language and a range of institutions, Saussure began to look at the role of literary language. He argued that 'literary language raised important questions of conflicts between it and local dialects' (1916, p.21). In examining the reciprocal relations between literary language and the vernacular, he found that literary language often broke away from the spoken language; the written was a result of culture, while the spoken was a 'natural' development:

Literary language often influences natural idioms. This never fails to happen when a nation reaches a certain stage of civilisation. By literary language I mean not only the language of literature but also, in a more general sense, any kind of cultivated language, official or otherwise, that serves a whole community. Given free reign, a language has only dialect, none of which has the advantage over the others, and for this reason it habitually splinters. But as communications improve with a growing civilisation, one of the existing dialects is chosen by a tacit convention of some sort to be the vehicle of everything that affects the nation as a whole. The reasons for the choice differ widely. Sometimes preference goes to the dialect of the region where civilisation is most advanced or to the province that has political supremacy and wields the central power. Sometimes the court imposes its dialect on the nation. The privileged dialect, after it has been promoted to the rank of official and standard language, seldom remains the same as it was before. (Saussure, 1916, p.195).

External linguistics was an early version of the cultural geolinguistics present in geography towards the end of the 20th century. Saussure recognised early on that there is more to language and dialect than a strict set of structures, and executed this approach through his recognition of external linguistics. That said, he was adamant that external and internal linguistics⁵ ought to be kept analytically separate, meaning that the full picture of linguistic change was built up in parts as opposed to seeing it as a whole; as both a social and an intrinsic phenomenon that works as one. Geolinguistics arguably did not maintain this separation, and has tended to combine the innate nature of language with the social influences and impacts, meaning that more recent language geographers, as will be shown, have been able to study language from a range of interesting approaches. Ultimately, geolinguists' acceptance of the social aspects of language has resulted in geographers studying the practice and performance of language, aligning it with the non- representational and thus allowing language geographies to have integrity in academic geography.

A Changing Geolinguistics

The late 1970s saw the so-called 'cultural turn' take hold of the social sciences and arts and humanities, although academic geography did not feel its full effects until the late 1980s and 90s. Scholars focused on putting culture at the centre of debates, shifting the focus of many studies towards the realms of meaning, and emphasising the cultural and social elements of the phenomena under scrutiny; geographical studies saw a drastic change in direction, not excluding language geography.

⁵ Internal linguistics is what Saussure supposed to be the entirely 'internal' dynamics of a language within its linguistic system.

Desforges and Jones (2010) suggested that a new concern with language geography emerged at the same time as large-scale cultural and political changes took place. In the final decades of the 20th century, geographers began to consider the cultural, social and political aspects of language (Breton, 1991), a far cry from the work of previous language geographers. Language geographies began to focus on nationalism and political identities, particularly those of minority groups (Withers, 1993). Additionally, developments in linguistics began to influence geography, and linguistic geographers took an interest in the ethnic, cultural and psychological structures of which language was a part (Breton, 1991). This reawakening of language geographies meant that scholars recalled previous studies, creating a realisation that the only way to establish or explore linguistic boundaries was to carry out socio-cultural investigations, and to begin to look beyond basic description and cartographic representation (Williams, 1988). Although this move may still seem a somewhat parochial approach towards language and geography, it was certainly a bold move for language geographers in the late 20th century, reworking existing geolinguistic values and beginning to assert the importance of language in cultural geography.

Geolinguistics acted as a springboard for scholars to look at different ways that geography and language intersect. The cultural turn meant that geographers were able to engage in debates about socio-spatial formations via a dialogue with linguistic studies (Desforges and Jones, 2010). This in turn helped to advance other processes in human geography, as has been evident more recently. Tuan (1991) felt that the crucial role of language in the making of place had been neglected, in particular Pred and Olsson, yet this was now becoming a focus for many language geographers.

How places are made is at the core of human geography. Overwhelmingly the discipline has emphasized the economic and material forces at work. Neglected is the explicit recognition of the crucial role of language, even though without speech humans cannot even begin to formulate ideas, discuss them, and translate them into action that culminates in a built place. Moreover, words alone, used in an appropriate situation, can have the power to render objects, formerly invisible because unattended, visible, and impart to them a certain character: thus a mere rise on a flat surface becomes something far more - a place that promises to open up to other places - when it is named "Mount Prospect." The different ways by which language contributes toward the making of place may be shown by exploring a wide range of situations and cultural contexts. (Tuan, 1991, p.684)

This move to a social and cultural geolinguistics drastically changed the approach of language geographers. Scholars began to apply language to a range of geographic themes, revealing the pervasiveness and powerful role that language plays in constituting the multiple spaces and worlds of social, cultural and political life. It is in consideration of these spaces and worlds that this chapter will now turn.

The Politics of Language

Language is an inherent part of human life; in the late-20th century, as geographers began to take greater interest in cultural and social aspects of the world, language became an inescapable component of their studies. Power, politics, identity and citizenship are all tied up with language use, and different forms of language take precedence within these overarching themes. Questions of cultural ‘norms’ or ‘bonds’ were explored as geographers became interested in nationalisms; a key ‘bond’ was obviously language, revealing how shared language becomes part of the imagined community of the nation. This new approach to language geography should not be seen as distinct from geolinguistics, but instead another version of it, in line with geographic thought at the time (Withers, 1993). It was recognised that language is influenced by both external and internal factors (Breton, 1991) and this approach to language geography came to see language as a social phenomenon, tied up with authority, knowledge, production, consumption and representation (of the self and other) (Withers, 1993). More recently language geographers have begun to look at performance, practice, embodiment and expression. These changes in the field of language geography have acted as a springboard for the multiple yet tentative strands of language geography currently being explored, including in my thesis.

Drawing from geolinguistics’ concern with speculative language ‘boundaries’, language geographers’ first step during the cultural turn was to explore how these ‘boundaries’ were related to political boundaries, and subsequently, more intangible dimensions of power, identity and citizenship (Trudgill, 1974; Breton, 1996). Furthermore, Pred (1989) discussed the notion of language and knowledge, stating that language *equals* knowledge. Both prior to and since his work in the late-1980s, many have asked whether the extent of our language is the extent of our knowledge, or whether our world can only be defined by the words we can speak, with Wittgenstein (1922) famously suggesting that the limits of our language are the limits of our world. Both of these thoughts pose extremely poignant – more philosophical – questions largely outwith the parameters of this chapter, but these questions still concern geographers and linguists alike.

Language of Power and the Power of Language

Language in relation to power can take several forms, all of which have received attention from a variety of geographic subfields (Tuan, 1991). The relationship between language and power can derive from the institutionalisation of language, local struggles and conflicts, language communities (specifically considering minority groups) and, relatedly, the right to speak and be heard. In addition to these links between power and language, the obvious connection between political power and political language focusing around nationalism should not be ignored (Williams, 1988). Olsson (1987) discussed the idea that the language of power is the power of

language, arguing that, by investigating the language of power, the effects that language can have on a range of people and places is better understood:

Language in relation to power is another topic that has received much attention in current research. Geographers, and indeed society at large, have come to see that speech – the right to speak and be heard, the right to name and have that name ‘stick’ – is empowerment. (Tuan, 1991, p.685)

The consumption, distribution and representation of knowledge are all closely tied to language use and language ability (Valentine and Skelton, 2007). Furthermore, the institutionalisation of language, and how language is used *within* the academy can at times create an elitist hierarchy. This was also found by Desforges and Jones (2010, p.262), who argued that ‘language can imbue meaning and power to certain social and spatial practices’; power relations are maintained and reproduced through language, exposing the power of language (Pred, 1989). Furthermore, this contestation that power relations are produced and maintained by language supports Jackson’s (1989) argument that language is reproduced through social practice, and does not exist outside of social relations of power, much like other practices, thus hinting at a politics of language.

The right to speak, and to be heard, is a power dynamic in its own right. Williams (1988) proposed that some languages are more powerful than others; this does not have to relate to different languages *per se*, but can also be linked to discourses⁶, again suggesting a hierarchy of language and those that speak them. To give an example is to look at the linguistic imperialism of current-day Britain, with Gaelic and Welsh becoming secondary languages even for their native speakers. Mackey goes on to suppose that the higher up the hierarchy is a language, the more users it attracts, assuming that one does not learn a new language without expecting some kind of ‘capital’⁷ in return (1974, cited in Williams, 1988). Furthermore, as people become entwined in different divisions of labour, different social groups and different power relations, their language use changes (Sullivan, 2011), suggesting that this hierarchy of language is neither stable nor assumed. Language has the ability to repress individuals and communities as a result of rigid views on language categories. It is still important to note here that, although it is asserted that different languages accrue different amounts of prestige, these are not universally ranked in the same way in every circumstance (Jackson, 1989). Both Bourdieu and Saussure recognised how different languages achieved different levels of prestige; a result of where they are spoken and who is speaking them, closely tied to personal aspiration. Studies about power and language show the important effects that language can have in political and social worlds. The power of language is pervasive and impacts people on a daily basis, whether they are aware of this or not can be debated, but nevertheless language works to include and exclude, and creates hierarchies and power

⁶ Discourse is used to mean organised bodies of claims about given issues, which may be written or spoken by experts, but may also gain popular tractions. Foucault (*The Archaeology of Knowledge*, 1970) is the prime theorist of discourse upon whom geographers have tended to rely.

⁷ Language can be seen as cultural capital, enabling people to attain status and resources.

dynamics based on the use of the ‘dominant’ language. Language is constantly at work in the world, shaping our lives as we go about our daily business. Such simple claims remain extremely important for the substantive details of my thesis.

Bourdieu (see page 47) (1991) asserts that authority comes to language from the outside, taking into account the societies in which we live and the people with whom we interact. Arguing this assertion is valuable when trying to understand the power of linguistic manifestations and looking at ‘the effectiveness and meaning of language of an institution’ (p.109 cited in Sullivan, 2011, p.33). Bourdieu’s assertion leads to a highly contested question about who gives language authority, revealing intricate and complex power relations. To some extent, Cameron’s (2012) notion of verbal hygiene comes into play here; Cameron argued that it is linguistic attitudes and beliefs that influence language, often coming from people who want to ‘purify’ language and who wish to have authority over the ‘lay’ speaker. She goes on to suggest that those who have ‘mastered’ the language can use the rules that have been mastered to exclude, even to intimidate others, and that this exclusion brings to light questions of agency; of how much control people have over the language that they are speaking. These ideas around power and agency mirror Pred (1989), who pinpointed the importance of studying local language use to reveal both hidden and overt power relations and their implications:

For anyone concerned with the interplay of social and spatial structuring, the simultaneous making of history and production of place and space, the dialectical intertwinings of situated practices, power relations, and forms of consciousness, the formulation of a critical human geography with political implications, local language usage ought to be a study object of special interest because it is so frequently the scene of ideological contestation, because it is not only the means by which local struggles are described and communicated, but also itself frequently a site of struggle and resistance. (p.219)

Pred here showed how language is tied up with many of the everyday practices in which we all participate. We all invariably belong to an institution of some kind; these institutions can range from a family to a university to a national corporation. Institutions vary in size and in importance, and are differently emplaced, but signal our belonging to something outside of ourselves. Language use within these institutions and places perpetually impacts our lives both consciously and unconsciously; such is the power of language.

Institutional use of language has been highlighted by geographers over the past several decades, and one of many examples is Foucault’s work on discourses used in asylums and in encounters of care (McGeachan and Philo, 2014). The following quote shows the powerful work that words do in the world, the way they can cause affectual responses at the same time as being used for representational purposes. It highlights the complex ways in which people and languages interact, ones often overlooked:

His purpose was not to deaden their affective qualities – ‘the shock of these words must give rise to a certain effect of beauty mixed with dread’ (Foucault, 2002: 159) – but neither was it to accord them with any special representational capacity for picturing lives lived in the nooks and crannies of France’s *ancien regime*. His objective was rather to see these words squarely *in* the run of the real: as ‘operative’ within a material-social world *beyond* the pages bearing the words, ‘play[ing] a part in the reality they speak of’, being the ‘instruments’ through which lives – or ‘existences’ – were shaped, secured, released, made and unmade. (McGeachan and Philo, 2014, p.546)

Different institutions use different ‘types’ of language, having different discourses to achieve certain outcomes, or to have different affectual results. Activities are made possible through language use, and the institutionalisation of language results in linguistic communities, including those who know the ‘lingo’⁸ and excluding those who do not:

Institutionalisation can occur at the disciplinary, the political, the cultural and the small group level. There can also be discourse that develops around a certain topic, such as gender or class. Discourses can compete with each other or they can create distinct and incompatible versions of reality. (Davies and Harré, 1982, p.45).

Institutionalisation of language can be interpreted in numerous ways, and one area of interest for language geographers is the family unit. By studying family uses of language, it can be revealed how language has distinct patterns and rules that allow it to have certain impacts. In a family unit, language is often used in a way that will produce desirable effects, inoffensive and respectful. It is noticeable that many people change how they speak when in the presence of their family, and studies into this phenomenon could produce interesting findings, revealing some of the powerful and unspoken rules of language. In recognition of Lacan and Freud, language used in everyday practices in institutions and family settings is the context for unconscious thoughts and feelings; a result of what *cannot* be said or what has to be kept back in the mind (Pred, 1989). Language can create ‘the perverse, decadent, and taboo-laden...subdued desire, self-discipline and the forbidden’ (Pred, 1989, p.214). Thus, language has the ability to shape and be shaped, create and be created, maintain and be maintained, by one’s life path. However, as will be examined later, institutions often rely heavily on spoken or written language, assuming that all those who belong to the institution are users of this particular form of language. What perhaps needs to be examined further – and of particular relevance to this thesis – is what happens to those who do not have use of this desired language; those who are excluded from the linguistic community, and what power relations may be at play. This will in part be explored in Chapter 7, where I look at how this exclusion and difference is embodied by my participants, before exploring the impact that it has on mobility and encounters in Chapter 9.

⁸ Interestingly, the origin of this word, meaning the language and speech, especially the jargon, slang, or argot, of a particular field, group, or individual comes from ‘lingua franca’.

Linguistic Landscapes

Humans are surrounded by language in its textual form (Gorter, 2006), from newspapers to billboards, from text messages to bank statements. While it may appear in most of the places we look, our minds do not always process the words that take form in front of us. The term ‘linguistic landscape’ is attributed to the words that appear in our everyday worlds, whether they are shop signs, road signs, graffiti or even our own scribbles; each person’s linguistic landscape is unique, based upon their own lives and spaces (Ben-Rafael *et al*, 2006). Language in the landscape is perception dependent and open to interpretation: at times it demands one’s full attention, yet elsewhere it may be passed without notice, yet this is not to say it is any less important. It has the power to impact and influence; it can be viewed but is not necessarily *displayed*. Linguistic landscapes reveal the textualisation of social space, becoming part of the built environment, being in the public sphere (Gorter, 2006). Words in linguistic landscapes can be public, seen by every passer-by, or they can be shared by just two people, such as the words in a text message. Whether they are public or private, permanent, fleeting or on the move, these words can have great consequences or no effect at all, but are nevertheless unique to each individual. Words have different effects and purposes for different people and our linguistic landscapes reflect this fact: whether consciously or unconsciously, words alter and shape our everyday worlds; they are words doing work in the world.

One critique of studies relating to linguistic landscapes is that they look at the words too literally, without considering meanings, connotations or impacts (Backhaus, 2006). However, geographers have begun to look at the space of words, and how words are used in space, and linguistic landscapes are a good starting point for this orientation. The materiality of words becomes central – writing is *visible* language, it is perceivable – and linguistic landscapes show how words work within space. We need to begin to take seriously the work that words can do, the impacts they can have and how people choose to embody their linguistic landscapes, perhaps coming to the fore in identity formation, maintenance and performance, constituted by the words we see, the words we hear and the words we use.

The linguistic landscape can represent, reveal and maintain the shared cultural and social values of a community (Ben-Rafael *et al*, 2006; Gorter, 2006). Words are commonly tied up with identity and power, political representation, argument, negotiation and claims to place; words in space can represent the character of a place or community, and here multilingualism is important to consider. Graffiti, shop signs, or other kinds of writing in different languages shows the linguistic diversity of a community or place. The textual landscape can help to create a sense of place for those who are represented, echoing Tuan’s (1991) assertion that language is central to place making. However, it can also work to exclude those who are not represented, yet the unfixed nature of

linguistic landscapes means that anyone can contribute, helping to make themselves heard – or, perhaps more fittingly, seen. The creative making of such landscapes, even on the micro-level of what is written in a classroom or a text message, figures heavily in the empirical chapters to come, most notably in Chapter 9 where I consider ‘visual language geographies’.

Language Communities

Mid-20th century thinking in academic geography commonly supposed that language was a cultural trait belonging to a group of people (Breton, 1991). While this is not necessarily a falsehood, it is a somewhat simplistic approach to a complex issue. Language is seen to be something that makes, and is made by, shared social and cultural values. Communities with a shared language are often defined by age, gender, class and so on, leading to the understanding that there can be multiple linguistic communities within a singular society (Jackson 1989; Cameron, 2012), with people belonging to more than one of these communities. These different communities are also closely tied to identity, and where language, social categories and identity come together. Cameron (2012) used Butler’s theory of identity performance (1990) to suggest that linguistic performances are not necessarily reflections of a structure (here community), but rather work to create and recreate that structure. Studies around linguistic communities suggest that language is central in structuring people’s experiences and making them interpretable for others (Jackson, 1989). Taking the notion of identity forward, language communities aid feelings of belonging by creating an intellectual and cultural domain, a collective heritage through written works and the spoken language (Wartburg, 1969 cited in Breton, 1991). Language allows for memory traces and for rules and norms to be shared (Pred, 1989), facilitating patterns of social life that occur locally; and so language actively shapes and orders communities and wider society. Pred (1989) focused on place-bound traditions carried by language and suggests that language communities, and the effects of these communities, are geographically specific. Language directly constitutes social space for those whose language is entered into the shared surroundings, but there is also an exclusionary role to language, and many are excluded from communicative environments as a result of not speaking the correct, or desired, language or performing the identity properly (Butler, 1990; Valentine and Skelton, 2007; Cameron, 2012):

Different members of a speech community use their linguistic resources differently. Some of the differences are individual and others social, concerning social networks, stratification, level of education, gender, minority status etc., as well as attitudes towards speech styles. Some styles are highly regarded, others looked down upon, and these distinctions correlate with the perceived and actual social status of their speakers. (Coulmas, 2013, p.11)

As I have previously explored, language is crucial for constructing and performing cultural identities for individuals and for the communities to which they feel they belong (Harris, 1980 cited in Jackson, 1989). Sounds, words, signs and systems are created, adopted and maintained to help

reinforce feelings of a collective community (Brickell, 2013). Pred (1989) explored the notion of collective consciousness constituted by language, partly borne out of belonging to a linguistic community. One critique of studies about linguistic communities comes from Brickell (2013), who worried that researchers' tendency to ignore the importance of speech means that they are overlooking the flexibility of meaning, and what specific details of speech can subtly convey in certain social spaces or situations. The notion of linguistic communities reveals the power of language in creating a sense of place or belonging for people, and how it can exclude those outwith the community. Moreover, the notion of 'deviant language' (Pred, 1989) shows how those who differ from the norm may be extradited from their linguistic community for not following the correct norms and rules of the language.

Language is argued to be crucial to debates around citizenship and belonging (Valentine and Skelton, 2007), taking a central role in constructions and contestations of identity (Segrott, 2010). It mobilises, empowers and strengthens national and community level identities (Pred, 1989; Valentine and Skelton, 2007), while holding together multiple interests. Language has the capacity to connect, mediate and represent communities and groups (Brandt and Clinton, 2002), and both Wittgenstein and Bourdieu believed that a combination of speech and action can lead to categorisation of cultural and social differences (Stirk, 1999), which works to reveal the inclusionary/exclusionary nature of language. As has been mentioned previously, and something highly pertinent to this thesis, is the idea that language can cause social and cultural exclusion, creating hierarchies within institutions, places, societies and broader social structures, with those who do not have the desired language being separated from those who possess the 'correct' language skills.

Language has the ability to signal membership of a certain group, and for many migrants, language is vital in aiding their membership of exiled groups away from their 'homes' (Segrott, 2010). Moreover, language is vital for self-identity and representation of the self, something that is crucial to settlement in a new community. Mackey (1974 cited in Williams 1988) examined the linguistic integration of immigrants, asserting that:

With the phenomenal increase in the mobility potential during the last century, emigration and immigration have taken on an important dimension in the shaping of national policies – economic, cultural and linguistic. The bilingual children of millions of guest workers in western Europe, especially since the end of the Second World War, have been instrumental in increasing the number of speakers of the languages of the host countries. (p.37)

This quote from Mackey shows how languages have helped to create new national and community identities, and the importance of linguistic diversity. People speak, write or read certain languages as a result of complex experiences and relationships; therefore, using language to communicate and to understand these experiences is vital in becoming part of a wider society. Language indeed has

the ability to do ‘real’ work in the world, changing and shaping societal norms and values at the same time as possessing affectual qualities that impact people on a very personal level. The link between language and feelings of belonging is a thread that weaves throughout my research, as I seek to uncover the role that different languages play in influencing processes of settlement.

Pierre Bourdieu 1930 - 2002

Bourdieu spoke widely about his notion of a ‘linguistic habitus’. According to Bourdieu, habitus comprises a set of dispositions acquired through one’s embeddedness in any given social milieu. Habitus marks the site of a socially inscribed subjectivity: a space that defines a person’s sense of place in the world; a space that influences a person’s sense of value in the fields or ‘markets’ that define all aspects of exchange and interaction. The habitus is strongly shaped by one’s experiences growing up, a time when we acquire not only language, but also a sense of our particular and potential value in the fields we (and our families) inhabit. Habitus becomes second nature, but not in a deterministic way (Hillier and Rooksby, 2005).

Just as Bourdieu saw subjectivity as socially conditioned, he also sees language as operating within a field, exchanged by agents who, themselves, are characterised by their position within society. While anyone might have the ability or competence to utter a sentence, not everyone has the authority to compel others to listen, and it is the authority that is imposed by those who define legitimate language within the social milieu that ultimately determines what space we occupy and the value that we (and society) place on our own utterances. Bourdieu defined a subset of habitus, called ‘linguistic habitus’, a set of dispositions that we acquire as we learn to speak within particular contexts. This linguistic sense of place strongly influences how we consume the symbolic signs of wealth and authority that set the ‘market’ conditions for how we price ourselves and our own acts of production.

Bourdieu noted the symbolic power of language and argued that language represented situated knowledge, asserting that our worlds are represented through language, but also that our language develops as part of our habitus (Coulmas, 2013). Mirroring this notion, Pred (1981) suggested that language is both a prerequisite and a consequence of our life paths, created by our personal visions of the world. Each person has a unique habitus, and this is the same for ‘linguistic habitus’. The way we see the world is constituted by language; and the world we view is thus determined by the language that we speak (Mounin, 1968 cited in Coulmas, 2013):

Languages do not speak about the same human experience; they analyse it according to different categories of knowledge. Not only the same experience of the world is differently analysed in different languages, but cultural anthropology and ethnology lead us to think that (within certain limits yet to be determined) it is not always the same world the different linguistic structures express. (Mounin, 1968 cited in Coulmas, 2013, p.59).

Mounin looked at the multiplicity of languages and how personal circumstances can change our linguistic habitus. Speaking and acting from a certain position brings forward personal histories and subjectivities. Multiple versions of one continuous self are created (Davies and Harré, 1982), thus explicitly and implicitly representing the self in a desired way through strategic use of language. One’s linguistic habitus not only stems from what is heard, but also from the linguistic landscapes in which one has grown up, and the written texts and stories to which one is exposed (Coulmas, 2013). The language that people use is a result of everyday life and produces a differing, and often divided, view of the world (Brickell, 2013).

The Written Word vs. The Spoken Word

The distinction between written and spoken word has long preoccupied scholars, with some proclaiming their irreconcilable difference and others their essential sameness, and with some regarding writing as the symbolic representation of speech (Saussure, 1916) and others speech as derivative of structures given in writing (Derrida, 1976). (McGeachan and Philo, 2014, p.556)

Many scholars consider space and language, or the space of language (Brace and Putra, 2010), but, when the intricacies of language are explored, it becomes apparent that there is a lot more to consider than just how language is related to space. For a start, Laurier (1998) argued for the differences between text and talk to be recognised and, within this distinction, different types of texts and talk that do different work in the world. There has long been a separation of the written and the spoken, and strong arguments are presented in favour for the dominance of each. Both are deemed to be necessary for participation in society, suggesting that oral culture is no longer a viable alternative to literary culture (Coulmas, 2013), but one that should be considered alongside it. This contention from Coulmas facilitates a range of responses; firstly, it has been found that non-literate societies' reliance on oral culture is not sustained by speech alone; and secondly, this argument raises questions about the validity of gestural language, visual literacy and embodied or performed languages. It has been asserted that we, as humans, have a 'natural' and innate capacity to speak, yet we must *learn* to write (Coulmas, 2013), and therefore perhaps speech should take precedence in linguistic studies. Contrary to this point lies an argument about the longevity of written language, and Mackey (1974 cited in Williams, 1988) asserted that the life expectancy of a language depends on the number and importance of the functions that it fulfils, suggesting that, if a language has written form, it could be viewed as having dominance over those languages which do not. In saying this, a dichotomy between writing and speaking should probably not be sustained; they work together to create complete and coherent communication, meanings and effects, and do so alongside more embodied and gestural dimensions (Brandt and Clinton, 2002). By taking a social practice – in other words a broadly performative – approach to language, encompassing both written and spoken forms, the divide between the two can be overcome, contributing to a progressive language geography that examines language as a whole rather than separating out different elements.

The Written Word

As humans, we respond to demonstrative and visible actions and evidence, and this is perhaps why the written form seems to have taken precedence in language geography thus far (Coulmas, 2013). Often associated with official, administrative and legal documents (Williams, 1988), written texts 'frequently have an importance beyond the initial context in which they were composed. They are interpreted and reinterpreted in the light of changing circumstances' (Barnes and Duncan, 1992,

p6), and written words appear to have a social, spatial and temporal reach that spoken words do not. Hones (2008) claimed that texts are generated *within* social contexts and that, when circulated and read, the reader, the author and the text itself become tied up in a social encounter; revealing how written words themselves have interesting spatialities and shape social encounters. Texts have the ability to bring together people, places, time, networks, communities and contexts, all through the process of reading (Hones, 2008). Moreover, it has been argued that texts must not be considered as isolated artefacts or singular outputs of an author, but as part of a network of other texts. From Derrida, there has come the assumption that everything is textual in one way or another (Brace and Putra, 2010), and that this textuality must be geographically located. Texts have been used to demonstrate power relations, with Coulmas (2013) arguing that texts represent things in different ways, representing a range of power structures, whilst Philo (2011) considered how textual analysis works as a means to understanding the discursive constructions that arguably reveal power relations between groups.

The written word has many arguments both for and against its importance in geography. There has recently been a move to consider links between creativity, embodiment and the written language, but geographers have been slow to adopt this approach as many view the written word as consisting of fixed linguistic structures, purely for representational purposes (Rogers, 2010). They assert that this form of representation allows little room for creativity or flexibility of interpretation but this is not the case, and it will be shown later in this chapter how written texts can be complex and foster affectual and embodied responses.

The Spoken Word

Talk is crucial to all, or at least most of, human activity (Laurier, 1998). The space of speech has often been overlooked as a field of study, despite calls from Tuan in the early-1990s, who encouraged geographers to consider the role of speech in their studies, something that started to gain traction but was not sustained (Brickell, 2013). The said, the recent re-emergence of language geographies has been built around a renewed interest in and awareness of the power of speech. The social context of speech has come to the fore in a range of subjects including human geography (Jackson, 1989), recognising that the culture of communication is often based on the verbal over other forms of communication, such as visual and gestural (Valentine and Skelton, 2007). Increasingly, there has been a focus on ideas of talk and its inherently social nature, but it is vital to recognise that different kinds of speech acts⁹ do different kinds of work. From the words we speak in our heads, to words sung, to words shouted across a room, each speech act is unique (Withers, 1993). Spatial imaginings are embedded in speech and some suggest that words do not have

⁹ There is of course a whole literature on 'speech acts', namely by Austin and Pierce, that is not covered here but covers how speech, and 'speech acts' influence conversation and thereby the rhythms of daily life.

meaning until they are uttered (Pred, 1989); talk is responsive, rhetorical, has a vast array of purposes; it is so much more than representational (Philo, 2011).

Debates in language geographies at the time of the cultural turn focused on conversation and routine, considering everyday encounters with words as a means to making and understanding social life and space (Laurier, 1998). Sacks – the conversation analyst – wrote about to's and fro's of speech and conversation (Laurier, 1998), focusing on the turn-taking nature that is so vital for the progression of conversation. Although often overlooked, it can reveal the many intricacies of talk (Laurier, 1998), treating it as a practice in its own right. This move to focus on conversation paved the way for conversation analysis (CA), focusing on *how* things are told over *what* is told; 'Aspiration, inspiration, correction, co-telling, overlaps, loudness, emphasis – language as a social action and dialogue as a social object' (Laurier, 1998, p.38). Conversation is different from other forms of talk, allowing for spaces of interruption, agreement, attentiveness and supportive murmurs, entertaining the affectual qualities that words can have, their meaning and interpretation a result of *how* they are spoken, not because of *what* is said. Ethnomethodology and CA recognise the importance of the familiar and routine actions – speech included – in our everyday worlds; ethnomethodologists assert that the familiar things are often the most meaningful, and by studying these mundane routine actions the workings of society can be revealed. Ethnomethodology is the study of methods used in everyday encounters; it accepts language as inherently linked with everyday human actions, allowing language geographies to sit comfortably alongside non-representational work (Laurier, 2009). Ethnomethodologists hence do not centralise the *meaning* of language but rather how language is *conducted*, examining the micro-level practices, such as gestures, movements and facial expressions that take place during verbal communication. Ethnomethodology is a recent, yet crucial development for language geographies and means scholars can begin to map out the relationship between language, action and the social world. My project is not an ethnomethodological, conversation analysis piece of work, but the significance of how everyday speech is undertaken and what it means to succeed or fail in such understandings is at the heart of my inquiries.

The Social Characteristics of Language

Trudgill (1975) recognised early on the reciprocal role of social space and language, distinguishing language as a dynamic social phenomenon. It has been argued that the use of language is what sets us apart from animals, and that variations in languages and words have a myriad of bodily and socio-cultural dimensions and contexts that are important to consider when looking at the social characteristics of language use. Words are crucial to life: not only do they tell us *what* is going on, but they *make* those very goings on (Philo, 2011). A person who develops through social interaction is constituted and reconstituted through the discursive practices in which they are

participating or by which they are affected (Davies and Harré, 1982), working to create their personal linguistic habitus.

Social life is not possible without language and all that it enables (Pred, 1981); it is discursively constituted, produced and reproduced through speech (Brickell, 2013). This claim echoes Tuan (1991), who argued – as noted already – that places are made and sustained through language in both public and private spheres. The power of words is exercised daily; they can be evocative and multisensory, having a range of affectual impacts on both people and place. Seemingly trivial words are vital in the everyday (Philo, 2011) and, through social practice, words become contextualised, linked to everyday life, sustained by talk and related to time and place (Brandt and Clinton, 2002). Words and concepts cannot be separated from the social context in which they are used (Jackson, 1989). Laurier (2010) emphasised the importance of contextualising speech, exploring the importance of both ‘speech in context, and context in speech’ (p.132), illuminating how speech can change format, meaning and representation as more and more context is revealed, helping us to understand the active relationship between language and social space.

Language is a structure of signification reproduced in social practice. Through this practice of language, social norms are enforced and grammatical rules played out (Butler, 1990; Jackson, 1989; Cameron, 2012). However, standard language still has an array of non-standard uses; regional and local variations, new phrases borne out of generational differences and connections between places and spaces, changing language norms, and creating ‘deviant language’ (Pred, 1989). Deviant language is considered to be language that is different from the ‘norm’, or the desired language in a particular situation. Use of deviant language can lead to exclusion from social or political groups, it can cause a separation of ‘us’ and ‘them’, and lead individuals to be labelled a ‘deviant’ because of their language use, and by not speaking in the desired manner. How deviant language is used varies and it can range from slang to profanities, each having wide ranging impacts on the user and those who are in contact with such language. Deviant language here has close ties to verbal hygiene as discussed by Cameron (2012). Cameron compared verbal hygiene to the notion of ‘prescriptivism’ among linguists – suggesting that language can be elitist, conservative and purist, and also tied to power structures within society. Cameron also argues for a recognition of how normative ways of speaking – from grammar to accent – should not be prioritised, and in fact a recognition of the fluidity and performance of language is crucial for recognising its importance as a social function. Moreover, connotations with the word ‘deviant’ are negative and conjure images of dangerous outcasts, while hygiene suggests cleanliness and purity; interestingly, these points double back to reveal the way language can create powerful imagery that has an impact upon the order of society. Bringing arguments from Pred and Cameron together helps to build a contextual basis for much of my work that follows. Throughout the thesis, then, I suggest that refugees and asylum-seekers are seen as ‘linguistic outsiders’ and highlight the

impacts that not speaking English can have on both their physical and psychological experiences. However, it is also important to recognise the resistive benefits that speaking deviant language can have, and how they are engendered by participants in my research.

Language is critical in social contexts, understood to be a practical activity (Tuan, 1991), but it is recognised in sociolinguistic research that visual and gestural language are also socially important, something that remains vastly understudied in human geography. This lack of research signals the need to take a more practice-based approach to language, starting to look at how we, as humans, embody, practice and perform both written and spoken language. Moreover, a sense of place often comes long before learning about place; it is our way of understanding the world, often closely entwined with words (Lorimer, 1998). This matter raises questions about whether we have sufficient words to shape the world around us, again highlighting the importance of the affectual qualities of language; how it affects and is interpreted by our mind and body. This, alongside a non-representational turn in human geography, has called into question the representational nature of language and its ability to do more. The remainder of this chapter, then, speaks back to a move towards the more-than-representational, showing that words remain a vitally important part of our life-worlds; as demonstrated by Pred in his 1989 paper on local dialects, showing how the space of words, both on the page and in the world, can have embodied, emotive and performed reactions:

The language through which the consciousness of individuals is given expression, through which human identity and solidarity are constituted and confirmed, through which personal or shared experience and memory are given voice, through which people conduct discourse and fashion elements of culture, through which the significant is signified, cannot be dematerialized, cannot be separated from the temporally and spatially specific conditions under which women and men live, cannot be severed from the locally situated practices of production, consumption, and social interaction in which they are engaged. (Pred, 1989, p.212)

The Crisis of Representation

There has been a recent tendency for some human geographers to throw language by the wayside, assuming it to be a purely representative medium through which meaning is communicated (Withers, 1993). This purely representational inclination, to assume discourse and language exist and work outside of society, is common (McGeachan and Philo, 2014), but it ought to be recognised that language is fully immersed in society and the everyday, its pervasiveness being apparent in the following quote:

We live amongst words. Words spoken – uttered, muttered, shouted, whispered; words silently mouthed. Words written – printed, typed, hand-written, scribbled; words written to be widely read or to be kept in secret places. Words on paper, on screen, in books, in memoranda, in diaries, in letters, in text messages, on billboards, on backs of envelopes. Words kept and words lost. Words in sentences, words alone, words making sense, words seemingly

nonsensical ... And these words about words, the many kinds of words, the diverse forms that they take and numberless contexts of their production and consumption, are themselves hopelessly inadequate for capturing this multiplicity and variability of words (Philo, 2011, p.362)

This multiplicity and variability of words discussed above helps to inform the contention that human geographers are beginning to consider the more-than-representational qualities of language, considering alternative ways to link space, words and language (Ogborn, 2006). Some scholars have begun to recognise the place of language within non-representational theory, not merely as a deadened 'other', while others remain sceptical about the creativity of language and assume it to have no further purpose than a mirror representation of meaning. I want to suggest that language sits easily alongside non-representational work; it is a dynamic social phenomenon that has strong affectual qualities and is constantly embodied by its users. Moreover, language rarely occurs by itself, for there are always numerous other things acting on the user, the recipient and the space in which it occurs. Geographers need to recognise the complexities of language and work to understand why language is so much more than representational. Recent studies have shown how language is not a static and fixed entity, but is in fact something that is in a constant state of flux, always changing and developing, while at the same time influencing, shaping and establishing everyday social worlds.

A common view on language is its normative order – words spoken for a reason, or on a certain occasion – and these so-called norms make language a concrete practice for social purposes (Davies and Harré, 1982). This take on language sees it as a code that needs to be interpreted, understood or compiled in order to work and to have effect (Clark, 2006), but this view takes away from the embodied and creative effects of language, inhibiting the true reach and importance of language in a geographical context. Linguistic representation is often seen as something that orders, sets down rigid *a priori* patterns, rather than a mode of meaningful engagement (Rogers, 2010). Human geography's cultural turn created new possibilities for researching language, specifically looking at how language is integral to the making of identities. Language geographies became closely allied with cultural and identity politics, including the role of sexist, racist, and ablest language. This take on language shows how language can be used to order and create hierarchies in society, as well as being used to represent the self.

More recently there has been some recognition in the discipline that there is a difficult and ill-defined boundary between studying words written *about* or written *in* the phenomena and what aspect of the phenomena itself we are to study. This confusion over how to study language within geography has had benefits; geographers are now becoming more engaged with language and, as a response to the cultural turn, many scholars have become concerned with non-representational theory and embodied practice. This response has meant that scholars have begun to look at language from these angles, offering a new slant on studying language, which becomes more

performative, embodied, emotional and affectual, highlighting the complex and multifaceted role of language.

There has also been increasing recognition of the materiality of words and language, treating it as more than simply representational (Clark, 2006; Ogborn, 2006). It has been suggested that the reader of a text or the listener in a conversation always has some control over the production of meaning, abandoning the illusion of authorial control by s/he who does the writing or speaking (Hones, 2008). This idea of the control over the production of meaning has led geographers to study processes of interpretation, realising that interpretation occurs through encounters with author, text and reader. This argument around interpretation continues to state that the way text or talk has been interpreted is only revealed when this initial interpretative encounter is then narrated back, whether it be in an academic article, a conference talk, a passing comment, or an argument (Hones, 2008). There is no 'correct' way to interpret; there is not one way that is more embodied, reflective or performed than another (Hones, 2008):

Every utterance contains a crucial element of persuasion; there is no truth without opinion, no description without performance. (Olsson, 1987, p.250)

This is a call to study the speaking body, to explore how the body interprets and represents words spoken, and to explore how language fits together with what we see and what we do, or as Olsson puts it 'the eye and the index finger' (Olsson et al, 1988), which involves exploring how the body can create cultural meaning, in this case, via a dialogue with language. Language occupies a range of different sites, scales and networks, and it depends on an array of actions; speaking, writing, hearing and reading (McGeachan and Philo, 2014), through which words combine to make discourses. These discourses are never simply reflective or representational and often have affectual impacts or involve elements of performance. Taking on the notion of intertextuality, we can see that 'new worlds are made out of old texts, and old worlds are the basis of new texts' (Barnes and Duncan, 1992, p.3). We must look beyond the words on the page, read between the lines, to explore the detailed practices that reveal social context beyond the language; the embodiment and practice that allow words to do their work in the world. 'Non-representational theory emphasises performance, practice, movement, and the momentary and emergent, in which the world is not treated as a primarily discursive phenomenon' (Brace and Putra, 2010, p.403). It suggests that, epistemologically, representation through language is not the main way in which we see or experience the world, and more attention needs to be paid to the bodily affects and pre-cognitive 'thoughts' that we have within the world. Non-representational scholars are concerned that we may be too tied up with what people *say* over what people *do* (Philo, 2011). However, a recognition that words do work in the world, that they are at least part of the way through which lives are shaped and made (McGeachan and Philo, 2014), can begin to put words and language on a parallel with the non-representational turn in geography. An acknowledgment that words have

affectual qualities and can be embodied and performed, and by evaluating language as a practice, new lines of enquiry can be explored, with creativity, embodiment and more than representation at the centre.

The Performance and Embodiment of Language

The realisation that language is an active agent in the construction of meaning, and not simply a passive medium, was of interest to 20th century philosophers (Fekete, 2017). More recently in postmodern, poststructuralist and feminist philosophies, scholarship around language has centered on its perceptual, cognitive and social dimensions (Belsey, 2002; Murdoch, 2006). Soja (1989), concerned with the constrictive nature of language, understood the world as constructed by society through the medium of language. Adams (2009) agreed to a point and suggested that ‘the world, articulated through verbal and visual languages, is bounded by language and by the limits of representation, [so] that many worlds are defined and created by the capacities inherent in language’ (p.214). Adams goes on to contend that language ought to be considered in geographical research particularly in considering how languages produce and use space. In addition to scholarship that focuses on language and its work in the world, geographers have also begun to take more interest in the role of bodies in the production and reproduction of space.

Spatial Geographers such as Massey (2005) have argued that peoples’ bodies are a product of social relations and are not passive objects, but are sites of flows and processes, allowing a person to know the world, thus implying that different bodies have different relationships with the world around them and therefore produce individual and unique spaces. These discussions of the production of space, difference and the body have led to geographers becoming interested in notions of performativity and embodiment. Performativity refers to the everyday activities people practice, ones that in turn may express their identities (Nash, 2000). Performance allows for different spaces to be produced, accommodating a range of lived experiences (Fekete, 2017). In terms of embodiment, Fraser and Greco (2005) avowed that knowledge is not only situated in space and time, but also in specific bodily perspectives, linked to performance.

It is important to consider the performance and embodiment of language which fuses together the representational and the non-representational, which in turn helps linguistic geographers speak back to criticisms of its representational capacity that suggest language is static and fixed (Brace and Putra, 2010). Language is an enlivened act; how human actions are planned, enacted and maintained are all a result of language (Philo, 2011); whether this language is our internal narrative or external expression, it constitutes our thoughts, emotions and actions.

Performing Language

Cultural geographers have become interested in notions of performativity in relation to language use, exploring *how* words *do* their work in the world. Austin's speech act theory shows how words can do more than just represent; to show this fact, Austin uses an example of a couple at an altar speaking the words 'I do'. Here it is the *words themselves* that marry the couple, making them husband and wife (Austin, 1975; Laurier, 2010; Sullivan, 2011). This example shows how words can be acts and can indeed *do* things. Austin (1975) tried to highlight the importance of non-representational speech or non-assertive utterances; just because they do not tell a fact or reality, or because they do not directly represent a part of the world, does not mean they are dispensable in everyday life (Laurier, 2010). People are persistently engaged in the creative use of language: whether consciously or subconsciously, they are 'constantly involved in extending the meaning of words, in providing new meanings through metaphor, word-play and interpretation, and ... thereby, knowingly or not, in altering, undermining or reinforcing [their] relations with others and with the world' (Thompson, 1984, p.6 cited in Pred, 1989, p.230). The relationship between words and spaces is increasingly being seen in terms performance and enactment (Ogborn, 2006): practice is enabled and sustained through language and geographers are beginning to take Austin's (1975) notion further, to examine the affectual qualities of words. This move towards the performative dimension of language, looking beyond the words, can show us how utterances can have effects on feelings, thoughts and actions of both ourselves and others (Laurier, 2010). It also reveals how people perform language to create and maintain their sense of place in the world.

A renewed focus on speech and performativity by geographers has helped to push the linguistic turn past its focus on discourse and textual analysis, now exploring how people's lives are entwined with the auditory. This focus had led to a better understanding of interactions and encounters through which people's identities are presented in the world (Brickell, 2013), and this idea that we 'perform' our identities through language use has become sustained in geography (Sullivan, 2011). We perform language through both our individual and collective identities, developing the argument that language helps us to maintain and reproduce social life, playing back on social constructions of identities (Giddens, 1979 cited in Stirk, 1999):

The concept of performativity recognises that 'the subject' is constituted through matrices of power/discourse, matrices that are continually reproduced through processes of resignification, or repetition of hegemonic gendered (racialized, sexualized) discourses...Butler profoundly challenges traditional notions of human identity, moving away from treating identity as a natural attribute to recognising that there is no foundational moment in the doing of identity. Subjects continually perform identities that are prescribed by hegemonic discourses. (Nelson, 1999, p.337 cited in Sullivan, 2011, p.26)

The idea that we are constantly adapting our identities and then performing them to others in response to our surroundings is one that is prevalent in more recent work on identity. This

emphasis on language and performance redresses past views on language, with geographers previously stating that performance is the opposite of language, arguing that language is set and unchangeable while performance is spontaneous and creative. What this thesis seeks to show is that language too can be spontaneous, creative and certainly not set in stone. Language is dynamic and has a range of qualities that can be embodied by users and also has a wealth of affectual qualities depending on *how* it is used: geographers need to look beyond *what* is said and focus on *how* it is said, since this can have just as many consequences and impacts.

Embodying Language

A turn to embodied practice has been one reaction to this so-called ‘crisis of representation’ acknowledged by so many geographers and others (Ogborn, 2006). By introducing and recognising non-representational theory, and by rethinking spaces and their functions beyond text or image, non-representational theorists are arguing that there is a crucial gap between words and life. Thrift (1996) proposed that, through embodiment and being in the world, we can come to know more than we can tell, a claim that has undoubtedly impacted language geography:

Both spaces and texts, and the relationships between them, are coming to be seen as matters of performance and enactment. This turn to embodied practice is partly a reaction to the overdetermined readings of spaces and texts produced through notions of representation. The idea of non-representational theory, as developed within geography, wishes to rethink spaces and their making beyond the notion of representation in text or image, but that need not necessarily send a shiver down the spine of those concerned with words on the page. (Orley, 2005/2006, p.148 cited in Brace and Putra, 2010, p.403)

Geographers are able to knit together text, space and embodied practice, showing – as indicated – an awareness that language is still important despite the non-representational turn. Words may not always be central or have deciding power, but words are usually involved (Philo, 2011). Language as a narrative discourse, a way of expressing what is going on internally, is embodied and affective (Rogers, 2010) and people *feel* as a result of language. Butler claimed the presence of a ‘backstage artiste’ who does not obey the tongue. This so called ‘artiste’ is the body and the mind (Sullivan, 2011), and this recognition of the importance of the body and mind in relation to language implies that they should be studied as a whole, not as distinct entities, in order to understand the nature of language and its embodied properties (Atkinson, 2010). As Pred theorised:

Language does not have an existence of its own, outside of people and places. It is embodied in people and comes to life in concrete acts of speaking, writing, reading. (1989, p.213)

Non-representational scholars who work with embodied, emotional and psychoanalytic geographies all promote taking actions into account before addressing language (Philo, 2011). However, it has been argued that there is a cyclical relationship between language and action, and that there are complex networks that exist between and through people, text and speech. By

studying language and geography, it is naïve to suggest that all action is reduced to a written or spoken representational form. Fekete (2017) brought this point to the fore in her inquiry into the embodied and spatial experiences of American Sign Language (ASL) users. She highlighted the relative absence of sign language research within the embodied geography literature, and conjectured that the users of these systems have different experiences of communication from people who use audible languages. She concluded by suggesting that those who use ASL through the medium of bodily performance create ‘linguistic and communication spaces that are dynamic and visual’ (Fekete, 2017, p.131). This idea of visual language is explored throughout this thesis, but is particularly important in Chapter 7, where I investigate the embodied language geographies of refugees and asylum-seekers in relation to identity, belonging and communication.

As parts of this chapter have already suggested, there are many performative aspects of language: it is read, used and enacted by bodies (Rogers, 2010), and therefore it can be argued that language is an action in itself, subsequently allying itself with non-representational studies, as has been suggested by ethnomethodologists like Laurier. Linguistic practices only work through embodiment of the spoken or the written, unarguably tied to cognitive functions and corporeal affects (Clark, 2006). Bodily engagement and linguistic capital are closely linked, suggesting that, often when reading, people internalise the written narrative to the point where it becomes pre-cognitive, thus creating a seemingly automatic embodied response to the text and to social situations about which the ‘text’ speaks (Rogers, 2010). Language is produced and modified through such performances, and embodied geographies should hence precisely not be sat on the other end of the spectrum from language geographies. The multitude of effects and impacts of language only truly come to light when engaged with bodily.

Beyond the Text

Considering Visual, Gestural and Other Kinds of ‘Language’

Little research has been carried out in language geography relating to other kinds of ‘language’. Where do words stop and signs and symbols begin? Are words simply the spoken, the written, and internal thought, or do other kinds of words exist? Communication must exist beyond language, an element that arguably needs to be explored further in geography. Valentine and Skelton (2007) begin to consider feelings of belonging among deaf people who rely on sign language to communicate. Although there is unanimous awareness of the gestural qualities of sign language, very few geographers consider it when studying language (Fekete, 2017). Furthermore, there are symbol and script-based languages such as Chinese and Arabic that could provide the basis for some interesting studies in language geographies: as with sign language, symbols and signs are here used to communicate and share meaning. It is also vital to recognise and consider non-

linguistic forms used in expression and communication, those that operate at the limits of language far from the pages and statements of simple representation (Stirk, 1999). An expanded view of texts may of course also consider paintings, maps and landscapes, as well as a range of other cultural productions (Barnes and Duncan, 1992). Texts of this kind, as well as more ‘traditional’ languages are culturally, historically, individually and momentarily variable, and not everyone reads, hears or sees them in the same way.

As geographers begin to settle into a practice-based approach to language, perhaps it is time to start considering these other forms of language that undoubtedly contribute to the bodily repertoire through which we, as humans, operate. While there have been moves to look beyond the words, at the spaces on the page or the gaps of silence, there remains a whole realm of literacies greatly understudied. One alternative means of communication that has been widely studied in geography is that of music¹⁰. While it is not necessary to plunge into this subfield here, it is worth highlighting that, by exploring geography and music, geographers have come some way in researching the impacts of music by examining embodied practices and responses while also considering the spatiality and temporality of music played, performed, heard and enjoyed.¹¹ To be able to engage with a range of social phenomena, human geographers need to study these alternative, yet equally revealing, languages, that undoubtedly impact social worlds just as much as do spoken or written languages. People encounter these gestures, signs and symbols daily, and for many they are a predominant and meaningful mode of engagement. This would be a very interesting line of enquiry for geographers and could produce innovative and exciting results, furthering the reach of language geographies at the same time as deepening the disciplines’ engagement with exactly what is deemed to be ‘language’.

The Sound of Silence

Silence ‘marks the limits of language’ for many of us (Laurier, 2010), but silence should be considered part of language as opposed to the absence of it. Silence can reveal far more than words

¹⁰ Studies that consider music and geography also commonly discuss the role of the listener. Geographies of listening remain relatively understudied in geography yet are becoming increasingly more common. Gallagher et al (2016) focus on how bodies respond to sound, be this music, language or sounds in the landscape. Duffy and Waitt (2013) look at sound in relation to feelings of home among people living in an Australian settlement. Both of these papers bring to the light the importance of considering sound, and responses to sound, in relation to spatial construction and experience. However, there remains little geographical research about listening geographies in terms of language acquisition and the role of listening in understanding and developing linguistic skills.

¹¹ One composer of particular interest here is John Cage and his composition entitled ‘4’33”’. Cage explored the sounds and spaces of silence in this 4 and half minute long silent performance, transferring the focus from the performer to the audience, highlighting ambient sounds and the embodied responses to the sound and space of silence. He argues that silence conveys emotions, and Guttmann (1999) described this performance more as a happening than a concert, noting the individual interpretation that it encouraged, moving away from the structuralism and repetition of interpretative rules. Furthermore, this particular piece by Cage highlights the importance of considering silence and the effects it has on a range of spatial scales, from the personal to the universal.

at times, and plays an important role in our everyday communication with others, but unfortunately, it is often overlooked in language geography:

Silences are not the limits of language rather they are at the heart of our speaking. The silences play out in language along with pauses, serving all manner of purposes: silences that speak volumes, calm silences, studied silences, dramatic pauses, marks of seriousness, poesis, displays of understanding, displays of misunderstanding (Lynch, 1999). We are missing the myriad uses of silence when we think of silence in opposition to speech, or between speech acts. Sometimes 'the occasions of silence are extremely dangerous to all persons present' (Sacks, 1992) and sometimes, as in the car or out fishing, they are not. (Laurier, 2010, p.140.)

Olsson (1987) fostered the beginnings of this recognition of silence in language geography. He began studying the space of silence in relation to what we can and cannot say, what is taboo or inappropriate, and where this silencing stems from – often a result of the workings of power on a range of institutional levels; we learn over time what should be kept in the mind and remain unsaid in various situations. This notion of spaces of silence has close links to Pred's (1989) assertion about the power of language in creating the forbidden, the perverse and self-discipline. These thoughts have re-emerged in recent years as more scholars have become aware of the spaces of silence. Silences cannot be abstracted easily and present a great challenge to those who take on the task of analysing speech, but their meanings and revelations can be vital for understanding how language is used and its impact on the social world. Although it is commonly not acknowledged, silence makes up a large part of our utterances and can be used to reveal or imply a lot more than words themselves. Moreover, silence can have affectual effects and should not be excluded from studies of language. Studies that focus on silence should be embraced and developed by geographers seeking to unearth the way speech shapes ourselves and our relationships with those around us as well as the spaces we occupy. In the empirical chapters that follow, my research unearths moments when participants elect not to speak, to remain silent, they may feel embarrassed or ashamed of their 'lack' of language, revealing a lot about the larger issues animating the research.

Conclusion: What's Next for Language Geographies?

These final and tentative strands of language geographies hold great potential, clearly showing the wide-reaching possibilities for enlarging language geographies within geographical studies. A range of approaches to language geographies has been considered, revealing the multitude of ways in which language influences understanding of both the self and of the world around us. I highlight the benefits of studying *how* language is used as opposed to dwelling on the words themselves, and this approach works to reveal affectual qualities of language, how it is embodied, and the effects of this embodiment. The links between language, the body and space will unfold throughout this thesis as I seek to uncover the diverse language geographies of refugees and asylum-seekers in Glasgow. What language geographers have yet to explore is how different languages – in the

simple sense of more-or-less different ‘national’ or at least regional languages (and to a lesser extent, dialects) – impact upon these geographies, something that I hope to achieve with this thesis. The importance of aligning more recent studies in language geographies with non-representational work has been emphasised in this chapter, recognising that language possesses the potential to be much more than representational, in part by focusing on the *how* of language use rather than the *what*. From a bounded and bordered linguistic science to studying a flexible and multiple performance of language, each scholarly endeavour explored in this chapter holds relevance not only for this thesis but for contemporary geographical study. Language geographies have evolved in line with wider trends in geographical thought and continue to grow as geographical research becomes more diverse. As discussed in this chapter, language is embedded in nearly all human thought and action, and therefore should not be overlooked when exploring spatial and social environments.

Three facets of language geographies are most relevant to my research. Firstly, in considering the bordered nature of language as theorised in geolinguistics, I aim explore how language is bounded and bordered in different ways and in different spaces by refugees and asylum-seekers in Glasgow. Here, the Saussurian move to complicate the understanding of linguistic borders is inspirational. Secondly, the social geographies of language scattered throughout this thesis highlight the unarguable sociality of language and the multitude of impacts that it has for people learning a second, or even third, language. Here, the Saussurian move to set language within contented, shifting external contexts – social, but also cultural or political – is also inspirational. Thirdly, the embodied and performative aspects of language are shown to be central in processes of acquiring language and creating and maintaining identities, as well as in ‘getting-by’ as my participants seek to build a new life in Scotland. The chapters that follow mobilise numerous other approaches to language geographies, clarifying the importance of this subfield of study in geographical research with refugees and asylum-seekers, and expressing how it is intrinsically tied to a wealth of other aspects of geographical pursuits.

Chapter 3

Refugees and Asylum-Seekers: A Geographical Perspective

This second review chapter will bring together literature from human geography, refugee and migration studies and broader conceptual literature in the social sciences to provide contextualisation for this thesis and to bring together different orientations that will situate my work. I begin by looking at how refugees and asylum-seekers are positioned within British society, in particular focusing on the recent turn to the securitisation of migration as it becomes a highly contentious and debated topic in global politics. I proceed to look at processes of settlement and belonging for refugee and asylum-seeker communities in the UK, considering everyday experiences of refugees and asylum-seekers as they seek to settle into new neighbourhoods. As this thesis will show, this is never a linear or straightforward process, and in this chapter I consider some of the key factors identified in the literature, that both help and hinder matters. Finally, I attempt to unpack the often-contested notion of integration. To do this, I engage with on-going debates about what integration is deemed to be, and how it is understood in fields relevant to my work, paying attention to how embodied and societal boundaries produce notions of difference. I do not reach a conclusion here, for integration is an individual process that is changeable over time and space. I finish this chapter by considering Simmel's essay on 'The Stranger' (1908), and more recent sociological work that builds upon this platform. Here I also consider Sibley's (1995) 'geographies of exclusion' and Douglas' (1966) discussion of 'purity and danger' to explore possible ways that refugees and asylum-seekers are conceptually positioned in society as what I am terming, mobile linguistic strangers.

Refugees, Asylum-Seekers and Im/mobility

There is as much un-freedom in mobility as there is in fixity. (Gill et al, 2011, p.304)

This section explores the simultaneous mobility and immobility of refugees and asylum-seekers by looking at how they are categorised and positioned within society; often because of political rhetoric and stringent policies. After a general introduction, I look at the securitisation of migration that has become more prominent since the 2001 attacks on the World Trade Centres in New York, before addressing the even more recent biopolitical approach taken by European governments towards those crossing their borders. The section finishes by exploring the politics of recognition in terms of access to cities and resources.

Gill et al (2011) identified the problematic assumptions that equate mobility with something that implies freedom, liberation and resistance. Mobility scholars have widely offered critiques of this view, one of which comes from Adey (2010), who raised issue with the equation of mobility and power, while Cresswell (2006) exercised caution when discussing mobility. Cresswell was careful to ensure that it is not always seen positively, highlighting the other side of human mobility; one that is forced and sometimes dangerous. As Cresswell stated: ‘Movement is rarely just movement; it carries with it the burden of meaning and it is this meaning that jumps scales’ (2006, p.6 – 7). This turn by mobility scholars to recognise the political and sometimes forced nature of mobility helpfully enables others to study the movement of people across the globe in a way that brings in the political and social aspects of movement and mobility. As Domosh and Seager (2001) noted:

Mobility is greatest at the extreme ends of the socioeconomic spectrum. The mobility of the destitute is a hardship-induced rootlessness: the homeless, refugees, people on the margins of job markets, and people pushed into migration out of need or crisis are all clustered at this end of the mobility curve. At the opposite end of the spectrum are the highflyers (literally and metaphorically). (p.110)

Thus, this literature review focuses on those at the lower end of the socioeconomic spectrum to show how forced mobility produces a range of challenges and can simultaneously render people ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’. Hegemonic assumptions about difference continually require people to make distinctions between ‘us’ and ‘them’, which in turn produces a range of different categorisations that can exclude people from the social, economic and political community (Mitchell, 2014). As will become apparent as this chapter progresses, one result of the increasing mobility of people – and in this case people who are seen to be ‘other’ – has put, as Darling (2014) described it, ‘the mobile stranger at the heart of political and social life’ (p.162). Gill et al. (2011), in a similar vein, discussed the corporeal aspects of migration, as well as recognising the physical and imaginative objects that often accompany or press upon the mobile body; identity papers, photographs, aspirations and memories.

As scholars now recognise the various corporeal processes involved in migration, it is possible to turn to how governments are enacting laws that produce both physical and embodied borders for those seeking refuge in their countries. Tyler (2006), in a critique of the ‘Visit Britain’ (www.visitbritain.com) website, argued that only a very particular type of person is seemingly welcome to ‘visit Britain’, and in line with Ahmed (2000), suggested that ‘some foreigners are more foreign and less desirable than others’ (Tyler, 2006, p.186). This suggestion anticipates the next section, which considers how states have begun to exercise controls on those incomers seen to be ‘different’ from the expected or assumed cultural norm. Furthermore, states are now enacting border controls outside of their sovereign territory such as UK border controls in France, and the offshore detention centres used by Australia, in turn immobilising those in search of protection. On one hand sits the hypermobility of border enforcement as practice, and on the other is the relative

immobility of refugees and asylum-seekers (Gill et al, 2011) – in camps, on boats and in detention centres; refugees and asylum-seekers are neither ‘here’ nor ‘there’. The migration process involves moments of mobility and more sedentary times, as people rest, get detained or become denizens of a camp. This dialogue between mobility and immobility emerges in range of ways and this mobility paradox is something that stays with refugees and asylum-seekers for life: as Gill et al (2011, p.302) state: ‘movement occurs within constraints and constraints within movements’. To explore this issue further, the following section looks at the political and embodied constraints faced by refugees and asylum-seekers. The notion of biopolitics comes from Foucault (1984) and is helpful to describe the processes through which governments administer power over bodies. Biopolitics establishes the ‘norm’ and in doing so promotes an embodied ‘other’, an exclusion from this norm, in an attempt to protect the state from those who ‘do not belong’ (Zylinska, 2004).

The Political and Embodied Securitisation of Asylum

New processes of globalisation and increased mobility have brought with them heightened insecurity and uncertainty to both those who experience forced migration and majority groups who become anxious about their ability to maintain and protect their way of life (Sivanandan, 2001; Waite et al, 2014). Discourses of fear have been mobilised as a way of justifying strict migration policies, less porous borders and often the outright exclusion of those who are the perceived threat (Pain and Smith, 2008; Mountz, 2010; Hyndman, 2012), subsequently rendering migrants as subjects of security (Bigo, 2002; Tyler, 2006; Ehrkamp, 2016). This security-migration nexus positions migrants as a threat (Noxolo, 2014), and in turn governments are now deploying methods of deterrence and securitization in order to keep the threat outside of its’ borders (Mountz et al, 2012):

Through migration, the state is ‘endangered’ by migrants who ‘penetrate’ its borders. The undecided status of asylum seekers and their concomitant ambivalence means that ethical responsibilities towards people in need come to be further eclipsed by this perceived threat that ‘they’ now pose to ‘our’ sense of identity and nationhood. From this perspective of similarity and difference, and how this shapes notions of identity and belonging, the stateless and statusless asylum seeker comes to be viewed as an aberration and an abnormality, drifting but not belonging (Malkki 1995). Thus, asylum seekers are considered a threat to the natural and national order of things, their identity becomes one of the unsolicited, undesirable unwelcomed, the ‘pariah’ (Arendt 1978). (Piacentini, 2008, p.7-8)

Thus, British asylum laws have produced an ‘illegal’ population who are denied the status of citizen (Tyler, 2006). The state works to produce policies that subsequently create a hierarchy of immigrant desirability, and the different categorisations of migrants in turn impacts the rights afforded to each, prompting widely differing experiences of migration depending on the category in which one is placed (Piacentini, 2008; Lebuhn, 2013). These categorisations also reveal the how immigration and security policies are becoming increasingly intermingled (Hummitzsch, 2009), with rhetoric often focusing on the legality – or not – of people coming to the UK.

This concern with legality is reflected in the changing responsibilities of different actors and institutions, particularly semi-public and private ones (Lebuhn, 2013). Where identity and visa verifications used to be a role solely enacted by law enforcement and immigration authorities, policy has now additionally introduced these kinds of checks away from the physical nation-state border; indeed, immigration checks now take place locally by ‘ordinary institutions’ in ‘ordinary places’ (Lebuhn, 2013, p.42). The demand for banks, doctors, schools, landlords and so on to check immigration documents means that refugees and asylum-seekers are becoming increasingly monitored in their day-to-day lives, and for many migrants it is better to stay still and to stay hidden than to risk becoming visible (Gill et al, 2011). The urban locale has become a particular site of negotiating practices of border control and citizenship, essentially turning many cities into localised border spaces (Lebuhn, 2013). The bureaucratic and physical impediments, alongside increased use of technology in the control and exclusion of refugees and asylum-seekers, have become even more elaborate and now work to make people at once highly visible and highly invisible: constantly showing up on the ‘radar’ or forever striving to duck down below it.

Hyndman (2012) argued that geopolitics and biopolitics have now become inseparable as a result of the biometric management of people entering the state. Increasingly sophisticated biometrics have rendered bodies (in)secure with a move from a focus on how bodies look, to how they move and act (Noxolo, 2014) – thus creating internal procedures of management. Biopolitics works to protect the bodies of the majority group while excluding ‘other’ bodies:

The biopolitics of immigration looks after the bodies of the host community and protects it against parasites that might want to invade it, but it needs to equip itself with tools that will allow it to trace, detect and eliminate these parasites. Technology is mobilized to probe and scan the bare life of those wanting to penetrate the healthy body politic: through the use of fingerprinting, iris recognition and scanners in lorries travelling, for example, across the English Channel, the presence and legitimacy of ‘asylum seekers’ can be determined and fixed. (Zylinska, 2004, p.526)

Amoore (2006) writes that migrants now carry borders on their person; on their bodies and in their fingertips, so, while some borders are disappearing, others are being created in the most intimate of locations (Mountz et al, 2012). The complex dynamic of surveillance, knowledge production and biopolitics has been added to the more traditional lines of citizenship and territorial borders, to create increasingly inclusionary/exclusionary systems of border control. Inclusionary and exclusionary practices begin to determine who may belong and become a citizen, and who may not (Yuval-Davis et al, 2005).

Writing about the shooting of Trayvon Martin in 2012¹², Mitchell (2014) advanced an argument stating that the biologised body can be coded as threatening, and with hints of cognitive inferiority.

¹² Trayvon Martin was a 17 year old African American who was shot by a Neighbourhood Watch member in a gated community in Florida, USA. The man who shot him believed that Martin was acting suspiciously and

She suggests that those who do not fit the ‘norm’ and are ontologically different become a threat and a security risk which in turn can work to justify violent action towards it. This risky body creates anxiety among those who are inside the majority group: not only is it different, but it is mobile, thus encompassing multiple identities depending on spatiality and temporality (Mitchell, 2014). This spatial and temporal element to migration is also picked up by Noxolo (2014), who proposed that the mobility of refugees and asylum-seekers has resulted in a desire to have a panoptical gaze over these bodies. The way in which refugees and asylum-seekers negotiate their environments, dealing with ever-changing constraints and boundaries has been termed ‘corporeal choreographies’ (Puumala and Pehkonen 2010).

Waite et al (2014, p.313) ask whether it is ‘a fundamental condition of human nature that we desire and yearn to exist in a state of security, both objectively felt and subjectively observable?’. A possible response can be found in Sparks (2003), who notes that it is increasingly unclear as to where our bodies lie, how they can be defended and by whom. New arrivals in communities provoke uncertainty and fear, manifested in a variety of ways from violence to exclusion. To counter this outcome, Waite et al (2014) explore the ‘capacity to hurt’; both the ability to be hurt and the act of hurting the other. They argue that if there is recognition of what it is to feel hurt by host communities and migrants, then this idea could be mobilised to challenge the actions of hurting others, and may increase dialogue and positive encounters between majority and minority groups.

The categorisation of migrants makes them governable subjects (Rose, 1999), and methods of management involve quantification techniques to count and code them (Gill et al, 2011). The quantification of refugees and asylum-seekers also works to establish ‘non-citizen spaces’, such as camps and detention centres. These spaces, although within the borders of a nation-state, create internal boundaries, where those within said limits are not afforded the same rights as those outside of them, therefore occupying a liminal position within political and social realms (Gerrard, 2016). It is to these processes of control that this chapter now turns; processes of deportation, detention and dispersal are explored to look at how refugees and asylum-seekers are mobilised differently in order to maintain the ‘imagined community’ (Anderson, 1991) of the host nation.

Deportation, Detention and Dispersal

In exploring reasons for migrating to certain destination countries, Stewart (2012) examined the influence of social networks in countries through which people pass. She concludes that these networks provide an important source of information in terms of the processes of crossing the border, claiming asylum and of what to expect once in the destination country, reinforcing the

was not from the neighbourhood. It later emerged that Martin was staying with his step-mum in the neighbourhood and was on his way home. The man who shot him was acquitted due to lack of evidence.

notion that social networks are vitally important for people in transit. In addition to these social networks, smugglers and traffickers are important players in the journeys of migrants, often having a wealth of information on how to make it to destination countries successfully (Koser, 2000). Gill et al (2011) discussed the use of mobile phones in processes of migration:

[Mobile phones] are constantly used to try to communicate, synchronise or coordinate their movements with relatives and friends in their home town or in their desired destination. Mobile phones are essential too for smugglers collecting and delivering human cargo at the right time and right place to avoid police and military controls, clashing with other gangs and to call for help in case of problems at sea. For these refugees life on the move is a most precarious life, often made more or less precarious by their reliance on mobile technologies. The salient role of mobile phones in these journeys vividly illustrates the heterogeneous character of social life, 'the various assemblages of humans, objects, technologies and scripts that contingently produce durability and stability of mobility. Such hybrid assemblages roam country sides and cities remaking landscapes and townscapes through their movement' (Elliott & Urry 2010, p.16). (Gill et al, 2011, p.309)

The relatively recent use of technology by people migrating and those facilitating it has called into question methods of controlling border-crossings as well as shedding light on the complex networks involved in refugee and asylum-seekers journeys. Despite these fluid and multifaceted networks, once in destination countries, refugees and asylum-seekers are often faced with processes of detention, dispersal or deportation. These processes regularly involve paradoxical methods of containment and mobility working to immobilise those who are subject to these methods of constraint (Mountz et al, 2012), adding to the decentred and localised immigration controls by using a range of different actors and agencies (Gill, 2009; Cheshire and Zappia, 2016).

Deportation

Detention and dispersal are both forms of exclusion and constraint, but it is deportation that is perhaps the most explicit in this respect (Bloch and Schuster, 2005). Deportation is distressing for those who are removed as well as for others who are involved in the process, and the conditions in which people are removed are often inhumane and arguably against human rights laws (Fekete, 2003). Only a minority of those threatened with deportation are removed (Home Office, 2002), which can be for a range of reasons such as:

[L]egal safeguards, the ill health of the deportee, an inability to identify the country of origin, lack of cooperation from the country of origin, because of campaigns by the community in which the individual or family has become embedded or because people cannot be traced. (Bloch and Schuster, 2005, p.496)

Thus, deportations from the UK have not been as prominent in recent years due to increased political action from citizens as well as changing approaches to managing migration. When they do happen, they are often met with complications as mentioned in the above quote and are therefore difficult to carry out. This has led to deportations happening discretely and away from the eyes of the media and the public. In the early 2000s, the UK and Afghanistan struck a deal whereby the UK

could return large numbers of Afghan refugees, despite their risk of death upon return. In April 2003, the UK government announced that it was to deport 21 people to Afghanistan. This highly visible occurrence was out of character but has been defined by Bloch and Schuster (2005) as an attempt by the government to signal to British citizens that they were taking action, as well as acting as a ‘warning’ to others who might try to come to the UK. Due to the secrecy of deportations from the UK and the near impossibility of accessing those who have been involved, research in this area remains sparse, but it is clear that many deportations stem from time spent in detention centres, where people are separated from their social networks and are simultaneously mobile and immobile. Here I turn to research that has been conducted into detention centres and those within them.

Detention

The ways that detention centres both constrain migrants while at the same time producing mobile bodies has been the subject of research by a range of scholars. The boundaries of these centres work to immobilise migrants, yet when the government exercises its power and moves people between centres, or releases them to a dispersal city, it creates highly mobilised, political bodies (Mountz et al, 2012). Furthermore, the very process of detention produces an ‘illegal’ identity that stays with the person long after the detention process is over (Hernandez, 2008; Lawston and Escobar, 2009; Alberti, 2010; Coutin, 2010; Mountz et al, 2012). This mobilisation of identities and bodies is best summarised as follows:

Identities are not the only entities that detention at once contains and makes more mobile: bodies, too, are made to conform to the same paradoxical logic ... detention works to contain migrant bodies through confinement, remoteness, and persistent surveillance. Detention centers are often located in remote places, where geographic isolation strains or severs migrants’ connections with legal advocates, community support, and family. (McLoughlin and Warin, 2008; Mountz, 2011). (Mountz et al, 2011, p.527)

Detention centres are thus spatialising devices (Tyler, 2016), working to mark the segregation of detainees and non-detainees (Mountz et al, 2012; Tyler, 2013; Gerrard, 2016). They work to order bodies into the deserving and non-deserving, with further borders established within centres often reproducing geopolitical borders (Mountz et al, 2012). Moreover, within detention centres people experience solitude and isolation, argued to be governing methods for discipline or punishment (Hyndman and Mountz, 2008). The majority of people held in detention centres are eventually released; for some they cannot be deported due to conditions in their countries of origin, while for others they are able to appeal or their claims become successful (Bloch and Schuster, 2005). However, even after release, those who have been detained often regulate their behaviour and movements for fear of being detained again, and their ascribed identity of ‘not-deserving’ or ‘illegal’ often impacts their day-to-day lives, even after gaining approved refugee status (Cheshire and Zappia, 2016).

Dispersal

Dispersal in the UK is done on a no-choice basis and therefore takes away from asylum-seekers' freedom to choose where they settle, at least until they receive refugee status. In doing so, it is likely to remove them from existing social networks and kinship (Robinson et al, 2003), leaving them isolated and excluded both physically and emotionally (Bloch and Schuster, 2005). Asylum-seekers are often dispersed to areas with an abundance of cheap, hard-to-let housing in areas already classified as disadvantaged due to the low socioeconomic status of existing residents (Cheshire and Zappia, 2016). The arrival of a new, minority population has led to some dispersal areas being defined as 'dumping grounds' for society's undesirable populations (Cheshire and Zappia, 2016). In addition to housing availability, dispersal areas are often chosen because of the institutional infrastructure available; it is rare for disadvantaged populations to be wholly abandoned, and instead governments channel community services and neighbourhood initiatives into low socioeconomic areas in an attempt to revitalise them (Esping-Anderson, 1990; Osborne and Rose, 1999). In line with earlier discussions of refugees and asylum-seekers being a 'threat' to majority groups, places deemed as 'dumping-grounds' raise new questions about community cohesion as the new population members are often seen as pollutants and waste that need to be properly managed (Reay, 2004). Anxiety is generated within the existing communities about living alongside those considered even more disadvantaged than they (Cheshire and Zappia, 2016), with Bannister and Kearns (2013) identifying a lack of engagement between new and existing populations in these dispersal communities. Dispersal will be explored in more depth later in this chapter with reference to the everyday experiences of refugees and asylum-seekers, particularly as the latter seek to settle in their dispersal locations. In the UK, key dispersal areas are relatively large urban areas, and it is here that the politics of recognition becomes important. This recognition can take a political, citizenship-based form, but of equal importance is everyday recognition from those who the people involved live alongside.

The Politics of Recognition

As border controls are increasingly enacted on a small, localised level (Gill et al, 2011; Darling 2017), new political dynamics are created. While on one hand these extended border-guards of police officers, benefits officers, teachers and the like, may work to increase exclusion and reduce urban mobility, they may also run contrariwise to this and foster urban citizenship as community solidarity is nourished instead (Lebuhn, 2013). Some cities may allow undocumented migrants to perform some aspects of citizenship such as working illegally and accessing services (Darling, 2011) as they seek to survive despite their paradoxical position of being outside of the law and a non-citizen, while at the same time being subject to its power (Zylinska, 2004). It is within this liminal space that the 'asylum-seeker identity' takes form, and relationships with the host

community can be negotiated (Piacentini, 2008). Spaces in more ‘hostile’ cities become spaces of detention and constraint, leading undocumented migrants to limit their movements for fear of detection, pushing them to private and often exploitative spaces (Coutin, 2010). Darling (2014) argues that presence ought to be valued and cities should work to reposition the immigrant and the citizen as equal urban subjects, but such positive moves often fail to take place and instead peoples’ lives are excluded from the ‘legitimate’ community, with a lack of recognition preventing them from accessing the category of ‘the human’ (Zylinska, 2004, p.526).

Deprived of legal recognition and citizenship, asylum-seekers find themselves in a state of suspension as those who are not yet subjects, outside of the ‘constituting condition of the rule of law’ (Butler, 2004, p.67), and as a group who forms the constitutive ‘other’ to the citizen (Butler, 1993; 2004; Zylinska, 2004; Tyler, 2006). The asylum-seeker identity could be considered a refusal of recognition, yet Tyler builds an interesting argument and suggests that this is not to say they are not recognised at all, but that rather – in being identified as asylum-seekers – they are recognised as ‘‘not-refugees’, bogus, illegal [and] the unwelcome.’ (Tyler, 2006, p.190). The asylum-seeker is therefore awaiting a certain *form* of recognition, one that will enable them to make claims to citizenship rights. Belonging is closely linked to recognition (Strang and Ager, 2010) and therefore an ‘affirmative politics of recognition’ (Fraser, 2000) is about a demand for rights and security for minority or ethnic groups (Askins, 2016). The notion of citizenship – although unarguably political – is also inherently emotional; bodies and emotions cannot be separated in the quest for recognition, and practices of belonging and citizenship are often imbued with emotional experiences (Askins, 2016). Urban citizenship involves an entanglement of everyday encounters and interactions across a variety of spaces (Dickinson et al, 2008), and thus the politics of presence involves mobility, participation and kinship (Darling, 2017). Encounters cannot be overlooked in discussions around recognition and citizenship, Darling and Wilson (2016) arguing that the city is made from encounters and is thus always changing and evolving (Massey, 2005; Wilson, 2017). Academic and policy debates around multiculturalism often focus on whether everyday encounters in a range of spaces facilitates a new norm (Simonsen, 2008) or whether they risk increased segregation and categorisation of the ‘other’ (Meer and Modood, 2014). Thus, Askins (2016) argues that emotions are central to be able to distinguish between recognition of ‘us’ and ‘them’, contributing to the recognition – or non-recognition – of the mutuality that potentially can still arise from ‘complicated entanglements of togetherness-in-difference’ (Noble, 2009, p.46).

Refugees and asylum-seekers look for both political and emotional, and public and private, recognition (Askins, 2016); they demonstrate the need for a multi-sited recognition as they seek to gain visibility within the urban sphere (Darling, 2014). In discussing the right to the city, Darling (2014) focuses on a vision of urban living whereby everyone within the city is recognised to have an interest in it and, in turn, the city is shaped by its inhabitants’ actions and experiences. Despite

this positive outlook, it is unfortunately rarely delivered as such in urban areas, where instead refugees and asylum-seekers, so readily seen as the ‘outsiders’ by the host community, are impelled to bond more closely with others from their own ethnic, religious or nationality based community (Spicer, 2008; Hynes, 2009). In turn, this bonding risks reinforcing cycles of segregation, mistrust and issues around rights and responsibilities (Goodall, 2010). Carson (2004), Hughes (2007) and Darling (2014) all look to the discourse of ‘hospitality’ as an alternative way to position refugees and asylum-seekers within urban realms, yet this is not without problems – as explored in ‘Spaces of Belonging’ later in this chapter. Carson (2004) suggests that hospitality offers the possibility of people and places to welcome new populations without risking losing control or identity and whereby relationships can be negotiated (Hughes, 2007). However, hospitality suggests a temporary situation, not one of settlement and permanence which is arguably needed to foster urban citizenship and belonging. A more permanent presence of refugees and asylum-seekers requires mutual recognition across private and legal spheres in order to build social coherence and respect (Askins, 2016). The politics of presence and recognition is thus personal, public, political, emotional and embodied by a range of actors. Aided by solidarity and mutual recognition, it is achievable, even by those who remain outside of the realms of legal recognition, but the story ‘on the ground’ is too often one where such two-way and affirmative forms of emotional citizenry cannot thrive.

Routes and Roots to Home

What does it mean to be at home? How does it affect home and being-at-home when one leaves home? (Ahmed, 1999, p.330)

This part of the chapter will try to answer Ahmed’s questions by exploring literature relating to processes of settlement for refugees and asylum-seekers, as well as considering their everyday experiences of being a migrant in the UK. First, I will offer an overview of what home might mean for displaced people, paying particular attention to the multifaceted ways in which homes are made and defined.

Sirriyeh (2010) carried out research with young refugee women and found it important to recognise the role of movement in constructing notions of home. Her study found that home for the young women was a fluid and evolving process and that ideas of home were experienced differently over time and space. This state of affairs is also recognised by Blunt and Dowling (2006), who suggest that home is an intermingling of spatial, social and temporal domains, and furthermore is intimately connected to identity and experience. Rapport and Dawson (1998, p.21) write that home is ‘That environment (cognitive, affective, physical, somatic, or whatever) in which one best knows oneself, where one’s self-identity is best grounded.’ Home is considered to be at the heart of human life (Blunt and Varley, 2004), imbued with emotions, experiences and memories. For people who have

left one country and arrived in another, home could be seen to be something that spans the past, present and future (Blunt and Varley, 2004). Home has traditionally been understood as a bounded place that signals stability and security (Massey, 1992): thus, as discussions of migration destabilise this sense of a fixed, enclosed space, home has become particularly prominent in studies with migrants (Sirriyeh, 2010). Such studies have highlighted its layered nature (Staeheli and Nagel, 2005) and unsettled its static and fixed characteristics (Ahmed, 1999; Blunt and Dowling, 2006). The politics of domesticity has been explored; the way that it is tied to identity and belonging, bringing into play the transnational geographies of home which move beyond public and private worlds and disclose its political nature (Blunt, 2005). It is important to recognise that although, much scholarship discusses the security and safety of home, it can also be a place of fear, danger, violence and 'unhomeliness' (Blunt, 2005; Sirriyeh, 2010), particularly for refugees and asylum-seekers, for whom feelings of isolation and boredom are often related to the space in which they live. In terms of 'building' or 'making' a home, geographers have explored how architecture and design reflect and reproduce ideas about the person dwelling in the space (Blunt, 2005), but this orientation begs the question of what happens when people are unable to make choices about where they live, who they live with and how their 'home' looks? Thus, we can come to understand home as something that can traverse time and space and is not bounded or confined to one location. Instead, 'the everyday practices, material cultures and social relations that shape home on a domestic scale resonate far beyond the household' (Blunt and Varley, 2004, p.3).

For migrants settling in a new place it is important to recognise themselves as being at home and building a sense of attachment to their new surroundings, but in Sirriyeh's (2010) study participants expressed their desire to be recognised as belonging by others too. Furthermore, she found that homemaking practices and having a routine can provide a sense of normality for young refugee women, while Van Horst (2004) identifies how people manage to carry out processes of homemaking even when living in group homes, attempting to find home within the unhomely (Sirriyeh, 2010). Ahmed (1999) suggests that the very act of leaving a home splits the meaning of it since home potentially becomes a place of origin but also the everyday present, and therefore moving to a new home becomes embodied through new experiences. She writes that:

[T]he very experience of leaving home and 'becoming a stranger' leads to the creation of a new 'community of strangers', a common bond with those others who have 'shared' the experience of living overseas. We need to recognize the link between the suspension of a sense of having a home with the formation of new communities. The forming of a new community provides a sense of fixity through the language of heritage – a sense of inheriting a collective past by sharing the lack of a home rather than sharing a home. (Ahmed, 1999, p.336)

The above discussion touches on differing geographies of home and what it means for refugees and asylum-seekers. Home is arguably highly fluid and dynamic, taking different forms depending on time and space as well as social, political and embodied factors. This means that many people arriving in the UK find multiple sites of belonging, not always in their 'homes' but in other places

where they are able to share other facets of their identities, blurring the public and private spheres of what it means to belong.

Spaces of Belonging

Belonging for refugees and asylum-seekers – like home – is spatially and temporally variable, non-linear and is highly individualised, although it can be roughly defined as feeling part of something as a result of familial, social and emotional links with people and places (Askins, 2016). Askins focuses on the emotional aspect of belonging and highlights the different emotional aspects of this desire:

[F]earing claim refusal and deportation, a pervading sense of exclusion from mainstream society, marginalisation in employment, and sometimes out-right racism in local neighbourhoods (see also Lewis et al. 2014), complicated by the anxieties of arrival and asylum claim-making. Refugees and asylum seekers outline central concerns around gaining language skills to enable employment and become part of the local community. They stress how they attempt and produce security, by drawing on formal and informal networks and practices. (Askins, 2016, p.520)

Here she looks at how specific emotional borders to belonging must be navigated daily by refugees and asylum-seekers while also recognising the importance of networks and communities, as well as language skills, in achieving a sense of belonging. For refugees and asylum-seekers, political and legal belonging is important, but so is emotional and embodied belonging that sits outwith legal frameworks and categories, but instead revolves around kinship and care. Lewis (2010) studies refugee community parties and music events to look at ways in which spaces of belonging may be felt – or not – within refugee communities. She argues that these kinds of community moments are ambiguous – neither ‘here’ nor ‘there’ – but instead create links between the past and present. Refugee Community Organisations (RCOs) form an important part of the migration landscape in the UK (Griffiths et al, 2006; Piacentini, 2008, 2016; Lewis 2010) and the spaces that they occupy are recognised as importance places for the expression and reinforcement of cultural symbols and practices, again forging links with life pre-migration (Lewis, 2010). The refugee and asylum- seeking community in the UK is diverse, and seeking safety in an insecure state of being is often achieved through finding a community to which one can belong (Bauman, 2001), providing familiarity and comfort to displaced people (Lewis, 2010). Recent work has begun to pay attention to these organisational sites that support and care for people arriving in cities (Conradson, 2003). I now turn to some of these sites; namely RCOs and volunteer-led drop-in centres to investigate how they may foster feelings of belonging.

RCOs and other community support agencies are common in dispersal cities across the UK, often run by refugees and seeking to provide a support mechanism for forced migrants who are facing uncertainty and insecurity. They also provide a space for people to spend time, to provide routine,

alleviate boredom and find advice and support (Conradson, 2003; Griffiths et al, 2006). Both Conradson (2003) and Darling (2011) highlight the importance of having somewhere to simply ‘be’ for refugees and asylum-seekers; many organisations in the welfare sector are service-focused, but of equal importance is a space simply to spend time and to get away from damaging domestic (‘unhomely’) environments, potentially reducing isolation (Conradson, 2003; Griffiths et al, 2006). Friendships and social networks are formed and sustained in community spaces, which in turn aids feelings of belonging within these increasingly familiar environments (Griffiths et al, 2006; Darling, 2011). Studies into such spaces reveal the importance of staff in these environments and their interactions with those who frequent the centres. Feelings of support, understanding, welcome and generosity are all reported as these ephemeral moments of association and recognition become part of daily life in these community spaces (Mestheneos et al, 1999; Lewis, 2010; Darling, 2011).

Ager and Strang (2008) write about the importance of relationships with ‘like-ethnic’ groups and the benefits that these relationships can have, particularly in terms of mental health, access to information and a reduction in isolation. When people are placed in more exclusionary neighbourhoods, with very few minority-ethnic residents, difficulties arise in forming social networks that in turn reduce participation and access to services more broadly (Spicer, 2008). While refugees and asylum-seekers’ lives slowly become aligned with the daily rhythms of the community in which they live (Conlon, 2011), embodied experiences linking them to their lives pre-migration become important. This linkage can be cooking the cuisine of the places that they have left, discussing memories, wearing certain clothes, and music and dancing, to name a few (Lewis, 2010; Noxolo, 2014). These practices and identities are important in maintaining social agency for the forcibly displaced and create a sense of togetherness and unity within ethnic communities. Spaces that enable this gathering to happen can become a space of care, working to overcome community boundaries and provide spaces of sharing and learning about others (Conradson, 2003; Piacentini, 2008). However, these spaces can also be exclusionary, and it is important to recognise the relational fields that co-exist within these spaces (Conradson, 2003; Darling 2011). In addition to this issue, there are questions about whether these spaces work to further segregation as they are not set-up for majority groups in dispersal areas, instead appealing to only those who have been dispersed there by the UK government.

Cities are considered to be places that facilitate a certain kind of ‘thrown-togetherness’ of people, with global connections and flows constantly present, thus becoming spaces of diversity (Darling, 2011). Returning to Askins’ (2016) discussion of emotions in belonging, it becomes apparent how everyday spaces enable fleeting encounters, yet drop-in centres provide more sustained encounters that involve emotion from both staff and from the people using the service. These encounters are embodied in a variety of ways:

[S]hared (albeit sometimes awkward) silences, gentle hands on knees or arms, gestures of contact and empathy, smiles, nods; bodies present and reactive to each other. Such contact can be understood as affecting, emergent and belonging to the world (Wright, 2015), while in/securities of both refugees and asylum seekers and more settled residents shift; not unaffected by dominant policy and media narratives but also influenced by ongoing personal experiences and situations. (Askins, 2016, p.524)

Geographers have emphasised the embodied way in which people may be included or excluded in both public and private spheres and within different networks. Drop-in centres provide spaces of reciprocity where friendships are made and people are listened to (Darling, 2011), which evokes a sense of generosity by engaging with others, yet also questions whether there is also a sense of responsibility at play. Hence:

If we consider generosity in this way, as a mode of ethical response which arises precisely through our relations, then this might be brought into conversation with a feminist ethic of care as Beasley and Bacchi (2005) suggest. Such an ethic is founded upon the notion of interdependence and relationality, whereby the ‘guiding thought of the ethic of care is that people need each other in order to lead a good life and that they can only exist as individuals through and via caring relationships with others’ (Sevenhuijsen, 2003, p.183). (Darling, 2011, p.410)

An ethic of care and the place of responsibility can also be linked to notions of hospitality mentioned earlier in this chapter. Hospitality can be useful and necessary for migrants seeking to build a new home in a new country (Darling, 2014), but does not come without issue. Hospitality suggests that there is:

A constant negotiation between competing demands—for welcome and for regulation at one and the same time. Hospitality is based on the prerequisite ‘that the host . . . remains the patron, the master of the household, on the condition that he maintains his own authority in his own house’ as Derrida asserts in a 2000 article on “Hospitality.” To be hospitable is to claim a particular space as one’s own, to assume that one has the right to both welcome a stranger and, conversely, to reject such a stranger. Written into the very constitution of the hospitable are a set of conditions and expectations, about who is the “host,” where the limits of this welcome lie and to whom it may be extended. (Darling, 2014, p.163)

Therefore, can hospitality actually lead to settlement or does it suggest a temporary welcome that can be withdrawn when the host community feels like doing so? Hospitality does not allow for equal rights or citizenship, something that migrants deem important if they are to settle in a place. It positions refugees and asylum-seekers as people ‘in need’ of care, removing any autonomous agency they may have, and thus the notion of hospitality can be seen to be a problematic way of approaching issues around migrant settlement for risk of reproducing hierarchal assumptions about those who are seen as ‘other’ and as ‘victims’, with the potential of reducing them to ‘bare life’ (Darling, 2011). Such an ethic of care accepts the humanity, generosity and hospitality in dependence – on certain people being dependent on others for their well-being. It stands in significant opposition to discourses (of left and right, but especially neoliberal) which rail against dependency as a ‘weak’, disempowered state, urging *independency* as an ultimate goal. Thus, it becomes important to critique this often negative view of dependency.

Notions of responsibility and hospitality reproduce the differences between ‘us’ and ‘them’, that are arguably still present in many communities where refugees and asylum-seekers are housed. These differences act as sharp identity markers, causing segregation, exclusion and sometimes violence (Hyndman and De Alwis, 2004; Noxolo, 2014). Werbner (2005, p.5) remarks that the public sphere where different communities are present provides a space for confrontations of these differences to differing effects, encouraging either ‘fission or fusion’. Thus, for many migrants, socialising often takes place with small numbers of people in the domestic sphere or in college and places of worship (Lewis, 2010). Here, cultural reproduction provides security and a shared sense of belonging, providing feelings of community and encouraging moments of transnationalism (Lewis, 2010). Developing this point, Rose (1996) writes that collective identities are generally created spatially – ‘our’ space and ‘their space’ – and thus as much through belonging somewhere as not-belonging (Dixon and Durrheim, 2000). This construction in turn shows how spaces of belonging are multiple and are produced from both inside and outside; the socio-spatial environments in which people spend time shape identity (Conradson, 2003) and enable encounters to take place, building ones’ sense of self.

Everyday Experiences

Refugees and asylum-seekers are disadvantaged in a range of everyday needs and services, namely health, housing, education and employment (McGhee, 2006). The services available to them tend to be separate from mainstream services, leading to further segregation from majority groups. Cattle (2001) has suggested that this segregation means that in many dispersal areas communities operate parallel lives, rarely overlapping or interacting. Refugees and particularly asylum-seekers’ daily lives are ordered by conditions given to them by the Home Office in relation to their stay in the UK (Piacentini, 2008). Furthermore, people are fearful of being deported or detained, often preventing them from accessing support and interacting with state-run agencies, leading to isolation and increased vulnerability (Lebuhn, 2013; Waite et al, 2014). People who have been displaced and sought asylum in the UK have to cope with a traumatic past and an uncertain future, and they may be culturally, socially and economically isolated (Deuchar, 2011), which in turn limits their opportunities for acquiring social capital. Netto (2011) found in her research that refugees and asylum-seekers face racially motivated harassment which inhibits their movements in their neighbourhoods, a finding echoed by Deuchar (2011), who states that many migrants feel there to be little point in reporting such abuse for fear of making themselves visible to authorities.

Those who ‘belong’ and those who do not are defined in relation to each other in ways that are likely to promote different ideologies and to centralise ‘difference’ (Warriner, 2007). In order to build social connections, there need to be opportunities for people to meet each other and to develop reciprocal relationships and trust (Ager and Strang, 2010). The absence of these

opportunities can lead to further segregation between groups of people seen to be split by the binary of ‘us’ and ‘them’ (Deuchar, 2011). Spaces need to be realised where encounters can take place and the emotionality of them considered, paying attention to how intercultural encounters can shift and shape societal relations. The concept of encounter has been used for a body of work exploring contact in spaces of social diversity and difference (Wilson, 2017). Encounters can be studied to explore how people make meanings out of interactions – sustained or fleeting – and in different kinds of spaces. Encounters can both shape – and be shaped – by space, and research has explored numerous public and private spaces to further this claim. Cultural encounters are often analysed in ways that perpetuate boundaries and borders between ‘us’ and ‘them’, ‘same’ and ‘different’ and other divisive binaries (Rovisco, 2010; Wilson, 2017). Hence, for many refugees and asylum-seekers daily encounters are fraught with notions of borders, boundaries and differing power relations (Domosh, 2010); encounters must be constantly negotiated and renegotiated as they navigate life in new urban areas.

Research into the everyday experiences of refugees and asylum-seekers in urban areas regularly highlights language and education as an important compound factor in daily life. Difficulty with language makes it hard for refugees and asylum-seekers to communicate with service providers, access information and speak to neighbours (Ager and Strang, 2008). English language learning is seen by many refugees and asylum-seekers to be the first step in securing their future in the UK and as a gateway into further education and employment (Warriner, 2007). This view of English as a crucial linguistic pivot is believed despite first-hand experiences of resettlement and job hunting that, despite proficient English, have not always been successful, suggesting deeper, more intrinsic underlying issues based on more than simply language proficiency – ones likely to be linked to wider discourses on immigration (Warriner, 2007). There has long been a tradition when looking at the assimilation of refugees and asylum-seekers to highlight the importance of learning a *particular* kind of English (Warriner, 2007), with proper, formal English proficiency acting as a marker of nationalism, belonging and a route to becoming an ‘insider’ (Warriner, 2007).

Many migrants attend ESOL lessons at colleges or in more informal spaces, often with a view to getting a job or accessing further educational opportunities. Yet one critique of these spaces is the limited opportunities to meet and speak with native English speakers (Sirriyeh, 2010), ones which are seen to be important for those learning English, an issue of central relevance in my own research. Although highly motivated to learn, education can also be difficult to access due to a shortage of places or lack of resources. Furthermore other institutional barriers faced by migrants such as housing, low finances and relative social immobility mean that drop-out rates are high amongst this population (Phillimore and Goodson, 2008). For people coming to the UK with existing qualifications and skills, one of the main issues is UK institutions not recognising these qualifications or their work experience (Mestheneos et al, 1999; Bloch, 2000). This limited

recognition of skills and qualifications, alongside discrimination, rights to employment and welfare all work to constrain refugee access to education and employment (Waite et al, 2014).

Like education, motivation to work is high and asylum-seekers regularly express their frustration at not being able to do so (Sim and Bowes, 2007). While many aspire to gain paid employment, people are also interested in gaining work experience to build social networks and improve their English. The enforced passivity while waiting for asylum claims to be approved is difficult for asylum-seekers, who want to be able to earn a living (Mestheneos et al, 1999). Refugees who are able to work often gain work in unskilled, high intensity, manual labour, and jobs are often unstable and temporary (Phillimore and Goodson, 2008); these jobs are characterised by low pay, precarious terms of employment and frequent periods of unemployment (Bloch, 2000), most commonly a result of existing qualifications or experience not being recognised by employers but also due to discrimination within certain sectors of employment (Mestheneos et al, 1999; Phillimore and Goodson, 2008). If successful employment is gained, it is likely that refugees will lose their entitlement to benefits, which makes it difficult to find affordable housing and still have enough money to live (Netto, 2011). Many refugees therefore end up in 'illegal' employment as a way of ensuring they can continue to receive housing benefits while earning a small amount of money (Mestheneos et al, 1999). The precarious position of refugees and asylum-seekers means that they are exposed to increased exploitation by employers, often involving undertaking periods of unpaid 'training' or having wages withheld (Waite et al, 2014).

Housing is universally recognised as a fundamental need; Maslow (1970) cites shelter as the first layer in his hierarchy of need (Phillimore and Goodson, 2008). For those seeking asylum and refuge in a new country, it could be argued that finding a 'home' – in whatever form this takes – is particularly pertinent as it symbolises the end of one journey and the start of a new start in their destination country (Phillimore and Goodson, 2008). The lack of a home is likely to hinder participation in other sectors such as education, employment and socialising. It has been found that provisions for refugees and asylum-seekers do not always meet their housing and financial needs (Phillimore and Goodson, 2008; Waite et al, 2014), leading to a range of issues but particularly acting as a hindrance to settlement and feelings of belonging. Netto (2011) finds that the absence of furniture is something with which people regularly have to contend, and she goes on to recognise that, although it is not just refugees and asylum-seekers who are allocated housing in poor condition, their lack of English and limited knowledge of the UK welfare system makes it particularly difficult to overcome some of the challenges they face.

The kinds of neighbourhoods and communities into which refugees and asylum-seekers are moved have an impact on their day-to-day experiences and interactions. It has been found that networks of solidarity often form between people belonging to ethnic minorities – not just people from their

countries of origin – as they are seen to experience the same level of hostility from majority groups (Spicer, 2008). In forming links with people in similar situations, access to information is facilitated in addition to help with navigating everyday life, such as finding shops, language support and extending social networks, all of which can be difficult for people newly arrived in a city (Spicer, 2008).

Processes of Settlement

Settlement – like integration and belonging – is not a straightforward or linear process. Settlement can take different forms, happen on different scales and may only ever happen partially. For refugees and asylum-seekers, there is often a question of affiliating with ‘here’ or ‘there’, with destination or origin places, but these should not be seen as distinct and affiliations change over time and space and may differ for each individual (Lewis, 2010). Migrants in the process of settling in a new country are arguably stuck between the past and the present. Mestheneos et al (1999) describe this state as a paralysis; on the one hand, they cannot move forward as they try to deal with the often traumatic and painful experiences of their migration, yet, on the other hand, their lack of rights and status also stop processes of settlement. These barriers to settlement are confronted in Piacentini’s (2008) paper, where she suggests that there is an emerging sense of ‘non- settlement’ within refugee and asylum-seeker communities, defined by a number of elements:

The prolonged processing times of asylum claims contribute to the stigmatisation of people as they endure a drawn-out exclusion from economic and social participation. In their day-to-day existence, asylum seekers have to negotiate the very real possibilities of detention and deportation and the anxiety this brings. The processes of no-choice dispersal and housing make it difficult to make roots and tap into existing social networks, and this not only limits dependence on a separate welfare system consumption, but also, through support provided in voucher form [this has now been stopped in the UK], brings immigration status directly into the public domain. (Piacentini, 2008, p.12)

Thus, it is clear that processes of settlement are impeded by a range of institutional and legal decisions and laws. However, there are aspects outwith the issues raised by Piacentini above that are entwined with journeys to settlement – or non-settlement. Settlement is an inherently individual process and some people are more likely than others to find social networks, to feel at home and to settle in their new homes.

If one takes a linear approach to integration (this issue is problematised later in this chapter), language can be seen as the key factor as it aids participation and inclusion (Esser, 2003). Different languages are afforded different ‘statuses’ and not being able to speak ‘properly’ or to speak the desired language can lead to isolation from different spaces and networks (as discussed in Chapter 2). Language has the ability to make someone feel connected or disconnected to a place, and identity can be created through talk (Dixon and Durrheim, 2000); through language people situate themselves ‘in place’ and places become implicit in imaginations of who we are and where we

belong (Dixon and Durrheim, 2000). It is worth highlighting that Dixon and Durrheim do not specify which languages they are discussing, and, importantly for this thesis, neither do they assume English to be the only language of note in processes of settlement and identity. Although Ager and Strang (2008) generally focus on the importance of learning English for social interaction and participation, they recognise that, in a two-way understanding of integration, information needs to be provided in a range of languages in order to aid access to services and movement through bureaucratic procedures. In the UK, the widespread provision of translated materials and availability of interpretation services has been criticised for potentially slowing down, or stopping, language learning and therefore integration (Easton, 2006). Conversely, Ager and Strang (2008) suggest that these services are crucial to the early stages of settlement as English acquisition does not happen immediately, yet processes of settlement do – or at least ought to.

Social connections and networks are central to processes of migration and settlement. They help to facilitate the very thought of migrating in the first place, as well as proving important along the journey (Mallett and Hagen-Zanker, 2016). Once in a destination country, social networks remain significant, particularly in promoting a sense of belonging and feelings of security in often strange and unknown cities and towns (Spicer, 2008). They offer practical support as well as emotional support that may help with confidence, mental health and settlement (Zetter and Pearl, 2000; Sales, 2002; Morrow 2003; Ager and Strang, 2008). When these networks are not available, people are at risk of social exclusion, defined by poverty and disadvantage, poor health, marginalisation and immobility (Pierson, 2002; Davies, 2005). Asylum-seekers and refugee's experiences often tend to be racialised through discrimination, dislocation and a lack of power (Spicer, 2008). Refugees and asylum-seekers report the friendliness of people who they encounter daily as an important factor in feeling 'at home', and it is clear – echoing claims made previously – that being recognised and spoken to is valued, as are small acts of friendship and positive encounters with local people (Ager and Strang, 2008). Furthermore, taking part in shared activities is deemed important to processes of settlement, such as engaging in sport, religious worship and community groups. These activities help to build relationships and to unsettle power hierarchies and pervasive notions of difference (Askins, 2016). Voluntary organisations play a role in facilitating meeting spaces that foster social bonds and connections between new arrivals and more established people, in turn building trust and aiding social cohesion (Zetter et al, 2005; Spicer, 2008; Goodall, 2010).

Warriner (2007) discusses the complexities of identity formation for people who that feel they belong neither 'here' nor 'there'. Creating feelings of an 'imagined home' is also central to diasporic groups (Vertovec, 1999), often marked by multiple identities and spaces in which people feel that they belong (Piacentini, 2008). Adopting practices of the dominant culture is one way of assimilating and becoming less visible as 'different', yet practising elements of their own culture is also important in creating links to their countries of origin and in being part of an exiled

community (Gemie, 2010; Lewis, 2010). These symbolic practices can be interpreted in various ways and can strengthen ties to various cultures and places to which a person belongs (Dixon and Durrheim, 2000; Lewis, 2010). Yet cultural practices and affiliations carried out in countries of exile all have to work within the structures to which people are subject, and therefore people have to 'make-do' with them not always being exactly as they were pre-migration (Gemie, 2010). The ways in which people choose to locate and present themselves within these structures help to maintain a sense of the self, in turn creating self-assurance and security in one's identity and place in the world (Dixon and Durrheim, 2000).

Debating Integration

Integration is a highly contested term and often creates confusion and disagreements between those trying to define it; particularly in studies of refugees, asylum-seekers and the communities in which they are living (Ager and Strang, 2008; Kirkwood et al, 2014). Integration is a key UK government policy objective and often a feature of public debate in discourses of immigration; yet the term is used with widely differing understandings, leading to further misunderstandings and debates on what it 'should' entail (Robinson, 1998; Castles et al, 2001; Hughes, 2007; Ager and Strang, 2008). There are some common themes that run across the variety of definitions; on a policy level, it is generally seen as a two-way process, a mutual sharing of culture and understanding. To this end host communities and recently arrived individuals and communities must both adapt (Phillimore and Goodson, 2008). Integration involves a range of factors and processes that need to be explored in order to understand the multi-dimensional nature of such a term (Phillimore and Goodson, 2008). Castles et al (2002) state that is important to ask, 'integration into what?' (p.13). An existing ethnic minority? A local community? A small group of people? Or British society? Mulvey (2013) writes that refugees and asylum-seekers tend to view, and to experience, integration on a local level rather than relative to British society more broadly, as is commonly stated as an objective by the UK government (Kirkwood et al, 2014). In looking at integration policies, Mattes (2017) states that they often produce or reinforce boundaries; through their preoccupation with characteristics of difference and similarity and their directions on how unity can be achieved, narratives of 'us' and 'them' are reinforced (Joppke, 2013). The government's focus on community cohesion is again likely to accentuate difference, thus changing processes of integration (Kelly, 2003; Griffiths et al, 2005). The notion of community has been applied in rhetoric around integration, but this term is itself also problematic (Griffiths et al, 2005; Lewis, 2010), only adding to debates and confusion over interactions and understandings between refugees and asylum-seekers and local populations.

The Home Office has published two national strategies for the integration of refugees; *Full and Equal Citizens* (Home Office, 2000) and *Secure Borders, Safe Haven* (Home Office, 2002). Following this strategizing there was an increase in integration rhetoric from all sectors that have

contact with refugees and asylum-seekers as well as an interest in how support and services are being accessed by migrants (Phillimore and Goodson, 2008). Experiences of integration by refugees and asylum-seekers, as well as for the communities in which they settle, are varied; experiences may be dependent on refugees and asylum-seekers' initial reasons for flight, personality and their expectations of – and the reactions of – host countries and communities (Mestheneos et al, 1999). However, it is important to recognise that in a two-way understanding of integration, the host community also has responsibility to promote and participate in integration. Kirkwood et al (2014) find that accounts of 'failed' integration reported in their study suggest that it was the refugees and asylum-seekers' fault, putting the new population in a position of responsibility for integration. Secondly, Kirkwood et al (2014) look at accounts of 'successful' integration and find that these reports often champion processes of assimilation whereby the new population adapts to fit in with those already living in the community. This finding mirrors McGhee (2006, p.119), who writes that for many people the 'acquisition of the English language and knowledge of 'British life' are seen as key to successful integration': without these tools, new communities are seemingly unable to participate in society. This finding was subsequently echoed in policy reports and initiatives (McGhee, 2006) which in turn rippled through host communities, giving credence to rhetoric around problem populations who do not want to integrate with British people and prefer to stay within their own ethnic communities (Kirkwood et al, 2014). Numerous reports have found that there is a corresponding sense of resentment towards refugees and asylum-seekers (see Fekete, 2001; McGhee, 2006; Lewis, 2010; Kirkwood et al, 2014), with complaints that new arrivals are getting preferential treatment with regard to services and housing in places whereas long-term residents have to wait months for suitable housing or repairs. This resentment leads to segregation and hostile environments, in turn hindering any chance of 'successful' integration.

There are ongoing debates about whose responsibility it is to promote, encourage and provide opportunities for community cohesion and integration. Government reports regularly make an assumption that third sector organisations and RCOs will fill a gap left in welfare support and services (Dwyer and Brown, 2005; Griffiths et al, 2006), often to the dismay of those working within these organisations. Recent public spending cuts mean that statutory services for refugees and asylum-seekers, as well as funding for integration programmes, are being cut, making it increasingly difficult for the third sector to fill the gaps (Waite et al, 2014). Gamelidin-Ashami et al (2002) argue that these organisations do not have the resources to do this gap-filling and instead are having to adopt a 'band-aid' approach, whereby they deal with the immediate needs of communities without being able to tackle deeper issues. Formal organisations make up a small part of a much larger picture of networks and organisations involved in supporting refugees and asylum-seekers (Griffiths et al, 2006), meaning that policy makers need to view the bigger picture when developing programmes for integration. Although active citizenship is argued to be a key part

in achieving integration and it is common for a two-way approach to integration to form the basis for policy suggestions, the emphasis is still on migrant communities to achieve this treasured good, often without the input or cooperation of host communities (McGhee, 2006).

Defining Integration - Or Not?

Ager and Strang's (2008) 'Indicators of Integration' work was commissioned by the Home Office in 2002 and is widely seen as the benchmark and reference point for scholars researching refugee and asylum-seeker integration. It is used in evaluations of integration programmes in the UK and further afield (Ager and Strang, 2008). The framework (figure 3.1) suggests that the areas of housing, health, employment and education are acknowledged as key mechanisms needing to be in place for processes of integration to begin. However:

Given the wide variation in income and employment, in housing status, in educational experience and outcome, and in health access and status across the settled population of any nation, what constitutes 'successful integration' across these domains? This issue can be addressed by comparing outcomes for refugees with others in their locality, but this risks comparing outcomes for one disadvantaged group with those of another. While population-wide data can provide a more salient standard for comparative purposes, such considerations raise the more fundamental question of entitlement and common expectation. If one is integrating 'within' a society, what are the standards and expectations of that society that provide some basis for cohesion. (Ager and Strang, 2008, p.173)

The above excerpt reveals the difficulties in defining and evaluating integration, as it is temporally and spatially variable and depends on the question posed by Castles et al (2002): 'Integration into what?' Castles et al (2002) conducted a survey into the integration of migrants and found that, alongside the means and markers identified by Ager and Strang, it was also important to consider social relationships and barriers to participation. This study reinforced the need to understand integration as a two-way process that involves trust, reciprocity and understanding; not simply adaptation and assimilation (Kirkwood et al, 2014). Phillimore and Goodson (2008) offer a critique of these indicators of integration, arguing that there is too big a focus on the outcomes of housing, health, education and employment, rather than on the actual processes of achieving success in these fields. They go on to suggest that Ager and Strang do not consider the need for institutions to enable and facilitate achievement in these areas, which may reveal more about processes of integration below the surface. Duyvendak and Scholten (2010) agree that studies on integration are all too often researched in relation to simplified models that do not necessarily recognise the multi-layered and sometimes paradoxical processes involved. These models generally focus on what it appears to involve from the outside, rather than delving into the internal methods used to achieve this idealised end-point; and once again putting the onus on migrant communities rather than on those into which they are settling (Rouvoet et al, 2017).

Models of integration risk overlooking how some refugees and asylum-seekers are physically excluded or restricted from achieving the means and markers identified by Ager and Strang (2008). They have to find other ways to achieve ‘successful’ integration; in many cases this revolves around attaining refugee status (Sirriyeh, 2010). Mestheneos and Ioannidi (2002) and Schibel et al (2002) recognise the role of the state and society in integration while Zetter et al (2002) propose four domains in which integration should take place; the legal, statutory, functional and social. The aforementioned scholars also highlight the necessity of willingness and participation from host communities in the achievement of integration.

Figure 3.1 shows Ager and Strang’s (2008) Indicators of Integration framework. The first level is ‘foundation’ and relates to the rights afforded to people from the state, but also includes what the state expects of them in return (Phillimore and Goodson, 2008). The second domain of ‘facilitators’ is argued to be what needs to be in place to enable refugees and asylum-seekers to participate in their communities and society more broadly (Ager and Strang, 2008). Third, social connections are considered and broken down into three different types of social relationships; social bridges with people from ‘other’ communities, social bonds related to social relationships within a person’s own ethnic or cultural community, and social links afforded by relationships with relevant institutions – both formal and informal (Ager and Strang, 2008; Phillimore and Goodson, 2008). Finally, the means and markers are the functional indicators that mark if a person has integrated successfully or not, and these four markers also reflect what is considered important in the community and deemed valuable by the state (Ager and Strang, 2008).

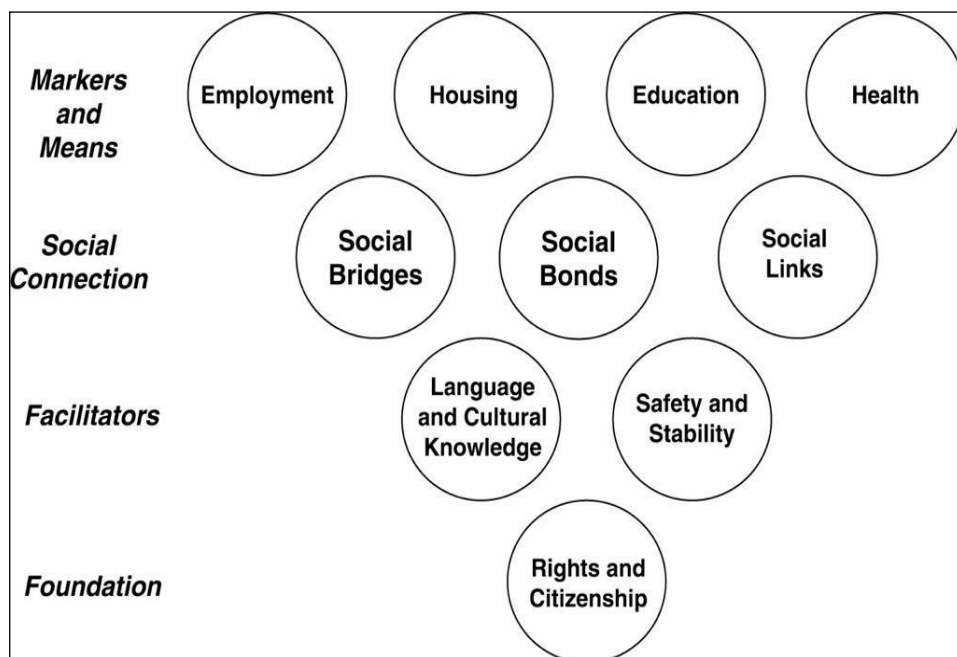


Figure 3.1: Indicators of Integration (Ager and Strang, 2008).

The social connectedness of refugees and asylum-seekers is unarguably vital in achieving what is deemed to be successful integration, and the role that social relationships play in the three other domains recognised by Ager and Strang (2008) is of considerable significance. Yet the focus from policy-makers has often remained upon the functional markers, as this is seen to be where the state has the most influence (Zetter et al, 2002; Phillimore and Goodson, 2008). Of course, the functional indicators have a role in aiding understanding of refugees and asylum-seekers' experiences, yet measures of integration are not stand-alone and it is the inter-relationships between different markers that may reveal most about integration experiences. This matter is particularly important as, for some people, the functional markers – such as being employed, properly housed, healthy, well-educate – are unachievable as a result of restrictions from the very institutions that are supposed to be encouraging achievement in these sectors (Cousey, 2000; Mestheneos and Ioannidi, 2002; Phillimore and Goodson, 2008).

The UK governments' renewed emphasis on community cohesion repeatedly positions asylum-seekers and refugees as primarily responsible for achieving this integration themselves, while simultaneously positioning them as also a threat to this desired cohesion (Mulvey, 2010; Kirkwood et al, 2014), thus putting them in a paradoxical position of both problem and solution. Ager and Strang (2008) and Deuchar (2011) highlight the importance of social bonds and bridges in moving towards community cohesion, focusing on social relationships between members of majority and minority groups to facilitate trust and understanding. It has been argued that the dispersal policy impacts the number of opportunities for these social bridges to form, since isolated groups of asylum-seekers are placed in deprived areas with little prior experience of multi-cultural communities (Morrice, 2007; Cattle, 2008; Deuchar, 2011). This mismatch can lead to segregation and further issues of mistrust between 'insider' and 'outsider' groups (Deuchar, 2011), once again highlighting the importance of a two-way understanding of integration whereby host communities are aware of the experiences of asylum-seekers, and aware of ways that they can practise integration strategies within their communities and neighbourhoods.

Integration is often categorised alongside ideas about acculturation and assimilation. For Berry (1994), integration is chosen by migrants, and through acculturation they can choose to maintain parts of their original culture while participating in selected elements of daily life with majority groups (Phillimore and Goodson, 2008). This approach allows migrants to practice cultural traditions privately or within their communities while still being part of the wider community in which they have settled. Conversely, assimilation reinforces difference by relegating cultural traditions to the private sphere (Mitchell, 2004). Here it is assumed that migrants will adopt norms and values of the majority group in order to participate in society. Through assimilation:

Cultural difference is acceptable, but only in the spaces of private life. Thus assimilation does not challenge universalist assumptions or the embodied and expressive cultural qualities of

core group members, and full participation in civic life, which is linked with these qualities, remains unattainable for many poor, immigrant and minority groups (see Mehta, 1999). (Mitchell, 2004, p.642)

In line with the above quote, Joppke and Morawska (2003) argue that in liberal states a very specific kind of multiculturalism exists, one where there is pressure to speak the national language, one where values and norms need to be adopted to enable participation and one where power hierarchies are clear to see. Brubaker (2003) and Mitchell (2004) hence insist that this kind of multiculturalism may be a precursor to even more assimilative politics in the future.

While many of these studies exploring issues around ‘integration’ are UK-based, it remains important for this research that issues around integration, and the geographies of this project, are situated within the local context. Chapter 5 looks closely at the Scottish situation, considering localised policies and documentation such as ‘The New Scots Integration Strategy’, explaining how ‘integration’ sits within these policy-based frameworks. As is evident in discussions on integration, there are many facets and ways to measure ‘integration’. Of importance to this research is how language is intertwined with such deliberations, and issues that have been considered in this chapter, when looked at alongside current policies in the UK and in Scotland more specifically (Chapter 5), begin to reveal how language is situated in political and social discourse around integration. Chapter 5 looks at local policies as well as UK-wide policies on immigration, integration and language in order to situate the chapters that follow. Additionally, Chapter 5 has close ties with the present chapter as many of the social and political challenges faced by refugees and asylum-seekers are a direct result of increasingly strict policies and laws. The current policies have profound implications for the geographies of refugees and asylum-seekers in Glasgow, as explored in Chapter 5 and throughout the remainder of this thesis, and my findings here are not dissimilar to those arrived at by much of the work that has already (?) been explored in this literature chapter. When considering the role of language, another layer of complexity is added, and so the chapters that follow foreground the situated geographies of language use among refugees and asylum-seekers in Glasgow, all the while bolstered by relevant academic and policy literature.

The Mobile Linguistic Stranger

In this final part of the chapter I want to explore the notion of ‘The Stranger’ as introduced by Simmel in the early-20th century (see text box on page 87). To do this I will first explore notions of difference and the ‘other’ before moving on to look at abjection and how this notion can helpfully be considered alongside The Stranger to investigate how refugees and asylum-seekers are positioned within British society – thereby consolidating arguments made throughout this chapter.

Sibley (1995) calls for a recognition of feelings when thinking about others and the impact that feelings and emotions can have on social interactions and encounters, particularly in moments of

oppression. The ways in which boundaries emerge between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ are often a direct result of emotions that can lead to inclusive or exclusive ways of living. Sibley (1995) thinks about the self as a cultural production, and about how processes of exclusion can work to help define and position oneself in social relations and society more broadly. The process of categorising people often comes from powerful institutions who have the power to place people in preconceived categories (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000). This act of placement leads to an ‘othering’ of people, predominantly drawn through symbolic differences such as gender, ethnicity, class, sexuality and, importantly for this thesis, immigration status (Piacentini, 2008). For refugees and asylum-seekers, being subject to a range of restrictive policies puts them in a segregated position and more easily ‘othered’ by dominant populations.

Haldrup et al (2006) build upon Said’s notion of Orientalism (1978, p. 175-177) and suggest that ‘banal orientalism’ is related to an ideological consciousness that is internalised through language such as ‘us’ and ‘them’; it works to place and to order people. ‘Practical orientalism’ is then the way in which this internalised ordering is translated into everyday living; how difference is performed, embodied and felt in the navigation of everyday life. Included here is the proximity to difference or those taken as ‘other’, seen as strangers – ones that are problematic – since those that are othered are deemed disruptive and likely challenging the status quo (Haldrup et al, 2006). These strangers become a threat through proximity, or worse via a transgression of the boundary separating ‘us’ and ‘them’ (Wilton, 1998). Spatial management of the ‘other’ comes from discourses about who is ‘legitimate’ and who is not – and who therefore needs to be excluded (Goodall, 2010); and this kind of objectification of the ‘other’ is also discussed by Werbner (2005), who alludes to a ‘museuming’ of other cultures, enhancing the exclusionary nature of objectification.

Georg Simmel 'The Stranger' (1908)

If we consider how difference is bounded and bordered, as discussed in the previous section, it provides the basis for applying Simmel's notion of 'The Stranger' (1908) to refugees and asylum-seekers. The following, then, provides an overview of Simmel's essay, paying particular attention to links with the modern-day immigrant.

For Simmel, the stranger is not the wanderer who comes today and goes tomorrow, 'but rather the person who comes today and stays tomorrow' (p.322). In this way, the figure of the stranger becomes more prominent as he or she decides to settle rather than to move on. Simmel's figure of the stranger is at once highly mobile yet fixed in place; they are both near and far, involved and detached. He suggests that the mobile stranger meets many people but is connected to very few; the stranger is a threat as he or she always remains an objective observer, regardless of how long they stay. The stranger is fixed spatially as a member of a group, yet the stranger is not bounded in this group as they have not belonged to it since its beginning and therefore bring qualities to the group that do not come from the group itself.

The stranger is not an alien. They possess common features with the group to which they have arrived and settled – whether this is social, economic, political or simply as a human – and so they are close. Yet these commonalities may connect a large number of people, and therefore the stranger remains distant and far. Hence:

[B]etween nearness and distance, there arises a specific tension when the consciousness that only the quite general is common, stresses that which is not common. In the case of the person who is a stranger to the country, the city, the race, etc., however, this non-common element is once more nothing individual, but merely the strangeness of origin, which is or could be common to many strangers. (Simmel, 1908, 327)

So, it is clear that the stranger is someone who is like 'us' but can be categorised with 'them', someone who is 'othered' due to elements of his or her physical or psychological identity. The stranger is someone who settles in a place despite this difference, and is at once similar and different, near and far, and involved and detached. They occupy a liminal position within a group, a community or a neighbourhood and are arguably neither here nor there.

Like Sirriyeh's (2010) discussion of roots and routes to home, difference is something that has roots – historically created and geographically grounded through social interaction, cultural institutions and communities. But difference also has routes, meaning the movement of people, capital and commodities (Kobayashi and Peake, 2000; Mitchell, 2014). The way that difference is

rooted and routed creates an 'abject' other (Tyler, 2013) and, in terms of refugees and asylum-seekers, shows a clear demarcation between those who are citizens and those who are not (Gerrard, 2016). It has been recognised that fear of proximity to the other is common among affluent groups as they try to maintain hegemonic social and spatial order (Atkinson, 2006; Young, 2007). Cheshire and Zappia (2016) further this proposal and suggest that low-income groups may in fact be more fearful of 'others' out of anxiety about resource competition; maybe reducing their vulnerability further as a group who have also been 'othered' by more powerful and dominant socioeconomic groups (Watt, 2006). Ahmed (2000) argues that difference is not fixed and emerges from encounters, revealing how similarity and difference change over time and space (Wilson, 2017). People can belong to multiple groups that at each moment in time promote varying similarities or differences with the dominant group. This dynamism can help to explain the varying experiences and effects of encounters with difference as it brings into play notions of collective identities, particularly where boundaries are transgressed by individuals or when people can identify as both 'us' and 'them' (Wilton, 1998).

Ahmed (2000) suggests that metaphorical and figurative discourse around difference promotes social abjection. She argues that the imagined – or real – feelings of disgust work to reinforce and justify borders that are produced in order to exclude those that produce such feelings (Tyler, 2006). Borders work to maintain purity and protect the self, and therefore people constantly reinforce and renegotiate them to protect themselves (Sibley, 1995). Above all, abjection is characterised by ambiguity, because 'while releasing a hold, it does not radically cut off the subject from what threatens it – on the contrary, abjection acknowledges it to be in perpetual danger' (Kristeva, 1982, p.9). Abjection is commonly used as a concept alongside exclusion, as the abject is not repressed but is always present at the border, threatening the purity of the self (Wilton, 1998). Sibley (1995) uses the abject to explore how matter out-of-place is central to the ordering of Western society. He and Kristeva (1982) draw upon Douglas (1966) to explore the socio-cultural and geographical processes that are mobilised to maintain purity, in the course of which groups may become defined as either 'insider' or 'outsider' (Wilton, 1998). The abject has become something or someone who threatens or disrupts cultural values and norms; by acknowledging the abject, everyday life can be protected and boundaries can be produced. The abject works to reaffirm and to re-centre cultural values within majority groups, creating a shared sense of belonging, borne out of relating to those who do not belong. In positioning asylum-seekers and refugees as an abject other, and by seeing them as a threat, it renders the citizen part of a majority group who belongs to the nation (Tyler, 2006).

Here it is worth touching on how abjection, and the anxiety produced by the abject can work at a scale larger than the individual. In thinking about the uncanny, Wilton (1998) suggests that proximity to difference, including transgressions of boundaries on a neighbourhood or even national level, may be seen as a threat to collective and national identity felt on a range of scales.

Kristeva (1982) has used the Freudian category of ‘uncanny’ to explain the collective anxiety produced by ‘foreigners’. In her discussion of xenophobia, she uses the uncanny to explain the fascination yet repulsion created by people from other – less desirable – countries becoming proximate, linking to Simmel’s notion of the stranger as being at once near and far. In bringing together notions of the other, difference, the abject and the stranger, the manner in which the refugee and asylum-seeking body becomes a ‘mobile, racialised, linguistic other’ is evident. Returning to Mitchell’s (2014) discussion of the shooting of Trayvon Martin, it is apparent how the shooter’s actions were a result of societal understandings about who belongs where, who can move and who cannot, and what kinds of cultural practices are (un)acceptable. The disruption of these understandings led the shooter to feel threatened and to use deadly force on someone who disrupted the status quo. This brings about questions of being ‘in-place’ or ‘out-of-place’; inherently racialised in many circumstances, the notion of ‘out-of-place’ provoking fear and feelings of threat for dominant groups (Cresswell, 1996; Mitchell, 2014). Proximity to the ‘other’ is one of the key provocations leading to adverse reactions, particularly if that proximity turns into an encounter (Wilton, 1998), leading to apprehension amongst majority groups (Mitchell, 2014). The fear and anxiety produced by proximity to refugees and asylum-seekers is arguably a result of political and media rhetoric, using words such as ‘dirty, thieves ... deception, bogus ... cheat, illegal, burden, drugs, wave, flood ... scrounger, fraudster ... battle, fighting machine, deadly ... monsters’ (Tyler, 2006, p.191). This popular rhetoric then becomes the common understanding of the refugee or asylum-seeking body (Tyler, 2006), and the repetition of this kind of discourse promotes these feelings as a common-sense understanding and shapes how we perceive those at which the discourse is directed (Ahmed, 2000; Back et al, 2002; McGhee, 2006; Tyler, 2006). These representations and the politics of this rhetoric all become rooted in everyday encounters between migrants and established communities. Through these interactions borders are redrawn, reproduced and enacted – yet they can also be transgressed and overcome. The process of ‘othering’ is an embodied one that happens on daily basis in areas where refugees and asylum-seekers live (Haldrup et al, 2006):

Bauman declared that “all societies produce strangers, but each society produces its own kind of stranger” (Bauman, 1997 p.46). It could be argued that asylum seekers and refugees are the current ‘strangers’ for many communities in Britain. (Goodall, 2010, p.1)

In positioning refugees and asylum-seekers as ‘other’ to majority groups in Britain, there is a risk of overlooking everyday life from the perspective of those who have been othered. Noxolo (2014) reminds us that refugees and asylum-seekers are just as suspicious of others as these supposed others are of them, and, borrowing Waite et al’s (2014) capacity to hurt, the majority group has just as much chance of hurting refugees or asylum-seekers as the latter do them. Thus, drawing borders and boundaries overlooks the similarities between majority and minority groups, particularly in relation to security, uncertainty and threat; albeit perhaps the fear of similarity is the very reason for refugees and asylum-seekers being positioned as society’s contemporary stranger, reinstating

their relative status as an ‘object’ to be acted *upon*. Hopkins (2014) emphasises the importance of looking at the figure of the stranger in a relational and embodied way, thinking about how grouping vulnerable minorities together may work to increase racism and intolerance. He focuses on the spatial and temporal importance of ‘strangerhood’ in relation to those doing the categorising. This thesis offers a relational and emotional account of those deemed to be strangers in Britain, taking into account the stories and narratives from those placed within the category of ‘other’.

Conclusion: Refugees and Asylum-Seekers as a Bounded ‘Other’

The refugee and asylum-seeking body represents an unknown, a life that seemingly cannot be understood by majority groups. Massey (2005) argues that we are better at caring for others at a distance, rather than those proximate strangers, as distance reduces the feelings of fear, anxiety and disgust associated with those others who are nearby (Waite et al, 2014). Sontag eloquently summarises such feelings:

For all voyeuristic lure, and the possible satisfaction of knowing, this is not happening to me, I’m not ill, I’m not dying, I’m not trapped in a war – it seems normal for people to fend off thinking about the ordeal of others, even others with whom it would be easy to identify. (Sontag, 2003, p.99)

Refugees and asylum-seekers represent war, abandonment, torture and violence; they serve as a reminder of both the uncertainty of life and the ease with which a safe and familiar routine can become unsettled (Hughes, 2007). Hence, for many, it is easier to ignore and to avoid these people than to face the fear and anxiety that true understanding would produce. As Brecht pointed out, the refugee is ‘a harbinger of ill-tidings’ (Bauman, 2004, p.66-67); and thus there is a sense that, if care is provided to those at a distance, then it is as good as helping those within British communities, but without having to interact with or even encounter the proximate stranger.

The imagery of the ‘refugee other’ enhances the notion of difference, and ultimately fortifies national borders and creates the conditions for non-citizen spaces within national borders. Refugees and asylum-seekers are both highly mobile and highly immobile, they are near and far yet neither here nor there. They occupy a liminal space within neighbourhoods, communities and society more generally. More recently, refugees and asylum-seekers have become the subject of intense security measures from Western governments, which has worked to exclude them from collective identities, positioning them outside of citizenship boundaries: as ‘objects’. Seeing refugees and asylum-seekers as ‘strangers’ who are here but do not necessarily belong has become the *de facto* narrative in many communities across the UK, too often reflected in experiences of settlement and integration.

The normalisation of dichotomies such as ‘us’ and ‘them’ and the limited mobility of refugees and asylum-seekers in dispersal cities – despite their wider mobility – work to reproduce narratives of the refugee or asylum-seeker as a mobile other: one who does not know, or will not assimilate with, the majority group and who cannot participate, not least because they do not speak the ‘correct’ language. Refugees and asylum-seekers occupy numerous paradoxical positions; they are im/mobile, in/visible, neither here nor there, both near and far, and both a problem and a solution for community cohesion. Bounded by restrictive policies, segregated by political and public rhetoric, and isolated due to a reciprocal fear of their neighbours, refugees and asylum-seekers have found a range of innovative and resilient methods to establish feelings of belonging, enable local integration and achieve civil participation. All of these enactments highlight the capabilities and strengths of Britain’s new and diverse populations; refugees and asylum-seekers’ resilience in the face of adversity will be explored in this thesis by looking at one facet of their social and national identities: language, and how it changes and is mobilised over time and space.

Chapter 4

“Nothing About Us Without Us”: Methods for Doing Research with Young Refugees and Asylum-Seekers

I stepped off the bus and walked past two looming tower blocks that have since been demolished. Sighthill was not somewhere I had been before and I was slightly nervous, yet in hindsight it would seem its reputation that precedes it is unfair. A home to people from around the world, as well as those who were born and bred here, the popular rhetoric of high-rise neighbourhoods in Glasgow had me fooled because not only did I feel safe, I felt that a sense of community existed. When embarking upon this research project I did not imagine for a minute that I would be spending five hours a week in a Tesco Extra in the north of the city, yet here I was, 10am on Thursday morning, ready for my first English class. The butterflies in my stomach made me feel like it was my first day at secondary school again. Who was going to be there? Would they like me? Do I introduce myself or let the teacher do it? I had no idea what to expect as I walked along past the checkouts, rehearsing my introductory spiel in my head as I approached the community room at the end. As I opened the door I was met with ten faces staring at me; I smiled and said hello before Gary came out of the kitchen to introduce me to the class. For the next 10 minutes I was bombarded with questions, not about my reason for being there, or about my work, or even how I could help them. Instead, I was quizzed on everything from my hometown to my family (and why I lived so far away from my parents), to my marital status, to the absolute disbelief that I lived alone (who is there to look after me?) After this initial barrage of questions, the ten students began to tell me about their lives, why they were here, where they were from and showed me pictures of their families back home. I became concerned that my presence was taking away from class time, but Gary assured me that this was all part of learning, and that practising conversation is vital in linguistic development. The class was spent chatting to each other, sharing who we were and finding out more about life in different countries. By the time the class was over I felt humbled, inspired, educated and excited for the year ahead. (*Field Diary, 24th September 2015*)

Research is not linear, clean-cut or predictable; it requires dedication, emotional investment and, in some projects, the desire to immerse oneself in another world. The excerpt from my field diary above details my first foray into PhD fieldwork; although initially daunting, I emerged excited and with a sense of dedication, not only to my project, but to the people with whom I was going to be working over the coming year. These different emotions, and the speed at which they emerge, provides a good starting point to discuss the methodology employed in this project, taking into account ethical procedures and ways of working with often vulnerable people.

As Darling (2014, p.201) states, ‘fieldwork produces more than simply ‘data’. Rather, fieldwork produces sensibilities and dispositions, it alters researchers and those they encounter in often unpredictable ways’. Thus, in line with work by Cook (2001), Darling (2014) and Helms et al (2005), this chapter takes somewhat of a personal route to detail the messy reality of doing research with refugees and asylum-seekers. This chapter is split into three sections; first, I explore wider methodological literature to examine approaches to doing research with vulnerable young people; secondly, I take each of my methods in turn – participant observation, workshops and interviews – detailing what I did and why, before moving on to discuss methods of analysis; finally, I offer a

more personal reflection on my time in the field. This chapter is interspersed with further critical reflections on the field as an often emotionally charged and constantly changing environment; researchers can never be fully disengaged from the practice of doing research (Kuntz, 2015) and it is vital that time is taken to reflect on processes of research in order to understand and negotiate future research encounters.

In this chapter and, indeed, throughout the chapters that follow, I use the term ‘participatory’ in two ways. Firstly, to capture the overall ethos of the project – the fieldwork was interactive, collaborative, potentially empowering and involved – but also, secondly participatory described a particular element of my work, participant observation, in which I was active in my participants’ worlds. In a similar vein I chose not to deploy more formal or technical methodologies of linguistic analysis, or the ethnomethodologies of conversation analysis, that some might expect to be present in this sort of project. This is because it is the social, cultural and performative geographies of these ‘linguistic lives’ that interest me – which require more standard qualitative social-science methods to investigate. Relatedly, I want to distinguish between ‘mental mapping’ as a technical exercise with formal analytical procedures and the way that I used ‘mental maps’ as a lens on my participants’ social worlds. This distinction between different uses of ‘mental maps’ parallels the distinction between formal linguistic analysis and the more socialised linguistic enquiries that I deployed in my research.

Methods were designed to help to identify and to explore the ‘on-the-ground’ language geographies of refugees and asylum-seekers, including ‘in-the-moment’ language use. The methods used were participatory, with an aim to build upon existing skills of participants and to include methods that were not solely reliant on being able to speak a high level of English. Research was carried out with five key organisations (see table 4.1) working with refugees and asylum-seekers in Glasgow, and these empirical sites were chosen using my personal knowledge of refugee services in the city as well as using a snowballing method. These organisations offer a space for people to spend time with each other, access advice and support services, and provide English classes. Although these organisations had physical office space, the services that they provided were commonly mobile, with classes and activities taking place in a wide range of spaces across Glasgow. The sites of service provision were not traditional classrooms but instead community spaces, church halls and public libraries. I first contacted the organisations in April 2015 to introduce myself and to explain the project; I then met with a representative from each organisation to explain the work in more detail and to establish collaborative protocols. It was important to me that my project was a collaborative effort, not just between myself and the young people, but also with these organisations, meaning that I allowed room for manoeuvre depending on what each organisation and site envisioned for the research process, their timetables and their overall objectives.

I took a multi-method approach to produce a detailed and textured account of spaces used by refugees and asylum-seekers in Glasgow. These spaces included the physical sites in which I spent time with participants, but also other spaces where they spent time individually. The organisations with which I worked, and the events I attended, provided a window into the worlds of refugees and asylum-seekers outside of service use. By combining traditional methods such as interviews with more creative, flexible methods, I endeavoured to ensure that a well-rounded picture emerged, co-produced by the young people with whom I was working. In addition to working closely with young migrants, I carried out interviews with relevant practitioners, teachers and volunteers, the majority of whom were accessed via the organisations in table 4.1. Although I believe that refugees and asylum-seekers should be given the opportunity to have a voice in matters that affect them, I recognise that existing power structures mean that those in a position of authority tend to retain the most influence. Listening to young people's voices requires us, as researchers¹³, to treat them as autonomous agents who can produce interesting and insightful accounts of their own lives. Yet we must still listen to others who have the power to shape their lives (Holloway, 2014), not as proxies, but as alternative contributors to the debate. Therefore, I looked to these practitioners to create a complementary narrative to that produced by the young people, and to highlight the forms of disciplinary action and governance to which young migrants are subjected. I felt it was important to balance the narratives and accept that practitioners, teachers and governmental actors could not be excluded from the research; to do so would be short-sighted and risk an incomplete account. In addition to this, it should be acknowledged that many young migrants feel frustrated or anxious about certain issues over which they do not feel themselves to have control. By broaching these subjects with practitioners, I hoped to reveal some of the reasons why this powerlessness is felt, as well as to fill in gaps about refugees and asylum-seekers experiences that cannot be filled by listening to their voices alone.

Participatory Research with Vulnerable Young People

Although there have been recent endeavours to research a range of different worlds, there remain notable gaps in research about the experiences of young migrants in the UK, which are diverse in themselves (Hopkins, 2008; Evans and Holt, 2011). Potentially 'hard to reach' young people require particular attention when it comes to designing an effective and successful methodology (Holt and Holloway, 2006). People deemed 'hard to reach' are those who live their lives on the periphery of society, as part of a marginalised group or by occupying a precarious position. This liminality and precarity is linked to prevailing assumptions about their vulnerability and the potential for research to be distressing for them (Mitchell, 2009); therefore, the ethical and methodological considerations required for research with young migrants is of even greater

¹³ Researchers may also be relatively young – yet, in being in the role of a researcher, power relations between the researcher and researched enter play, requiring a delicate navigation of the relationship.

importance (Hopkins, 2008). It is vital that methods are well thought-out and planned to minimise negative experiences of participation, while enhancing the pleasurable and enjoyable aspects that research participation has to offer (Kesby, 2007). It is also important to recognise the resilience and heterogeneous capabilities of young migrants in research, rather than merely focussing on their weaknesses and uncertainty (Punch, 2002; Pain, 2004); this methodology therefore drew on the strengths and capabilities of these young people, recognising that their positional fragility does not take away from their own personal competencies. Over recent years, geographers have employed more imaginative ways to allow children and young people to articulate their experiences other than just in interview or focus group settings. Methods such as art, self-directed photography, drama, music, facilitating play, informal conversation and map-making (see Matthews, 1997; Clark and Moss, 2001; Punch, 2002; Barker and Weller, 2003; Ross, 2007) encourage people to fashion their own representations, interpretations and understandings through respondent-appropriate methods (Kesby, 2007; Van Blerk and Barker, 2008; Van Blerk et al, 2009). Kesby (2007) suggests that methods need to be developed in response to the participants' abilities, and not what we as researchers assume to be their capabilities, which was particularly apparent in my research as I found myself constantly adapting and re-negotiating how I approached and conducted some of the methods.

Researchers must endeavour to represent the voices of research participants as honestly and as fully as possible; it is thus essential to understand what is being communicated (Holt, 2004). One can gain this kind of understanding through empathy and by trying to understand 'the other'; knowledge should be seen as co-produced between researcher and participant at both the data production and interpretation stages (Grover, 2004). Kindon (2003) refers to this approach as a practice of '*looking alongside*' rather than '*looking at*' participants; failure to do so risks reproducing hierarchal notions of knowledge production, hinting at an assumption that researchers can understand all groups of people without any problem and are therefore in a position to produce narratives on their behalf (Holt 2004). Centralising co-production and co-interpretation of data in my research meant that, as a researcher, I was working closely with the participants to ensure an honest and transparent discussion of their language geographies.

Participatory Research

Participatory research methods have been increasingly used in geographical research with young people (Boyden and Ennew, 1997). Underpinned by the notion of co-producing knowledge *with* participants, rather than *about* participants, it is not the methods themselves that make research participatory, but rather the social and power relations that exist in the research process, particularly in the data collection and interpretation stages of research (Ansell et al, 2012). One of the main benefits of participatory research is its ability to forefront the voices, and hence

experiences, of marginalised groups (Cahill, 2007). Importantly, it is not necessarily based on bringing one new voice into the academy – of one particular person or organisation – but on exploring different perspectives in and between these groups. Ethically, a participatory approach is considered more respectful, as it involves research *with* people as opposed to research *on* them (Beazley and Ennew, 2006; Cahill, 2007); methodologically, it is championed for its ability to create rich and layered accounts (Pain, 2004; Ansell et al, 2012), while allowing participants to speak openly about their experiences (Ansell et al, 2012). Pain and Francis (2003) contend that participatory methods are particularly effective when accessing ‘heard to reach’ groups; by allowing full participation and encouraging open discussion, participants are able to become a partner in the research process. Thus, participatory research has increased in popularity alongside scholarly attempts to increase the inclusion of marginalised groups in research (Thomson, 2007; Sime, 2008). Gallacher and Gallagher (2008) argue that, rather than seeing participatory approaches as a replacement for more conventional research methods, they should be used in conjunction, to extend and enhance understanding of complex social phenomena:

Hart (1992) introduced the ‘Ladder of Participation’, a model of participation through eight levels, starting from manipulation and non-participation and moving up towards equal participation of adults and children (Hart 1992; Shier 2001). This has helped many researchers and practitioners to move to greater participation. However, it can encourage the view that involving children more is always the way to go. The need is rather for a critical research- based approach to evaluations that involve children – and this does not mean that being further up the participation ladder, away from adult control, is necessary and is always better. The logical and simple appeal of Hart’s deservedly popular visual and linear conceptualisation ignores the political complexities that shape the production and reception of the child in research (Todd, 2012, p.191)

Hart’s ‘ladder of participation’ risks creating a methodological hierarchy, in which full participation is considered ‘best’ practice, situating itself above less participatory projects (Sinclair, 2004). This view is echoed by Todd (2012), who recognises that full participation is not always best; participatory research should be closely linked to context and may not be appropriate for all research. When compared to the objectification of participants by other kinds of social research, participatory approaches appear to be democratic and a fix-all for the objectification of research participants, promising to access the perspectives of young people in their own right while respecting their agency (Gallacher and Gallagher, 2008).

These levels of participation have been condemned by some for being a new form of ‘colonisation’ (Cooke and Kothari, 2001 cited in Gallacher and Gallagher, 2008), however, critics of participatory research argue that inviting people to speak out while they are still tied up in existing power structures only reinforces feelings of exclusion, maybe raising expectations that are not satisfied. Responses to these critiques argue that they do not fully understand the rationale behind participatory methods, which aim to contest the pervasiveness and hegemonic views of those who hold power over marginalised groups, attempting to recognise their lived experiences by offering

an alternative narrative (Thomson, 2007). Participatory research should not be considered a solution to research with marginalised groups, but should instead recognise and work with existing power relations. Participation is itself a form of power, yet it is worth noting that empowerment is not inherent in participatory methods; researchers need to design their research in relation to the specific contexts of the people with whom they are working (Shäfer and Yarwood, 2009). Building on this contention, it is important to note that these methods should be employed with caution; and, when used successfully, participatory methods can ‘empower participants by undermining more domineering and less reflexive forms of power’ (Kesby et al, 2005, p.218). Despite numerous arguments around participatory methods, Cahill (2007) considers participation as an arena for the construction of new, fluid and multiple subjectivities. They have the potential to produce insightful narratives that challenge the status-quo. When employed properly, participatory methods can be seen as a diverse set of methods bound by a concern for involving participants in the research process. As Pain (2004, p.652) explains, ‘this entails a collaborative and non-hierarchical approach in which ownership of the research is shared with participants, who negotiate processes with the academic research.’ Participatory research allows participants to play an active role in the research process while recognising and encouraging their agency (Kesby, 2007).

While I am somewhat hesitant to label this project as what has been termed Participatory Action Research (PAR), it is unarguable that some aspects of the research involved an ‘action’ element. The very ‘being and doing’ of language classes is caught up with what Cahill (2004) terms ‘critical consciousness’ or what, rather earlier, Friere (1970) had called the act of ‘conscientização’. This notion of critical consciousness is linked closely to PAR whereby the process of critical reflection in a collective way – between researcher and participants – makes all involved aware of their own subjectivities, raising consciousness of themselves and potentially leading to personal change, but such an approach also promotes using such research for social change (Cahill, 2007). Moreover, Friere (1970) focuses on the role of education and it being a practice enabling ‘freedom’, which, for participants in this research, can be said to be true, at least to some extent. He also states that it is through education that people develop an understanding of how they exist in the world, ‘not as a static reality, but as a reality in process, in transformation’ (Friere, 1970, p. 64 in Cahill, 2007, p. 273). In addition, Friere suggests that an outcome of ‘conscientização’ is to become ‘more fully human’ (Cahill, 2007, p. 274), something that is a key theme weaving throughout this thesis. Pratt (1992) theorises that PAR is about ‘contact zones’, and places where people come together despite their differing relationships to power and the ways that they may be situated differently. As Askins and Pain (2011) suppose, these spaces can lead to meaningful encounters between groups that may not normally come into contact with one another. ESOL classes certainly provided such contact zones, and, through different methods employed, participants were able to share and interpret their individual and collective narratives. Thus, attendance at ESOL classes can be argued to be an ‘action’ central to participants lives, encouraging them to assert their existence in Glasgow, as well as being

sites of active research during this project.

A second theme central to PAR and to this project is the focus on participant-led research. While participants were not involved from the inception of the project, the research started with broad aims that were narrowed down, and emergent themes then identified as ones explored in the empirical chapters above, very much as a direct result of the research carried out in ESOL classes, through interviews and in workshops. This partial co-production is identified by (Pain, 2004) as being a key aspect of PAR and collaborative research. Furthermore, PAR places emphasis on knowledge arising from those present in the research and considers everyday lived experiences to comprise an indispensable starting point for research (Cahill, 2007). Torre and Fine (2006) state that ‘the understanding that people ... hold deep knowledge about their lives and experiences, ... should help shape the questions, [and] frame the interpretations’ of research’ (p. 458). This statement neatly summarises the approach that I have taken to my research, by intentionally allowing participants to draw out themes that they felt are important to them, often emerging from the workshop activities, to lend direction to my own inquiries.

It is also worth highlighting that, although participants in the research were involved in decision-making with respect to my project at certain moments, there were other times when their input was not sought, particularly in what exactly to include in the final thesis, nor in the broad considerations (such as to do with language geographies) with which I began the research. Furthermore, participants were not required to commit to a certain amount of time each week, nor were they given any financial or gift rewards for their participation (Cahill, 2004). While participants were given space to reflect upon their own contexts and highlight what was important to them, it was me as a researcher who made the decisions and often asked more directed questions. Thus, if we consider Hart’s (1992) ‘ladder of participation’, this project sits somewhere in the middle, recognising that, despite giving some autonomy to those taking part and forefronting their voices, the participants in this research still remained subject to certain exclusionary and strict power relationships lying outwith this particular project; and therefore it would not have been possible to have involved them at all stages of the research. Moreover, research with teachers, organisations and related individuals all involved a certain level of ‘action’, and therefore PAR with different groups, individuals or indeed organisations can add multiple layers to the same project.

One key output of this research process has been policy and practice recommendations (Appendix 6). From the outset of this project I wanted it to be a collaboration between myself as an academic researcher, the participants and the organisations with whom I was working. After spending 12 months in a number of ESOL classes and becoming familiar with local policy and practice, I was able to identify five key areas that could potentially improve ESOL provision in Glasgow. As Cahill

(2007) argues, PAR should be used for social change, and so, for me, producing a document with some key recommendations was one way of my 'giving back' to those with whom I worked, but also a means for encouraging a change in how ESOL provision is evaluated in the city, in turn improving language learning for refugees and asylum-seekers in Glasgow. This document will be circulated around the organisations with whom I worked and, if interested, to their stakeholders.

A large part of the research was ethnographic work within ESOL classrooms. Traditionally, ethnography is not considered as particularly complementary to PAR, mainly because it is primarily observational – not looking to change the situation that is being researched – and can be subjective, in the sense of anchored so squarely around the researcher's own interpretations. In this project, I strove to participate in the happenings of the classrooms as much as possible in order to ensure against my own personal subjectivity - it is to insist upon the priority of inter-subjectivities to reduce these subjectivities. Moreover, workshop sessions were designed to ensure that participants were able to express themselves with autonomy, shaping how the research proceeded. It was important for me to remain reflective and flexible throughout the research process, accepting that I did not always know who would be in attendance and what they would want to discuss, but recognising that this uncertainty would only enhance the research. PAR emphasises participant involvement and requires the researcher and participants to work alongside each other towards a final – sometimes undefined – goal. In terms of this project, the process of my research, and of developing more defined questions as it progressed, could be considered PAR, but with the inception of the project and then its final outcomes and outputs being a more 'traditional' approach to research. PAR and the level of participation and action involved has been a contested notion in the literature, but I want to suggest that, rather than PAR being a bounded approach with specific methods and techniques, it is something more of a continuum that is constantly revisited and renegotiated throughout a research project, all the while being attentive to the well-being of those involved in the research. In short, there are arguably different versions of PAR, from the most action-orientated, where participants are involved at every moment in shaping the actions both of the research and what might result from the research, through to a more hybrid model where participants are only enlisted in parts of 'the action' whereas other parts remain more obviously researcher-driven. My project would probably be judged to have been closer to the latter than to the former. Throughout the PhD I felt that I was doing my best for and with the participants by working in participatory modes but without trying to co-craft a set of outcomes. The vulnerable and mobile nature of the refugee community meant that I felt a coherent set of actions were not always possible, and moreover, as participants were not just refugees and asylum-seekers, but also ESOL providers, it became more apparent that to imagine a complete set of actions may not be best placed. The participatory mode in the project thus became a more flexible and appropriate pathway.

The methods that I used ensured that my participants were represented in the most transparent and

honest way possible, reflected in my choice to encourage the participants to help with the initial interpretation of the data that they produced. The methodology that I designed ensured that the young migrants with whom I was working had the opportunity to share their experiences regardless of their capabilities, while at the same time recognising that it is not beneficial to have them participate at all levels of the project; and therefore research questions, broad topics, and methods were designed by myself. Furthermore, by seeking the opinions of professional ‘proxies’, I wanted to create a picture of the educational and linguistic experiences of young refugees and asylum-seekers, while acknowledging the existing power structures in society.

A Multi-Sited Ethnography

No other methodology enables a researcher to explore the complex connections that social groups establish with one another and with the places they inhabit, cultivate, promote, defend, dominate and love. If sociality and spatiality are intertwined, and if the exploration of this connection is a goal of geography, then more ethnography is necessary. (Herbert, 2000, p.564) ethnographic process as are external, more objective, observations. Ethnography treats people as knowledgeable, situated agents from whom researchers can learn a great deal about the ‘real’ lived experiences of those under study (Cloke et al, 2012). It is an immersive method which allowed me, the researcher, to observe the interactions and events taking place in my research locations. I carried out a range of methods within this ethnography; I spent a year carrying out participant observation in different community-run English classes, attended and participated in a range of social events with refugees and asylum-seekers (see table 4.1), carried out semi-structured interviews with refugees and asylum-seekers and associate practitioners (table 4.2), and held structured workshops involving self-directed photography, map-making and mind-maps.

Participant Observation (or Observant Participation?)

Participant observation was carried out in six different ESOL classes around the city between September 2015 and August 2016. Four of the six classes were attended for the duration of this period, while I was only able to spend four months at the other two due to time constraints. Each class was run by a community organisation or by an organisation linked to Glasgow City Council (see table 4.1); all were free to attend and were for students with all levels of English – despite policy on this issue, it has been proven difficult to regulate community ESOL class levels. Due to the transient nature of refugee and asylum-seeking communities, student numbers differed throughout the year, yet all of the classes had a group of ‘regulars’ who attended each week. My role within the classroom began as an observer, whereby I was introduced to the students but mainly sat at the back and observed the goings-on within the space. As time progressed my role became blurred and changed, and I took on the position of volunteer-researcher, which involved me in helping students with tasks set by the teacher. Teaching small groups of students hence put me in a teacher-researcher role.

As Burgess (1984) states, the role of the researcher is to interpret the experiences of those being

researched, and it is only through participation with the groups or individuals that this objective can be achieved. By participating in the daily life of the group being studied, data can be collected in participants' own languages, helping to develop considerations of everyday concepts as understood by those being researched. Jackson (1983) discussed insider/outsider roles of researchers in participant observation, and the impact that differing roles impress on the data collected. Burgess (1984), drawing on Gold (1958), furthered this dualism by identifying four positions that the participant observer can take; the complete participant, the participant-as-observer, the observer-as-participant and the complete observer. Each of these roles requires a different balance of participation and observation, yet some scholars highlight the issue with taking just one role specifically, and propose instead the necessity, and inevitability, of the researcher finding themselves in multiple roles (Junker, 1960; Herod, 1999). Researcher roles are context and research specific, and, while insider/outsider roles may affect the research, it is not to say that some roles produce 'truer' and more 'realistic' accounts than others (Herod, 1999). Most pertinent is the need for researchers to be reflexive and constantly to negotiate their role within the research setting to adhere to ethical and moral requirements. As this chapter explores, my role within my research changed over time, yet I predominantly took what Thrift (2000) deems an 'observant participant' role during the project, meaning that while I was always observing my surroundings and within them the goings-on, I was focussed on participating in the group and did not spend time at the 'sidelines'.

Organisation	Activity	Location	Day
Youth and Community Support Agency	ESOL Class	Springburn	Tuesday PM
St Rollox Asylum Seeker Support	ESOL Class	Sighthill	Wednesday AM
Youth and Community Support Agency	ESOL Class	Pollokshields	Thursday AM
Govanhill Development Trust	ESOL Class + lunch	Govanhill	Thursday All Day
Glasgow Life	ESOL Class + lunch	Parkhead	Thursday PM
North Glasgow Integration Network	ESOL Class	Springburn	Friday PM
North Glasgow Integration Network	Glasgow Bus Tour	Glasgow	March 2017
North Glasgow Integration Network	Edinburgh Zoo	Edinburgh	April 2017
North Glasgow Integration Network	Ceilidh	Parkhead	June 2016
North Glasgow Integration Network	Women's swimming	Maryhill	February 2017
Refuweegee	Barbeque	Kinning Park	August 2016
Refuweegee	Music Concert	Barrowlands	March 2016
Refuweegee	Walking Tour	Glasgow	June 2016
Youth and Community Support Agency	Music Workshop	Pollokshields	September 2016
Youth and Community Support Agency	Transport Museum	Partick	June 2016
Youth and Community Support Agency	Art Gallery	West End	September 2015
Refuweegee	Disco	City Centre	October 2016

Table 4.1: Details of participant observation activities

My own identity also impacted my positionality within the classroom; as a young, white, British female who had entered the classroom as a researcher, I was not seen to have the same authority as the teacher and therefore my connection with the students differed from the more formal teacher-student relationship. I was a companion, a friend, someone they wanted to talk with informally, but also a teacher and a 'helper'. Adapting and changing to fit these different roles within the classroom felt 'natural' and I moved easily between them, but it did involve some emotional negotiation both internally and in how I worked with the students in the classes. The multiple positionalities that I adopted will be explored later in the chapter, but in terms of their impact on my ability to conduct participant observation it meant that at times participation came before observation. This point echoes Wade (1984 cited in Crang and Cook, 2007), who found that roles and responsibilities are often compromised during ethnographic fieldwork, and that it is never a stable process but one with changing relationships and positions throughout the research process. This matter is also offered in a reflection by Horton (2001), who suggests that much of the research process is unpredictable, particularly when working with children and young people; and thus he suggests that reflections on positionality should be included in research outputs in order to raise awareness of the precarious and negotiable role of a researcher. Throughout my research I was aware of the importance of flexibility, trust, respect and reciprocity in researcher-participant relationships. Reflexivity in research, as feminist geographers such as Rose (1997) have suggested, is an important consideration; and, in reflecting on their own research positionalities and power relations, these scholars suggest that 'we [researchers] must recognise our own position, as well as that of our research participants, and write this into our research practice' (McDowell, 1992, p.409). These positionalities and how they intersected with those of the participants are discussed in more depth shortly as I explore power relations in my research, suggesting that a sense of 'betweenness' (Rose, 1997, p.313) is perhaps the best way to describe my experiences of working with young refugees and asylum-seekers.

My focus during the classes was on the practice of language, carefully exploring how the students used language to interact with one another, as well as how they used it to construct and represent their own, and group, identities – whether this was as a group of friends, to do with the class as a whole, or related to nationality or status in the UK. Participant observation enabled me to gain an insight into the linguistic lives of young migrants at each empirical site. I paid close attention to the in-the-moment happenings and goings-on, specifically looking at – and listening to – how refugees and asylum-seekers negotiated language use. Indeed,

Through description of the mundane ... it actively addresses knowledge that is profoundly practical; that which is lived not deliberated. It offers a way of talking and writing about relational configurations between corporeal bodies and objects that bring everyday practice into being. (Woodyer, 2008, p.356)

I was interested in practices that occurred in the moment and were fleeting, often unrepeatable; I not only focussed on words that were used but also the non-verbal gestures and movement used to interact and communicate, revealing how spoken language is just one part of communication. Participant observation required both in-depth observing and listening. Thus, while actions were crucial to understandings in the classroom, the words that accompanied them were of equal significance to my thesis. Observing people's methods for communicating helps us as researchers to understand the 'logic of practice' (Laurier, 2009, p.633). As Heath and Luff (2007) argue, by ignoring interaction and behaviour researchers risk overlooking the importance of how social orders are produced. Although I did not carry out formal conversation analysis (CA), in the sense that the order of words or conversation was not formally recorded and analysed, how participants spoke to each other and the ways in which language was used were of interest. The words spoken were not always in English, were not always grammatically sound and even sometimes nonsensical, yet listening allowed a more textured account of the space of the classroom to be developed. The focus was on how language happens, in line with ethnomethodological work about the practice and often unnoticed elements of human lives (Laurier, 2009); I observed the immediate, embodied, sensory negotiation and use of language as it happened.

Social activities – A micro-ethnography

In addition to participant observation carried out within community ESOL classes I attended and led several trips to different locations and events around Glasgow. The trips were organised by local organisations, often those whose ESOL classes I had been attending. Most people attending the trips were ESOL learners in the classes and therefore I had existing relationships with them. These activities provided me with a different insight into the lives of refugees and asylum-seekers in Glasgow; more informal, and more 'real'. During these trips they were not in the safe space of an ESOL classroom, but were among other citizens of Glasgow and beyond. The significant change in site for this part of participant observation led me to think about the spaces 'normally' occupied by refugees and asylum-seekers; and, by taking them to a range of places where they had not previously been, it led me to take a different approach to my observations. On one hand, I remained interested in the verbal and non-verbal happenings in these different locations, but I was also more aware of their behaviour and how it differed from within the classrooms. It became apparent that many of the participants were observing others around them to help them to decipher what to do, when to talk or not to talk, and more generally watching how people who are more accustomed to these activities were acting. Seeing these observations led me to think about how, for refugees and asylum-seekers settling in Glasgow, much of their time is spent conducting their own kind of ethnography, or participant observation, to try to fit in, to camouflage or to adopt common social practices of people already living in Glasgow. Thus, for some of the time I was conducting fieldwork, perhaps the roles were reversed and I was the one who was being observed by my participants as they sought to understand culture and life in the city.

Keeping a Field Diary

Anderson (2010, p. 174) states that ‘the field diary comes to capture the flavour and sense of being in a cultural place’. For me, writing a field diary became integral to my experience of fieldwork. Not only did it provide the basis for my participant observation data, but became a way of documenting the journey upon which I embarked in September 2015. Throughout the time spent conducting fieldwork, I encountered a large number of individuals from different backgrounds and with a range of life experiences. Discussions were often in-depth, emotional and heartfelt. Committing these conversations to paper helped me to reflect upon my own experiences of meeting these people and being in the field. By practising a daily period of self-reflection through writing, I could connect this autobiographical writing to the wider social and cultural experiences that I encountered. These emotional and personal experiences were often difficult to separate out from empirical results, but this difficulty should not be seen as a negative side effect of ethnographic fieldwork, for such experiences assisted in critical engagement with the data (Punch, 2002). Furthermore, there needs to be a recognition that ethnography is always a personal and situated endeavour (McDowell, 1992; Vannini, 2015); and, through my ethnographic writing, I was able to situate myself securely *within* my research, sharing the spaces that I inhabited during the research process. I did not produce an auto-ethnography in the sense that I do not routinely appear as part of my data or findings (Besio and Butz, 2004), but occasionally my own presence does intrude because it serves to crystallise an issue for further investigation. In combining both empirical research and personal experiences, research is enhanced, becoming more engaging and in-depth, as it does not only focus upon detached experiences but includes powerful emotions felt by both the researcher and participants. Several researchers have recently called for more emotions, struggles and worries to be included in ethnographic accounts (Horton, 2001, 2008; Holland, 2009), as it is believed that they add a range of different depths to the research. An immersive ethnographic methodology meant that I became part of the research, and therefore my own experiences undoubtedly impacted upon both how research was conducted and how I interacted with the participants. Thus, I choose to defend my inclusion of personal experiences, suggesting that evading them would be to produce only a partial account of the spaces encountered:

Without becoming self-obsessed or indulgent, reflexive ethnographers position themselves squarely in their own research, sharing their work as both a personal narrative and an emotional, embodied, and intellectual perspective informed and shaped (and not “biased”) by experiences, dispositions, objectives, sensations, moods, feelings, goals, and skill. By being reflexive on how their presence colours the object of the inquiry, researchers’ interpretations become more, not less, robust in light of their open-endedness. (Vannini, 2015, p.127)

Aside from the reflexive and emotional element of keeping a field diary, my notes became a place where I detailed intricate interactions and meaningful encounters between participants. Due to the nature of the participant observation, I was unable to keep notes during the classes as this would have

removed me from my roles within the classroom: in other words, I was too ‘participant’ to be an on-the-spot observer recording impressions in the moment. Many of my field notes were hastily scribbled down on the buses home from classes or once I returned to my desk at university. Some were written later at home, once I had had time to process the day’s events or the particularly difficult stories that I had been told. Writing in my field diary was not always easy; it required self-discipline and time to myself, but what resulted was two filled notebooks – my complete field diary – full of thoughts, observations and reflections, some more legible than others.

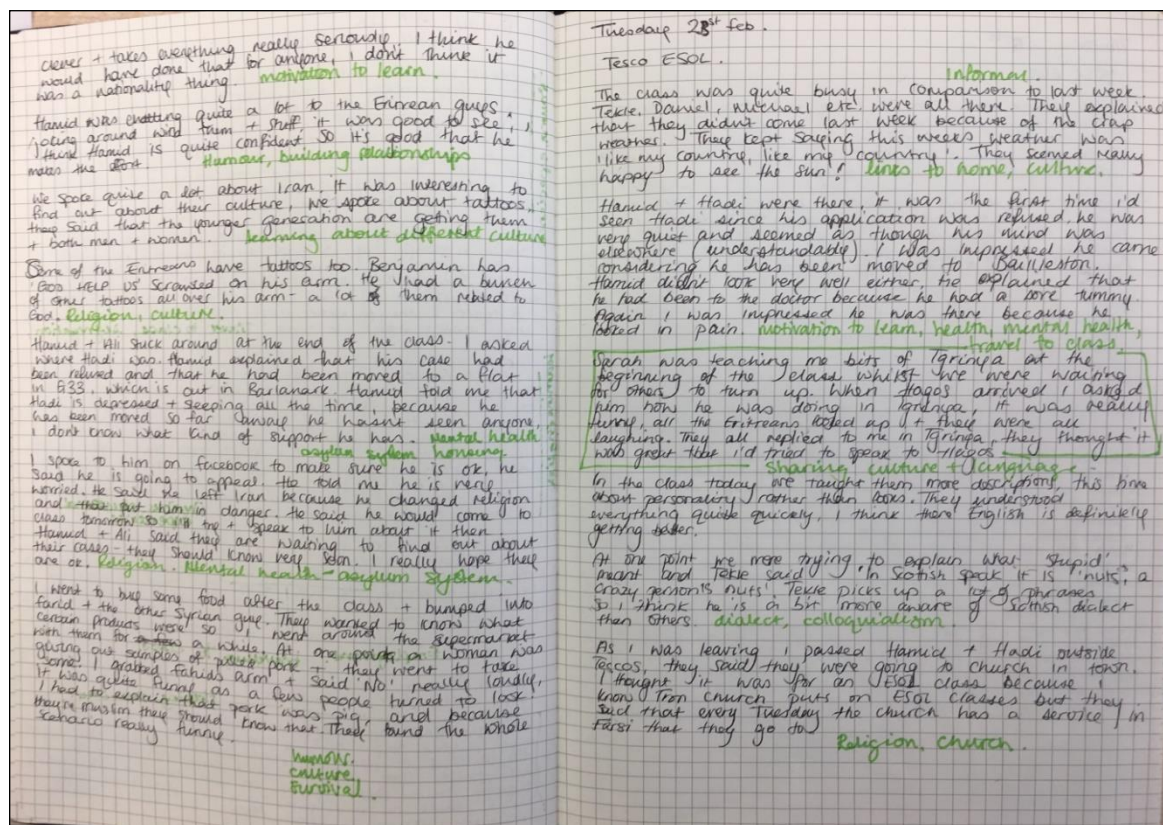


Figure 4.1: An example page of my field diary - after initial coding.

My field diaries became a labyrinth of data available for me to look back upon and to use as a starting point for topics that I wanted to explore in more depth through interviews, as well as providing data that I wanted to draw out as particularly meaningful or pertinent to my work. Participant observation provided a range of beneficial insights into the spatialities of language among refugees and asylum-seekers, as well as producing an insight into processes of language use and communication among young migrants. Furthermore, by spending prolonged amounts of time with participants, rapport and trust was developed, enhancing the rest of the fieldwork process. My approach to participant observation was designed to complement the structured workshops by predominantly focussing on the practice of language, with the organised sessions designed to investigate the representational geographies of language use and participants' linguistic lives in Glasgow.

Workshop Interventions

Working closely with the timetable and objectives of each research site, I negotiated the organisation of three workshop sessions during May 2016. I began by introducing the three week project work to two of the classes in which I had been doing participant observation, taking time to explain the purpose of the workshops and what would be involved, before handing out information sheets and consent forms (appendix 1). During this time, I made sure that I was available should the students have any questions. As previously mentioned, students were highly transient and I did

not expect every person who had filled in a consent form to be present each week; therefore, I had to ensure the workshops were flexible and did not rely on the presence of the same people each week, while at the same time ensuring that everyone who wanted to participate was able to do so. At the beginning of each session, the activities, aims and topics to be covered were outlined, consent was revisited to check that the participants were still willing to participate, and I took time to reiterate the flexibility of the research and highlight that, should someone want or need to leave halfway through, they were of course free to do so. In line with my ethical protocols, each session was supervised by a staff member, and together we monitored the research, paying attention to the welfare of participants and checking that they were happy with the work taking place. Each session concluded with a group discussion to facilitate initial interpretations of the work that had been produced. Participants had the opportunity to tell me about their work, what they wanted to convey and why; this helped to move the project towards a combination of co-production and co-interpretation. The final session ended with a debrief, and during this time I provided an overview of the work the participants had done, and clarified how it was going to be used, as well as allowing time for questions. These workshop sessions worked to encourage what Askins and Pain (2011) call 'meaningful encounters', and it brought people together regardless of nationality, language or educational background. This meant that encounters and friendships that were formed in the workshops often spilled over into the more traditional ESOL classes, developed cultural understanding and increased the feeling of solidarity within the classroom.

*Session 1: Mind Maps and Worksheets*¹⁷

This session was designed to provide an introduction to the overall project and to get the young people used to working with myself and each other. Starting with an introductory discussion around language, education and identity helped to engage the participants with the broad themes of the research. Participants then produced their own 'mind-maps'¹⁸ in relation to education, language and identity, some worked in pairs while others preferred to do this individually. Both myself and the teacher were available to help the students with spelling or if they had any questions, but we ensured that space was given for participants to express themselves in as much or as little detail as they wished. Many participants discussed their previous educational experiences, alongside their feelings about learning English and education in the UK. Others chose to focus more on their identity and what aspects of their life they felt contributed to who they are. After participants had finished making their mind-maps, I went around the class and asked each person or pair to talk about what they had written down, which served to open up the discussion, particularly around hopes for the future and their educational experiences prior to migrating to Glasgow.

¹⁷ I carried out workshops in two ESOL classes, while participant numbers varied from week to week, there was always a minimum of 8 in each group and a maximum of 15 participants.

¹⁸ Participants were given three A3 pieces of paper and put the words language, identity and education in the centre or at the top. From these words they wrote down experiences and thoughts that they associated with each word.

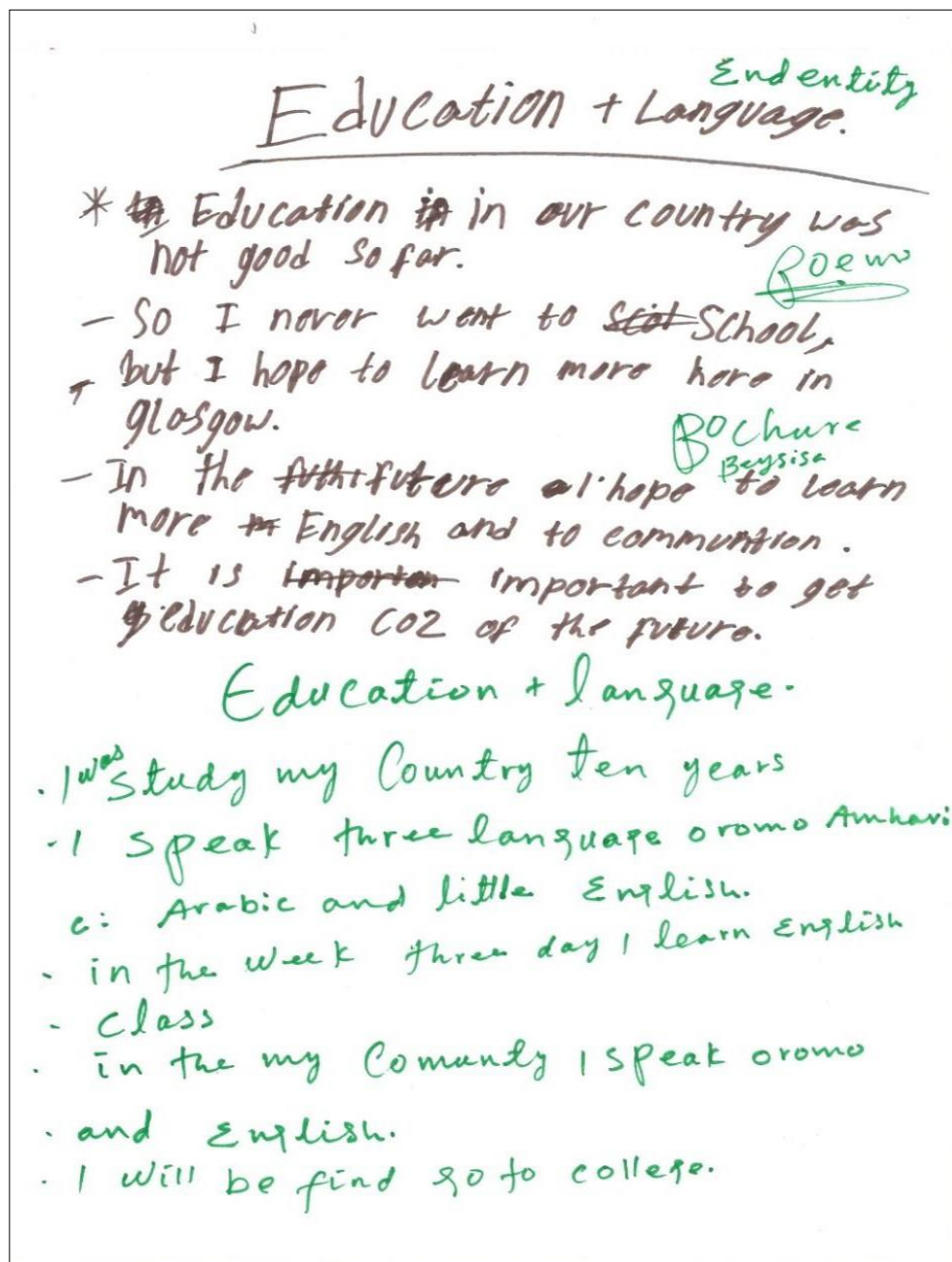


Figure 4.2: An example of work that was produced in Session 1 (Session 1)

After this discussion I then handed out worksheets for the participants to complete (appendix 3). Questions were asked about their experiences of learning English, but also began to introduce the idea of the spatiality of language use, encouraging participants to think about *where* they speak different languages. This method was used in my own undergraduate research (Shuttleworth, 2012) and proved to be a successful way of engaging participants with the topic of research. As it was an individual exercise, participants were more likely to express themselves openly to a degree with which they felt comfortable. Although it was a similar exercise to tasks that would be carried out in a more formal classroom setting, I found through participant observation that participants were often keen to be given the opportunity to practise writing and to carry out school-type exercises as many were not yet in mainstream education. This outcome is echoed by Punch (2002), who argued

that in some contexts using school-type exercises in research is more successful and enjoyable for participants, rather than asking them to undertake a task with which they are unfamiliar.

Session 2: Map-making

Visualising what the academic might term spatialities of language can help young people to understand their own experiences and geographies, which are often closely entwined with emotions as well as their interpretation and understanding of ‘their’ worlds (Ross, 2007). By asking the young people to draw their own maps, I hoped that they would begin to think more overtly about spaces and geographies of language based upon a range of factors (Matthews, 1997). Annotating their maps helped to foster understanding of how language is entwined in their everyday experiences, often subconsciously; this outcome was evident in the resulting discussion at the end of the class. Participants were duly asked to make maps showing the places in which they use language; whether this was in their local shop, at home, at school, or in the park with their friends. I asked them to depict a range of places and their relationship to each other. After drawing their maps, they were asked to think about sounds and feelings that they associate with this place or journey and to write this on the map to help others to imagine the places. I also asked them to annotate the map with details of the space, what languages were spoken, to whom and their reason for going to these places.

Drawing is an increasingly popular research method for research with a range of groups (Mauthner, 1997; Oldrup and Carstensen, 2012), since it enables people to express themselves and communicate freely, especially those with low literacy skills (Young and Barrett, 2001). Visual methods such as drawing and, in the case of my research, map-making also arguably give a ‘closer’ look and alternative access to the lived and sensed experiences of everyday life (Oldrup and Carstensen, 2012). Like photography, drawing is a process in which the participants are in control and free to express themselves in a way with which they are comfortable. However, when using drawing as a method, it was vital to discuss the drawing with the artist to ensure that the researcher’s analysis represents the participants’ intended meaning rather than just the former’s version (Barker and Weller, 2003). Authorship is an important way of acknowledging a participant’s role in the production of knowledge (Jung, 2016), yet it is important to highlight that in some contexts it is not always empowering. From my previous research (Shuttleworth, 2012), I found that art-based methods worked well to facilitate conversations with young people, in addition to giving them an opportunity to convey messages without having to worry about having the right language. Although drawing and map-making are distinct activities (or methods), they are related in the sense that both allow participants to create their own image in a way they deem appropriate.

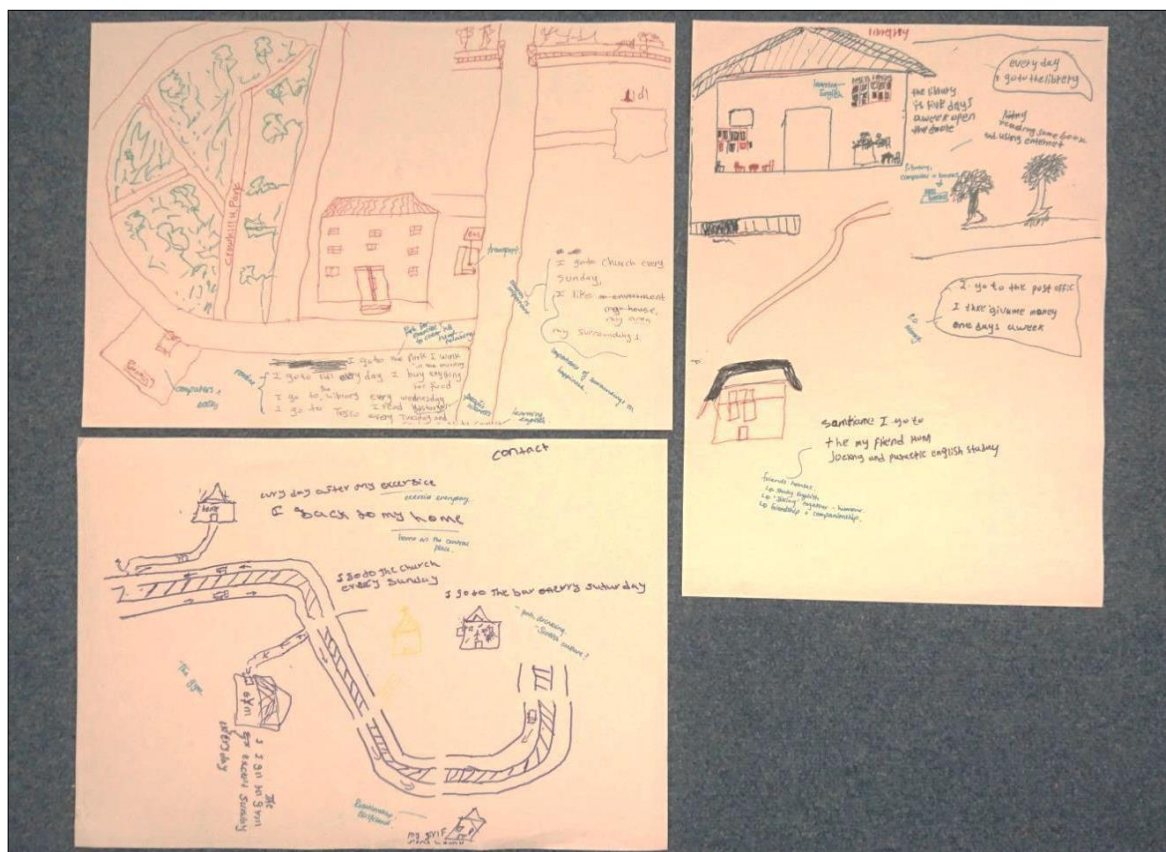


Figure 4.3: A selection of maps produced by participants (Session 2)

Map-making is a creative way to represent everyday geographies, both those grounded physically but also the more abstract geographies of an individual. These psycho-social-geographical representations that can be interpreted from mental maps offer a way of generating non-verbal information, often useful alongside other, more traditional research methods (Jung, 2016). Ross (2007) used map drawing and self-directed photography to gain an insight into children's journeys to school. She found that this combination of methods gave an insight into different, but related, themes. By making maps and labelling them, researchers are able to learn about people's perspectives on their local environment, and how they may differ from others' assumptions about it. Maps can also reveal the meanings made by, or given to, certain places or routes and how sensory, embodied engagements with the environment can produce a different set of meanings for each individual (Ross, 2007). Matthews (1997) spoke with teenagers about places that they visit or spend time, seeking to gain an insight into their individual micro-geographies born out of micro- cultures, including linguistic and ethnic communities.¹⁹ These geographies of outside and public space he deemed to be a 'fourth environment' (Matthews, 1997). Matthews used mental mapping to explore how teenagers and young people come into contact with certain places, the meanings

¹⁹ Initially, Matthews was more interested in developing cartographic understandings before he became interested in what mental maps can reveal about social worlds. Matthews also has a longer-term engagement in mapping with children, borne out of an interest in children's spatial-cognitive abilities and how these develop. He saw these maps as a window into the lived geographies of young people, something that he was unable to grasp or experience for himself as an adult researcher (Matthews, 1992).

around these interactions, and how they differ from adult uses or assumptions. Map-making thus encouraged participants to express their geographies through their own eyes.

Once participants had completed their maps, I facilitated a group discussion about the work produced. Participants were encouraged to ask questions about each other's work, while I asked questions to encourage participants to think about their work and what it might signify. Co- interpretation is an important aspect of the project, and therefore the group discussion allowed the participants to explain in more detail the places that they had chosen to draw and why. Co- interpretation facilitated participants' self-reflection and insight into their own experiences (Jung, 2016). As a researcher, I contributed by providing key concepts and by offering my own interpretations of the maps. Interpretation of the data hence became a mutual and iterative process, meaning that the role of interpretation did not lie with the 'expert' researcher, nor solely with the participant (Phelan and Kinsella, 2013; Jung, 2016). As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, I did not employ a formal cartographic analysis of these maps. Rather, taking from Matthews' (1998) later work, the maps were used as a window through which to explore the spatialities and social worlds of my participants, particularly their linguistic lives. Many researchers are asked by participants 'when can I have my picture back?' (Barker and Weller, 2003), as drawings are often a labour-intensive exercise involving commitment from the participants (Hart, 1992), I therefore photocopied their maps before returning the originals to the participants the following week. This move was also to ensure that the young people still had the work that they had done, something of which to be proud.

Session 3: Photography

At the end of the Session 1, I introduced the participants' project to be the basis of session 3. I handed out disposable cameras to the students; I encouraged them to think carefully about what they wanted the images to show – both literal scenes and more conceptual thoughts or ideas – thinking about how photographs can be used to communicate events, experiences and emotions. I demonstrated how to use the cameras because the majority of participants had not previously seen a disposable camera, and then gave participants a chance to ask questions. I instructed them to take photographs of places in which they spent time or places that they visited. I was deliberately broad with my instructions as I wanted participants to interpret the task in their own way.

Photography is an increasingly popular child centred research method (Orellana, 1999). Disposable or instant cameras are very simple to use and allow children to explore and record their own experiences, feelings and sense of place(s), providing their own practical observations of their experiences (Hart, 1992). Cameras are particularly beneficial when working with children with poor written or verbal literacy (Barker and Weller, 2003, p.41).



Figure 4.4: A participants' 'test' photograph showing the class shortly after the cameras had been distributed. (Session 1)

Photography acted as an effective communicative tool for establishing and progressing dialogue with young people from a refugee background who may struggle to share their own perspectives in a verbal manner. Being able to communicate in another mode to the verbal is very important for many people who have difficulties with language (Clark and Moss, 2001; Svensson et al, 2009; Änggård, 2015). At the end of session 2, I collected in the disposable cameras and developed the films during the week. At the beginning of the class for session 3 I handed out the photographs to those who took them. I did not receive all of the cameras back, and there were participants in this session who had not attended the session where the cameras were handed out. However, those participants who did have photographs were happy to share their photographs or work in pairs to create a collage of their photographs. I asked participants to choose some of their favourite photographs that they had taken and to create a collage, annotating the pictures with written information about why they had chosen to take them.

As found by several researchers, photographs provide an excellent tool for prompting conversation and were used by participants as a way of introducing topics that they wanted to discuss or that I may have overlooked as being of importance (Ross, 2007; Svensson et al, 2009; Leonard and McKnight, 2014). Furthermore, selecting what to photograph and how to frame the image is a creative process which evokes thought and reflection, empowering participants by giving them freedom over what to photograph and/or how to do it (Änggård, 2015). Visual methods can thus also be used as a tool for addressing power relations between the researcher and participants. By

taking photographs themselves, participants were given enhanced agency, in turn creating a more collaborative research process where participants assume the role of ‘expert’ (Sime, 2008; Leonard and McKnight, 2014). Moreover, embodied and sensory insights can be gained from using self-directed photography (Ross, 2007); a young person’s photographs not only help researchers momentarily to enter the young person’s world, but accompanying discussion can enliven the photographs and enable the researcher to understand what the photograph is representing and how this has been interpreted, or what it means, to the participant. Photographs can help to capture moments of everyday lives, something that can otherwise be a troublesome task if attempted through written or spoken word. Interpretation, meaning and representation are nonetheless critical when using photography as a research method. I allowed ample time for discussion about photographs that had been taken in order to ensure that they were interpreted in the manner that participants had envisioned.



Figure 4.5: Researcher’s own photographs of participants making collages.(Session 3)

Self-identity

The final task of the three workshops was designed to encourage participants to think about their own identity and what aspects of their identities that they wanted to share, but may not be obvious. I created a sheet with the beginning of a sentence stating ‘one thing I want people to know about me is...’ and asked participants to complete this sentence. I wanted to explore participants’ understandings of both how they are perceived by others and their position (status) within the city. I encouraged discussion about the role of language in identity production and in feelings of belonging, aiming to explore how visual and verbal identities come together, and how on occasion they work to produce conflicting desires, representations and ideals.

“I Can’t Talk Here. People are Looking”: Interviews with Refugees and Asylum-Seekers

Malinowski the anthropologist stressed the importance of talking to people to grasp their point of view (Burgess, 1982 in Legard et al, 2003); personal accounts can reveal and illuminate meanings and issues that may have been overlooked in other parts of the research process. Interviews have long been deployed in human geography to collect data on a wide range of topics (Longhurst, 2010). Although sometimes used as a stand-alone method, I used interviews as part of my ethnographic methodology in order to triangulate my data and to understand some aspects of my research in more depth. The aim in these interviews was to combine structured topics with flexibility, to try to achieve a naturalistic process where the interview unfolds in a conversational manner (Legard et al, 2003; Longhurst, 2010); interviews helped to understand complex social factors and the meanings that young migrants attribute to them (Hoggart et al, 2002). Based on communication, close encounters, interaction and mutual understanding, I wanted to understand more about young migrants’ educational and linguistic experiences in Scotland.

Interviews took place throughout June and July 2016 (tables 4.2 and 4.3); and carrying out interviews towards the end of the fieldwork period had allowed time for relationships to be built between myself and my participants prior to this more formal methodological encounter, ensuring that the interview process was as comfortable and stress-free as possible. Young migrants will have often been interviewed by a range of government authorities, and therefore may feel anxious about entering an interview situation; thus, ensuring that I had existing relationships with participants was crucial to the success of the interviews. It has been argued that the UK is an ‘interview society’ (Silverman, 1997), where interviews are considered the best method for filtering people ‘in or out’ (as in job interviews or, more appropriately here, immigration interviews), and therefore people are conditioned to believe interviews will lead to being either successful or unsuccessful. Because of this factor, I ensured that my participants understood that taking part in an interview would not be a

replica of these ‘formal’ kinds of interviews, but instead would be a discussion between myself and the participant in an informal setting. At the end of the workshop sessions I asked for volunteers to take part in an interview; the topics and organisation of the interview were explained so that participants were fully informed before volunteering.

Interviews were semi-structured, allowing for flexibility and for the participants to share their views on certain issues in a way that had not been suggested or encouraged by myself; this was particularly important when interviewing the younger participants as they can often be suggestible and want to give the ‘correct’ answer to a question (Mahon et al, 1996; Valentine, 2008). An interview schedule was developed prior to the commencement of interviews (appendix 3) that consisted of broad themes or basic questions. These were intended to encourage the participants to talk about certain topics or issues and to explore issues that are important to them (Hoggart et al, 2002; Legard et al, 2003; Longhurst, 2010). It is important to note that each interview required its own preparation, thought and practice depending on who was being interviewed (Valentine, 1999; Longhurst, 2010). The interviews were recorded using a dictaphone and transcribed later in the research.

Teacher	Length of time teaching
Sarah	4 years
Leigh	2 years
Tiff	9 years
Amanda	12 years
Nasser	8 years
Mary	3 years
Marzanna	5 years
Practitioner	Organisation
Gary	Youth and Community Support Agency
Dave	Govanhill Development Trust
Lori	North Glasgow Integration Network
Christine	St. Rollox Church
Frances	Glasgow Life
Jo	Maryhill Integration Network
Tiff	West of Scotland Regional Equality Council
Rachel	Glasgow City Mission
Lucy	ESOL Forum
Mandy	Education Scotland
Louise	ESOL Forum
Nick	Cranhill Development Trust/East Integration Network

Table 4.2: Interviews carried out with ESOL teachers and practitioners working with refugees and asylum-seekers

Name	Status	Language	Country of Origin	Age	Gender	Living Arrangements	Length of time in UK	Area of residence
Ahferom	Waiting on reply from Home Office	Tigrinya	Eritrea	18	M	Single Flat	8 months	Springburn
Awet	Waiting on reply from Home Office	Tigrinya	Eritrea	19	M	Shared Flat	6 months	Springburn
Berhane	Refugee	Tigrinya	Eritrea	24	M	Single Flat	4 months	Springburn
Dana	Refugee	Kurdish	Kurdistan - Iraq	22	M	Shared Flat (Now in Manchester)	1 year	Maryhill
Daniel W	Waiting on reply from Home Office	Tigrinya	Eritrea	22	M	Shared Flat	1.5 years	Parkhead
Daniel G	Refugee	Tigrinya	Eritrea	19	M	Hostel	1.5 years	City Centre
Farid	Refugee	Arabic	Syria	25	M	B&B	11 months	Southside
Hadgu	Waiting on reply from Home Office	Tigrinya	Eritrea	25	M	Shared Flat	3 months	Springburn
Hadi J	Waiting for Court	Farsi	Iran	20	M	Hostel	7 months	Parkhead
Hadi M	Waiting for Court	Farsi	Iran	24	M	Shared Flat	10 months	Easterhouse
Hagos	Refugee	Tigrinya	Eritrea	24	M	Shared Flat	1 year	Springburn
Hamidreza	Waiting on reply from court	Farsi	Iran	23	M	Single Flat	10 months	Maryhill
Ishag	Refugee	Arabic	Sudan	20	M	Hostel	2 years	Baillieston
Karzan	Waiting on reply from court	Kurdish	Kurdistan - Iraq	18	M	B&B	7 months	Baillieston
Kibreab	Waiting on reply from Home Office	Tigrinya	Eritrea	18	M	Hostel	9 months	City Centre
Metkel	Refugee	Tigrinya	Eritrea	17	M	Hostel	1 year	Southside
Michael	Refugee	Tigrinya	Eritrea	20	M	Single Flat	1 year	City Centre
Omid	Waiting on reply from Home Office	Farsi	Iran	22	M	Single Flat	7 months	Maryhill
Sabri	Refugee	Arabic	Sudan	21	M	Shared Flat	11 months	Parkhead
Selomun	Refugee	Tigrinya	Eritrea	22	M	Shared Flat	6 months	Springburn
Yaman	Refugee	Arabic	Syria	18	M	Single Flat	8 months	Springburn

Table 4.3: Biographical data of research participants who were interviewed¹

¹ Worth highlighting is that all of the participants in the workshop activities were male. This was not intentional, but is perhaps a reflection of the broader refugee community in Glasgow. However, it also perhaps hints at possible gender roles, in that women may have child care commitments or may not feel like they are able to leave the house by themselves. While women did attend ESOL classes, they were far fewer in number than men.

During the interviews I adopted an ‘active listening’ technique and paid attention to body language to gauge how the interview was proceeding (Mauthner et al, 1996; Hoggart et al, 2002). Hopkins (2008) recommends structuring interview topics so that the present-day is discussed first, before moving on to historical or biographical topics, but only if the participant is comfortable discussing such issues. This tactic is also encouraged by other scholars who suggest beginning the interview with open questions, intended to allow participants to offer an overview on the subject matter, before moving onto more nuanced questions or interview topics (Legard et al, 2003; Longhurst; 2010). Despite this advice, I structured my interviews in a chronological manner, beginning with when participants left their countries of origin up until the present day and then into their experiences of learning English in Glasgow. The reason for this decision was threefold. Firstly, all of the participants had already discussed aspects of their journeys to the UK with me and therefore I was entering the interview setting with a reasonable amount of knowledge of their experiences. This meant that I was aware of any sensitive issues associated with each participant and could indeed tailor the interview appropriately. Secondly, throughout the fieldwork period I had witnessed feelings of frustration when participants were unable to discuss their journeys fully, and their stress when they discussed their journeys without being able to narrate them as continuous stories. Hence, I decided it was best to approach these discussions in a linear, chronological fashion to allow the participants to tell their stories from beginning to end, something that very few of them had been able to do other than in Home Office interviews. Thus, these interviews became a space of processing and understanding for both myself and the participants, giving them the flexibility to omit or skip over parts that they did not want to share – although very few did this. Finally, journeys to the UK often involved moments of illegality, fear and trauma; although my interviews were focussed on language use, social and emotional aspects of the journey were unavoidable in discussions, and therefore I made the decision that, in order to end the interview on a positive note, discussing the participants’ current educational experiences and their embodied language at the end of the interview was most appropriate. Laurier and Parr (2000) discuss the issue of emotions in interview experiences: although they write in relation to interviewing those with a disability, they argue that emotions can position us (as researchers) differently in interviews and that in some exchanges the transference of emotion between the researcher and the researched is not just observed, but felt. In these interviews I developed methods of trying to manage my own emotions, being careful to show empathy and understanding, but only really allowing my emotions to come to the surface *after* the interview had finished²⁰. This was in part a decision made by myself, but was also tied up with power relations, where I felt that, as a researcher, I did not necessarily have the *right* to feel these emotions – after all, I had not experienced the journeys of which my participants spoke of – but also, that in my role as a researcher, I was expected to be a detached interviewer.

²⁰ Further to this, it was often only after the interview had finished that I began to process what had been discussed in interviews. I often found myself feeling unsettled and upset, given what the participants had told me about their experiences and their journeys to Glasgow.

The location of an interview is important as it can prove crucial in the success of the meeting (Longhurst, 2010). Arranging interviews with the participants required careful negotiation; those with a lower level of English often wanted to be interviewed together with a friend, another research participant, which meant that several of my interviews were carried out with two people at once. For others, choosing a location was difficult due to financial constraints, meaning that they were unable to travel too far, and additionally timings became a barrier to arranging some interviews. To overcome this problem, I ensured that I was flexible with the time, date and location of interviews, often leaving it up to the participant to decide. Most interviews took place in the city centre, as this was a central place with which participants were familiar. Secondly, they took place around existing appointments or classes, minimising the amount of extra travelling participants needed to do. Although I was unable to reimburse their travel, I offered to buy them a drink or snack during the interview. Some interviews took place outside as participants preferred to be in locations where people were passing by and were not stationary, and furthermore these outside locations were places where the participants were comfortable and familiar. Other interviews took place in coffee shops because visiting them was still somewhat of a novelty for the participants, and the opportunity to do so did not regularly arise. Normally interviews passed without problem, but on two occasions it became apparent during the interview that the participants were becoming very uncomfortable. I asked if they wanted to stop and they said 'yes'; after stepping outside, they explained that they became aware that people on other tables were listening in and they became not only self-conscious about the content of the conversation, but also embarrassed about their language – or lack of. Darling (2014) specifically highlights the importance of interview locations when working with refugees and asylum-seekers, concluding that researchers' presumptions about interview locations can be incorrect, suggesting that in some situations it is best practice to allow the participants to select the location. Negotiating language is explored towards the end of this chapter, but these two interview experiences preface discussions in Chapter 9 about the everyday geographies of refugees and asylum-seekers and their exclusion from everyday spaces in the city – physically and linguistically.

In addition to interviews with refugees and asylum-seekers, I carried out in-depth semi-structured interviews with teachers and staff at a range of refugee organisations (table 4.2) These interviewees were people who I had either met as a result of previous fieldwork activities or people identified through the websites of organisations. The latter group of participants I approached via e-mail in order to introduce myself and to explain the research, before going on to invite them to take part in an interview. These interviews took place in July and August 2016 and were carried out within the offices or spaces that the organisations occupied. These interviews aimed to produce an additional narrative to that provided by refugees and asylum-seekers, recognising that both narratives have important outcomes; and they were used together to gain a fuller picture of issues around language learning for refugees and asylum-seekers in Glasgow. Gaining insight from a range of professional

adults also worked to complement documentary analysis to garner an understanding of the power structures and policies to which young migrants are subjected, alongside widening my practical understanding of their experiences and geographies of language use.

Leaving the Field

Having to negotiate the tricky task of leaving the field was something over which I had expended little thought until the time came. It was only then that I became overwhelmed with how immersed I had become, and how fragile the task of finishing fieldwork was going to be. I spoke to my contacts at each organisation and with the teachers of the classes about how best to navigate this part of the work. I decided on giving each class one month notice that I would be leaving. I chose not to announce it to the whole class, but instead raised it with participants during the class when I felt it was appropriate, knowing that it could potentially be an issue for them due to my level of engagement over the year. My news was initially met with lots of questions and even disbelief, and I found it hard not to change my mind and decide to stay ‘just one more week’.

My concerns about leaving stemmed from my fear of appearing not to care about my participants or that I had ‘more important’ things to do. Participants were upset that I had to stop attending the classes, yet were thankful for the time that I had spent with them. The transient nature of my participants, and their precarious position in the UK, means that I do not know what will happen to most of them in the future, even if they will be able to remain in Glasgow. This lack of information can be troubling to think about, serving as a stark reminder of the precarious positions in which many of my participants found themselves, certainly relative to myself. Through getting to know the personalities of individuals so well, I had come to care greatly for them, and the lack of closure that I felt when leaving the field proved difficult to rationalise at times. This matter is echoed by others working in similar fields such as Darling (2014) and Kleinman and Copp (1993), who all recognise the careful negotiations that need to be made to ensure minimal harm to the participants while dealing with one’s own issues and ‘guilt’.

Documentary Analysis

My starting point for documentary analysis was the *New Scots Refugee Integration Strategy* (Scottish Government, COSLA and SRC, 2014), a document that details five different aspects of policy – housing, health, education, community and employability – as part of a three year strategy to help refugees to:

Build a new life from the day they arrive and to realise their full potential with the support of mainstream services; and where they become active members of our communities with strong social relationships. (www.gov.scot.uk, 2014, n.p)

In May 2016 I attended a meeting with the Education Steering Group from this strategy to discuss my research and to hear about their updates after two years of implementing this strategy. Critically analysing this document combined with attendance at the meeting provided a springboard for further documentary analysis. I began by looking at recent immigration bills and the resulting acts produced by the UK government, before moving on to look at the Scottish situation in more depth. I then narrowed my analysis down further to look at Glasgow specifically, paying particular attention to ESOL provision in the city as well as to other policies impacting refugees and asylum- seekers in the city.

This aspect of the research did not consist of a formal method of documentary analysis, but rather merely entailed, close reading of documents in tandem with findings from other areas of my primary research. This reading was done to complement interviews carried out with practitioners and enabled me to explore gaps between policy and practice, as well as to look at how some of the policies are being implemented on-the-ground. The ever-changing policies around immigration – particularly in light of Brexit – means that I regularly re-visited policy documents, manifestos and positionality statements from relevant organisations and programmes in Scotland. Documentary analysis helped to contextualise my research and to situate my work in present day policies and regulations. Carrying out documentary analysis alongside more ‘active’ fieldwork meant that I was able to examine the documents in more depth, triangulating them with not only interviews from practitioners but also with data collected about the lived experiences of refugees and asylum- seekers in Glasgow.

Data Analysis and Interpretation²¹

Particular care must be taken when interpreting participants’ views as the power often lies with the researcher (Punch, 2002); this is particularly true when working with young people or vulnerable groups. To ensure that I understood the views and experiences of my participants, I endeavoured to involve them as much as I could in the interpretation phase of the research. Grover (2004) suggests that by employing a number of different methods in the co-production and co-interpretation of knowledge, while managing contradictions and contentions that may emerge, the importance of taking the relationship between epistemology and methodology into account is emphasised (Porter et al, 2012). As Durose et al (2011) argue, the presence of marginalised groups in research projects means that their interests and perspectives are shared and represented. Pohl et al (2010) suggest a ‘boundary space’ between academic research and community life, where different social worlds are facilitated and where ‘interactive knowledge production’ (Pohl et al, 2010, p.271) takes place. Co-

²¹ Here I tend to use the words ‘analysis’ and ‘interpretation’ interchangeably; while recognising that ‘interpretation’ is chiefly about the disclosure and reconstruction of *meaning* (what things mean to participants and how these meanings shape actions), whereas ‘analysis’ implies a more abstracted attempt to explain causal connections. Substantial philosophical and methodological issues attach to this distinction, beyond the compass of the present inquiry.

interpretation of workshop material ensured that I represented the participants fairly and honestly, while also providing an opportunity for participation at the analysis stage of the research. After this initial phase of co-interpretation, which took place as fieldwork was ongoing, I waited until all of my data had been collected before carrying out more ‘formal’ analysis; however, this is not to say that I was detached from the data before this point. The very act of writing in a field diary, being surrounded by data in my office, or transcribing interviews meant that I was constantly in touch with my data, becoming familiar with it as it was being collected and ordered. This familiarity meant that, when I embarked upon the analysis, I was already aware of many of the main themes and issues that lay within the data.

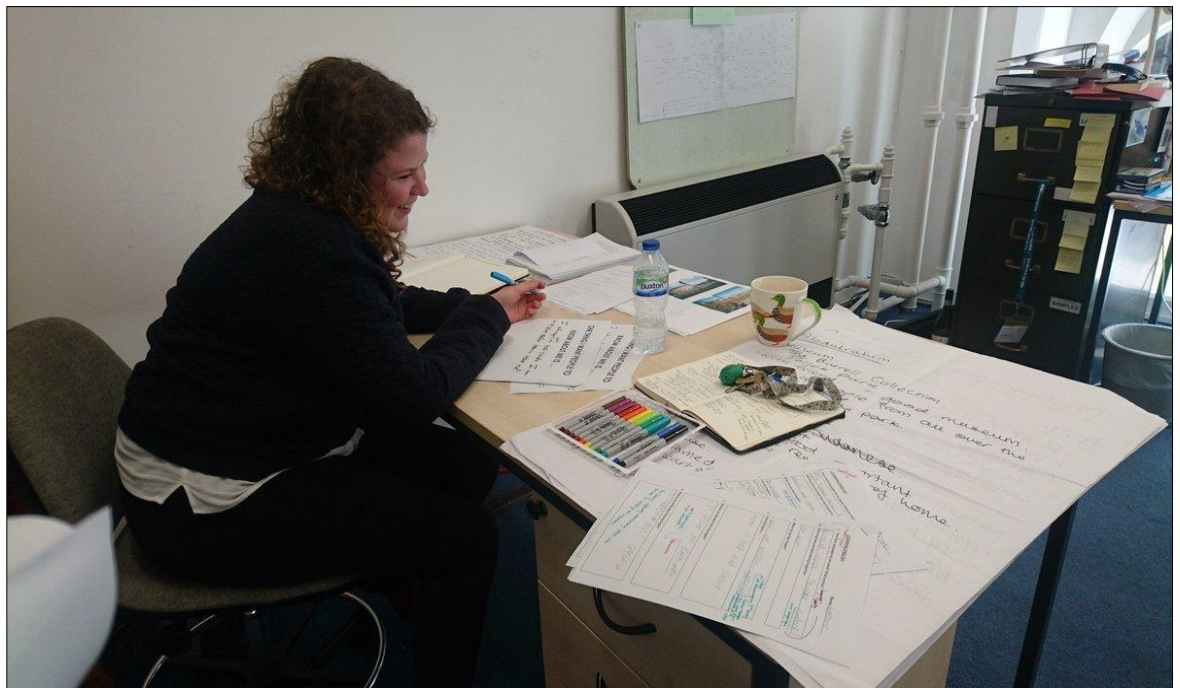


Figure 4.6: Coding and analysing data

There were three main stages of analysis after transcriptions were completed. The first was to code the data. For interview data, I used NVivo, a commonly-used qualitative data processing software package, which allowed me to store and to organise codes, as well as to visualise relationships and patterns in this set of materials. I used thematic coding to produce preliminary analysis of the data. Initial coding involved drawing out from the data emphasised, common and important themes - highlighted in part by the participants in the research as well as by my own interpretation. Coding involved reading and re-reading my transcripts, creating tentative and temporary themes throughout the process (Cope, 2010). I used two levels of codes: the initial codes were predominantly emic codes, meaning that they were words or phrases that appeared in the transcript (Cook and Crang, 1995). This initial, open coding was followed by axial coding where I used emic codes to branch out into etic codes that were more descriptive and considered the main themes of the project. In carrying out axial coding, I related the different codes myself, based on how often certain topics

were discussed alongside each other and where I noticed cross overs of themes in the transcripts. Axial coding enabled me to see how themes are related to each other, some more closely than others, and from this I was able to begin to piece together a broad picture of how my data would come together in relation to the research questions and aims. This is similar to the ‘code map’ produced by Cook and Crang (1995) and subsequently allowed for ‘selective coding’ to take place where I was able to identify groups of codes to provide structure to the thesis. This process was aided by NVivo keeping tabular numbers of the times pairs of codes were related, resulting in a matrix coding table (figure 4.7). This matrix coding helped me to see which pairs of codes were strongly associated with one another.

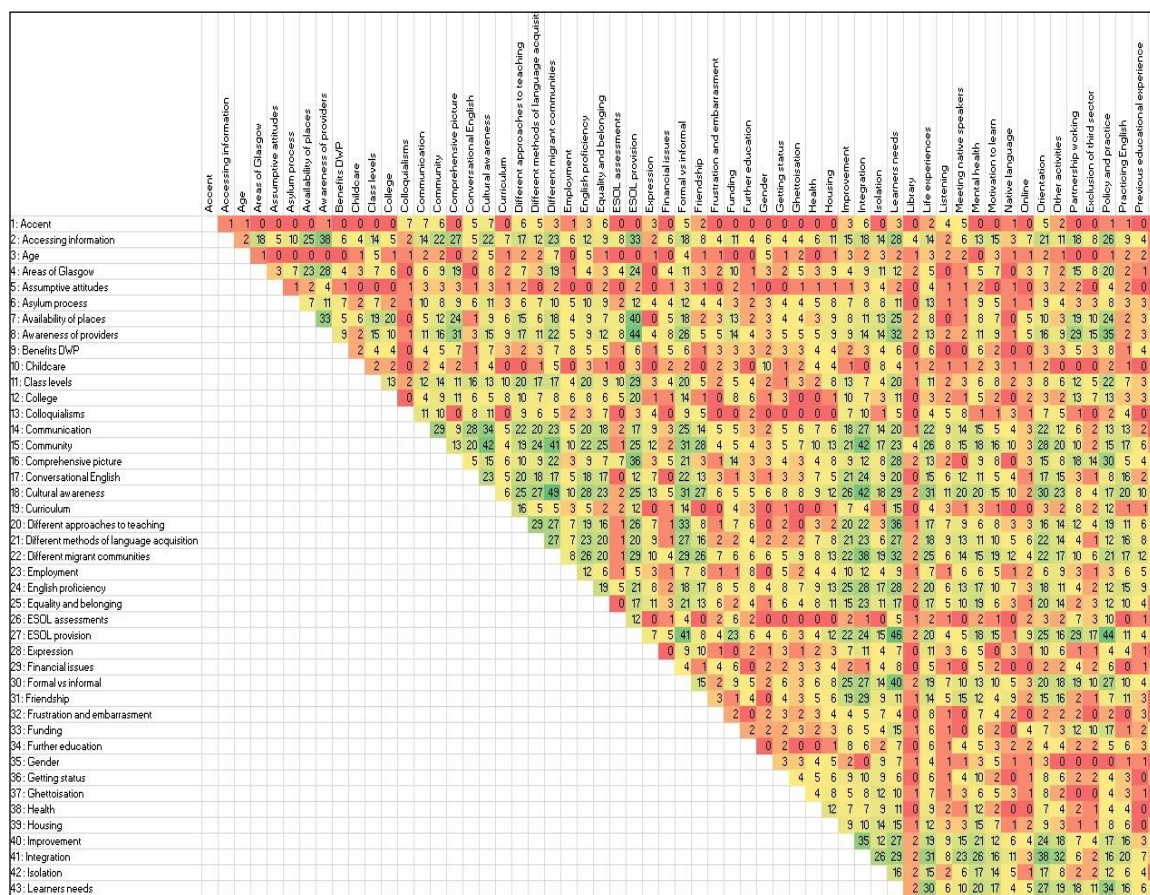


Figure 4.7: A screenshot of matrix coding for NVivo codes relating to interviews carried out with practitioners. Green squares indicate a strong relationship and red squares indicate a weak relationship.

The second part of my analysis involved analysing my field diary notes from my year of participant observation. Initially, this seemed like a mountainous task and I was apprehensive about reading back over my notes and assigning codes to often quite personal observations and trails of thought. Yet, once I had begun the process, I found myself enjoying reading through my diaries, remembering all of the moments witnessed throughout the previous year. I adopted a far more open coding system to my field diaries compared to that employed with the interview transcripts. I coded the notes by hand according to general themes and highlighted passages from the diaries that

provided explanation or evidence in response to the research questions. In some parts I was able to be more specific with my coding, but this depended on the quality of the notes that I had written. Codes assigned to my field notebooks generally overlapped with interview codes, however, there were also a range of different codes relating more to communication and interaction between individuals. It was difficult to be selective when I was analysing the field diaries due to the vast amount of data that they contained, yet, as I progressed through them, I was able to see patterns arising, in turn making the process more streamlined.

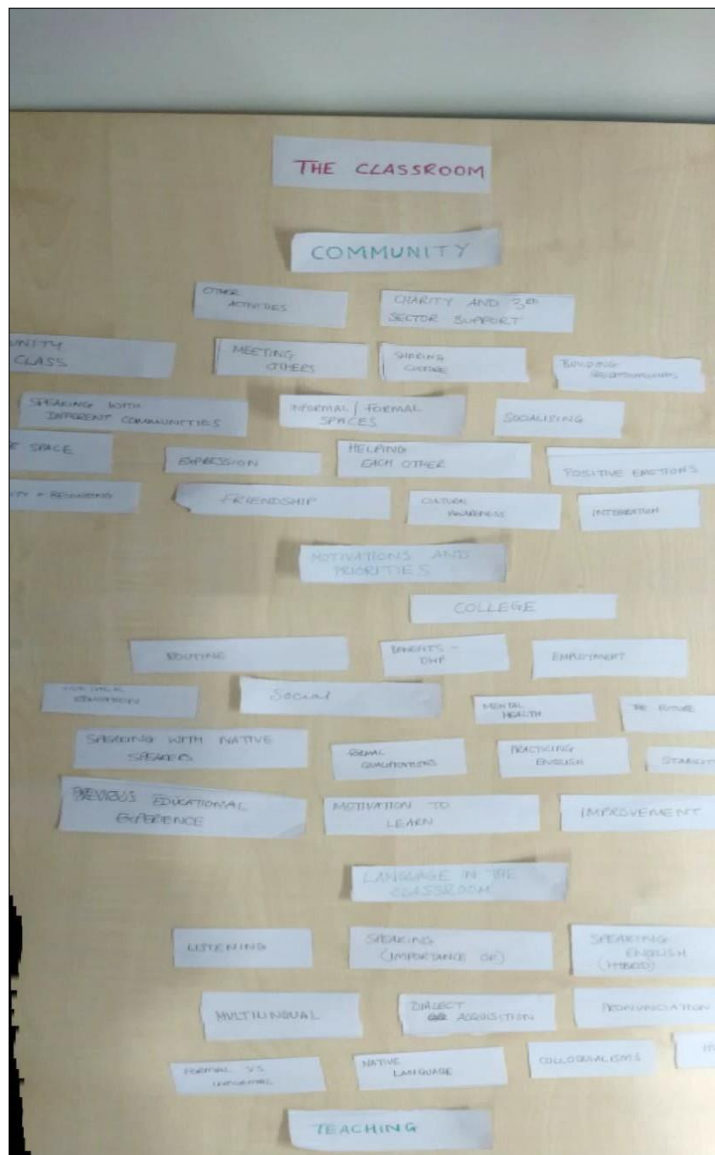


Figure 4.8: Putting codes together to plan chapters

The final task of the analysis stage of the project was to analyse the workshop data that my participants had produced. This data had already been co-interpreted by my participants in the workshop sessions, and therefore I wanted to do minimal further analysis of this work in order to allow participants' interpretations to come through in the write-up of this thesis. I assigned some

codes to this set of data based on existing codes from the field diaries and interviews; I also considered the work that had been produced alongside broader literature around integration and identity. It was important to me from the outset that this research presented a faithful depiction of the linguistic lives of young refugees and asylum-seekers in Glasgow, and putting this work into the thesis without alteration (or as minimal addition as possible) ensured that the work and knowledge of my participants was accurately represented.

Methodological and Ethical Reflections

Research with young refugees and asylum-seekers raises particular ethical issues given their socio-spatial marginalisation in society; research and participation calls for reflection on moral and ethical behaviour, as well as on more hidden negotiations that may arise (Holt, 2004; Abebe, 2009). My research was carried out in line with the Glasgow Centre of Child and Society (GCCS) code of practice for research with children (Bell, 2005; 2008), as well as the *Children's Geographies*' journal research code of practice (Bell, 2008; Morrow, 2008). However, following Horton's (2008) call to recognise the messiness and uncertainty of the research process, I did not treat these codes of practice as a ready-made solution, and instead used my experience and competency as a researcher to respond to the uncertainties and complexities that arose during my fieldwork. It was important to monitor the research throughout, and I regularly needed to re-negotiate and revisit research ethics as the research progressed. Many codes of practice fail to acknowledge the importance of context in deciding ethical procedures; as Valentine (2008) recognises, many ethical dilemmas occur *in* the field, not prior to it, thus enhancing the need for well monitored research as recommended by Hopkins (2008). As part of this ethical work I produced a code of ethics on children's research that is now used as part of the University of Glasgow's ethics committee in the College of Science and Engineering.

Monitoring Research and Protection from Harm

As discussed previously in the chapter, the research process did not directly discuss topics or situations that could be distressing for the participants, but, due to the vulnerable and often traumatised nature of the participants, such content was unavoidable, for discussions did often bring up lateral trauma; or, indeed, participants often brought up more emotional topics on their own accord. For some young people, talking to someone who is seen to be impartial, understanding and available can be therapeutic and enjoyable, and thus my ethical practice needed to be responsive and relational (Pain, 2004; Morrow, 2008; Valentine, 2008). It became apparent over the year that the field was unpredictable; legal statuses, emotions and experiences could all change within a matter of days and so, no matter how regularly I was in contact with participants, no situation was static. Many of my participants suffered from differing levels of poor mental health,

which in turn impacted their day-to-day moods and experiences. I regularly had to step out of my role as a researcher and connect with participants on a different level; one where I provided space and time to talk, to listen, to support and, ultimately, to care. Hence, a troubling but unavoidable transgression of researcher boundaries sometimes resulted, pushing at the limits of my own emotional and professional competencies. Despite their numerous capabilities and outstanding resilience, it was important to remember that these were young people who have experienced more trauma than I can imagine, have seen things that I likely never will, and have risked everything that they have to get to the UK. Therefore, I ensured that I practised what Abebe and Bessell (2014) term an ‘ethic of care’ where personal connections, relationships and responsibilities are prioritised, echoing Lawson (2007) on the importance of emotions and reciprocity in research. Here I also returned to Laurier and Parr (2000), who raise questions around how far researchers’ emotional engagements ought to extend. In line with other methodological literature, I want to suggest that, by offering support and care, I was able to provide what participants needed at the time, yet I made sure that I was aware of – and informed participants about – professional organisations or people who were better placed to offer long-term support and advice. Furthermore, whether ‘right’ or ‘wrong’, emotions in this field of work are unavoidable and therefore needed to be managed in context, not as a prior ethical protocol.

Negotiating Language

Conducting research across languages did not prove as challenging as I had first imagined. Participants had differing levels of English and a range of first languages and, as a monolingual researcher, I considered using interpreters throughout my research. After beginning the participant observation phase of my research, however, I felt that the use of interpreters would compromise and possibly smooth over the intricacies of language use – which was the very purpose of this research. Throughout the participant observation phase, I was regularly astounded at how readily communication and understanding occurred, despite fragmented language use. This issue not only highlighted the importance of gestural language, body language and non-verbal actions, but was also important in allowing the fieldwork process to develop at its own pace. Although the temptation was often to work through things as efficiently and as quickly as possible, it subsequently became important to allow time and space for understanding to occur, prompting an ethic of ‘slow research’ (see Mountz et al., 2015; Mitchell, 2016).

Interviews would perhaps have been a more appropriate situation for the use of interpreters, yet I still chose not to go down this route for several reasons. Firstly, using interpreters would add an unnecessary layer of power and politics to the research encounter (Müller, 2007); young refugees and asylum-seekers are in a vulnerable position and therefore mutual trust and respect are vital. From informal discussions with participants, it was apparent that a politics around interpreters

exists within their communities, and that they did not always trust those who were provided. I wanted interviews to be a comfortable process and felt that bringing in a stranger to translate what was being said might prevent my participants from sharing as much as they would want, for fear of judgement or links to the Home Office (many interpreters work freelance and therefore provide their services to authorities such as the DWP and Home Office). For some participants, fleeing their countries was a result of personal politics, religion or (il)legality, and the possibility of having to share this information with someone else from their country that they did not know may have resulted in higher levels of stress and concern (Müller, 2007). Although interpreters are not always from the same countries of origin as those seeking asylum, it is not uncommon for this to be the case. In addition, I felt that by carrying out interviews without interpreters, interviews took a more ‘natural’ course and created a space for negotiating language. During the interviews, I was careful to ensure ample time for the participant to correct or to reword their answers and we did not move on until it was clear that they were happy with what they had said.

There are numerous arguments for use of interpreters and translators in research (see Smith, 1996; Helms et al, 2005; Müller, 2007), but these scholars also highlight the more negative side of including a ‘third party’ in research processes, including the issues with seeking to provide ‘equivalence’ across languages and the way in which translations can take away from the nuance of language. To this end, by carrying out my research without interpreters, I allowed my participants to create their own translations, giving them authority over words that were used and how they wanted to convey their emotions and experiences. Although this approach inevitably glossed over the intricacies of how they would perhaps describe such events in their mother tongue, it provided an added layer to my work, with their word choice revealing details that would not necessarily have been highlighted by an interpreter.

Despite my initial hesitations about carrying out fieldwork with a group of people with limited English, I believe that it would not have been as successful had I used interpreters. Smith (1996, p.161) suggests that ‘foreign language research can be turned to a positive engagement between languages, between researcher and researched, and challenge the researcher’s definitions and understandings of concepts’. For a project based on language, the multilingual research process hence became central to the work; becoming immersed in a range of linguistic worlds opened up new directions for the work, and provided a deeper understanding of the space of the classroom and the role of community languages in the lives of my participants.

Multiple Positionalities

Reflexivity is important to consider when doing research (Punch, 2002). Holt (2004) found it good practice to reflect upon her own position in the research process, and how she was performing her identity within the research setting. Researchers often occupy a range of roles during research

which can change or alter depending on the context of the situation, as was found in my previous research with young migrants (Shuttleworth, 2012). Relatedly, it is vital to recognise that emotions are always ‘an essential part of the living texture of the research process’ and that ‘the researcher is not a distant, neutral observer, but a living, breathing, emotionally engaged participant’ (Weeks, 2009, p.5).

Throughout the year I found myself regularly renegotiating my positionality within the research encounter. I have touched on this issue previously in the chapter, but here I want to explore it in a little more detail. First, there were parts of my identity that set me apart and labelled me as ‘different’ from my participants: I am white, I am female, I am British; I have a job, a career and family within the UK; I own my own home, have an established group of friends and high levels of mobility. These aspects of my identity did not come without politics or baggage – or, indeed, a geography – and they needed to be navigated carefully in the research project, both culturally and emotionally. The majority of my participants were young men and from cultures where there were set gender roles; for many of my participants I was the first British person they come to know who was relatively close to them in terms of age, yet I went against many of the cultural norms they would expect from a woman of my age. Rose (1997, p.313) writes about the limitations of researchers seeking to be truly reflective, arguing that:

In the reflective landscape of power, the relationship between researcher and researched can only be mapped in one of two ways: either as a relationship of difference, articulated through an objectifying distance; or as a relationship of sameness, understood as the researcher and researched being in the same position. The contradiction is that the latter is impossible while the former is unacceptable.

Rose hence discusses a ‘landscape of power’: here she suggests that the researcher’s tendency is to place both themselves and the researched in the same landscape, which in this context is the research project. This positioning will of course produce ‘a relationship of difference’, yet in the context of this research a ‘relationship of sameness’ (Rose, 1997, p.312) was not possible as there were inherent socio-ethical-political differences – and of course linguistic difference – between myself and those who were taking part in my research. Thus, in line with Katz (1994) and Nast (1994), I want to suggest that my relationship with my participants was one of ‘betweenness’; while difference is undeniable, I was more focussed on how it was constituted (and what could be done to minimise some differences) and also how these differences changed throughout the research process, including notions of who was ‘insider’ and who was ‘outsider. Thus, as research progressed our different identities did not matter so much, and, taking cues from my participants, successful working relationships were built.

My role in the classroom and at social events became more relaxed and fluid as time went on. While at first, I was simply there to observe and to chat informally with participants, I then took on

a more voluntary role and was given a certain level of ‘authority’; teaching, leading day trips and standing-in for an organisation’s representative if they were unavailable to attend classes. I was also given further, more advocacy-type, responsibilities; making phone calls on participants’ behalf, accompanying a participant to a police interview and helping with college applications. These different roles and responsibilities all contributed to the research, yet also continually altered my positionality within my sites of participant observation. Darling (2014) argues that these developing roles over the course of the fieldwork aided his own understanding of how ethnographic sites functioned; similarly, I came to understand the spaces as a ‘classroom’, but also as a space of safety and support. Throughout the year I was simultaneously a researcher, a teacher, a friend and an advocate. Being immersed in the field was often all-consuming; fieldwork is a messy, multifaceted and unique process (Hadfield-Hill and Horton, 2014) and, in performing a range of roles, I was able to collect data from different outlooks, strengthening my understanding of the environments in which I was working.

Conclusion: Finding ‘More than Just Data’

Embarking upon fieldwork, I did not expect to experience such a journey; from beginning to end, I experienced moments of elation and also of concern and worry, but this was all part of the learning curve that culminated in this written-up research project. Fieldwork, as Horton (2008) and Holland (2009) suggest, is indeed messy and full of emotions, always complicated here by the linguistic differences that were, of course, the substantive heart of what I was studying. Working with young refugees and asylum-seekers meant that successful fieldwork relied on good working relationships based on mutual trust and respect, something that, despite taking time, was incredibly rewarding and vital for this project.

Taking on a range of roles throughout my fieldwork was an inherent part of my work that enabled me to experience the linguistic geographies of my participants from differing perspectives, enabling me to bring these experiences together to provide multiple sets of data for the project. I wanted the project to be as participatory as possible, to ensure that the voices of my participants were represented honestly and clearly. The workshops required flexibility and last minute adaptations; no amount of planning can predict what will happen in the field, but in the end they produced a large amount of interesting data. Interviews with refugees and asylum-seekers proved to be insightful not only in the words that were spoken, but in how the locations that were chosen – and perhaps more notably were not – revealed their limited mobility and perceived positionality. The interviews provided a window into the feelings and experiences of my participants which otherwise would have gone unheard. Interviews with practitioners and teachers allowed me to view my research questions from a different perspective and, in corroborating their interviews with

documentary analysis, I have been able to explore the wider issues around policy and practice of language education for refugees and asylum-seekers in Glasgow.

Undertaking participant observation proved to be labour-intensive, but the hours spent in church halls, supermarket community rooms, shared office spaces and ‘actual’ classrooms have shaped invaluable data for the project. My experiences as a result of participant observation were not only beneficial in terms of this project, but opened my eyes to how refugee and asylum-seeker communities live in Glasgow. I was welcomed into these communities and as a result I have gained knowledge that would not have been possible had I remained an ‘outsider’. What follows, then, are five chapters sharing the results of this research endeavour, beginning with policy-related issues, moving into the journeys that my participants took across Europe, and then through different sites of multilingualism: the body, the classroom and the community.

Chapter 5

“English is the First Language in the World, and Knowledge is Power”: Policy and Practice of Migration and Learning in Glasgow

This chapter sits between the previous conceptual literature chapters and the four empirical chapters that follow. It links these two parts of the thesis by examining the policy and practice of ESOL provision in Glasgow. It also provides a contextual basis for the work that follows, helping to situate my research in the broader issue of immigration in the UK, and more specifically Glasgow. Data in this chapter comes from interviews with third-sector practitioners and refugees and asylum-seekers, documentary analysis of policy reports and NGO statements, all the while considering contemporary debates around immigration in the UK. This is particularly pertinent at a time that has seen increased terrorism related incidents in the UK and as the Brexit deal gains motion. Increasing political tensions worldwide, a move towards right-wing politics in major European and other Western countries, and the closing of borders and dismantling of the camp in Calais, have all added to discussions and debates about how best to approach an often-contentious issue. The landscape of immigration is changing and, through Brexit and the uncertainty of politics in the UK, a new landscape is currently being shaped with regards to immigration.

I begin by exploring UK immigration policy and what it means for Scotland; in considering policies from the past two decades I reflect on how political discourse is shaped by these policies and how they have changed over time. The chapter then moves on to explore Glasgow as a key dispersal location for refugees and asylum-seekers, offering a critique of the dispersal policy that was introduced in 2000 and looking at issues such as housing and employment in relation to this policy. I then focus on ESOL policy and provision in Glasgow, paying attention to the emerging tensions that sit between policy and practice and what is being done to minimalise such tensions. The chapter concludes by suggesting that, while the state wants to promote integration, issues around funding and resource provision make integration problematic. These issues mean that third sector organisations are often left to do the job of the state, particularly in relation to ESOL provision. The important role of the third sector, and a seeming hostile approach to migration provides a starting point that my empirical chapters will begin to unpack. As this chapter will show, current policy is creating a ‘hostile environment’, making it increasingly difficult for migrants to live in the UK, reinstating the production of refugees and asylum-seekers as objects rather than citizen subjects.

Migration takes place for a number of reasons; it can be voluntary or forced, temporary or short term, and can be mono-directional or more varied. Migration is deeply embedded in global rhetoric, specifically when looking at the movements of refugees and ‘illegal migrants’, with these categories often being linked to the term ‘crisis’, particularly since the beginning of the war in Syria in 2012. With this in mind, the power of bureaucratic documentation to make social distinctions and classify human beings according to certain criteria touches on an important aspect of modern migration policy. Since the 1980s, immigration procedures in Europe have become more complex and the possibilities for international migration from less developed countries have been seriously undermined by increasingly restrictive laws designed to disqualify claimants’ entry to countries in the Global North. Zetter (2007) reminds us that examining how categories are chosen and applied to those migrating reveals the way in which certain bureaucratic, political and economic interests are crucial determinants in which labels are placed upon people. The 1992 Maastricht Treaty was not just the founding charter of a single market within the European Union (EU); it was also the blueprint for a new kind of state. This shift subsequently affected understanding and perception of migration; when internal frontiers go, so do distinctions between people across them. However, it meant that the word ‘migrant’ had new connotations, rarely being applied to Europeans moving around the EU, but now chiefly to people arriving from further afield.

Photographs, interviews and news reports covering the rising number of international migrants who are arriving along the European Union’s border, or have died trying to reach Europe, are now ubiquitous. This recent increase in the number of migrants destined for Europe is so startling that it has been identified as a migration ‘crisis’, not just among the story spinning media, but also by experts in the migration field, only serving to highlight the severity of the situation (figure 5.1). In 2015 over 1 million people arrived in Europe by sea, over four times the 216,000 who took the same route the previous year (Scottish Government, 2017). The way migrants travel to Europe has meant that migration across Europe has also become a political crisis, with members of the EU and political parties debating how to improve travel conditions, on the one hand, and trying to ‘halt’ immigration on the other. While internally the EU’s Schengen border agreement (1985, then subsequently 1990) purports freedom of movement for its citizens, international migrants arriving at the border face numerous challenges, with the EU increasing spending for its border patrol operations since April 2015 (www.ukandeu.ac.uk, 2016).

The graph markedly shows that throughout 2013 and 2014 asylum applications across Europe increased dramatically. They then level off and even decrease mid-way through 2015; this marks the period when borders across Central and Eastern Europe were being closed to prevent asylum-seekers crossing them to reach Western European countries such as Germany, France and the UK. Many European countries also saw a move to more restrictive immigration policies during this time amid increasingly negative political rhetoric around immigration. Discrepancies between various

member-states' responses to migrants and their willingness to accept asylum applications complicate matters further.

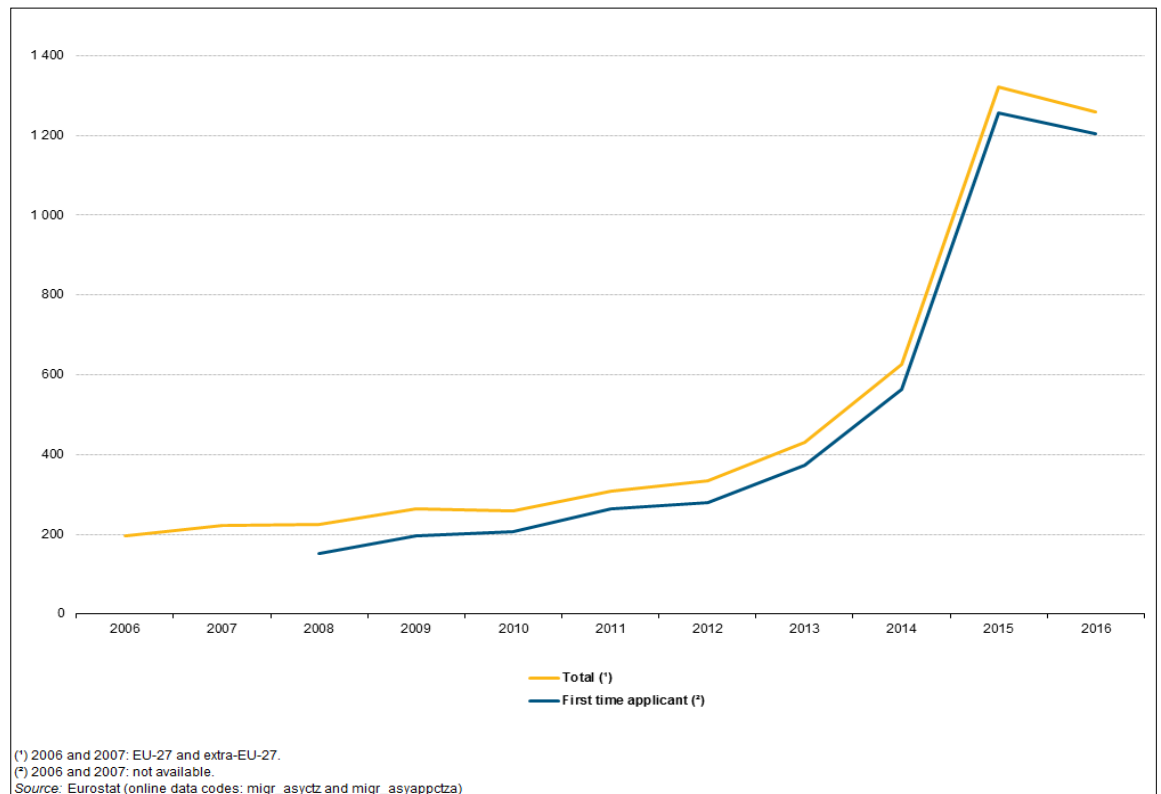


Figure 5.1: Non-EU asylum applications in the EU 2006-2016 (thousands) (www.ec.europa.eu)

The UK began its Brexit negotiations on 20th June 2017. The lead-up to the 2016 Referendum, and attitudes afterwards, have been drawn in by an intense negative rhetoric built up around immigration to the UK, with many right-wing politicians arguing that leaving the EU would see a decrease in the number of immigrants, trumpeting a sense of Britishness and suggesting that its rekindling would be a benefit to the UK. Nigel Farage and his party at the time (UKIP) were strong campaigners for Brexit, and as part of his campaign the poster in figure 5.2 was unveiled to cement his anti-EU argument. However, this poster faced criticism from all other political parties in the UK, citing that Farage was using the atrocities in Syria and other parts of the world, and refugees resulting from this, for his own political gain (*The Guardian*, 2016). During the lead-up to the Referendum, immigration became a key issue around which politicians would debate and disagree. A counter-narrative has also been produced with those who favour remaining in the EU arguing for the positive impacts of migrants to be recognised. In addition, they suggest that during a time with an unprecedented number of refugees fleeing war and torture, it is not wise to cut the country off from the support and policy of the EU. As Brexit talks take place and final decisions are laid out, it

is likely to have an adverse effect not only on new and potential migrants, but also for those already living in the UK.



Figure 5.2: Farage's poster during the EU Referendum campaign. (*The Evening Standard*, 16/06/16)

After the Referendum which saw Britain vote to leave the EU, David Davis was appointed to the position of Secretary of State for leaving the European Union. At the time of writing Davis has just finished the first round of Brexit negotiations in Brussels, but not to a positive response (*The Guardian*, 2017a; *The Independent*, 2017). Brexit talks began ten days after a snap general election saw Theresa May²² return to Downing Street as Prime Minister. EU leaders were adamant that political turmoil in the UK would not delay or disrupt the Brexit process, yet were concerned that it would impact the deal that is made, something also reflected in politicians' concerns about May as the leader of the UK (*The Guardian*, 2017a). The Queens Speech that opened parliament in June 2017 included a new bill on immigration as the UK separates from the EU, and the outline of the new bill focussed on stopping free movement of people from the EU but ensuring that the 'brightest and the best' will be able to come to the UK (The Queens Speech, 2017). Contradictions and debates within and between political parties only serves to highlight the impossibility of determining the precise content of the Brexit vote (Prentoulis, 2017). Furthermore, the divisions within government are dwarfed by the scale of divisions within British society that have come to the fore as a result of the EU Referendum; between England and Scotland, between rural Tory heartlands and multicultural cities, and ultimately between those who have benefited from globalisation and those who have been left behind (Prentoulis, 2017).

²² Theresa May is the leader of the Conservative Party and has been the Prime Minister of Britain since 2016. Prior to this (2010-2016) she was the Home Secretary.

Over the next two years, as the UK and EU negotiate the terms of Brexit, it is likely that immigration will remain a central issue in these debates. May has to some extent succeeded in mobilising nostalgia for a ‘protective state’ (Prentoulis, 2017) that will look after the ‘ordinary people’, assuming that they have the correct nationality and culture. Policies have been designed to extend policing and control of migrants to employees in a range of services; passport checks on foreign women giving birth in the UK, employers needing to list foreign workers and schools collecting data on pupils’ country of birth and nationality (JWCI, 2015), essentially extending the role of ‘border guard’ to a range of British citizens. ‘Leave’ campaigns and debates often argued that immigration is the main social, economic and cultural threat to all aspects of British life, yet, immigration in a Brexit context plays out differently north and south of the border, with Scotland generally being more open and welcoming of immigrants, recognising the benefit that people coming to Scotland could have on the country (Piacentini, 2016; Scottish Government, 2017).

Immigration in the UK

The UK has a long history of migration, and with that has come a string of immigration acts (appendix 5), each building upon its predecessor and arguably becoming more hostile and creating stricter approaches towards people entering the UK. Numbers of immigrants rose most steeply after the Second World War and debates around refugees are not necessarily new. Port cities such as Cardiff, Southampton and Glasgow all have a rich history of immigration, as do large cities like London, Birmingham and Manchester (*The Guardian*, 2001). As migrants began to build communities and settle, places such as Bradford and Leicester became home to large numbers of Indian families, with many of the men from these families having fought in World Wars 1 and 2. After the war, men from the West Indies who had also fought in WW2 began to come to the UK in search of work and other opportunities (*BBC*, 2008). In the 1950s and 60s racial prejudice and violence was on the rise as a result of white people fearing black communities in their cities (*New Historian*, 2015). Legislation prior to this period of time had allowed people from the commonwealth to enter the UK with little restriction, but, as a result of political pressure, the government began to produce more regular legislation to toughen immigration rules (*BBC*, 2008). In 1989, with the fall of the Berlin Wall, a new kind of immigration began, with people from across Europe and further afield coming to the UK, and this new wave of immigration brought with it increased tensions and yet more legislation (*New Historian*, 2015). The 1990s and 21st century thus far has seen people coming to seek a new life in the UK, but it has also seen an increase in the number of asylum applications as people flee politically and religiously fuelled wars around the world.

In light of the migration crisis throughout 2015, the Conservative government introduced a new Immigration Bill to the House of Commons on 17th September 2015 which came into force in

2016. This new Immigration Act detailed new requirements to be placed on migrants, introducing more restrictive policies and harsher punishments for those who do not adhere to the system (www.gov.uk, 2016). A speech by May in early October 2015, at the Conservative Party conference, built on some of the points raised in the bill. At a time when many members of the public and left wing political parties are opening their arms to welcome migrants, doing what they can to support those in need, this new bill and May’s speech marked a turning point in the migration debate; revealing that the UK is officially adopting a political response to a humanitarian issue.²³



Figure 5.3: A selection of headlines from newspapers reporting on migration in 2015/16 (*The Daily Express, The Daily Mail, The Sun*)

The Immigration Act 2016 builds on the Immigration Act 2014, representing the latest extension of

²³ Theresa May previously held the position of Home Secretary (2010-2016) under the Conservative Government. As Home Secretary, she introduced policies aimed at reducing the number of people entering the UK, ensuring tighter controls on the border. In addition to this, in summer 2013 she introduced a controversial campaign in partnership with the Home Office. This campaign involved vans driving around London with a billboard on the side stating ‘Go Home or Face Arrest’. These vans proved to be extremely divisive politically and among the general public, and as a result of the backlash May decided against continuing this campaign after complaints that they were misleading and may incite racial hatred (*The Telegraph*, 09/08/13). Now as Prime Minister she is tasked with delivering Brexit, which is itself arguably driven by anti-immigration sentiments.

the UK government's aim to create what many would perceive as a hostile environment for the majority of migrants in the UK. The overall aim of the policy is to 'prevent illegal immigration and remove incentives for illegal migrants to enter or remain in the UK and encourage them to depart' (Home Office, 2015, p.1). The Act heavily focuses on notions of criminalisation, with eight new criminal offences for those who transgress the provisions, including migrants themselves, as well as employers and landlords (JWCI, 2015). Knowing that the police services do not have the capacity to enforce these new measures, the Act seeks to extend powers to immigration officers employed by the United Kingdoms Border Agency (UKBA) to arrest without a warrant those suspected of committing offences, as well as now having powers to search premises and seize items off suspects (Home Office, 2015; JWCI, 2015; Yeo, 2015). While supposedly aiming to protect the most vulnerable in society by combatting rogue landlords and exploitative employers, the Immigration Act simultaneously criminalises the victims of such crimes, making it much harder for these victims to seek help for fear of getting in trouble with the law themselves. These latest measures arguably demonstrate a lack of understanding regarding migrants in the UK, since they are also likely to have detrimental effects on black and minority ethnic (BME) individuals and those living legally in the UK, as people become more suspicious of those who are 'different', a result of seemingly giving policing powers to people such as teachers, landlords and bank managers. This move to give policing power to a range of people and to create extended 'border guards' is an interesting method in the current climate of privatising immigration (Darling, 2016). Housing, employment, detention and even education for refugees and asylum-seekers are also being outsourced to private companies such as Orchard and Shipman²⁴ and Serco²⁵, with 'arms-length'²⁶ organisations taking over ESOL provision on behalf of the DWP; this move to privatisation has changed the landscape of service provision for migrants, making it harder for them to make complaints and access support and advocacy (Darling, 2016). By introducing these extended border guards, refugees and asylum-seekers are now living in an environment where they fear that many of the people with whom they come into contact are suspicious of their right to be in the country (Yeo, 2015). It also raises interesting questions about the role of ESOL educators in this new landscape; for colleges, there is a responsibility to take registers and to monitor attendance, yet for community educators this role is less clearly defined, a result of the voluntary sector's ambivalent position in service provision, explored later in this chapter. The government itself has admitted that the new measures will make it 'tougher than ever' to live 'illegally' in the UK (Home Office, 2015, p.1), which contradicts Home Office reports on community cohesion.

The Immigration Act 2016 seeks to remove the right to remain in the UK while appealing against a Home Office decision regarding an asylum application (www.gov.uk, 2015). Individuals will be

²⁴ Orchard and Shipman are a private property management company.

²⁵ Serco is a British outsourcing company. It operates public and private transport and traffic control, aviation, military weapons, detention centres, call centres, prisons and schools.

²⁶ Here I use the term 'arms-length' organisations to describe companies that although linked to the government or Glasgow City Council, are privately owned and operate for profit.

forced to appeal against a wrong decision from outside the UK, causing disruption to an established life in the UK, as well as an array of practical difficulties in appealing from abroad (ILPA, 2015). The Act also seeks to tighten access to services; this is likely to lead to discrimination against anybody who is not white British, as well as risking an increase in destitution amongst the asylum-seeking population. The ‘right to rent’ scheme was introduced in 2014 and requires all landlords to check immigration documents. This was initially piloted in the West Midlands and is being rolled out across the UK (Home Office, 2016), despite problems with the initial policy (*The Guardian*, 2017b). The Immigration Act now gives landlords the power to evict people who do not have the ‘correct’ status, while landlords who do not adhere to these laws can be imprisoned for up to five years (Home Office, 2015; ILPA, 2015). In addition to landlords, banks and building societies are required to check the immigration status of current account holders, and to notify the Home Office if someone does not have the ‘correct’ legal status. Furthermore, they will be required to close or freeze the bank accounts of these people with no explanation for their apparently ‘illegal’ status, and there has, thus far, been no discussion of compensation should a mistake be made. Given that there have been numerous cases where individuals have been wrongly identified by the Home Office as irregular migrants, this is a real possibility and should be addressed (ILPA, 2015; JCWI, 2015; Scottish Refugee Council, 2015; Yeo, 2015)²⁷. The Scottish Refugee Council (SRC) (2015) argue that by extending, deepening and displacing responsibility for immigration functions further into non-immigration sectors, the government is creating an ‘immigration state’ within a state, entangled in a web of controls and sanctions. These provisions will impact upon millions of people in the UK, not just irregular migrants; but individuals and families trying to gain accommodation, to open or change bank accounts and even to take driving lessons. The extension of powers to private sectors and individuals, effectively turning citizens and agencies into immigration officers, is likely to breed suspicion at an unprecedented scale, affecting people living in poverty and ethnic minorities the most, including those who have suffered persistent labour market discrimination because they have ‘ethnic, not white sounding names’ (David Cameron, 2015 in *The Guardian*, 2015).

In terms of support for migrants, the Immigration Act 2016 repeals previous policies where support was given to all failed asylum-seekers. The Act now states that support is only available to those who can prove that they are destitute and that there is a genuine obstacle to removal (ILPA, 2015). This means that families who reach the end of the asylum process do not qualify for support and

²⁷ In the first quarter of 2018 a political scandal emerged in the UK, deemed the ‘Windrush scandal’. In 1948 the Empire Windrush ship docked in the UK and with it came an influx of migrants from the Caribbean (*The Guardian*, 2018). The scandal relates to the immigration status of those who arrived in the UK before 1973, who, like EU migrants they have permission to stay in the country. The new hostile environment, designed by May to prevent people wanting to stay in the country, alongside increasingly strict immigration laws meant that people from this demographic have been asked to prove their right to remain in the country. However, months after May became Home Secretary in 2010 their landing cards were destroyed, meaning they had little way of proving their right to remain. The Home Office has since apologised but it serves to highlight the inhumane way migrants in this country are being treated.

would be required to leave the country before appealing their decision. Many organisations have rejected the notion that those who have exercised their basic human rights to claim asylum are now ‘illegal’ simply because the UK government has decided not to recognise them as refugees (Scottish Refugee Council, 2015). This move also works to further rhetoric around ‘deserving’ and ‘undeserving’ refugees or migrants.

In addition to the Immigration Act, May’s speech at the Conservative Party conference reinforced provisions laid out in the Act, arguing that it was:

Difficult to create a cohesive, integrated society without controlling immigration ... It’s difficult for schools and hospitals and core infrastructure like housing and transport to cope. And we know that for people in low-paid job, wages are forced down even further while some people are forced out of work altogether. (May, 2015 in EIN, 2015)

While asylum-seeking counts for just 8% of net migration (EIN, 2015), May also spoke at length about asylum and the new Act that will impose tougher laws on those entering the UK to claim asylum. This caused frustration among many advocacy organisations, arguing that the global system of refugee protection is based on the principle that everyone has the right to claim asylum and to have that claim properly considered. May implied that ‘false’ asylum-seekers are to blame for depriving those who are in ‘genuine’ need of protection. May’s related separation of ‘good’ and ‘bad’ refugees could be extremely damaging, and will increase discrimination against those who appear to be ‘different’. Since May’s speech in 2015, Europe and the UK has seen a number of terrorist attacks linked to Islamic fundamentalism, which has in turn led to a surge of anti-Islamic hate crimes. Political events combined with racially and religiously fuelled incidents suggest that hostile attitudes towards immigrants are increasingly common. As people continue to come to the UK, and as wars continue in the Middle East and Africa, this shows little chance of stopping, raising questions about what can be done to unite communities and prevent future attacks.

A tough approach to irregular migration without evidence or understanding of facts will only increase the fear and hostility towards migrants and ethnic minority populations. Furthermore, the measures contain an extension of powers that will reduce the rights of all citizens, including powers to arrest and detain extended to immigration officials, rather than just the police. The irregular migrant population of the UK is little understood, and it is therefore concerning to see legislation about this population group lacking any properly evidenced basis (JCWI, 2015). Furthermore, the government has failed to provide any evidence to suggest that measures set out in the Immigration Act 2014 have been successful, yet have still decided to build upon these measures (ILPA, 2015, JCWI, 2015). It is not only feared that these changes will not just make the UK more hostile to irregular migrants, but make the UK more hostile full stop.

The current political landscape in the UK is arguably, then, one of hostility, suspicion and even anger towards migrants coming to the UK. There is strong anti-EU rhetoric perhaps in response to the increase of people seeking asylum in the UK since 2015. Somewhat paradoxically, though, one response to this negative rhetoric coming from the government is that organisations working with migrants and members of the public have shown a groundswell of support for refugees along the ‘migrant trail’ from the Middle East to Calais (Piacentini, 2016). September 2015 saw people from around the UK collecting donations of food, clothing and other essential items, filling vans and delivering them to asylum-seekers in Calais. Charities were collecting donations to help people in Turkey fleeing Syria, and people were even offering their houses to Syrian families (Piacentini, 2016; Positive Action in Housing, 2017). This positive response from UK citizens is not dissimilar from the response to the war in Kosovo in the 1990s, showing that many disapprove of the Conservative government and this tough political stance on the current migrant crisis, while also highlighting that this is very much a humanitarian issue – not about relations between nation-states – but about helping those who are in need.

The Scottish Situation

Immigration is what is termed a ‘reserved’ matter in Scotland. This means that it was not one of the matters devolved to the Scottish Government as part of the Scotland Act 1998.²⁸ The 2014 White Paper on immigration that was released prior to the Independence Referendum in September 2014 detailed a much more liberal approach to immigration should Scotland gain independence. Scotland claims a history of welcoming migrants and, since the introduction of the dispersal policy in 2000,²⁹ has worked to integrate thousands of migrants from around the world into local communities and broader society.³⁰ One result of the 2014 referendum was to increase devolution of key matters to Scotland; education, housing, health, and social services are now all devolved matters, meaning that the Scottish Government has control over these sectors of policy. In the Scottish context this means that, although the 2016 Act is arguably ‘the UK’s most regressive and

²⁸ A referendum on Scottish devolution was held on 11 September 1979, with 74% voting in favour of a Scottish Parliament and 63% voting for the Parliament to have powers to vary the basic rate of income tax. This led to the introduction by the UK government of the Scotland Bill, which received Royal Assent on 19 November 1979, and became the Scotland Act 1979. (www.gov.uk). Devolved matters include: health and social work, education and training, local government and housing, justice and policing, agriculture, forestry and fisheries, the environment, tourism, sport and heritage, economic development and internal transport.

²⁹ The policy of dispersal of those seeking asylum was introduced by the Immigration and Asylum Act 1999. The policy remains the same now as to when it was first implemented in 2000 – it was introduced at a time when the UK was receiving high numbers of asylum applications. The idea behind the policy was to ensure that the South East of England was not ‘overburdened’ (House of Commons, 2016)

³⁰ ‘One of the major gains from independence for Scotland would be responsibility for its own immigration policy. Currently immigration is a reserved matter, and the Westminster Government’s policy for the whole of the UK is heavily influenced by conditions in the south east of England. Scotland has different need for immigration than other parts of the UK. Healthy population growth is important for Scotland’s economy. One of the main contributors to Scotland’s population growth is migrants who choose to make Scotland their home: ‘In the future our enhanced economic strategy will also do more to encourage young people to build their lives and careers within Scotland and to attract people to live in Scotland.’ (Scottish Government White Paper, 2014, n.p).

punitive legislation on immigration to date' (Piacentini, 2016, p. 57), the Scottish Government will have more power over how these sectors interact with refugees and asylum-seekers in Scotland.

Dispersal Policy

The dispersal policy came into play in 2000 and was designed to relocate asylum-seekers to dispersal zones in the north of England, Wales and Scotland (figure 5.4). The dispersal policy was created in response to high numbers of asylum-seekers living in London and the South East of England, and the perceived pressure that was being put on local authorities and service provision (www.parliament.uk, online; Darling, 2013; Piacentini, 2016). At the same time, the National Asylum Support Service (NASS) was introduced to coordinate the dispersal process (Darling, 2013), which also included a stand-alone support service, removing asylum-seekers from the welfare support provided for UK citizens. Dispersal areas were primarily chosen based on the availability of housing stock, often consisting of hard-to-let social housing and where there is cheaper accommodation (www.parliament.uk, online; Darling, 2013). The dispersal policy did not go without tensions and it arguably brought with it new kinds of social exclusion, setting apart refugees and asylum-seekers from 'ordinary' patterns of living (Bloch and Schuster, 2005; Hynes, 2011; Darling 2013). The dispersal policy also disrupted existing social networks and community-led support groups, risking isolation for those who are being dispersed, in turn reducing opportunities for settlement (Piacentini, 2016).

The policy moved asylum-seekers to regions that had little previous experience of this group of people (Wren, 2007) and initially service provision for this new cohort was fragmented. It was designed quickly with little acknowledgement of past research or experiences (Hynes, 2011). National level deficiencies filtered down to service provision at the local level, and tensions arose with existing communities expressing concern over service availability and community relations. The voluntary sector thus became vital as it became apparent that local authorities did not have the capacity, within their own statutory services and facilities, to cope with the new population. Volunteers became the interface between the service users and the policy-makers, occupying a highly contested space – outside of legal frameworks – to ensure that service users receive the care and support that is required but not provided for by the government either centrally or locally (Hynes, 2011). In 2006, as NASS began to negotiate new contracts, there was a move towards private sector involvement in immigration issues and by 2011 accommodation for asylum-seekers in dispersal locations had been privatised (Darling, 2013). In Glasgow Serco were awarded the contract for accommodation provision, which they subsequently subcontracted to Orchard and Shipman. There has been opposition to the privatisation of accommodation, particularly because of using companies that specialise in security and run many of the UK's detention centres:

Opponents of such moves have highlighted not only the profits that these companies stand to make from the lives of asylum-seekers, but also the number of high profile cases of abuse, harassment and force used by G4S in delivering their existing contracts on asylum deportation (Grayson, 2012) ...[this has] led to growing unease amongst asylum advocacy groups over both the appropriateness of security firms running support services and over the sense of an 'asylum industry' being produced that is centred on making profits from the dispersal system. (Darling, 2013, p. 1)

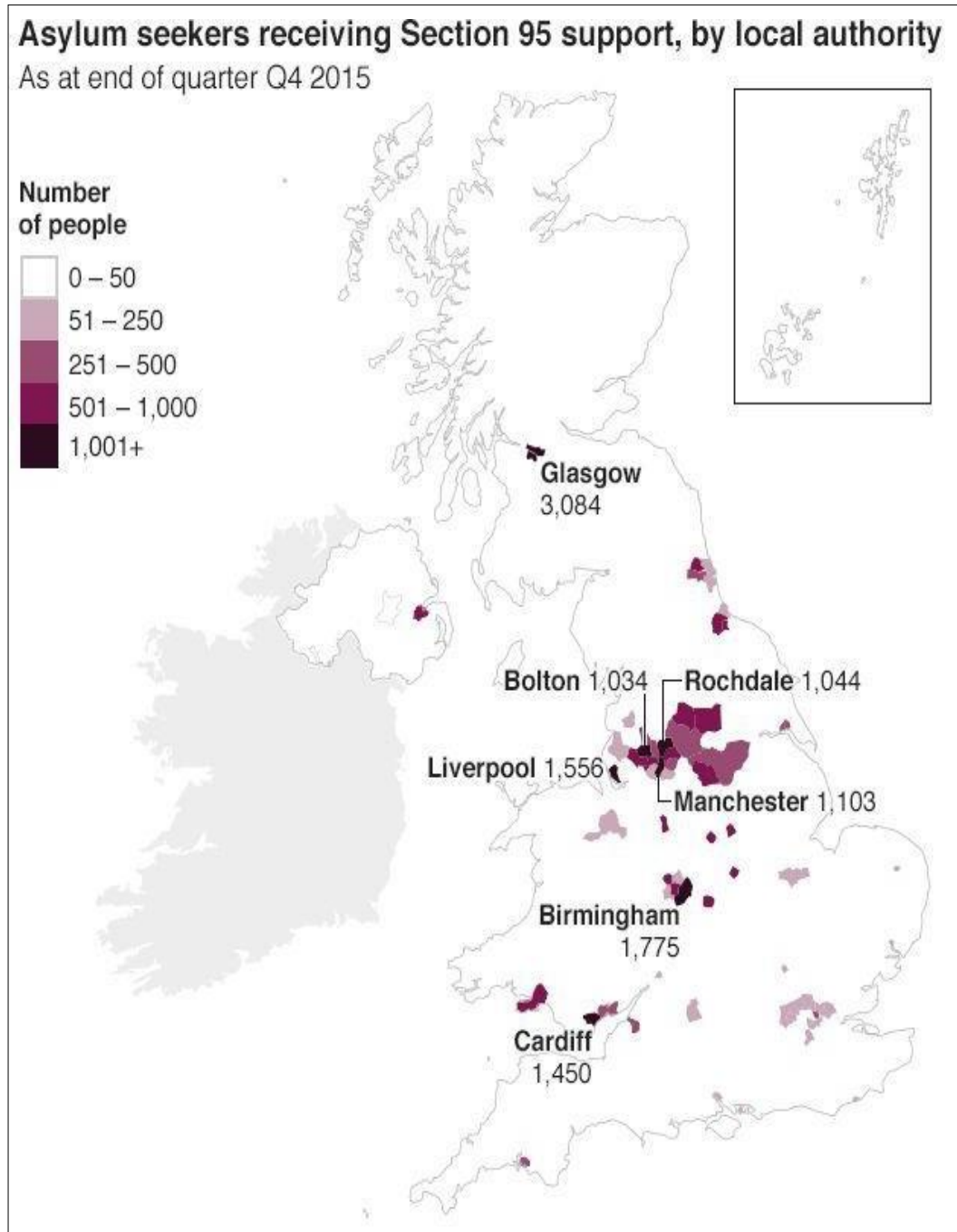


Figure 5.4: A map of the UK showing key dispersal cities and the number of asylum-seekers receiving state support. (www.gov.uk)

As the quote from Darling (2013) demonstrates, there is opposition to how the dispersal policy is currently mobilised and carried out. While services have become more streamlined in Glasgow, and with the voluntary sector still providing a range of services, often supported – not necessarily

financially – by government organisations, there remain issues with how asylum-seekers are dispersed, housed and welcomed into the city. Yet, despite these problematic aspects, the dispersal policy has opened opportunities for cross-cultural dialogue and fostered relationships between communities that would otherwise not come into contact (Sim and Bowes, 2007). Griffiths et al (2006) suggest that the ways in which community organisations have responded to dispersal means that community relations are being actively promoted, and that community organisations are now very important in raising awareness of asylum-seeking communities. In Glasgow, there has been a move to bring local and migrant communities together, with charities and NGOs organising events to promote cross-cultural education and opportunities for people to meet each other and to build relationships with their new neighbours.

By 2004, Glasgow had become known as ‘The asylum capital of Britain’ (*The Independent*, 2004), after receiving more than 5000 asylum-seekers over four years, the highest number of dispersed people as a result of the policy. Although numbers of asylum-seekers fell between 2002 and 2012 (Home Office, 2013), reaching 1,770 at the end of 2012 (Darling, 2013), they began to rise again, with 3,210 people receiving Section 95³¹ support at the end of September 2016 (Asylum Support Appeals Project, 2017). These numbers, in relation to the city figures shown in figure 5.4, highlight that Glasgow remains the main centre of dispersal for people seeking asylum in the UK. With the more recent rise in numbers of asylum-seekers and refugees arriving in the city, long-standing NGOs have been joined by smaller, grassroots community organisations, providing a range of support services to those in need. Glasgow has a long tradition of asylum advocacy and mobilisation; activism against dawn raids, the ‘Glasgow Girls’ campaign,³² and more recently ‘Refugee Week’ – a month long festival celebrating refugees in Scotland (Piacentini, 2016). Community-led organisations play an important role in the settlement and integration of refugees and asylum-seekers in Glasgow, yet caution ought to be exercised because this reliance on the third sector³³ reiterates the piecemeal and uncoordinated way in which services were created, suggesting that voluntary and community organisations have had to fill gaps left by government and statutory services (Wren, 2007). Zetter et al (2005) suggest that these organisations may risk reiterating segregation between communities, as services are provided *apart* from mainstream ones,

³¹ Section 95 support can take the form of subsistence only (i.e cash only support) or if the asylum seeker does have somewhere to stay pending their asylum claim, accommodation and subsistence support. Only a minority of people on Section 95 support apply for ‘subsistence only’ support. The level of cash support provided is a fixed rate which is significantly lower than income support levels. It is not increased every year. It is currently £36.95 per week per person (adults and children now receive the same) (Asylum Support Appeals Project, 2017).

³² Named by two of its members, Amal Azzudin and Roza Salih the group, who all attended Drumchapel High School in Glasgow, was established in 2005 in response to the detention of one of their friends, Agnesa Murselaj. By September 2005, their efforts had gained national attention. The girls challenged the then First Minister Jack McConnell on the matter and publicly voiced their concerns as more children at their school were being dawn raided, detained and deported.

³³ ‘Third sector organisations’ is a term used to describe the range of organisations that are neither public sector nor private sector. It includes voluntary and community organisations (both registered charities and other organisations such as associations, self-help groups and community groups), social enterprises and co-operatives.

potentially marginalising migrant communities further,³⁴ and it also exemplifies complacency by the government about providing cheap and flexible support for migrants (Bloch and Schuster, 2002). In addition, more recent austerity measures mean that services are being cut, with English language provision being one of these key services, and hence my focus on community-led ESOL provision as they seek to provide education for those not able to access mainstream services.

Despite Glasgow having a largely positive relationship with refugees and asylum-seekers, changes over the last two decades has brought with it changes in the social geographies of refugees and asylum-seekers in the city. Initially, support for asylum-seekers was borne out of everyday encounters between locals and newly dispersed people (Piacentini, 2016), a result of being housed within existing communities. The shared spaces near to the dispersal neighbourhoods such as bus-stops, post offices, churches and schools all produced spaces in which these encounters could take place. The geography of dispersal meant that there was a sense of ‘thrown-togetherness’; different people sharing local spaces, producing a sense of solidarity between old and new residents (Piacentini, 2016). Yet, as these tower blocks are demolished, and newcomers to Glasgow are more widely dispersed across the city, these points of everyday encounter are also demolished; this process, alongside the current political climate, means that refugees and asylum-seekers risk increased isolation and segregation.

Housing

Many participants who work in the third sector express concerns around housing provided to refugees and asylum-seekers in Glasgow, particularly as accommodation services have now been outsourced to private companies. In the early years of the dispersal policy, people new to the city were housed in high rise flats on the outskirts of the city, predominantly in Sighthill and Springburn, but also south of the River Clyde in Castlemilk and Cardonald. These areas were already experiencing large amounts of deprivation due to how they were quickly built throughout the post-war period, but then neglected by Glasgow City Council as the focus turned to regenerating areas within the city centre (Fyfe, 1996; Jacobs et al, 2007). The areas where asylum-seekers were housed had a low socio-economic status, often isolated from other communities across the city and high levels of crime. This led to what many have termed the ‘ghettoisation’ of refugees and asylum-seekers (Piacentini, 2014), as people were left to live in areas without appropriate services, nor the finances to travel into the city to access the services they required. In 2005 YMCA, now ‘YPeople’, took over housing for refugees and asylum-seekers; although they were still housed in the same areas and the same blocks of flats, it brought about an interesting change. In conjunction with the SRC, the two charities were well placed to understand the

³⁴ For a further discussion on the role of community organisations see Chapter 9, where I explore how services and activities are provided for migrant communities, noting people’s limited contact with more established communities and neighbourhoods.

requirements of people trying to seek asylum and had experience in working with refugee communities, and thus they were better able to provide the necessary services to new residents within the localities.

One example of this is the Red Road flats that were once an iconic part of the Glasgow skyline and were infamous for high crime rates and large-scale deprivation, as well as being the location where a Russian family seeking asylum jumped to their deaths in 2010 (figure 5.5).

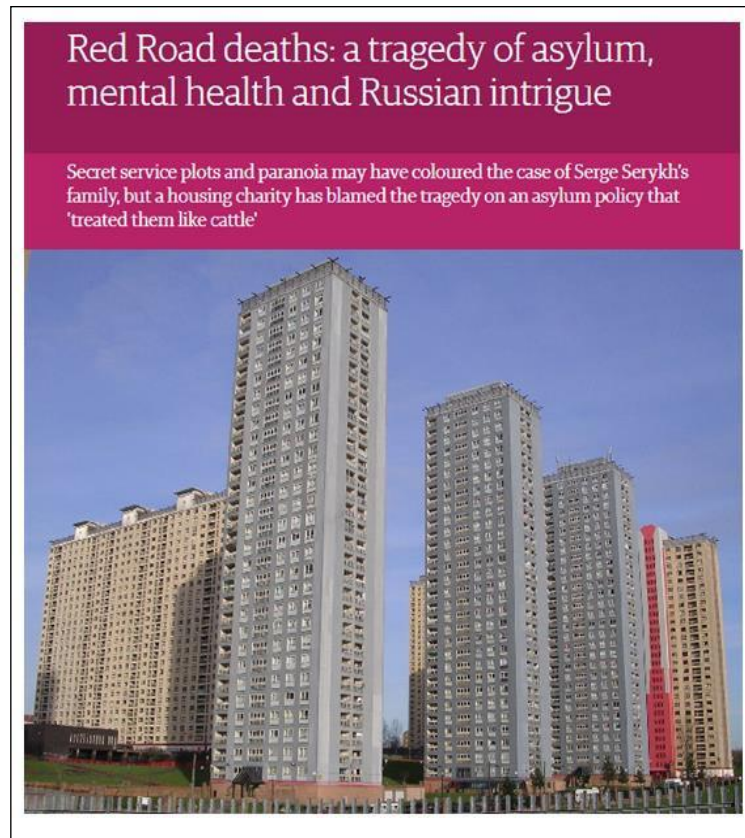


Figure 5.5: Image of Red Road flats (*The Guardian*, 2010)

The flats were demolished in 2015 after all of the residents had been relocated to other parts of the city. The Red Road flats were by no means perfect and, with high levels of deprivation and crime, received large amounts of negative attention, adding to existing negative rhetoric around refugees and asylum-seekers. One participant who worked for the YMCA in 2005 and 2006 explained that, during the years that the YMCA leased the tower blocks and housed refugees and asylum-seekers, different services were made available within the blocks. YMCA was situated on the 22nd floor, and people were sent there by the Home Office on arrival in Glasgow; they would turn up with suitcases, often disorientated and upset. One floor above, the SRC had a flat in which new residents could find resources for advice and support and be signposted or referred to relevant services. On the ground floor, the NHS had an initial assessment clinic and ensured that every new arrival was given a full check-up and referred on as necessary. Despite the negative rhetoric, a sense of

community thrived in these blocks. While that support and even belonging by no means makes up for the poor quality of upkeep and existing deprivation, it meant that everything was accessible and in one place, there were people to help with every need, and people were able to make friends with others from their countries. It is important to avoid painting a rosy picture of life in the flats, but there were certainly positive aspects to this initial dispersal system that showed a level of planning and joined-up working between government authorities, third-sector and voluntary organisations. More recently, further dispersal has meant improved housing for many, but has also brought with it more negative experiences.

The decision to demolish many of the tower blocks in which initial accommodation was provided brought with it a change in contracts. Orchard and Shipman recruit landlords wanting to lease their properties. Often these flats are classed as ‘hard-to-let’ properties; they are not in very good condition and, like the high rises, are situated in deprived areas with high rates of crime. In addition, instead of people being near to other migrants and close to their communities, they end up spread across the city, increasing isolation, feelings of fear and seemingly having an adverse effect on the mental health of individuals (SRC, 2014; Piacentini, 2016; Scottish Government, 2017). A shortage of properties over the past several years now means that new arrivals, or single men who have been in Glasgow for some time, are being moved into hostels for homeless people or bed and breakfasts as a short-term solution. This change of residence again brings about a new set of problems, with young, often traumatised people being exposed to people with serious alcohol and drug addictions – a different kind of ‘displaced’ people – which can make them feel unsafe and uncomfortable, but may also lead them down a road of addiction themselves, especially if they are struggling with their mental health and are under a lot of stress (SRC, 2014; 2016). For people housed in bed and breakfasts,³⁵ a different set of problems occur. With no access to a kitchen, they are forced to buy convenience food that does not require cooking or even warming up; but, when living on £5 per day, this purchase becomes extremely difficult, if not impossible, and means that people often sacrifice food to be able to take a bus to appointments or top-up their phones so they can contact their families. Legally, Orchard and Shipman are only allowed to house people in this kind of temporary accommodation for 30 days, yet I have heard on many occasions of young men living in these places indefinitely, with no sign of when they will be moved to more appropriate accommodation. Many asylum-seekers are scared to complain about their treatment or where they are housed from fear of jeopardising their asylum claims (BBC, 2016). Participants in my research expressed fears over making themselves known to the Home Office for the same reason. The

³⁵ The nature of the current asylum housing system means that many people are placed in temporary accommodation, making them vulnerable to being moved without notice. A lack of available housing for families mean that single men occupying multi-roomed flats are often moved into hostels or bed and breakfasts to free up housing for families. Legally they are not allowed to be housed in this type of accommodation for more than 30 days, yet my research revealed that often they live in these types of accommodation for a longer time.

asylum system has manifested itself in a way that builds docile and passive bodies who survive in a cycle of uncertainty and vulnerability within the system.

This lack of housing and the further dispersal of people around Glasgow has impacted on service provision across the city. Initially, service providers and third sector organisations knew where new arrivals were being housed during these early years, whereas now there is no comprehensive picture of where people are being housed. The only agencies who know where people are located are the Home Office and Orchard and Shipman. Refugees and asylum-seekers are often moved multiple times during the asylum process, and therefore are being put at further disadvantage because of housing policy. The lack of a comprehensive picture means that service providers struggle to know which areas would benefit from their resources and how to access those in need, and in turn many people are slipping through the net as anonymous individuals. A lengthy quote from Lori, who works for a local integration network in Glasgow, is worth repeating here, since it geographically captures the story narrated over the previous pages:

Lori (Integration Network): There are definitely geographical areas that are missed out ... We need information about where people are, we know roughly, but we need more information. There needs to be more information about dispersal, and dispersal patterns if there are any ... [We] knew where people were in 2000. 2006, I started for the YMCA Glasgow who housed all of the new arrivals, all, every new arrival. City Council housed people before that, and that was also still in a similar area, still in Sighthill, then it was YMCA Glasgow, high flats in the Red Road ... What I will say is that then we were very, very clear about where asylum-seekers were, we also knew where they were dispersed to after, either it was getting too full and asylum-seekers just had to be dispersed, or they got their papers, and they were dispersed. But YMCA knew where everyone was, they knew, and most people went to Govan. So there were still clusters. Now, asylum-seekers and refugees ... they're scattered all over the city now ... It's wherever Orchard and Shipman can get accommodation nowadays, and a lot of shocking things are happening ... Serco are basically saying there is not the accommodation anymore, we don't have it. We thought we were getting this many asylum-seekers, but we're getting much more now. So any dodgy landlord who says, yeah you can use my flat, or they're going for, and they always went for hard to let council type places, so that's why Easterhouse and Drumchapel and all sorts of places. So how do we make first contact with people, and how do they find a community? Because there was always an argument that the Red Road flats was a ghetto, or was ghettoising asylum-seekers. When I spoke to people, they said, no, we feel safe here. We're together with other people who are in the same situation.

Feelings of security are something that has become prominent throughout this research. The current political climate has resulted in increased uncertainty and feelings of vulnerability amongst participants in this research, and also arguably increased anger and violence towards those who appear 'different' (Piacentini, 2016). This development is accentuated by reports from some of my research participants having had windows in their flat smashed, been broken into or been shouted at on the bus or in the street. More subtle forms of discrimination have also been reported; being ignored when asking for directions, being patronised because they do not have perfect English, and being taken advantage of. These multiple forms of harassment and discrimination are detrimental to their mental health and their ability to settle in their own neighbourhoods.

The dispersal policy, and asylum policy more generally, also works to disadvantage those who go through the process formally. Instead of choosing not to claim asylum, to disappear and work illegally, many take the legal route by applying for asylum upon arrival in the UK and are then dispersed across the country. Once at their destination, asylum-seekers are not allowed to work or study courses other than ESOL, meaning that they must rely on benefits and charity. For many people, this situation is difficult to accept, especially as many have had their education disrupted and want to continue, or are used to having a financially comfortable life, with a house and car, a *normality* in their country of origin. The need to rely on benefits, and not having control over their future can be extremely frustrating, often adversely impacting their mental health.

Integration

Resettlement in Glasgow has been somewhat chaotic, and as a result refugees and asylum-seekers have not been clustered in nationality or language groups, which means informal and formal local support networks have not been formed, hindering settlement yet increasing integration into mixed ethnic communities (Bloch and Schuster, 2002). This also has implications on the language geographies of refugees and asylum-seekers, as well as on their mobility – or lack of – within the city, which will be pursued further in Chapter 9. Nevertheless, Glasgow has a strong history of community led activism in support of newcomers to the city and advocating their rights; this has been of benefit to refugee and asylum-seeking communities in the city, mobilising them in positive ways (Wren, 2007; Piacentini, 2016). Despite initial problems, Glasgow is now seen as a city where the dispersal policy has been successful, although some tensions remain between voluntary and statutory service providers in terms of where responsibility lies for advice, support and advocacy, as well as related to knowledge exchange or, arguably, a lack of it (Zetter and Pearl, 2000).

More recent changes to how refugees and asylum-seekers arrive and settle in Glasgow mean that gaps have emerged in understanding whose role it is to perform certain responsibilities. For example, until recently, it was the role of the SRC to provide initial support, advice and orientation to new arrivals, but this role changed in 2015 due to an institutional reshuffle and changing of contracts, with the introduction of Migrant Help³⁶ (SRC, 2017). Migrant Help are contracted by the Home Office to provide initial information, but this provision rarely happens, with only a limited number of participants in this research having had any contact with this body whatsoever. It is a telephone helpline, but practitioners who took part in this research highlighted its inaccessibility due to a number of constraints for new arrivals, primarily – and certainly ironically – a lack of English. Furthermore, both refugee and third sector participants expressed their difficulties at getting through to someone when phoning, often finding the line busy and long waiting times. A

³⁶ Migrant Help are a charity who deliver asylum advice services on behalf of the Home Office.

report by the SRC mirrored this finding as managers of the charity admitted that they have been overwhelmed by the number of calls to the helpline. The report also highlighted concerns of refugees and asylum-seekers over the lack of face-to-face services or appointments, with only those assessed to be ‘vulnerable’ by the Home Office receiving outreach appointments.

More recently there have been criticisms over what has been deemed to be a ‘two-tier’ system for refugees (Darling, 2017; Scottish Government, 2017; *The Guardian*, 2017c). A result of the Syrian Vulnerable Person Resettlement Scheme (SVPRS), there are arguments suggesting that different refugees are receiving different levels of treatment, reiterating what Piacentini (2016) deems different levels of ‘refugeeness’: who is more, or less, deserving? Piacentini discusses members of the public being willing to help those fleeing Syria over those from war-torn countries in Africa, positioning such willingness as a result of government rhetoric and media reporting. The SVPRS selects Syrian refugees and brings them to the UK, ensuring they are automatically given permanent accommodation, access to education and directed to the services for which they are eligible or may need. The *New Scots Integration Strategy* (Scottish Government, 2017) highlights in all six of its sectors – dispersal, employability, housing, education, health and community and social connections – that those who have entered the UK through the SVPRS are better integrated and more settled than those who enter the UK through other routes. This division within the asylum system not only causes fundamental problems in service provision and eligibility, but may also serve to produce fractures in and between migrant communities.

The dispersal scheme has brought with it a considerable demographic change in Scotland, which in turn has seen the arrival of many new languages. One response to this parallel linguistic change was been the creation of a ministerial position for Scotland’s languages (Phipps and Fassetta, 2015), as well as creation of multiple strategies to ensure that language needs are met across Scotland. Alasdair Allan was named the Minister for Scotland’s Languages in 2011, his role being broadly concerned with language education, supporting multilingualism in Scottish schools and ensuring provision of appropriate services of those who do not have English as a first language. However, in 2016 this post was rebranded as Minister for Further Education, Higher Education and Science, and now the person in this position (Shirley-Anne Somerville) works alongside ministers involved in education and learning. None of these positions have language at the fore, perhaps suggesting a move away from the recognition of language as a key policy area. However, in saying that, a refreshed ESOL strategy *Welcoming Our Learners: Scotland’s ESOL Strategy 2015-2020* (Scottish Government, 2015) expresses Scotland’s commitment to language education provision for ESOL learners. This five year strategy builds upon the 2003 framework, adapting and responding to recent changes in Scotland’s demography.

English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) Policy in Scotland

It is recognised that young migrants' experiences of education will vary depending on a range of factors; some will come to the UK having experienced high levels of quality education in their own country, while others will not. The socio-economic and political origins of ESOL service users are complex, and indeed the super-diversity amongst migrant populations means that ESOL learners vary hugely in terms of their immigration status, education, background and experiences of war and other strife (Vertovec, 2006). Research highlights that, once in the UK, education is a high priority for most people (Save the Children, 2001; Brownlees and Finch, 2010; Walker, 2011); furthermore, education can provide stability and normality which can mitigate the negative effects of traumatic experiences, supporting young migrants to overcome isolation and to build resilience (Refugee Council, 2005; Brownlees and Finch, 2010). Research on migrant education nonetheless highlights the fact that young migrants still face considerable problems and barriers within education (Rutter, 1998; Save the Children, 2001; Refugee Council, 2005; Doyle and McCorrison, 2008). A lack of availability of school or college places, issues with migrants arriving in the UK when they are 15 or 16 and being expected to take exams imminently, and the reluctance of schools to take on students part way through the school year all affect migrants' access to education. Moreover, when these young people arrive in the UK, they often struggle to understand and navigate the education system, which can add further anxiety, stress and isolation to young people and their families. Being without language education is detrimental to young migrants, particularly in relation to personal development and mental wellbeing, leaving them isolated and reducing chances of integration (Brownlees and Finch, 2010; Walker, 2011).

A Strategy for Scotland's Languages was created in 2003 with the aim to guide the support and development of Scotland's languages. The Scottish government recognises that Scotland is a multilingual country and appreciates, even celebrates, the importance of cultural and linguistic diversity in the country. The strategy had the following aims and objectives:

- Celebrating cultural diversity
- Promoting respect and confidence
- Encouraging mobility
- Facilitating access and inclusion
- Increasing economic opportunity
- Enriching education

It goes on to state that:

Now, more than ever, there are an increasing number of languages other than English used in Scotland. Some of them have been spoken here for many years and are used in well-established communities, while others are more recent and spoken only by a handful of people. English language provision has a key part to play in ensuring equal access to services and employment

in Scotland, and it is important to ensure that language does not become a barrier to integration, and thus contribute to inequality. (Scottish Government, 2007, p. 1)

At the centre of the strategy is hence the need to support the acquisition of English language skills to ensure participation and equality in society. The strategy recognises that ‘the provision of high quality, accessible and affordable ESOL supports the Scottish Executive’s ambitions for growing the economy and encouraging active citizenship in a diverse and pluralistic society’ (Scottish Government, 2007, p. 1). Therefore, a separate ESOL strategy for Scotland was designed in 2007 to ensure uniform English language provision, the vision for which is:

That all Scottish residents for whom English is not a first language have the opportunity to access high quality English language provision so that they can acquire the language skills to enable them to participate in Scottish life: in the workplace, through further study, within the family, the local community, Scottish society and the economy. These language skills are central to giving people a democratic voice and supporting them to contribute to the society in which they live. (COSLA, 2010, p. 4)

ESOL is a key mechanism for supporting the integration of migrants into communities and promotes community cohesion (Education Scotland, 2014; Mackinnon, 2015). ESOL provision is covered by three sectors: colleges, local authorities and the voluntary and private sector (COSLA, 2010; Education Scotland, 2014).³⁷ When combined, all three sets of ESOL providers reach a range of communities, each operating in a different kind of space (formal education for qualifications, community rooms, practising conversation at language cafes); and, as a result, each provider plays an important role in Scotland’s ESOL strategy. In some parts of Scotland such as Edinburgh and Midlothian and Glasgow and West Scotland, efforts have been made to assess ESOL provision across a whole region and decisions have been made in partnership across sectors about how best to use resources (COSLA, 2010). In other, more rural areas in Northeast Scotland however, joined-up working is not so strong, with local authorities, colleges and the voluntary sectors working separately, meaning that referrals between the sectors and knowledge of what resources are elsewhere available remain partial or non-existent, leaving migrants potentially without appropriate language support (COSLA, 2010).

There are many different ESOL courses available to learners; a range of levels, time commitments, differing opportunities to gain qualifications, or more practical English. Across Scotland, 84% of college enrolments were for part-time courses in 2012-13 (Education Scotland, 2014). Colleges across Scotland offer courses from SCQF level 2 to 6,³⁸ but not all colleges offer all levels of ESOL, which means that language skills within classes are often extremely diverse and learners are

³⁷ Although the government place voluntary and private providers under one category, they have starkly different ethos that become evident when exploring education provision, with the private sector placing numbers of students and profit higher up on their agenda.

³⁸ SCQF is the acronym for Scottish Credit and Qualifications Framework. This framework provides credit points and levels across all qualifications in Scotland, providing a standardisation for qualifications in all fields of education.

often placed in classes at an inappropriate level for them in an attempt to reduce lengths of waiting lists (Walker, 2011; Education Scotland, 2014; MacKinnon, 2015). In addition to this problem, the titles of programmes are not standardised and often levels are inconsistently labelled across the sector. This makes it difficult for learners and other ESOL providers to understand provision and identify progression routes (Education Scotland, 2014).

Resources and funding for ESOL provision are limited, and in the current political and economic climate, funding is unlikely to increase, meaning that it is important that providers work closely with one another to ensure the best possible ESOL provision.³⁹ In a report funded by the Scottish Government (2010), it was found that in nearly all areas of Scotland demand outstripped supply. Those wanting to access courses are often put on waiting lists for colleges; these can be up to 9 or 10 months long in some places, highlighting the importance of the voluntary sector and community organisations that provide ESOL for people waiting for college places. It was found in the report that those authorities with a centralised system for registering potential students, with just one single waiting list for all colleges, tended to have the best examples of partnership working across the sectors and a far better understanding of how ESOL resources could be used to ensure appropriate levels of provision (COSLA, 2010).

Part-time Day	Anniesland	Cardonald	Langside
English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL)	✓	✓	✓
ESOL Transitions Programme (Early Education and Childcare)		✓	
ESOL Transitions - Hospitality		✓	
ESOL Transitions Programme (Healthcare)		✓	
English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) for Everyday Life National 4			✓
English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) for Everyday Life National 5			✓
Certificate in English Language Teaching to Adults (CELTA)	✓		
Part-time Evening / Weekend			
	Anniesland	Cardonald	Langside
Cambridge English: Advanced (CAE) Certificate Exam Class			✓
Certificate in English Language Teaching to Adults (CELTA)	✓		

Figure 5.6: A list of ESOL courses offered by Glasgow Clyde College. (Source: <http://www.glasgowclyde.ac.uk/courses/faculties/access-and-continuing-learning/esol>)

³⁹ Funding for college and other accredited ESOL courses comes from the Scottish Government, which have to split funding between all education sectors. ESOL funding is split between 42 colleges that provide ESOL based on student numbers and the SCQF level of the students. Priority is given to students who are actively seeking employment, while funding for those with very little English is much less (researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/SN05946/). It is estimated that ESOL funding has fallen by half since 2009 (Roden, 2016), and there is an acknowledgement of the need for all providers to work together to meet the needs of learners.



Figure 5.7: A poster advertising an ESOL assessment and information day. (Source: www.learnesolglasgow.com)

Scotland now has both a generalised strategy for language which predominantly focuses on the inclusion of Gaelic, Scots and British Sign Language in policy, but also a specific strategy for the provision of ESOL. Language policy in Scotland is currently undergoing a change as public discourses around languages in Scotland are becoming increasingly linked to cultural and ethnic diversity (Phipps and Fassetta, 2015). Much language policy here still focuses on English and Gaelic, and on encouraging an increase in bilingualism in schools, universities and public contexts, perhaps loosely reflecting a nationalist agenda under the SNP government. Phipps and Fassetta (2015) argue that debates around language policy in Scotland have brought to the fore fears and anxieties related to social disorder and a reduction in the power of the English language should other languages be given equal status. The *Strategy for Scotland's Languages* (2007) highlights the importance of equipping all Scottish citizens with fluent English, but also emphasises the importance of linguistic diversity, recognising the influence that ethnic community languages may have on, and in, Scotland's communities. The SNP's policy for Scotland's language was discussed in their 2009 manifesto as follows:

Increased mobility in the EU means an increasingly multilingual society. The Scottish Government's strategy for English for Speakers of Other Languages [ESOL] has a vision for all Scottish residents who don't have English as a first language to have access to high quality language provision. We are proud to have these new Scottish residents add to our nation's diversity and enrich our society as a whole. (SNP, 2009, p. 16-17)

As will become apparent throughout the thesis, it is necessary to highlight the importance that people place on speaking English and its importance for migrants in Glasgow. Being able to speak English has become, rightly or wrongly, a marker for how a migrant may be treated or viewed in society. Moreover, English proficiency has become a cornerstone in discussions around integration, inclusion and assimilation (Cameron, 2012), thus suggesting that non-English speakers must learn English to prove that they are able to participate in British culture and society (ibid.). Indeed, one of the aims of the 2016 UK Immigration Bill and ensuing Act was to ensure that all migrants in employment have fluent English skills. The following empirical chapters seek to unsettle this assertion by suggesting that integration is not mono-directional and should be regarded as a two-party process, meaning that the host society has some responsibility to understand migrants' cultures and practices to help foster such integration, inclusion and assimilation (Ager and Strang, 2008).

These examples of the importance placed on English language skills are an illustration of Cameron's notion of 'verbal hygiene' (2012), as well as linking across to Pred's concept of 'deviant language' (1989). Both Pred and Cameron highlight how, for many people, speaking the 'correct', 'desired' or dominant language is seen as a benefit and a route to integration within communities. In turn helping them to become autonomous subjects. For those whose language falls outside of this norm, the risk of exclusion and isolation is increased, rendering them passive objects without status. However, there is also substantial research finding that new migrants themselves feel that speaking English is vital for integration and settlement in Scotland (Refugee Council, 2013), plainly evident in my own research interviews with ESOL students and third sector practitioners. When asked why they felt learning English was important, they said:

Berhane: Yeah, when you can speak in English, there is no problem. For example, when you cannot speak English and you need something here, there is a problem, it is difficult, because you cannot explain what you need. But in order to speak with people and to have a good life, you need to speak English.

Kibreab: Because if I want to live in the UK, it is important for me. So, I must be, I must know English. Because the first language in the world is English, and knowledge is power.⁴⁰

Yaman: It's the most important thing to do. Without English you won't integrate into society. I suppose English is the key to the UK. The language is the key to any country. You have to

⁴⁰ Kibreab's comment neatly highlights Jackson's (1989) research on hierarchies of language and how different languages have different levels of prestige, ranked differently around the world. For Kibreab, English was seen as 'number one' and therefore acquiring English would afford him certain opportunities, perhaps not available for those who do not speak English.

learn the language so you can integrate, and you can live with them, without people noticing that you are a refugee.

Here it is clear that participants' desire to learn English is seen as a route to employment and further education, as well as to being able to communicate with local people. As Chapter 9 will explore, even so, ESOL learners are presented with little opportunity to speak to native English speakers outside of the classroom and are still subject to negative representations – perhaps in light of the connection in law between immigration, national security and social cohesion (Zetter et al, 2006) – and thus face many challenges, of which language is just one. Issues around health, education, integration, housing and wellbeing cannot be separated out, something that in its final report the *New Scots Integration Strategy* (Scottish Government, 2017) recognises and highlights the importance of looking at these issues separately and in detail, but with the need to fully understand issues faced by refugees and asylum-seekers more broadly.

Colleges

Educational entitlements and admissions policies are also a barrier to accessing education for many young people. Despite guidance explaining the rights and entitlements of young migrants to college education, these proposals are not always implemented and there is often confusion over the correct procedures (Walker, 2011). All asylum-seekers between the ages of 16 and 18 are entitled to a free college place,⁴¹ but there is often some confusion over this point, particularly in relation to young people's legal statuses (Refugee Council, 2005; COSLA, 2010). Different local authorities have different admission procedures, which can cause confusion among those trying to access college. In the Scottish context, this variability has been identified as one of the key issues with current ESOL provision, alongside a lack of college places.

Colleges in Scotland have the responsibility to provide ESOL qualifications for benefit-receiving migrants over the age of 16. Yet, due to funding constraints, as well as issues with student numbers, some ESOL levels are catered for more than others (figure 5.8), particularly those levels where colleges and government organisations feel that there is unmet demand, as well as higher levels that cater for people seeking employment. Repercussions of this variability suggest that those who arrive in the country with little to no English and are at a low literacy level often struggle to access formal college education due to a limited number of available classes. Nick works for an integration network in the east of Glasgow, and he explains that for people who are below Access Level 2 it is difficult for them to get into college as there is little provision. Because of this barrier,

⁴¹ A college here refers to a place of further education (FE) which involved vocational or employment focussed courses. Colleges provide courses designed for students who have finished compulsory age education, but also provide stand-alone courses suitable for people of all ages. In Scotland, the majority of accredited ESOL courses are run by FE colleges.

the integration network for whom he works decided to focus their efforts on lower level ESOL classes, arguably filling in gaps left by colleges:

Nick (Integration network): Language education seems to be catered for at an Access Level 2 and higher ... I'm very much about what goes on at literacies level and Access 1 ... [T]hat's how we started a lot of our work, we were clear that people weren't getting into colleges because they didn't have the leg up.

Rachel furthers Nick's point and suggests that one of the issues around these lower level classes is related to the high demand for these classes, a result of the high numbers of people coming to Glasgow without basic literacy in English.

Rachel (Faith based refugee organisation): [T]hey're just so overwhelmed ... those are the classes that have the longest waiting lists because those that tend to come into the country tend to be literacy or beginner level. So, they're just overwhelmed by it, while there is more space for advanced and intermediate levels.

Rachel and Nick's comments mirror issues around funding of ESOL whereby more funding is given to higher levels to increase chances of employment. Thus, it can be argued that the government's aim of ESOL education is not to ensure social connection, integration or ability to survive day-to-day, but is in fact instead to encourage entry into employment, thereby reducing the number of refugees claiming benefits. Figure 5.8 provides a reference table showing the different levels of ESOL and their equivalent qualification levels.

As previously mentioned, limited funding and resources mean that many colleges have long waiting lists which can be confusing and frustrating for those on them. A lack of joined-up service provision meant that, until very recently, newly arrived migrants apply for each college separately and may be on several waiting lists at once, which again creates confusion for both the applicant and the service providers, as well as meaning that at times places were given to students who then failed to show up due to finding a place at a different college. These issues came to the fore during several interviews with participants, many of whom had been waiting for a college place upwards of 6 months. Furthermore, there was some uncertainty over how the system worked, with some people being given places in a relatively short period of time and others having to wait far longer. One participant, Hadi, had been waiting for over 18 months to hear about a place. At the time of the interview he was not only confused but felt a high level of stress due to not knowing what was happening, and to the fact that there did not seem to be any process in terms of gaining a place, reflected in the fact that his friend had gained a place while Hadi had not:

Hadi: I registered with my friend for college, and now he go to college, but not me. I said to him, come with me, I'm going to college to register, you need to come because you need to learn English. "No, I don't like coming" and I registered my friend, now he going to college, I'm not. I'm not receiving any paper, not e-mail, I don't know.

Sophie: Have you been to the college to ask?

Hadi: Yes, I asked. Just told me waiting. I said seven months waiting. He said more waiting.

Sophie: Which college?

Hadi: Clyde, Kelvin ... all of them. City of Glasgow. [laughing], all of them.

In response to this issue, June 2016 saw the launch of the *ESOL Access* project in Glasgow. The new initiative allows potential students to register an interest in taking classes and be informed when places become available. It has been funded by Glasgow City Council’s Integrated Grant Fund and the Scottish Government. The project is being run in partnership between City of Glasgow College, Glasgow Clyde College, Glasgow Kelvin College, Glasgow ESOL Forum, Glasgow Life and Workers Educational Association, all of which are ESOL providers (Glasgow Clyde College, 2016). This newly centralised registration system means that students can go online or fill out a form, in order to be entered onto the system and central waiting list that can be accessed by all of the colleges that provide ESOL. Although there are still some issues with the system, and the exclusion of community classes from the database, it is a positive step towards creating a more coherent picture of ESOL supply and demand in Glasgow.

Traditional ESOL Levels	Scottish Credit and Qualifications Framework Level	Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA) ESOL Qualifications*	ESOL levels (England, Wales, N. Ireland)	CEF levels (Common European Framework)	Cambridge ESOL General ESOL Qualifications	Cambridge ESOL Academic ESOL IELTS Bands	Secure English Language Tests (SELT)
Literacy	Students may have varying levels of speaking and listening, but very little or no knowledge of Roman script, reading and writing.						
Starter	2	Nat.1 2 = Access 2 Literacies 1	Pre-Entry	A0			
Beginner		Nat.1 2 = Access 2 Literacies 2	Entry 1	A1			Grade 2
Elementary		National 2 = Access 2**	Entry 2			3	
Pre-Intermediate	3	National 3 = Access 3**	Entry 3	A2	KET (Key English Test)	4	
Intermediate	4	National 4 = Intermediate 1**	Level 1	B1	PET (Preliminary English Test)	4 - 5	Grade 5
Upper-Intermediate	5	National 5 = Intermediate 2**	Level 2	B2	FCE (First Certificate in English)	5 - 6	
Advanced	6	National 6 = Higher	Level 3	C1	CAE (Certificate in Advanced English)	6 - 7	
Proficiency	7			C2	CPE (Certificate of Proficiency in English)	7 - 9	

Figure 5.8: ESOL courses aligned with SCQF Framework. (www.learnesolglasgow.com)

It is also important to highlight the pressures that colleges are under from government and local authorities in getting students in and through the system, one result of their funding requirements and parameters. This pressure on both staff and students is highlighted by Louise, who works for an ESOL charity after a decade of teaching ESOL in colleges:

Louise (ESOL employee): The colleges have got their own constraints, because they have got to make sure they have the attendance and achievement, and that is so difficult with ESOL learners ... when their lives are so chaotic. I mean in our community classes you might have a guy who is with you for a couple of weeks and then they get moved to the other side of the city ... if that happens at college, you've lost that retention. Which in turn will affect funding for the next session. I worked in a college and our managers were always on our backs about retention and achievement, [but] you just had to say "look, our learners are not our average college students". They're not, their lives are not like that. You'd look at your register each week, and you'd think "oh flipping heck, so and so's gone, so and so's gone". And then you had to find exams that they could pass because you had to show achievement. Funding is so tight now in the colleges.

Although formal qualifications are important in terms of 'proving' progression and nurturing feelings of development, both colleges and their students feel under pressure to achieve these outcomes, which can have negative effects on both parties. Formal ESOL qualifications are required for most legal employment and are a priority in order to receive Job Seekers Allowance (JSA). As formal qualifications are currently only available through colleges, seeking a place at college becomes particularly pertinent for those migrants who have received legal status in the UK. Many ESOL learners also see gaining a qualification as a gateway to further education, something that many are keen to do. As many students are on long waiting lists, this sets back routes to settlement which often lie in education and community-based activities. The third sector plays an important role insofar as their facilities are more easily accessed and provide a range of support for individuals waiting for college, going through the asylum system, and potentially struggling with isolation and poor mental health. Interviewees from the third sector expressed a desire to provide accredited courses for their clients, as they felt that it would improve learners' well-being in terms of feelings of achievement, but also in giving individuals a goal to work towards as an escape from struggles faced. Gary works for an organisation aiming at integrating young BME people into their local community through a range of different programmes. The organisation also provides ESOL classes at two levels. Here Gary highlights how doing an accredited course, or receiving recognition for their work, can help with a positive outlook for marginalised young people:

Gary (Youth organisation): They've come here at an age where they can't get into the school system, you know 15 bordering on 16, [with] disputes over their age, so they're in limbo. And accredited learning can be adaptable as well. So young people come here and they do a ton of work, they go through programmes, they put a lot into their communities, but, at the end of the day they've got the pride themselves. We've got the pride in them, but [they still want] to have an accreditation, to show that they've done it, would translate further, for work or education.

Another participant, Lori, who runs an integration network based in Royston, explains that accredited learning in an informal atmosphere would be appropriate for many learners who are not able to cope – for a range of reasons – in mainstream education, enabling flexibility yet providing learners with a qualification should they seek further education or employment. Lori highlights the costs involved in providing this kind of learning:

Lori (Integration network): The cost that's involved is not realistic for a charitable organisation. You've got your set up fee which can be like £500 and then you've got your staff

training fee as an assessor, and then you've got your £50 per person for everyone that goes through an accreditation. So where are you supposed to get your funding for that?

Funding clearly presents an issue for all ESOL providers, whether they are government funded or rely on other funding bodies. The lack of funding, or difficulty in securing it, means that ESOL providers are put under further stress to continue provision but potentially have to work with fewer resources, or increase their reliance on volunteers – which again presents a new set of issues in terms of finding people who are willing to dedicate their time. Colleges are under pressure to move people through the system, yet, as Louise highlights this can be difficult due to the nature of the learners and the 'baggage' that so many carry with them; funding leaves little recognition for this complexity, putting pressure on both staff and students.

Employment and Language

Many learners who are hoping to receive refugee status or have already received it are required by the Department of Work and Pensions (DWP) to attend ESOL classes for a set number of hours each week if they are below Level 3. They are required to get workbooks signed by teachers to prove that they have been attending classes and to explain what they have been learning. These requirements then allow them to claim JSA. The DWP outsourced their ESOL programme to Ingeus who held the contract for five years before losing the contract in 2016.⁴² The DWP now provide ESOL to benefits claimants through local partner organisations, and in Glasgow this is primarily Glasgow Life (Scottish Government, 2017).

Funding and teaching resources are often put towards higher level programmes where there are clear progression routes into employment or further education, and where learners are likely to make significant progress over a shorter period (Education Scotland, 2014). This process fails to meet the needs of learners at lower levels who have fewer opportunities to access ESOL programmes, however, with their learning being restricted to fewer hours per week to ensure more people are in the system (MacKinnon, 2015). In 2013 the UK's Comprehensive Spending Review announced a new, rigorous approach to ensuring that the JSA claimants with poor English proficiency improve their language skills in order to continue receiving benefits (DWP, 2014). For those who do not participate in the hours of learning that they have been told to attend by the Job Centre, or for those who fail to gain a qualification at the end, there is a risk of their benefits being sanctioned for up to three months (DWP, 2014). The fear of benefits getting sanctioned is high amongst ESOL learners and they therefore try to attend at all costs. Sanctions may be at risk of increasing destitution among asylum-seekers (Scottish Refugee Council, 2014), as without benefits

⁴² Ingeus are a private company that provides services in the sectors of health, employment, youth skills and justice. Their work programme provides services to help people receiving JSA to build the skills to find employment. Part of this portfolio involves providing ESOL lessons in conjunction with the DWP and the Job Centre (www.ingeus.com)

asylum-seekers have nothing – they are not allowed to work, not allowed a bank account and risk prison if they are found to be renting a house when they do not have the correct status.

These rules set out by the DWP cause further complications to processes of service provision and use. The DWP prefers learners to learn within their own list of accredited ESOL courses, which disrupts learners' other classes, causing further interruption in their lives. Furthermore, there is a feeling that on some occasions learners are attending class *merely* so they could claim their benefits, without having the desire to learn English. While this is the choice of the students, there can be a feeling of disconnect in classes, making it more difficult for other students and the teacher. In addition, because of a lack of resources, teachers are unable to take the necessary time to encourage, and indeed to inspire, these individuals on a one-to-one basis. Frances coordinates ESOL provision across Glasgow and below discusses issues with learners being taken out of their college classes to attend DWP approved classes. She emphasises that the DWP want ESOL learners to be attending classes that cover topics set out by them; again, focussing on gaining employment as opposed to developing day-to-day English language skills:

Frances (City Council organisation): And that whole area is where working in partnership is essential but can be a wee bit tricky because the English language requirement can bring with it sanctions, if folk aren't seen to be learning against that. Some frustrations in that there were learners who were in college and were being taken out of college to go and learn with Ingeus because that's who the contract was with.

Lori reflects on issues that learners faced because of the Ingeus ESOL contract:

Lori (Integration network): There was Ingeus who had the contract for people learning English through the Job Centre, so everyone who had a low level of English had to get to an Access 3 levels of English as part of their contract with the Job Centre to get benefits. I don't particularly think that the evaluation methods were enough to check that people were actually getting the service they deserved. So, a lot of people were getting signed off because they'd attended but hadn't reached that level, there didn't seem to be any multi-level support.

Both Frances and Lori allude to the disruption that refugees face to their education because of the DWP and Ingeus ESOL requirements. Getting sanctioned has serious repercussions for everyone in receipt of JSA, and for refugees this can often happen through no fault of their own. The disruption to their education risks having consequences in other aspects of their lives, and the requirement to reach Access 3 level adds further stress. Lori touches on the lack of multi-level support for learners, noting the absence of joined-up working between those organisations involved in ESOL provision.

From my research, it was apparent that third sector practitioners generally feel that the DWP have little understanding of the ESOL landscape in Glasgow, as well as not fully understanding the lives and the needs of those using the resources. Both Nick and Tiff, who work for community-based organisations, discuss issues with the DWP:

Nick (Integration network): There were crazy things going on with Home Office policy ... The DWP was farming out language to some company on behalf of the Home Office, and then they started cherry picking, saying “oh we can’t teach this person because their English is not good enough” Oh, the irony! [laughs] That’s what happens when you put profit before education.

Tiff (Community organisation and ESOL teacher): I mean certainly organisations like the DWP have absolutely zero awareness of ESOL provision and how to signpost people towards it. They phone us up and we’re like, “yeah, if you go onto the Learn ESOL there’s a map you can look around”, and they’re like, “this is amazing that you know this stuff?” And it’s like, “it’s your fucking job to know this stuff.”

The quotes from Nick and Tiff reveal frustrations with the DWP. While Nick underlines the DWP’s selective approach to providing ESOL, leaving out those with a lower level of English, Tiff picks up on the DWP’s lack of knowledge of ESOL in Glasgow. Tiff emphasises the fact that the DWP arguably rely on third sector organisations for their awareness and knowledge of the ESOL landscape in Glasgow, on the one hand, yet do not allow such organisations to have input into evaluations of the services provided, on the other, this accentuates some of the tensions between government and third sector work and overlooks how working together could improve services for the users themselves. In saying this, since Ingeus lost the contract in May 2016, the DWP has sought advice from Education Scotland and partners of the *New Scots Integration Strategy* to create new policy around the language requirements for benefit claimants. There is hope that, by seeking a more joined-up way of working, and including those who work in the ESOL field, new policy will be more inclusive and work to accommodate learners who often experience complicated lives outside of the classroom. The *Strategy’s* ESOL group consists of people from colleges, the third sector and umbrella organisations such as The ESOL forum⁴³, as well as members of Education Scotland⁴⁴ and the DWP (Scottish Government, 2017). This move towards partnership working shows the willingness of these organisations to work together to benefit the lives of learners, as well as in building a more cohesive ESOL network in Glasgow and across Scotland. Third sector practitioners in this research have highlighted the preference shown by government organisations to provide ESOL primarily as a route to employment, reflected in courses offered by colleges in Glasgow. The *Strategy’s* final report was published in 2017, and emphasises the need to deliver ESOL to learners of all levels and for a diverse set of needs. Therefore, this thorough and up to date evaluation is likely to increase partnership working and bring changes to ESOL provision in the city designed to meet the needs of learners (Scottish Government, 2017).

⁴³ Glasgow ESOL Forum is a membership organisation set up in 1998. Its aim is to assist integration, employability and personal development of refugees and asylum-seekers. The organisation provides a central body to which ESOL providers belong and promotes their services as well as encouraging partnership working.

⁴⁴ Education Scotland is the national body for promoting and assessing education and learning.

ESOL Provision in Glasgow

Over the last decade there has been a 119% rise in Glasgow's ethnic minority population (MacKinnon, 2015). There are a number of reasons for this increase, as well as a number of consequences. Perhaps one of the most significant consequences is the rise of multilinguality in the city. It is now estimated that 12% of Glasgow's population do not use English at home, with a smaller percentage not having any English proficiency whatsoever. These facts highlight the need for high quality and appropriate English language provision, while at the same time valuing the cultural and linguistic diversity of the city.

Glasgow faces particular challenges with ESOL provision, predominantly because there are so many agencies involved in providing ESOL – nine colleges, the local authority, and countless community and voluntary groups. ESOL Scotland suggests that there are 55 providers and locations where ESOL is provided in Glasgow and over 160 courses (MacKinnon, 2015). Not all colleges are individually represented on the Community Planning's ESOL group (COSLA, 2010; Scottish Refugee Council, 2013). The Community Planning partnership in Glasgow is taking an increasing interest in the provision of ESOL across the city, and comments made about the need to look at demand across the city, as opposed to just at providers delivering services in isolation (COSLA, 2010), resulted in the introduction of the Access ESOL project and register. Glasgow providers have also developed partnership working through an ESOL mapping project (www.learnesolglasgow.com, 2015), which provides information about all available ESOL providers and assessment locations to new migrants.

Geographies of Provision

Maps 5.1 and 5.2, building on work of Mackinnon but taking into account up to date census data as well as current ESOL provision, record data illuminating the relationship between English proficiency and the location of drop-in community ESOL classes. These are classes that do not require a referral and where learners' attendance does not need to be pre-arranged. Map 5.1 details levels of English proficiency across Glasgow. Areas that are not covered by a coloured box are places where less than 5% of the population have English language difficulties. Map 5.2 takes the areas with highest percentages of low proficiency and maps these areas against ESOL drop-in classes. The areas coloured red are where more than 10% of the population have no English whatsoever, yellow indicates that between 5% and 10% have no English, and the green areas are places where more than 5% of the population cannot speak English well. The map reveals that there are a number of classes in locations with a low number of migrants and with high English proficiency, particularly towards the East of the city and in the Gorbals. Areas in the Northeast, such as Springburn and Sighthill, are shown to have limited resources yet large numbers of non-

English speaking residents; which is also the case for Pollokshaws to the South. Govan, home to the Home Office, Migrant Help and a large amount of initial accommodation for refugees and asylum-seekers, is under resourced in terms of ESOL, as is true further east into Parkhead and Tollcross jumping back north of the river.

Maps 5.1 and 5.2 use the 2011 census population data, while the ESOL class markers are taken from the Learn ESOL website that provides information on community classes in Glasgow. Although the Learn ESOL map is a centralised database of all available classes (www.learnesolglasgow.com, 2015), through my research I know that there are numerous classes that are missing from the map, raising questions about the accuracy of the information provided for potential ESOL students and also meaning learners may be missing out on opportunities to attend classes within their local community. Furthermore, only the Home Office, Serco and Orchard and Shipman have access to information about locations in which people are housed, and this information not being readily available to other service providers creates complications in how they decide where to locate services and for ways in which to evaluate ESOL supply and demand. Due to a current lack of partnership working between government organisations and community organisations and colleges, there is a risk that money is being put towards classes in areas where they are not needed, while in other places resources are being stretched to meet high demand. It is important to note that there are a range of other factors to consider when looking at these correlations, the first being that many students travel to get to classes, which can be because they want to be with their friends, they like the class or simply because they are unaware of services closer to their homes. Secondly, because of media coverage of the migrant crisis, many local people have been motivated to do what they can to help new arrivals in Glasgow, and small organisations have popped up all around the city, some of which provide ESOL classes yet are not linked to broader networks. Accessing information about these smaller classes can be difficult for both practitioners and students, furthering an argument for the need to create a more joined-up, centralised system between all providers.

Glasgow City Council has split the city into three strategic planning areas (SPA) (figure 5.9) (appendix 3), and the figure shows that almost half of all ethnic minorities live in the South SPA. Furthermore, half of all ethnic minorities in Glasgow live in just 12 neighbourhoods (figure 5.10). These are the areas where ESOL provision should arguably be marketed and assessments concentrated, whereas the northeast of Glasgow is the area with the largest concentration of providers and locations to study English, despite it having a much lower number of ethnic minorities compared to the other two SPAs. Thus, it could be suggested that MacKinnon (2015) did not consider the nature of the different communities in terms of length of time in the UK and proficiency of English, hence the high concentration of ESOL provision in the northeast because of

the large number of refugee and asylum-seeking communities in that particular SPA.⁴⁵ Maps 5.1 and 5.2 therefore take Mackinnon’s data into consideration, but use more detailed census data to map out linguistic competency in relation to ESOL provision, arguably a more direct relationship than between ethnic minorities and ESOL.

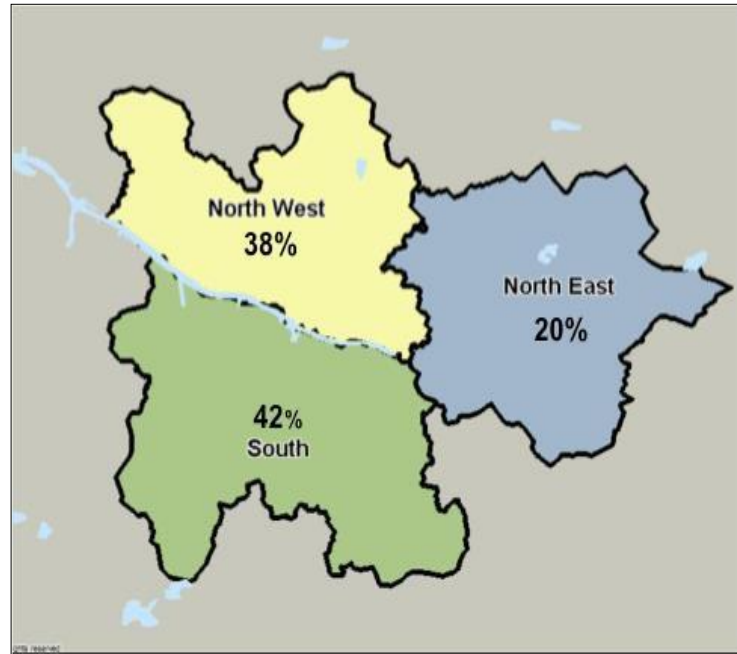


Figure 5.9: The distribution of ethnic minorities across Glasgow’s SPAs. (Mackinnon, 2015)

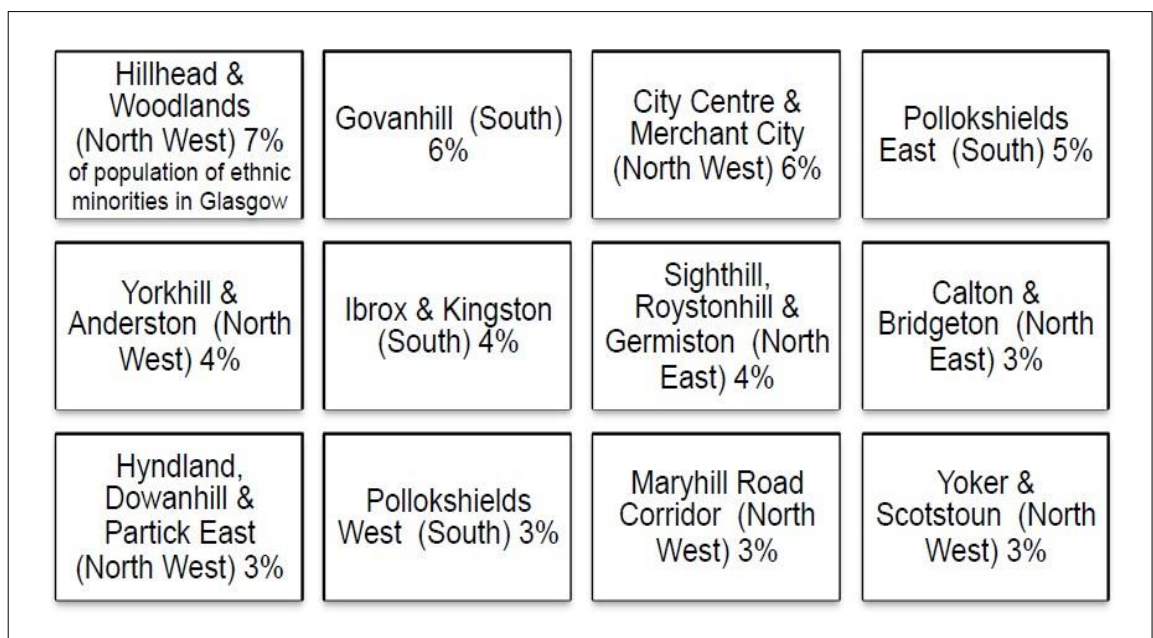
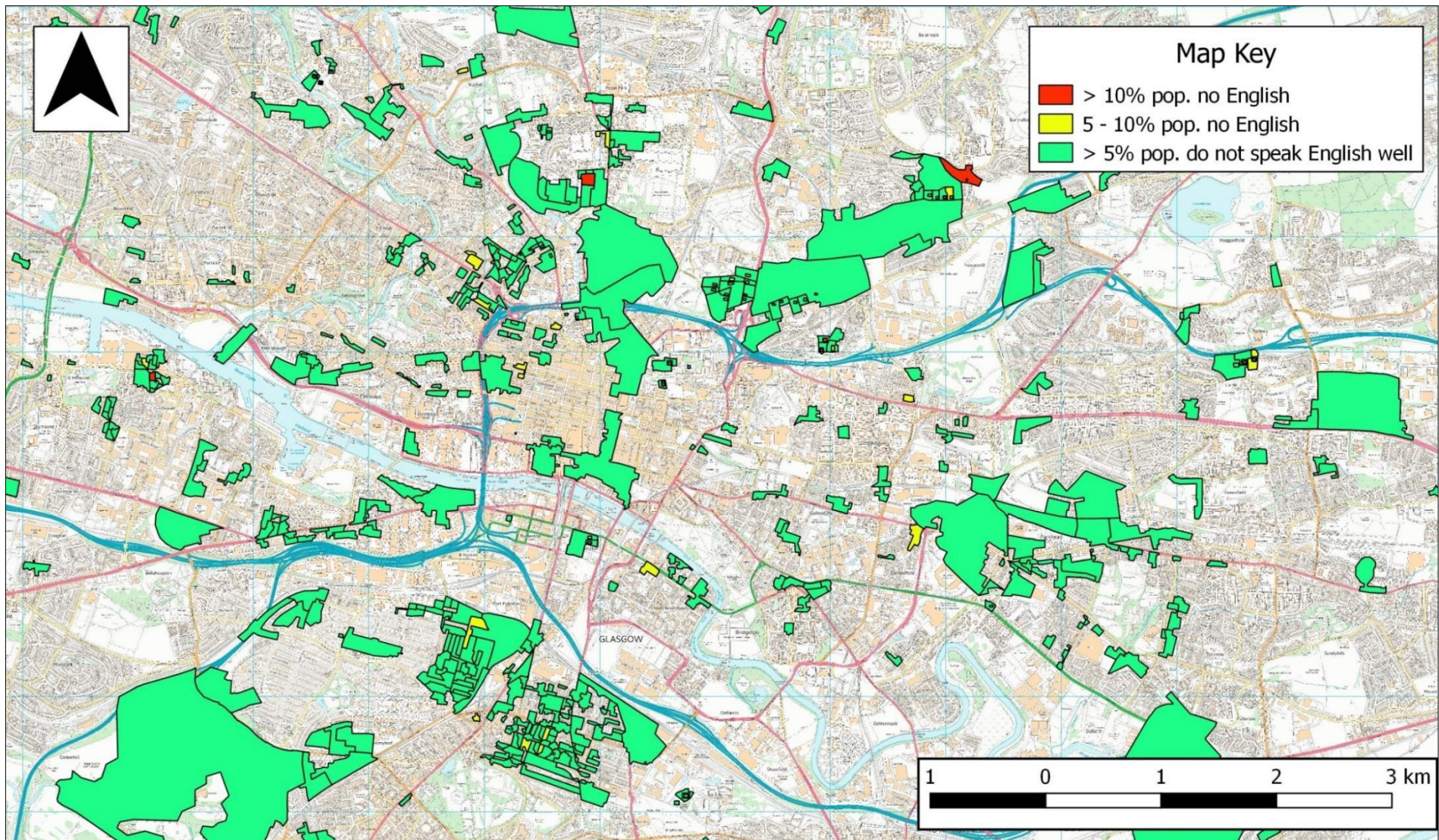
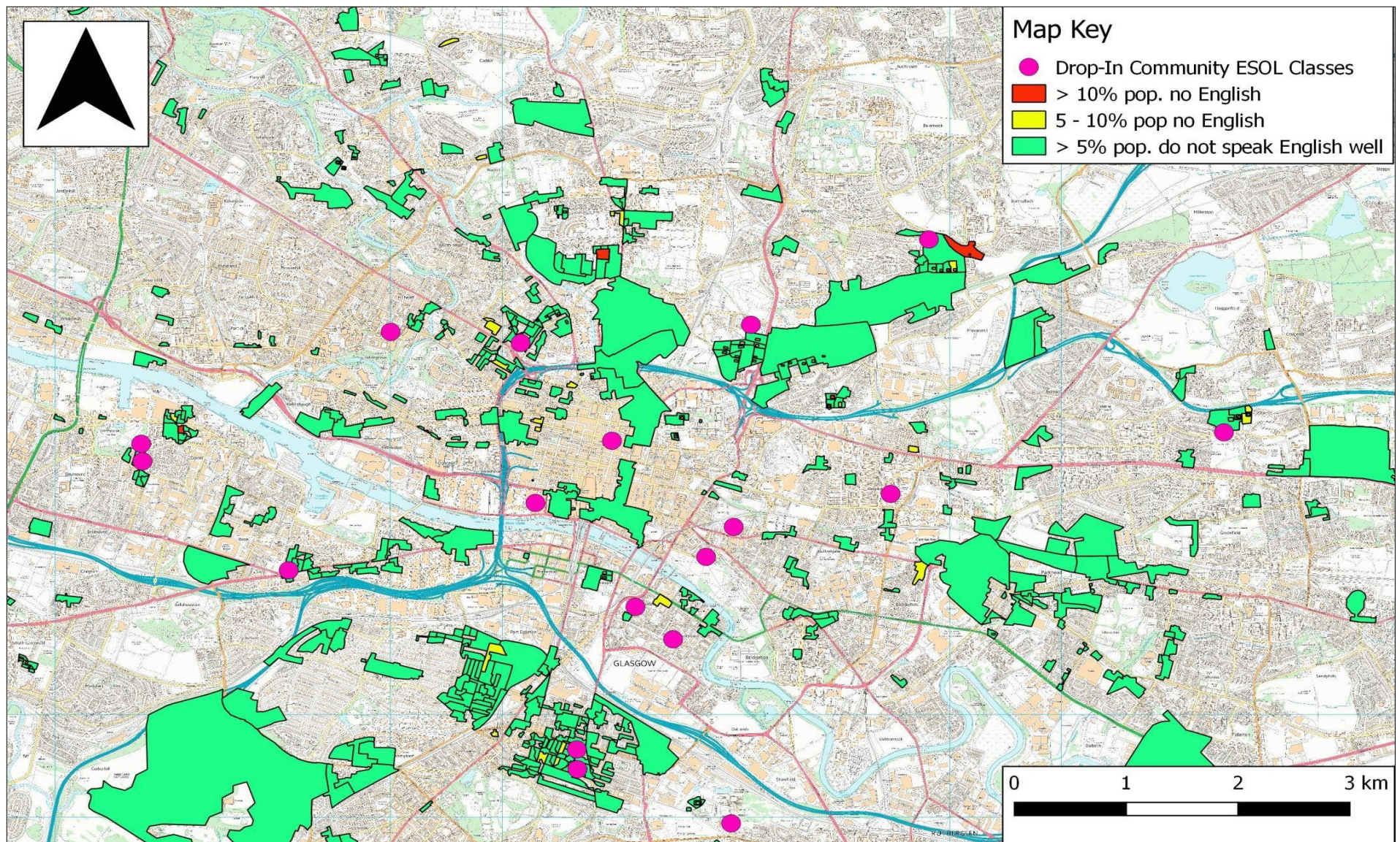


Figure 5.10: The 12 neighbourhoods with the largest proportion of ethnic minorities (shown as a percentage of overall ethnic minority population). (MacKinnon, 2015)

⁴⁵ Mackinnon simply looked at ‘ethnic’ concentration, with no further analysis of linguistic competencies. This shows that absolute numbers, or even proportional figures of ethnic minority presence, cannot be the only guide to where ESOL provision is needed. A consideration of other factors such as linguistic competency and time in the UK can also act as markers for where provision ought to be targeted.



Map 5.1: Areas of Glasgow where more than 5% of the population have little or no English based on 2011 UK census data. (Author's own, 2017)



Map 5.1: Location of Community ESOL classes in relation to areas with people who have little or no English based on 2011 UK census data and data from Learn ESOL Glasgow. (Author's own, 2017)

These findings suggest that a more coordinated strategy for ESOL provision and assessment could ensure that everybody has fair access to language education at an appropriate level. Lori concludes that Glasgow has uneven provision, borne out of changes to how refugees and asylum-seekers are housed in the city, the lack of information about to where they are now being relocated, and the implications for the geographies of refugees and asylum-seekers in the city:

Lori (Integration network): I think it's patchy. I mean all the refugees and asylum-seekers used to be housed in Red Road, and then they pulled those down. So now they're dispersing them, and it's where they've been dispersed to, I mean, we don't know where, but someone does. The Springburn area was very well set up, with Tesco and St Rollox⁴⁶, but now we're finding that a lot of our learners are travelling to there from where they now live. But we need to think about providing classes where they actually are. But without the information that is impossible. It is a catch 22.

This catch 22 that Lori discusses is particularly pertinent to ESOL provision in Glasgow. My research has shown that there is no doubt that those working in third sector and college ESOL provision want to do their utmost to meet the needs of the learners, but, numerous challenges are faced by both learners and practitioners, arguably because of government policies and regulations. ESOL policy makes it difficult to encourage and facilitate the integration that the UK government state to be their aim for migrants in the UK. Providers are aware of the high demand of suitable classes, particularly in certain areas of the city, but, without accurate information filtering down, providing the appropriate services is near impossible. The current provision in Glasgow developed in response to the dispersal scheme, yet now people are being housed across the city service providers are left to meet changing needs in an ad-hoc manner. However, as has been explored, a lack of funding and resources add to the difficulties of this challenge. The somewhat patchy provision has implications for Glasgow's language geographies; to be explored in the empirical chapters that follow, drawing out an argument for the need to understand more fully the needs of learners in order to provide sound provision for all. One way to understand better these needs is to involve people at all levels, from the learners themselves to policy makers.

What has been realised from this research into ESOL policy for asylum-seekers and refugees is that it may be the learners and those working 'on-the-ground' who are best placed to be 'policy makers' as such. As is the case with all policy, it is often those subject to it that have the least input – if any at all – in how it operates. My research has shown that there is a significant gap between policy and practice, and even between practice and the needs of learners. Learners are by no means homogenous and a range of diverse approaches are necessary to satisfy their needs. These needs are dependent on the level of English, the length of time they have been in the UK and how far people are through the asylum process. Furthermore, where people are living, their social networks and previous educational experiences are all important factors in deciding what they take away from

⁴⁶Tesco and St Rollox Church are physical sites for ESOL classes in Springburn.

attendance at ESOL classes. The *New Scots Integration Strategy* recognised the importance of having input at all levels and stages, and the final report (Scottish Government, 2017) outlined future research into refugee and asylum-seeker education that will ensure involvement of learners to aid direction and progress of future ESOL based research endeavours.

Conclusion: Policy, Practice and the Gap Between Them

This chapter has provided an empirical examination of immigration and language policy in relation to the reality of what is happening in practice across Glasgow. Within this frame, it has been suggested that there are gaps between policies and practice and my research has indicated that there are issues around the way policies are designed and the effects that they have. A key concept that runs throughout this chapter is that of integration, and how it can be seen differently by different actors. I will utilise four definitions of ‘integration’ to illustrate this point. Firstly, here is the Home Office’s (2005) definition of integration:

The process that takes place when refugees are empowered to achieve their full potential as members of British society, to contribute to the community, and become fully able to exercise the rights and responsibilities that they share with other residents. (p.5)

Second is one offered by the European Council on Refugees and Exiles (ECRE) (1999):

Integration is a long-term two-way process of change, that relates both to the conditions for and the actual participation of refugees in all aspects of life of the country of durable asylum as well as to refugees’ own sense of belonging and membership of European societies. (p. 4)

Third, the Refugee Council in 1997 state that integration is:

A process which prevents or counteracts the social marginalization of refugees, by removing legal, cultural and language obstacles and ensuring that refugees are empowered to make positive decisions on their future and benefit fully from available opportunities as per their abilities and aspirations. (p. 15)

Finally, here is the definition utilised in the *New Scots Integration Strategy* (Scottish Government, 2017):

We see integration as being a two-way process that involves positive change in both the individuals and the host communities and which leads to cohesive, multi-cultural communities. (p. 10)

At the beginning of the chapter UK immigration policy was explored, revealing how current political rhetoric and the 2016 Immigration Act introduced by Theresa May is arguably increasing hostility and suspicion of those deemed to be ‘other’, or not full citizens – already a move away from what the Home Office (2005) deems to be integration. The EU Referendum brought with it new kinds of xenophobic rhetoric, and, once again to quote Piacentini (2016), current policy is

perhaps ‘the UK’s most regressive and punitive legislation on immigration to date’ (p. 57). The UK is set for yet another immigration bill, likely to set out terms for the UK post-Brexit, with critics assuming it to be, once again, increasingly hostile and Draconian (Yeo, 2017). Alongside this development, new powers have been given to those people working in sectors such as housing, banking, education and employment to monitor people’s asylum status and essentially their rights to services. Extending these powers from the UKBA results in increased suspicion, on the one hand, and an increase in fear for refugees and asylum-seekers, on the other. Knowing that they are being monitored by so many of the people that they encounter arguably reduces feelings of belonging and processes of settlement, once more increasing the gap between what policy theoretically aims to do and what it actually delivers in practice.

Scotland, although having autonomy over some sectors that provide services for refugees and asylum-seekers, is still bound by overarching UK immigration policy. This means that there is room for flexibility in terms of how funding is allocated and how services meet the needs of migrants; there appears to be more of an awareness of the ‘two-way’ process of integration in how services are provided, particularly in terms of healthcare and education, as service providers seek to understand the culture and experiences of those with whom they are working (Scottish Government, 2017). The dispersal policy put Scotland on the immigration map, and Glasgow was, and still is, a primary dispersal location, which brought with it new challenges relating to integrating a new population with established communities. As this chapter has explored, it was not a smooth process, but overall Glasgow is seen to be a good example of successful dispersal. The dispersal of refugees and asylum-seekers to Glasgow resulted in the formation of numerous third sector and community-led organisations and movements working to advocate for the new arrivals in the city. These organisations have grown in number since 2000 and continue to do valuable work in the city, highlighting how established communities can live and work alongside those who are moved to Glasgow (Piacentini, 2016). These organisations work closely with umbrella organisations such as the SRC and show an understanding of issues around integration and settlement for new arrivals, but also provide services and activities that help to overcome these barriers, one of these of course being ESOL lessons.

Language policy in Scotland, and ESOL policy more specifically, ultimately has the aim to ensure appropriate provision for all learners in Glasgow. Policy states that acquiring English will work to remove other barriers to integration faced by refugees and asylum-seekers. While in part this is true, the policy overlooks the need for host societies to be open to and welcoming of new arrivals, and the need for there to be mutual understanding of each other’s customs and culture. Policy tends to take an Anglophone approach, relentlessly promoting the importance of English and the need for *everyone* to learn it. Policy does not consider the heterogeneity of migrants, previous experiences and the physical and psychological challenges faced by so many. Learning English is of course

important, and is recognised by migrants themselves as well as those working in ESOL provision. Despite *Scotland's ESOL Strategy 2015-2020* (2015) wanting to recognise the multicultural and multilingual nature of Scotland, it does not do this very successfully, and instead returns to how 'we' can best teach 'them' English.

College provision, employment and benefit regulations all work in line with a mono-directional understanding of integration. Government funding for ESOL provision is based on the desire to reduce the number of people reliant on benefits and to increase the number of people entering employment. While this goal is in line with the Home Office's desire for refugees and asylum-seekers to 'achieve their full potential as members of British society, to contribute to the community, and become fully able to exercise the rights and responsibilities that they share with other residents' (Home Office, 2005, p.5), it fails to recognise that, for many refugees, employment is the last step, and a long journey has to take place before reaching that point. Furthermore, in providing more funding for higher levels of ESOL, it suggests that policy fails to recognise that asylum-seekers are unable to work legally, and therefore learning ESOL for employment is not high on the agenda. From my research, it became apparent that there is a need for lower level ESOL that teaches 'survival' English, language that can be used in everyday encounters and would help learners to settle into their neighbourhoods and communities, beginning to understand better their new linguistic landscape. Policy means that these lessons are often provided by third sector organisations who are not under the same strict regulations as that of colleges. Only by being able to interact with those around them and get from A to B successfully can refugees and asylum-seekers begin to feel comfortable in their surroundings and engage with processes of integration, something that is seemingly overlooked by policy and associated funders, despite being an allegedly key aim.

In Glasgow, colleges are beginning to work together to ensure demand for classes is met and that appropriate courses are provided, yet, due to their funding restrictions and long waiting lists, they are more tightly bound to what they can and cannot teach. This new partnership working between the colleges emphasises how joined-up working can produce a sense of solidarity, increase knowledge of the ESOL landscape in the city and ultimately put meeting the needs of learners as a central aim. Third sector providers are best placed to fill gaps in provision and have more flexibility in terms of curriculum and meeting learners needs. Furthermore, many organisations provide other services in addition to ESOL, so that practitioners in these organisations have a broad picture of challenges faced by refugees and asylum-seekers in Glasgow. ESOL providers understand the importance of language for integration, settlement and in building a new life, but there is also a recognition of the need for newcomers to integrate with people from their own ethnic communities since it is here that social bonds and connections are first made. ESOL provision in Glasgow remains uneven, which in turn implicates the social and language geographies of learners,

but third sector organisations often work closely with different ethnic communities, helping to build support networks within and between these communities as well as providing opportunities for wider participation and integration.

Integration is a highly contested term and there is no one way of viewing the integration process. What this chapter has demonstrated is that, while policy is designed to promote integration and to encourage settlement and participation, how policy is implemented, its rules and its shortcomings, mean that policies create a more restrictive approach to participation, making integration and settlement still more difficult for those with less English. Policy implementation can work to increase segregation between refugees and asylum-seekers and local people, particularly in the current political climate. Thus, whilst the UK government want to promote integration, they fail to facilitate it, a result of restrictive funding, hostile policies and a lack of understanding of what is happening on-the-ground. People working directly with refugees and asylum-seekers work relentlessly to advocate and promote a two-way understanding of integration, filling the gaps left by the government. The following empirical chapters will begin to unpack some of these issues and to show how language is inextricably implicated here. By taking different sites of language use, the importance of language will be investigated as I seek to engender a greater understanding of the language geographies – and their implications – of refugees and asylum-seekers in Glasgow.

Chapter 6

“The Jungle is for Animals, We are not Animals, We are Human”: Mapping the Linguistic Journeys of Migrants from ‘Home’ to Glasgow

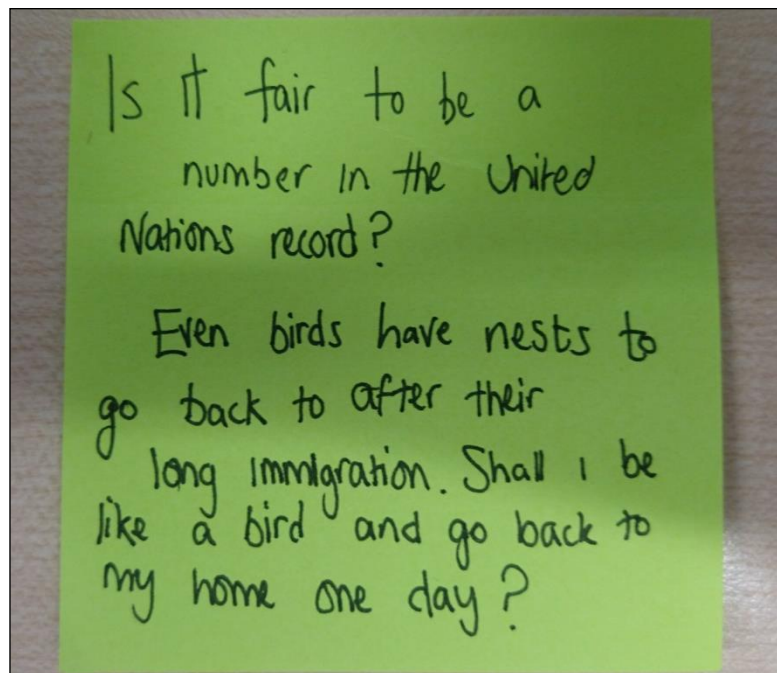


Figure 6.1: A post-it note showing a participant’s reflection on their journey. (Dana, 18, Kurdistan)

The mobility of language is a crucial concept in my research, including languages on the move and moving languages,⁴⁷ as well as how languages are mobilised in various ways by individuals. Turning away from the notion of static and fixed languages, this chapter highlights the fragmented and transitory nature of languages on participants’ journeys from their countries of origin to Glasgow. I investigate the role that language plays in helping or hindering the movement of migrants across Europe, and how language is used upon arrival in Glasgow. The chapter uses empirical data from interviews with young refugees and asylum-seekers, alongside ethnographic work to tell the stories of two young men – Daniel, 22, from Eritrea, and Yaman, 19, from Syria – fleshed out with occasional references to the experiences reported by other research participants.

⁴⁷ Here I use ‘languages on the move’ to mean static, fixed (standardised) languages moving across space – regions, countries and over political borders. ‘Moving languages’ refers to the way that languages develop or change as they move – as new words or phrases are acquired and as they become scattered with non-standard words.

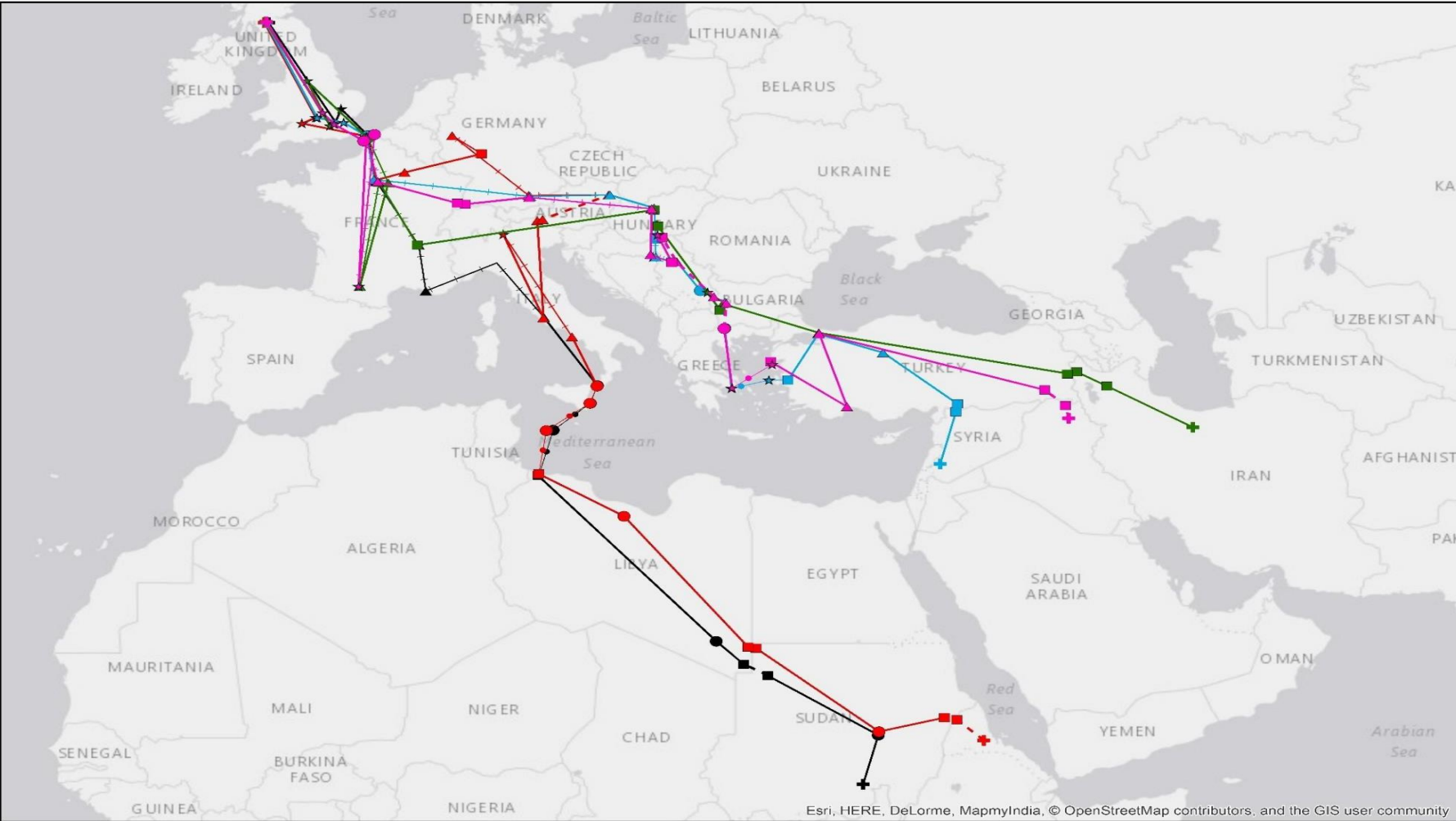
The journeys that are narrated here begin with leaving home and languages of origin, before moving through multilingual environments to new languages, gestural language and situated hybrid languages – where languages mix together discretely, before detailing arrival in the UK and, more specifically, Glasgow. This helps to illustrate how language is used, acquired or lost on these journeys and the way that language is deeply entwined with the social geographies of migrants. The chapter will interrogate diverse ways in which human mobility and language come together, while also taking into account places of rest or refuge and the language geographies at these points. Providing an important conceptual basis for the chapter, the mapping of language across Europe resonates with ideas embedded in late-19th and early-20th century work by geolinguists, and from Saussure in the early-20th century, who explored borders, boundaries and the convergence of different linguistic features (see Chapter 2). Finally, in this chapter I explore the liminality of refugees and asylum-seekers as they make their journeys to Glasgow, particularly paying attention to the unique space that they occupy as being simultaneously highly mobile and highly immobile, sitting somewhere between disciplinary, carceral and formal mobility, on the one hand, and informal, non-linear and uncertain movement, on the other.

Maps 6.1 and 6.2 have been produced to show the journeys that five participants in this research took to get to the UK. The maps show the mode of transport taken between points of rest and borders. Different shapes denote what happened at these points, where they were living or who they were in contact with. Map 2 is zoomed in on Europe, it shows the non-linear paths taken, highlighting the struggles and arduous journeys Karzan, Hamidreza, Yaman, Daniel and Sabri made in search of safety.

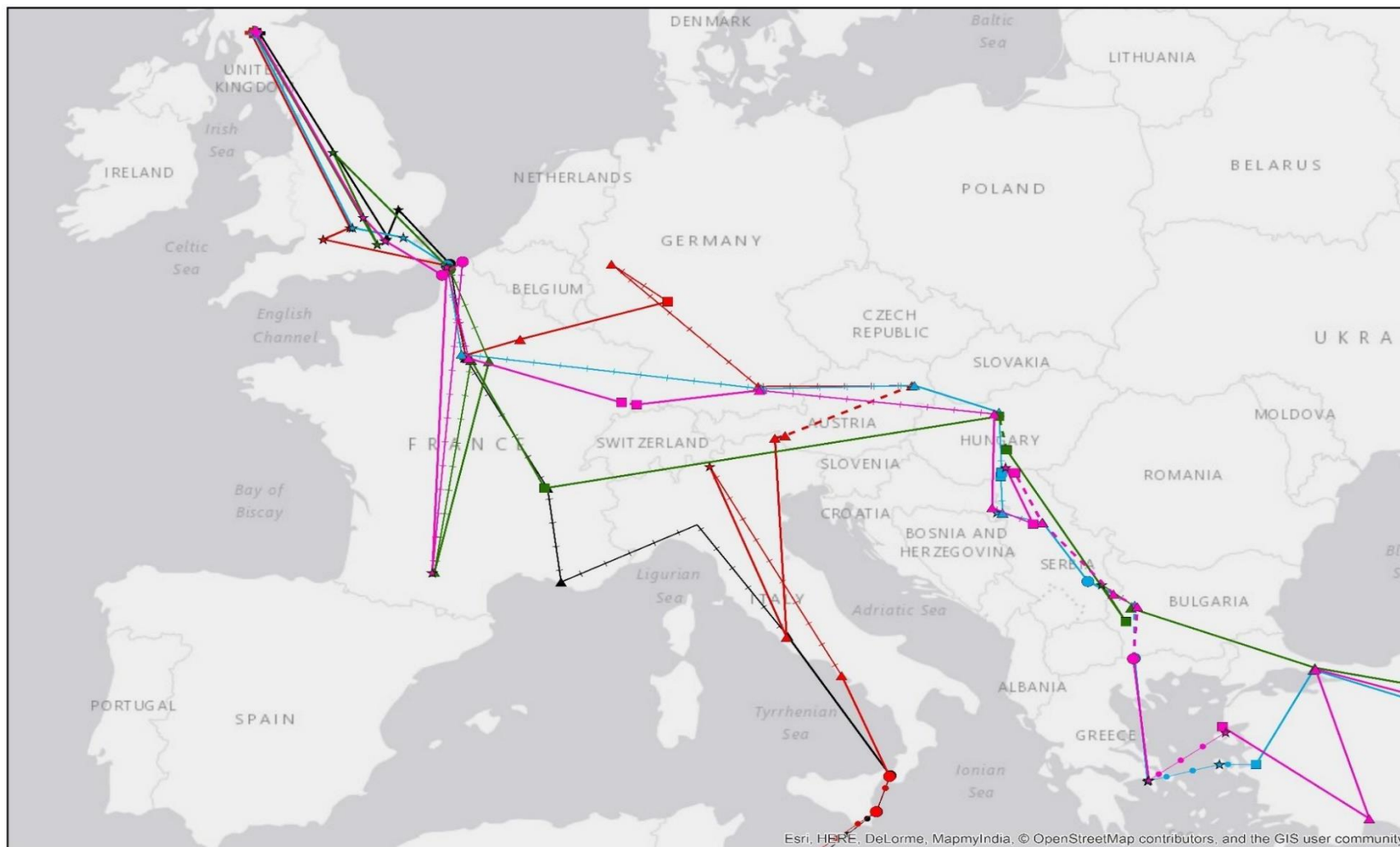
Key to Maps 6.1 and 6.2

- Participant**
- Karzan
 - Hamid
 - Yaman
 - Daniel
 - Sabri
- Stopping Points**
- ★ Police Encounter
 - ▲ Smuggler
 - Independent Living
 - Refugee Camp
 - ✦ Origin / Destination
- Mode of Transport**
- Vehicle
 - - - - Walking
 - Boat
 - Rail

Map 6.1: A map showing the journeys made to Glasgow (Author's own, 2017)



Map 6.2: The European parts of the journeys showing more detail (Author's own, 2017)



Leaving Home

Today he told me how he got here. He said that after he was seen at the church class and the police raided it, he knew he had to go. He called his brother, Mohammadreza, who met him with a bag of clothes and some money and he left. He didn't even tell his parents. His brother had to go home to his mum and dad and explain that Hamidreza was not coming back ... Hamidreza found a network of smugglers to get him across Europe. He then spent two months in 'The Jungle' in Calais ... then paid another person to get him in a lorry to the UK. He got into it and realised it was a refrigerated meat truck ... At this point he said that if he had known how difficult it was going to be, he would rather be in a cell in Iran. He said it was horrible and he tries not to think about it: "The worst days have gone," he said. (*Field Diary*)

Journeys begin long before crossing a border; for participants in my research, making the decision to leave home marked the beginning of their journey as they came to terms with the likelihood of never returning. Although some initial planning usually went into how and when participants would leave for the border, they explained to me that the route was largely left unplanned. Unable to predict what was going to happen on their journeys, for many people this was the beginning of great uncertainty that would remain long past arrival in Glasgow. Figure 6.1 is a journey plan made by a Syrian refugee in Turkey (Rana, 2015), the image showing how he had budgeted for each part of the journey and the mode of transport. Yet it is worth highlighting that unforeseen challenges and set-backs mean that even the most well-planned journeys are at risk of changing. For Yaman, the death of his mother and the bombing of his college in Damascus prompted him to make a decision that he had been considering for some time. Yaman spoke to his father about his decision, explaining that he did not have a future in Syria and that he deserved "the right to dream" (*Yaman*). Daniel's departure was more opportune and uncertain than Yaman's: although planned for some time, the exact execution of his plan was not definite. He had been imprisoned by the Eritrean military for attempting to escape conscription. He was put in a small underground cell with three other soldiers, but Daniel bribed a guard to facilitate their escape and they fled into the desert in Western Eritrea. Navigating their first border crossing was the moment for many participants that language (or lack of it) became prominent.

Yaman grew up in the city of Damascus, Syria, where Levantine Arabic is the dominant language (figure 6.2), the one distinct dialect of Arabic which itself is a broadly spoken language across the Arabian Peninsula and Northern Africa. Arabic is spoken by diasporic communities around the world and between different Arabic speaking communities, despite dialectal differences. Participants in my research explained that some dialects are more similar than others and carry with them different sociolinguistic perceptions (figures 6.6 and 6.7). Furthermore, it is worth noting that for many people, Arabic is a second language after indigenous languages, characterised by a relatively small number of speakers within a small geographical area. Indigenous languages are more prevalent in rural and sparsely populated areas, with Arabic spoken in the main cities and towns. Daniel speaks Tigrinya, a language with far fewer speakers than Arabic, which arguably created additional issues on Daniel and other Eritrean participants' journeys. Tigrinya is

predominantly spoken in central and southern Eritrea and more widely across Ethiopia. Arabic, English and Italian are all taught in Eritrean schools, but Tigrinya is the primary language spoken by most of Eritrea's population. Similarly to Arabic speaking countries, many indigenous languages are spoken throughout the country, with Tigrinya usually spoken in towns and cities.

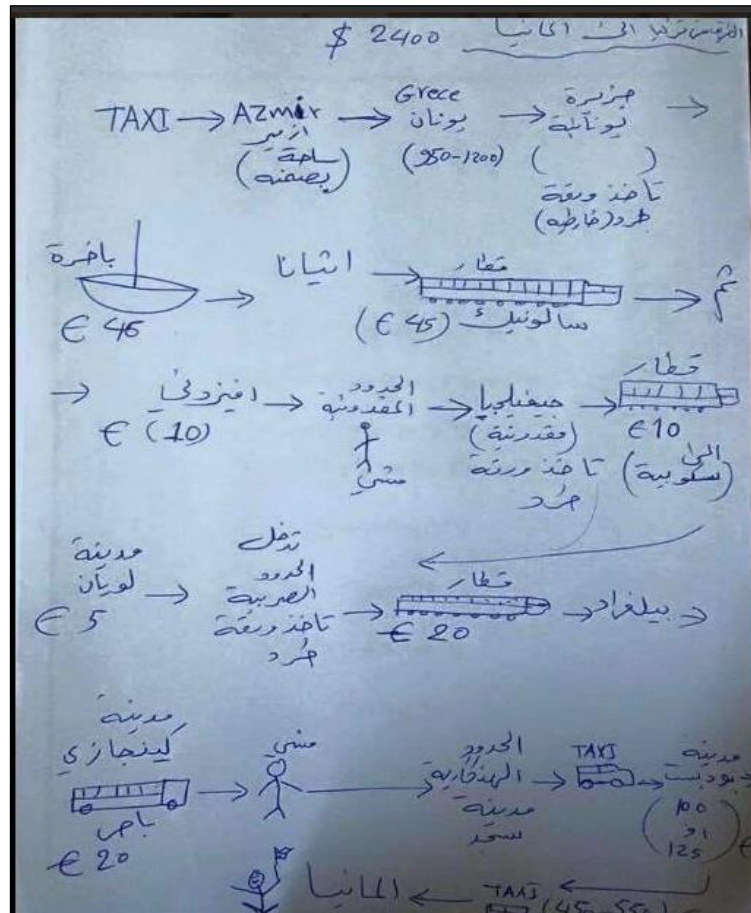
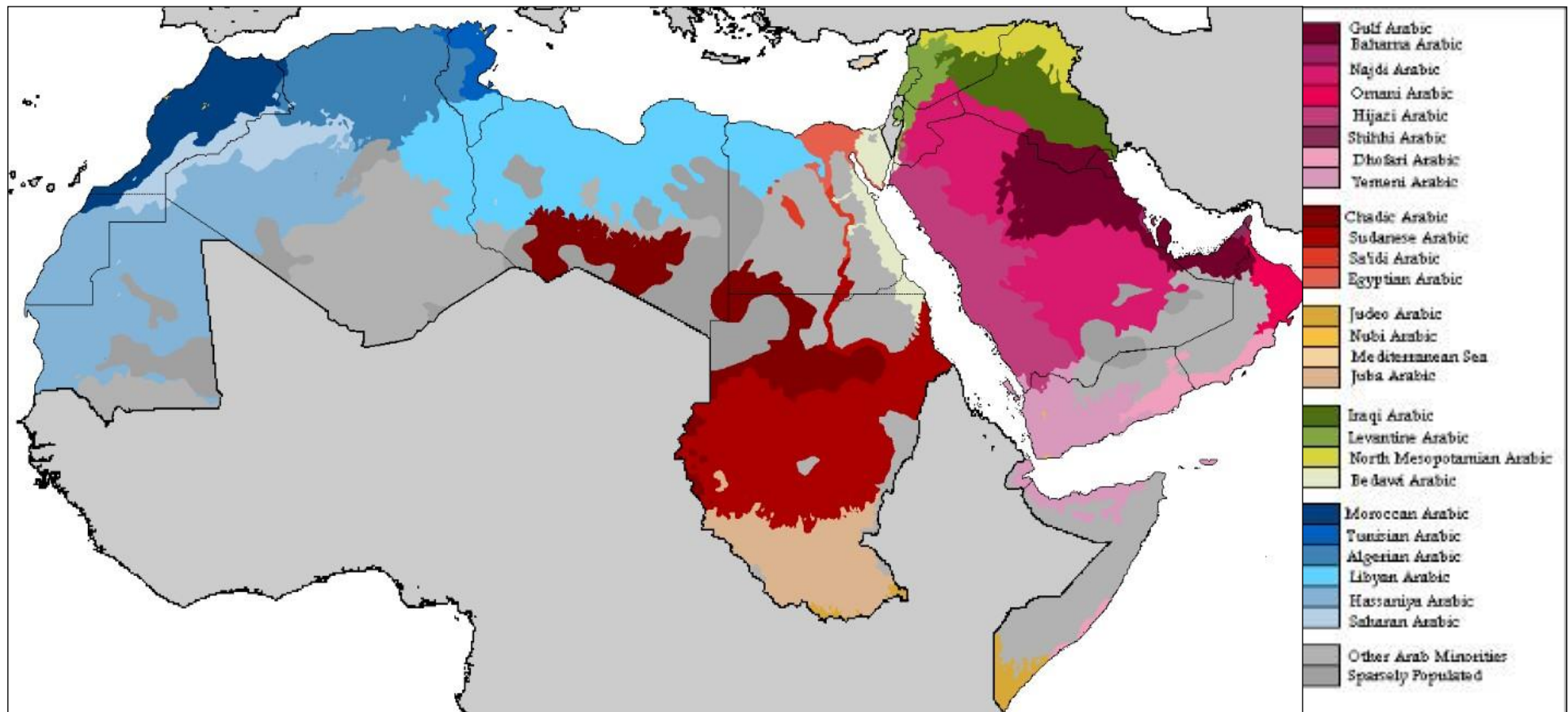


Figure 6.2: A Syrian man's journey plan. (Rana, 2015, www.twitter.com)

Yaman already had a good command of English; he had been learning it at college before the bombing and, prior to that, his love of Western films and computer games meant that he had acquired a high level of more informal, conversational English. Yaman explained that because of his proficiency in English and his desire to access further education, he had hoped, when leaving Syria, that he would settle in the UK:

I asked him about language and he said that everyone wants to come to the UK because most of them speak some English and you are entitled to education. (Field Diary)

On the contrary, Daniel had been unable to complete his schooling due to conscription into the military and had little knowledge of English, but he did speak some Amharic and Arabic, meaning that he could communicate with people as he entered Sudan.



Map 6.3: A map showing the distribution of Arabic dialects across North Africa and the Arabian Peninsula (www.geocurrents.info)

Multilinguality is important for refugees and asylum-seekers making the journey to Europe, since it makes encounters easier and communication with people less stressful. Daniel and Yaman are not strictly mono-linguistic, even before their departures, and those who are mono-linguistic are arguably more vulnerable than people like Yaman and Daniel, who are able to communicate with others on a rudimentary level. For those who do not speak multiple languages, there is a tendency to rely on others to help with explanations, translation and to speak to smugglers on their behalf. These kinds of relationships need to be managed carefully as the person who is being relied upon may begin to feel hindered by helping others and not making progress on their own journey. Some participants also described experiencing ‘survivor guilt’, particularly after making the decision not to help others – perhaps not assisting linguistically – to ensure their own safety and welfare. Others enjoyed the position of responsibility afforded to them in a translator role because it gave them a sense of purpose and promoted positive feelings such as pride and self-confidence. Kibreab and Daniel explain below how they managed parts of their journey without knowledge of a language, while Yaman explains his role as a translator along his journey to the UK:

Sophie: Did people help you to translate new languages?

Kibreab: First African languages, Arabic. In Italy, there were people who translated from Italian to English to Tigrinya for me. Only I speak to Eritrean people. People who know lots of languages, they helped me. They travelled with us.

Daniel: Yes. My friend stay in Sudan so anything they doing, I do with them. So I am not doing anything alone. Just with them.

Sophie: Did other people, because obviously your English is good, did other people with less English rely on you?

Yaman: Yes. Many people relied on me.

Sophie: To do what?

Yaman: For everything really. Wherever they go, they call me [on mobile phones].

Sophie: So even if they were not with you?

Yaman: Yeah. Mostly they call me. If they were with me of course they would ask me.

Sophie: And what kind of things did you have to do?

Yaman: Translate things ... “how much is this?” “Where can I find this?” and similar things. Very easy for me.

Encountering a new language was a pivotal moment for both Daniel and Yaman. For them, it marked the moment that they had “left their language behind” (*Daniel*), progressing not only on their geographical route but also signalling that their linguistic journey had begun. Daniel recounted in his interview that getting through Sudan to the coast of Libya was not as complex as he had initially thought due to the large number of Eritreans and Ethiopians making the same journey. Arriving by boat in Italy was the first time that he encountered a language which neither he nor his friends spoke. Lacking the ability to communicate increases the vulnerability of refugees and asylum-seekers, making them feel more ‘alien’ and isolated, but also putting them at a higher risk of exploitation and abuse. Not being able to communicate added to confusion and chaos at the border, leaving Daniel and his friends with little knowledge of what would happen to them now that they had reached Europe.

Yaman crossed from Syria into Turkey and travelled to Istanbul by lorry. Once in Istanbul, he met some friends from Damascus. They were living and working in the city, and Yaman stayed with them while he planned a route through Europe, this moment of rest giving him a chance to recuperate and to reflect on his journey from Syria. Yaman had a relatively sound understanding of Turkish and could say some basic phrases, and after eight weeks in Istanbul he acquired far more of the language than he initially thought would be possible. He explained in his interview that, like his English, he knew a lot of ‘street’ Turkish, and could chat to people informally with ease, but that more formal grammatical structures were never acquired as he did not attend language education in Turkey. In addition, linguistic similarities meant that Yaman was able to acquire and understand Turkish due to its commonalities with primarily Arabic, but also because of his knowledge of aspects of other languages:

Sophie: So, on your journey, when did you first encounter a language that you didn’t understand?
Yaman: Well, I found the Turkish language very easy because a lot of it is similar to English, Arabic, Persian, and French. A lot of words in it. So it wasn’t hard for me, but I was so lazy, so I didn’t study a lot of Turkish, so I managed to remember the street words mostly.

Linguists and geographers have long mapped language families and those with similar vocabulary to show the origins of languages, and to explain why people can understand each other despite not speaking the same language (Sundberg, 2015). Linguists commonly use trees to represent links between language families (figure 6.3), while geographers use maps to show the spatial distribution of the language families (figure 6.4). Figure 6.3 shows tree branches, with the names of Indo-European language families and languages in those families represented by groups of leaves. Figure 6.4 is a geolinguistic map that shows the spatial distribution of languages on the Iranian branch of the language tree. The map shows that language boundaries do not follow political borders, which ties in with aspects of linguistic science discussed by Trudgill (1975) and, prior to that, Saussure (1916), who explored transition zones and, importantly here, asserted that a language *boundary* does not necessarily constitute a *barrier*. It is also worth noting here that the map shows some areas where Luri and Kurdish or Kurdish and non-Iranian languages mix together, mirroring older geolinguistic work on zones of transition and recognising that languages do not just stop and start but always fade in and out.

Yaman worked in Turkey for two years, during which time he made friends with Turkish people, began to settle in Istanbul and saved some money, but after two years he still decided to take the risk and make the journey by sea to Greece. With fluent Arabic and a good command of English and Turkish, Yaman felt that he would be able to make the journey to the UK with minimal communication difficulties. Having English as a language on his route across Europe was beneficial as he was able to speak to officials, aid workers and police along the way, helping him to understand matters by which he would likely be affected. Like Yaman, many young refugees in my

research felt that having some level of multilinguality when leaving their homes was of benefit while on their journeys. Whether this was a European language or a language that fellow migrants would understand was largely irrelevant, as long as they were able to communicate with others. For many migrants making these journeys, their own languages continue to be of importance as they move across Europe. It helps to develop social and support networks and establishes friendships. Languages of origin act as a marker of identity, and as a way of remembering and connecting with homes that have been left behind.

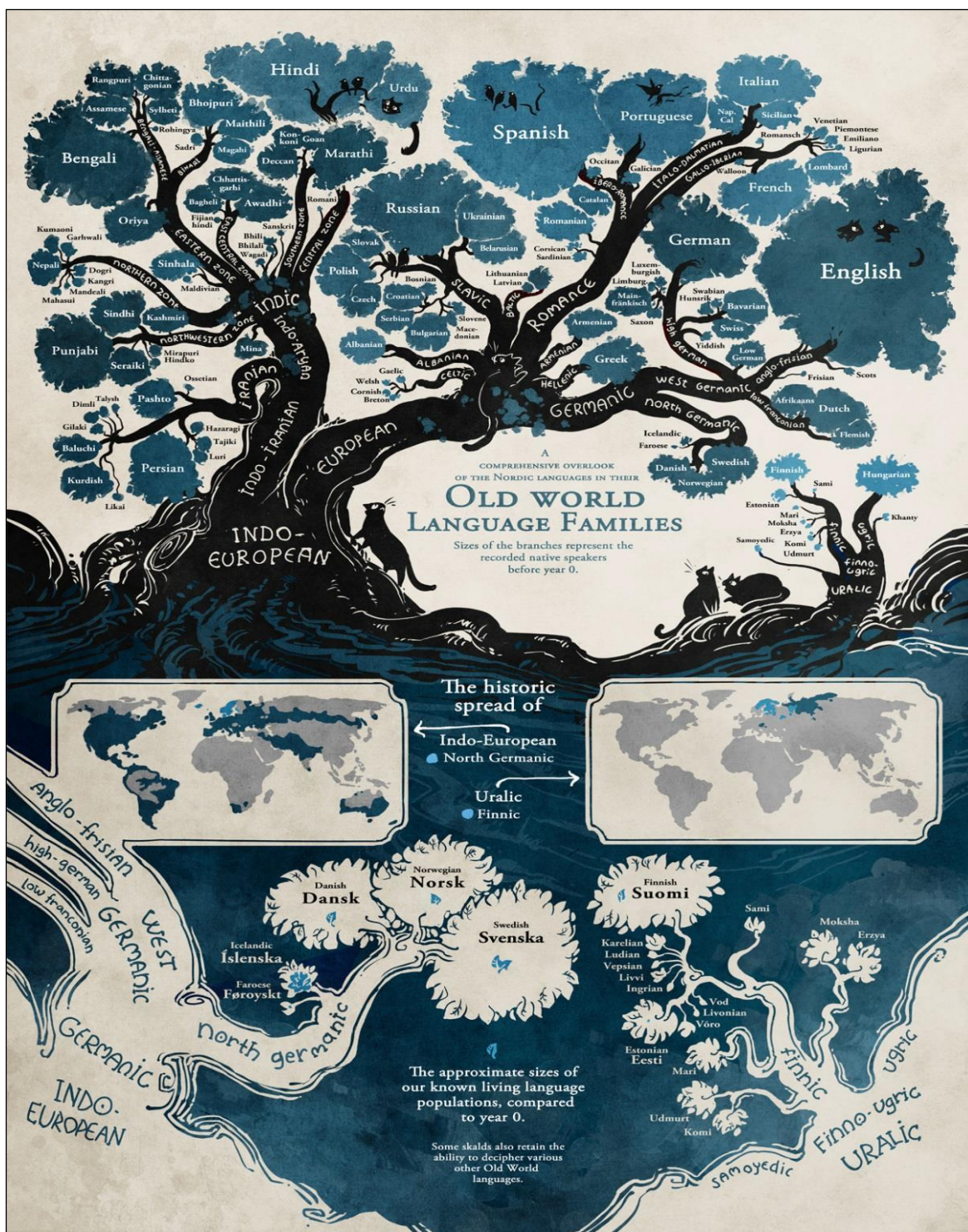
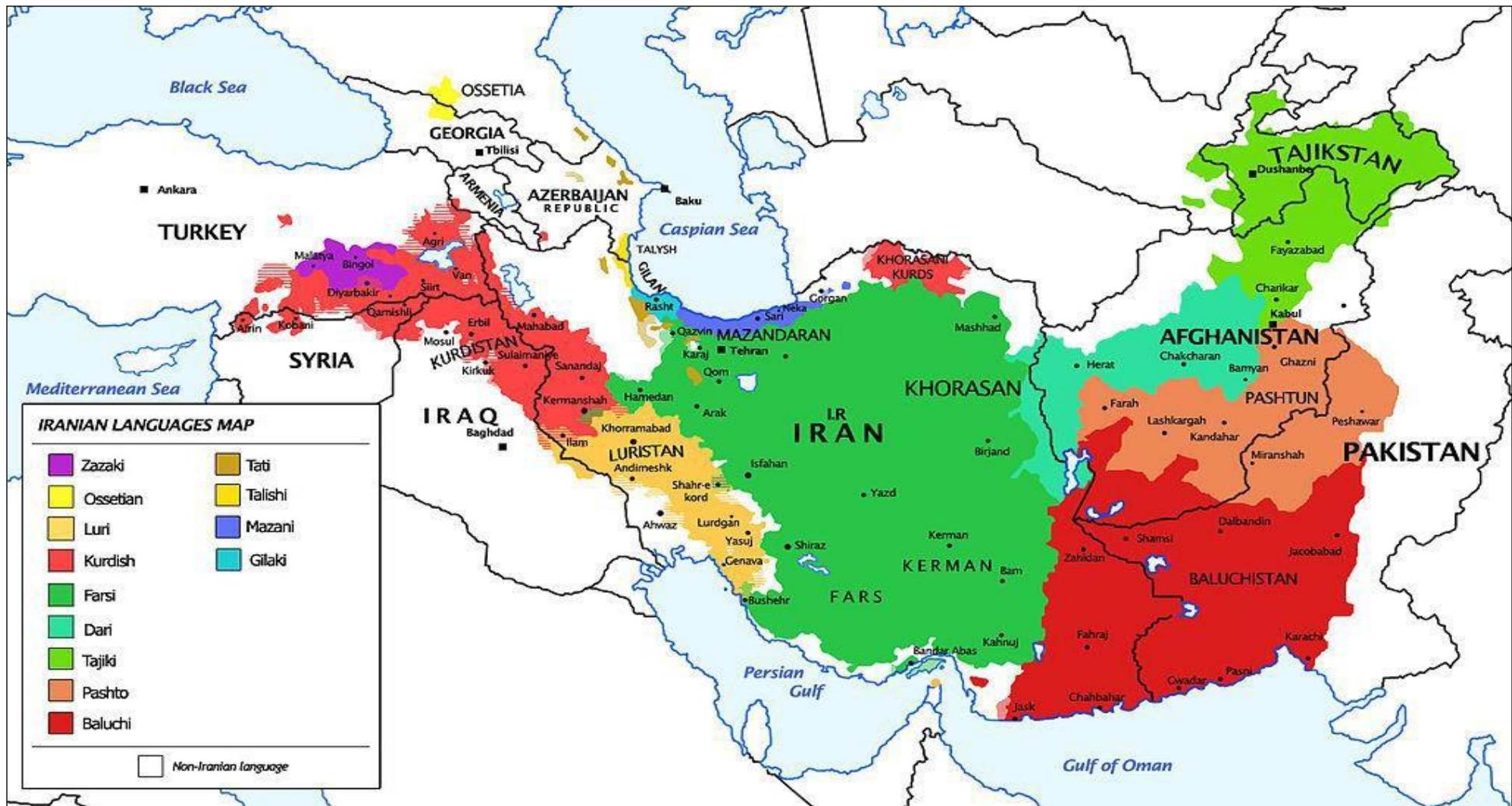


Figure 6.3: A world language family tree. (Sundberg, 2015)



Map 6.4: A map showing the distribution of languages in the Iranian language family. (www.worldmapper.org/Hennig, 2017)

Language on the Move and Moving Languages

As Yaman and Daniel made their way from external EU borders to Calais, in France, their linguistic landscapes changed and developed. From the Cyrillic scripts used in Greece and Eastern Europe, to the range of Roman and Germanic languages spoken in Western and Northern Europe, both Yaman and Daniel saw new linguistic landscapes and heard linguistic changes as they travelled towards the UK. As well as linguistic landscapes transforming as they made their journeys, Yaman noted in his interview that Arabic itself was now moving through Europe as a result of large numbers of migrants coming to Europe from the Arabic speaking countries. The notion of languages moving with large collectives of people is one facet of older language geographies that still stands true today as people become increasingly mobile – both chosen and forced. The boats that Daniel and Yaman took to reach Europe are vessels that not only transport people across boundaries, but also ones which also transport languages. Written Arabic could be seen on signs and documents from both charities and governments along the route, and spoken Arabic was heard on trains and buses, or from others walking alongside Yaman. Below, Berhane discusses the difference between different Arabic dialects, and how dialectal change had the potential to complicate one's ability to communicate and to increase misunderstanding:

Sophie: Were there any words or phrases that you, that were essential to understand or to know how to say when you were on your journey?

Berhane: Yeah, in Arabic there is a lot of words you need to know ... in Libya, there is some words that cannot be, like the normal Arabic, they are different, they are only used in Libya. For example ... 'jalasa' means sit down, or 'khudh hadhayik', take your shoes off, things like that. They can have different meaning in other Arabic, so you need to know the difference.

Evolving and changing languages can be linked to Saussure's discussion about linguistic borders and boundaries. Saussure (1916) suggested that linguistic boundaries can occur where there are natural landforms creating borders such as a mountain range or an ocean. He discussed 'convergence zones' and highlighted the messiness of these areas where dialects meet and mingle, adding that there is never a sharp boundary where language changes, but rather areas where different dialects come together or are used alongside each other. In the cases of Daniel and Yaman, the ocean was not just a physical boundary to reaching Europe but also a linguistic boundary, with Arabic and Tigrinya dominant on one side, and European languages dominant on the other. To return to a simple binary here may seem strange, but for all of the messy hybridities, it cannot be denied that a basic spatial binary still prevails and was acutely felt by research participants. Yaman was able to meet people, seek help and advice, and explain his story along the journey, and he took great pride in being able to translate for those in need. In his interview, Yaman explained that it made him feel like he was important and that he was deserving of getting to the UK. He talked in his interview about feeling that he had a right to arrive in the UK because he had a high level of English, putting him in front of others in the immigration queue. He also spoke of feelings of frustration with having such a responsibility to others and also of guilt when he

was unable to help someone. Yaman said it was difficult forming friendships on his journey as he was unsure if people wanted to travel with him because of his linguistic ability or because they genuinely wanted to be his friend. This level of distrust meant that at times Yaman became insular and worried about his own success. Not only did Yaman distrust other migrants, he also did not trust authorities or the asylum system across Europe, subsequently having an adverse effect on his mental health. Daniel endeavoured to make friends with other Eritreans as it was his only link to home, and he found it comforting to be with others who shared similar experiences. Links to home helps to create a sense of belonging on the move and can reduce feelings of isolation. These different approaches to travelling are not uncommon; for some people solidarity in their liminal position is sought, while others prefer to keep their heads down and maintain autonomy. Interview data revealed that some young men chose to travel independently in an attempt to distance themselves from the label 'refugee' and being categorised as part of the 'crisis'.

Crossing borders was commonly navigated in English, although many police spoke their first languages when disciplining or using force against migrants. Some participants were 'screened' when crossing borders and in these instances they were given access to an interpreter and interviewed. The primary purpose of such interviews is to establish if the person is who they claim to be, part of which is linked to language, and more specifically, dialect (Maniar, 2016). It is claimed by Frontex⁴⁸ that their interpreters know many dialects and can recognise regional accents, in turn helping to identify those who are falsely claiming to be from particular countries or regions. Considering the small number of interpreters available and the large number of languages spoken by migrants, serious questions have arisen about the role of interpreters at the border (Maniar, 2016). The policing of language by interpreters suggests that they are compliant in the removal of migrants, as opposed to their supposed job of facilitating linguistic and cultural exchange. Although some participants did not understand much of what they saw or heard at borders, the use of gestures helped them to pick up on the meaning of certain words:

He said that in France and Italy some of the police refused to speak English even though they could speak and understand it; they pretended not to be able to. Muhamdean said that whenever he spoke to someone from the authorities he would speak English and they would reply in their own language. Through gestures, they managed to understand each other. He thought it might be a way of exercising power and trying to make asylum-seekers look stupid. (*Field Diary*).

In the field diary extract above Muhamdean had been telling me about his journey to Glasgow. Although he acknowledges that authorities at borders made an effort to use universal gestures, he also shows awareness of the power structures that are at play. In suggesting that they may want to

⁴⁸ Frontex is the European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union (www.frontex.europa.eu).

exercise their power and belittle those crossing the borders, Muhamdean reveals his own insecurities about his position as an asylum-seeker and the perceptions that are made about this particular group of people.

Border crossings were seen as moments and spaces where futures were decided: “it’s every man for themselves,” explained Yaman: “Borders are the places where friends get separated, people want help and the fight for life has never seemed so real” (*Yaman*). Being able to communicate with police and border guards aided Yaman on his route to Calais. For Daniel, there were times when he did not understand what was being said or instructions that were being given, culminating in him being put on a bus to Rome from the Italian-Austrian border. These setbacks were not uncommon and many of my participants had either been returned to capital cities from borders themselves or knew people who had faced such challenges. Daniel was separated from his friends and began to feel like he had failed, a sense that he was starting again. Mental health issues are common among refugees and asylum-seekers on their journeys, and set-backs like Daniel’s can cause their mental health to deteriorate, making the journeys even more precarious. In one study of 200 refugees and asylum-seekers, 89% of participants reported that they had experienced traumatic events on their journeys (Crepet et al, 2017). The main traumas reported were being at risk of death, having witnessed violence or death, and getting detained. Upon arrival in a new country, worries about home, a lack of activities, loneliness and fear of being sent home were the primary difficulties faced by participants in the study, often leading to anxiety and depression (Crepet et al, 2017). Interestingly, another study of 992 refugees and asylum-seekers found that 65% of those who had experienced violence on their journeys reported that the violence had been perpetrated by state authorities (Arsenjevic et al, 2017). Almost one in three people experience some kind of violence or trauma on their journeys, and therefore the mental health of people making these journeys needs to be understood and cared for in order to ensure the wellbeing and future settlement of refugees and asylum-seekers.

Daniel’s speaking geographies⁴⁹ were relatively limited, partly due to a lack of language but also because of feelings of vulnerability. Comparatively, Yaman’s speaking geographies were broad and included a range of speech acts. Their speaking geographies, however, do not map straightforwardly on to their own personal geographies. Daniel’s network spanned from Eritrea through Sudan and Libya, the length of Italy and north through Austria, Germany and France. He had friends and family at different points on his journey; some died at sea and were laid to rest in Italy; others had not made it past the North African coast, while others still were imprisoned in Italy and France. Despite this extremely broad network, Daniel only spoke to a small handful of

⁴⁹ This term is used to describe the places an individual speaks and to whom they are speaking.

people in his immediate geographical location; the group with whom he travelled, policemen or border guards, and volunteers handing out blankets and hot drinks. His communication in English consisted only of a few words or phrases and was only used when it was absolutely necessary, often relying on others with more English to speak on his behalf. Being multilingual meant that Yaman's speaking geographies were broader and more varied. Easily switching between English and Arabic meant that many people relied on him to translate for them, resulting in a broad network of acquaintances from Calais to Turkey, with people at different stages of their journey seeking help or advice. His phone number was passed from person to person, and his network steadily expanded both physically and virtually. Understanding instructions and the ability to read British news meant that he knew what was going on in relation to asylum-seekers across Europe and was able to re-plan his route as borders opened and closed.

As the languages and people central to my thesis moved across Europe, there were both fleeting and more permanent moments where people came together, sharing their words and cultures. A highly mobile and transient population means that their stories, understandings and experiences were constantly evolving and shifting. For some their journey ended at the ocean, and for others it was at various borders or checkpoints across the European continent, but for thousands of other asylum-seekers their journey to the UK was put in jeopardy as they reached Calais and The English Channel, the final hurdle. Calais marks a space where many languages, cultures and ways of living come together, unified by the desire of the people concerned to reach the UK.

Solidarities and Struggles of The Refugee Camp

The Jungle is for animals and we are not animals. We are humans. (*Kibreab, 20, Eritrea*)

Camps, in their impoverished and deliberate indignity, could be seen as part of a matrix of politics and practices designed to force migrants back along their pathways of expulsion. A cheek-by-jowl 'campzanship' (Sigona, 2014) emerges in the overcrowded camps, fostering political solidarity and togetherness, but also creating tension. Camps are increasingly considered as a spatial bio-political technology (Ek, 2006; Minca, 2015), where methods of management include quantifying, counting and categorizing migrants (Gill et al, 2011) within 'non-citizen spaces'. Ek (2006) draws on Agamben to explore 'The Camp' as a space of exception, and as a site of de-subjectification of human beings, meaning the stripping away of much that normally renders them individualised human subjects. The camps sit within sovereign state political boundaries, but those within the camp are not afforded the same rights as others within such borders, and therefore citizens of the camp come to occupy a liminal position within political and social realms (Gerrard, 2016). Multiple nationalities and ethnicities are forced into one space, creating conflicts over scarce

resources, religion and cultural differences. Calais was home for many people, whether this was for a matter of days, months or years; communities were formed, informal networks were produced and friendships built in spite of the poor living conditions. The location of the Calais camp, between a motorway and an airport and in close proximity to a port and train line, carried with it a certain level of irony. Non-stop movement and mobility surrounded the camp, serving a stark reminder of both the geographical and political immobility of the camp's residents.

Although the refugee camp in Calais ('The Jungle'⁵⁰) was shut down in late 2016, during the time of fieldwork it was still a camp increasing in size, and all of my participants experienced life in 'The Jungle'. The disbanding of the camp has done little to stop people arriving in the French town, as new, smaller and more informal camps continue to develop, although now they are more hidden, without aid or sanitation and arguably even more inhumane (*The Guardian*, 2017; *The Financial Times*, 2017). The camp held a unique language geography in itself, a coming together of languages from across the globe, a place where languages merged and mixed and where linguistic hybridities took shape as people arrived and departed. Sentences interspersed with more than one language, people speaking to each other with different levels of fluency, and different languages altogether being spoken within an encounter – sharing understanding through gestures instead – all took place within the camp. Two interviewees outline below the linguistic diversity found in Calais, reflecting the diversity of people inhabiting the space:

Sophie: When you were in Calais, what languages did you hear?

Hagos: Oh, in Calais, there are many people in Calais. From Eritrea, from Ethiopia, from Sudan, from Syria, from Kurdish, from Pakistan...

Sophie: What languages did you hear in Calais?

Daniel: French. I hear English, French, Arabic ... Farsi, Afghanistan language, Kurdish.

Kibreab: Kurdish, yeah, yeah.

Daniel: I hearing a lot of kinds of languages. Kurdish people in Calais are very difficult, they fight a lot. I fight with Kurdish.

Calais represented the apogee of more than two years of border crossings, danger and the ever present violence of transit, yet it was only supposed to be a momentary pause on an onward journey of informal mobility leading towards the UK. Nevertheless, for some the camp became a seemingly permanent halt to mobility, with some people having lived informally around the port town and Dunkirk for several years. Stories of kidnap, torture and even murder, not to mention the huge financial and bodily costs of irregular migration, sit alongside the emotional and physical weight of

⁵⁰The migrant camp in Calais was originally referred to as 'The Jungle' by the people living there in an ironic reference to the squalid conditions. Several years ago it was picked up by international media outlets running daily scare stories about people crossing borders (*The Guardian*, 2016). The term itself creates imagery of primitive, uncontrollable creatures, the kind that 'respectable' people do not want in their territories.

abandonment (Davies and Isakjee, 2015). In Agamben's work *Homo Sacer* (1998), abandonment is considered as the original political relation or the relation of exception (Ek, 2006). Agamben draws on Nancy (1993) who states that 'He who has been banned is not, in fact, simply set outside the law and made indifferent to it but rather *abandoned* by it, that is, exposed and threatened on the threshold in which life and law, outside and inside, become indistinguishable.' (Ek, 2006, p. 366; emphasis in original). Thus, through de-subjectification, and through abandonment, citizens of the camp are reduced to 'bare life' – or even to a state of animality. This allows interesting lines to be drawn between the political status of citizens of the Calais camp, their perceived animality and the imagery that emerges from the very name 'The Jungle'.

For several participants, Calais was only reached on their second or even third arduous journey into Schengen space, having had previous migrations cut short by the disciplined mobility of deportation. 'The Jungle' signalled an important moment on both Daniel and Yaman's journeys. It was the moment that reaching the UK became a real possibility, but it also provided a moment of rest in which they were able to reflect on their journeys so far, the ups and downs, those they met and those they left behind. Calais was a coming together of people from many different countries and from all walks of life. It was also a space where differences were erased, people were reduced to a numeric figure quoted in newspapers (figures 6.4 and 6.5) and were assigned the label 'illegal immigrant'. These generalisations made from those outside of the camp failed to acknowledge the individualities and differences that existed within the camp, subsequently making invisible the hidden hierarchies in the camp that existed and influenced daily life in Calais.



Figure 6.4: *Daily Mail* headline 09/08/15. (www.eu-rope.eu)



Figure 6.5: *Daily Mail* front page 19/09/15. (www.french-news-online.com)

Daniel arrived in Calais with three Eritreans in October 2015, and they settled in a make-shift shelter alongside other Eritreans. Here they spoke to existing residents about life in the camp. Daniel was told by a group of men to stay away from Sudanese and Kurdish people, to hide any money he had, and to avoid sharing his plans on how to reach the UK. Yaman arrived in Calais a month before Daniel, after being in Paris for a week before making the journey north by train. Like Daniel camping down with fellow Eritreans, Yaman settled in the part of the camp where there were a lot of Syrian people. Participants explained that communities in the camp were built around nationality, and even regions within certain countries, where language and culture were a commonality with others. Not only did this commonality provide familiarity and links to home, it

also helped people to survive day-to-day in the camp, offering friendship and support miles from home.

Life in Calais was a daily struggle shrouded by the banal everyday routines of brushing teeth, drinking coffee, waiting, wandering and sleeping. A sense of boredom and hopelessness filled the camp, embodied by the camp residents who spent a lot of their time wandering aimlessly or sitting around a make-shift fire to keep warm (Piacentini, 2016). People faced a daily struggle to be human amidst the inhumane environment – striving to be more than just ‘bare life’. The said, participants also recalled moments of humanity, interactions at the shop, talking to neighbours, passing time in one of the Afghan-run cafes or helping to build a shelter. These moments are detailed with warmth by participants as they remember those instances that made them feel human again:

Karzan spoke to me at length about life in Calais. He told me about his favourite café, it was run by Afghan people, but they didn't mind him hanging out there as they knew he wasn't part of the Kurdish gangs. He described in such detail the smell of the freshly cooked flatbread and the sweet tea. He spoke fondly of the moments he spent with Pamo and Dana playing cards, listening to the French radio, and talking excitedly about their future in Britain. He knew it wasn't going to be easy but he didn't think it would be this hard. He said that in the café he could forget where he was, ignoring the squalor and pain that existed on the other side of the blue tarpaulin door.⁵¹
(*Field Diary*)

Moments of interaction as discussed by research participants reveal a lot about relationships between nationalities in the camp, also resulting in a perceived hierarchy of languages. Participants explained that many Pakistani and Kurdish people had lived in or around the camp for a long time and operated in gangs, and it was often these people who would be paid to get people to the UK. For people who do not have money to pay smugglers, it is up to them to try to get into a lorry themselves or with the help of a friend; and it is often these people who end up getting caught or even killed. According to participants, Syrian and Iranian asylum-seekers were often the wealthiest and most educated, and it was these communities that made most use of smugglers. Many of these people in ‘The Jungle’ had some proficiency in both English and Arabic, as was true of Yaman, which enabled them to connect with a large number of people; subsequently ensuring they were able to seek help from a range of communities. For Eritreans in the camp, life was much harder, not least because of their greater linguistic limitations; participants spoke of being intimidated by Sudanese communities and several spoke of abuse from smuggling gangs when they were found trying to get into a lorry parked in ‘their’ area. Furthermore, not only was there a divide between

⁵¹ Even within the migrant camp there are micro-geographies of multilingual spaces. The café described above by Karzan is one example. The owners spoke Pashto, while patrons spoke Pashto, Dari, Kurdish and so on. Newspapers had headlines in English and in French, and in the background a French radio DJ introduced songs.

African communities and Middle Eastern communities, but also a divide between Christian and Muslim communities, meaning that these distinctions at times became blurred and could lead to violence within the camp.

These intricate and sometimes volatile relationships undeniably meshed with hierarchies of language in Calais as described by research participants. Some participants described hearing Kurdish and experiencing feelings of fear or apprehension due to the association of the language with violence. They explained being aware that not all Kurdish people were part of this violence and that one of the challenges faced in the UK was trusting Kurdish migrants, especially if they were housed with them.

Sophie: Did different languages have different associations?

Yaman: Yeah. When I heard Kurdish or Afghani I stay away from them because I know them, they're not good. In Calais the Kurdish people are ... trespassing people ... Traffickers. The Kurdish people, they are known for this. They controlling the camp, and they kill people, they have weapons, they have Mafias. That's the Kurdish people in Calais. You can ask more about them if you want. And the Afghanis, I don't know what. They just smoke weed and take control of the restaurants.

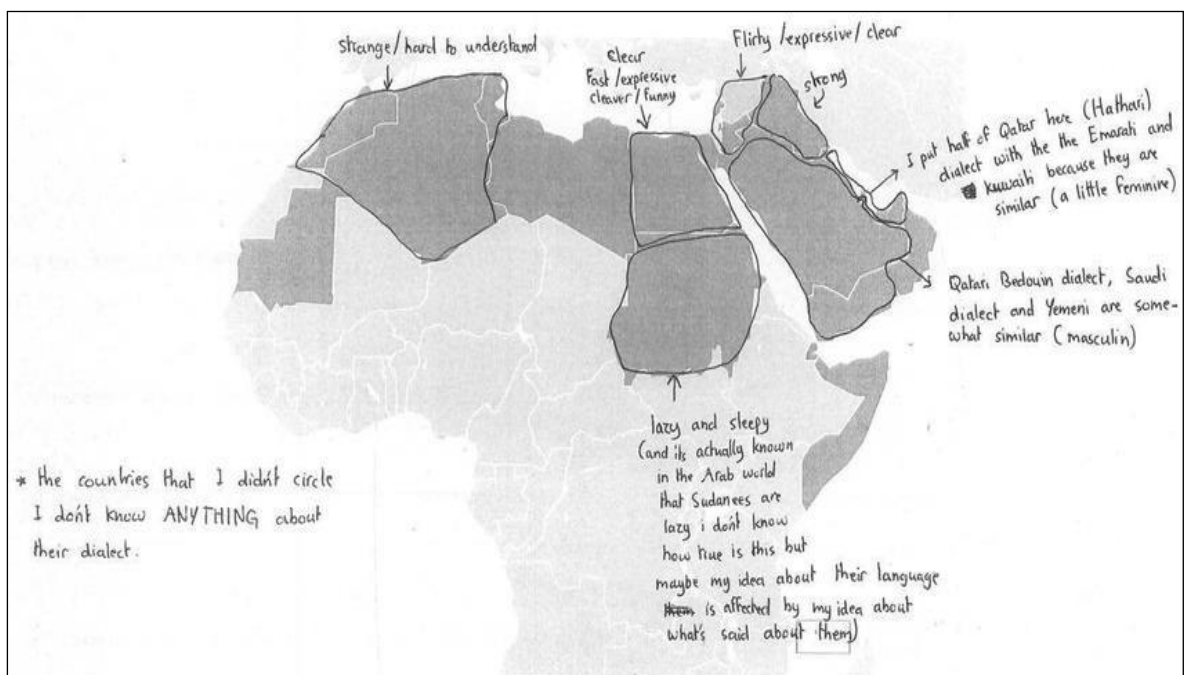


Figure 6.6: A labelled map of regions of linguistic differences by a 23-year-old Qatari student (Theodoropoulou and Tyler, 2014)

Different Arabic dialects hold different connotations, and there was a general consensus among participants that North African Arabic dialects were seen in Calais as more aggressive, partly a result of how they sounded, but also a result of the connotations associated with North African

Arabic speakers. Theodoropoulou and Tyler (2014) explore the perceptual dialectology of the Arab world, particularly examining young Qatari people's perceptions of different Arabic speaking countries (figures 6.6 and 6.7). Their paper highlights how social perceptions influence the participants' views of different Arabic dialects.

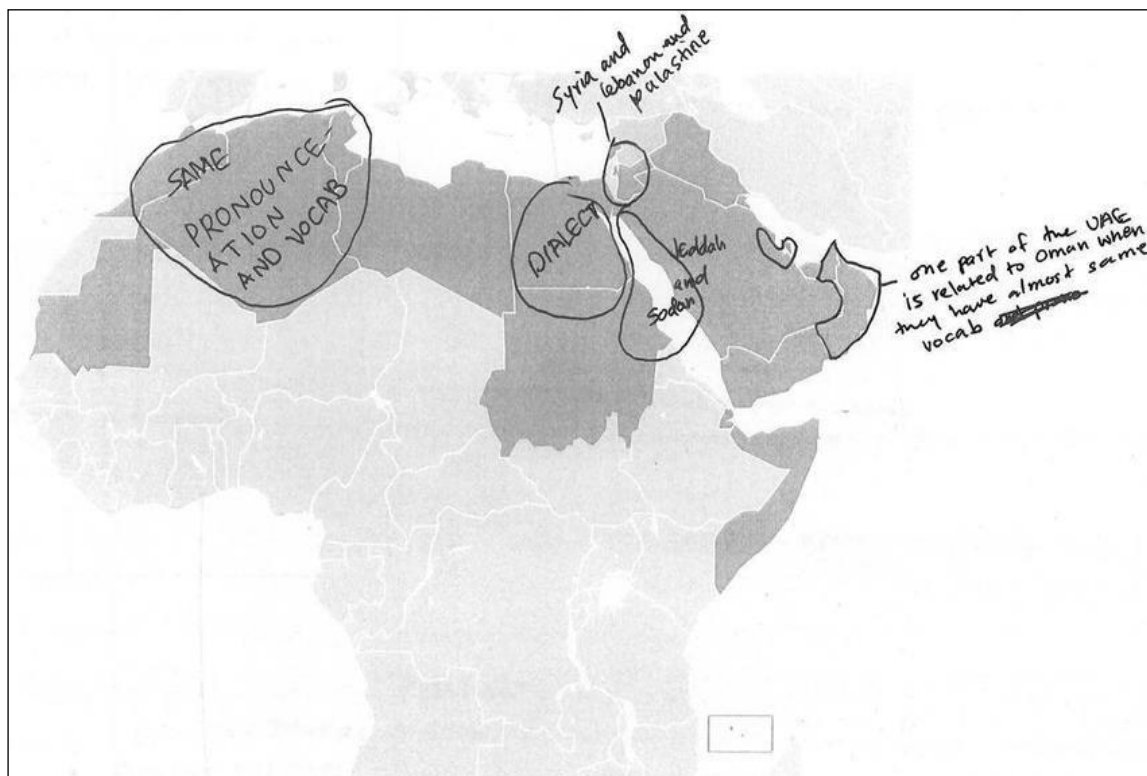


Figure 6.7: A labelled map of regions of linguistic difference by a 19-year-old Qatari student (Theodoropoulou and Tyler, 2014)

The paper also contributes to the debate over what constitutes a community: speech communities (Patrick, 2008), meaning people who share the same language, dialects and vocabulary, or 'communities of practice' (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1992), meaning those who are culturally similar, their conclusion being that these are both valid communities that do not exist in isolation from each other but ones that merge in certain spaces and differ in others. Key here is to consider how these two 'types' of communities were established in Calais. While the camp was generally seen in terms of speech – or linguistic – communities, there were then subgroups relating to cultural practice and geographical origins, and therefore both types of communities were formed but on differing scales. Persian, or Farsi, was a fairly neutral language, although Farsi speakers themselves were often fearful because of the religious connotations of being an Iranian asylum-

seeker, and thus how other Muslims would treat them as a result of their conversion to Christianity:⁵²

Sophie: And what about hearing Tigrinya and other...

Yaman: Eritrean yeah. There was a lot of Eritreans there. They are ok, mixed. Sudanese are nice, very nice ... we support each other. I saw some Iranians. I don't like them at all, because, you know, their government with my government. Politically I don't like them. But the more I know them, the more I get to like them more, because most of the Iranians that are in the UK, they don't like their government either. And so I'm starting to love them.

Tigrinya speakers from Eritrea are seen to be 'at the bottom of the pile', a result of having little money and high amounts of trauma within the migrant population. Eritreans themselves in my study expressed feelings of fear during their time in Calais, explaining that, because they did not have money and struggled to understand other speech communities, they felt advantage was often taken of them. Conversely, Kurdish people to whom I spoke during my research declared that, because of the gangs in Calais, they often felt like no one trusted them or wanted to be near them, even to the point of avoiding eye contact as they walked through the camp:

Sophie: Can you tell me a bit more about the Kurdish people please?

Yaman: They don't have respect, they don't care about you, they will harm you. They are very annoying. They work in bad places. I lived with a Kurdish here [in Glasgow] for a while, yeah; he wasn't so good. I couldn't handle him. He used to drink a lot, play music loud, and that.

Sophie: How do they end up being the traffickers? How did that...

Yaman: Because they have been refugees for a long, long, time. Before us. But, they went different ways, but they have been in Calais for a long time. Most of the traffickers, they have French or UK citizenship, so it's easier for them to move around and do their jobs.

These feelings continued upon arrival in Glasgow, with Kurdish participants recounting how they felt excluded from migrant communities and activities, highlighting how relationships made or strained on the journey can have a lasting impact once in a host country.

In the camp English was effectively an 'official' language spoken by police, border agencies, charity workers and other people who could offer support, advice or aid. Although some of the camp's inhabitants spoke some French, police at the camp often used English as their default language under the assumption that people would be more likely to understand what they were saying. English was seemingly the language of authority, but in situations where French was spoken, participants perceived interesting ways in which communication took place when neither party could understand the language of the other. One participant reflects in an interview that, through gestures, new words could be acquired:

⁵² A large majority of Iranian asylum-seekers (and all of my Iranian participants) have fled Iran after converting to Christianity, something that is not allowed in Iran and to do so risks imprisonment, beatings or lashings, and even a death sentence.

Sophie: How did you understand?

Hagos: Um, for example when I try to escape [mimics escaping through a fence] ‘get out’ means ‘Allez!’ Allez! Means get out! Get out! Go! Go!

Sophie: So they would say Allez! Allez!...

Hagos: ALLEZ! ALLEZ! ALLEZ! [laughing]

Sophie: And you understood?

Hagos: Yeah I understand. Merci beaucoup means thank you.

Sophie: So you just learned...

Hagos: It’s common sense, it’s common sense. I used my head. And they give actions with their hands. [Mimics Allez! Allez! Actions the police did].

Gestural language was, and still is, integral to the survival of Daniel and Yaman on their journeys and now in Glasgow. Universal gestures accompanied with certain words or phrases not only ensured that Daniel and Yaman made it to France, but also meant that, along the way and in Calais, phrases were learned that would ensure a level of safety or wellbeing. In addition, it provided vital moments of humanity and communication between strangers without a shared language. In the quote from Hagos above, he describes how he learned the meaning of ‘Allez’ through its regular use accompanied by gestures. It raises an interesting insight into the use of hostile language. Participants in my research most commonly came into contact with police and military authorities at borders and in Calais. Some of my participants spoke about the use of anti-immigrant language and force being used to stop them moving through the border. Hostile language, and language related to force, was often accompanied by gestures and violence, meaning that participants became used to hearing hostile language, made understandable through physical actions. The association of hostile language with state authorities caused participants to become suspicious and often fearful whenever encountering these people. It also goes some way to explain my participants’ surprise when first encountering police on arriving in the UK, who used gestures to ensure that they were hydrated and not in need of medical care.

After 46 days in Calais, Daniel made it into the back of a lorry going to the UK. He entered a lorry park one night with his friend Berhane, a Sudanese man, an Afghan teenager and two Iraqi Kurds. Daniel, Berhane and the teenager climbed into one lorry which the two Kurdish men closed behind them. Yaman paid a total of almost £2,000 to be put in a lorry by smugglers who guaranteed that he would make it to the UK. On the agreed night, Yaman met two men on the edge of the camp and they led him to a lorry park surrounded by a secure fence in which the smugglers had created a hole through which they could crawl. He recalls the smell and the darkness, and also the moment that he realised he was in a refrigerated lorry. Near certain he was not going to make it to the UK alive, he began to panic, but there was nothing he could do. If he tried to alert the driver he risked being arrested and detained, yet if he did not do anything he risked death; but he also had a chance of reaching the UK, and that thought was enough for him to continue his journey.

The Calais camp is – or at least was – a space of great difference, but also of great similarity. It served as a meeting point and a place of rest for thousands of people who had a vast range of experiences, cultural practices and beliefs. As a site of multilinguality, it raises interesting questions about how language influences identities and therefore relationships with others (with people speaking both the same and different languages), in particular thinking about the role of different types of communities and what is prioritised. The manner in which Calais was organised and the social relations within the camp reveals ways in which language influences the order and manner in which people arrange and categorise themselves, as well as revealing how these boundaries can become blurred or be transgressed intentionally for both positive and negative purposes. Calais was important for many people as it signified proximity to the UK. Although reaching the UK was not guaranteed, being in Calais meant that the migrants were on the last part of their journey and had successfully crossed mainland Europe. Without question, Calais was not a home nor a permanent destination, yet for refugees in a seemingly static set of circumstances, homemaking nevertheless took place. People tried to recreate familiarity, improve their material conditions, and imagine a better future, endeavouring to make their lives there as comfortable and as ‘normal’ as possible. This involved preparing traditional food, taking part in religious practices, recognising cultural holidays or festivals and where possible, listening to music from the countries of origin: and, indeed, speaking their native languages, so that re-establishing highly localised language communities within the camp was not an incidental part of life in Calais.

Drawing on Agamben, the camp can be viewed as a space of de-subjectification, where people are reduced to bare life, and thus moments in the camp when people were made to feel human were important for participants. Feeling human in a space called ‘The Jungle’ was of course difficult for a number of reasons, but homemaking, friendship and communication helped to establish feelings of positivity. While there may be limits to language, there are other ways of communicating through gestures and through actions. ‘The Jungle’ in Calais was hence a space of multilinguality, and both Daniel and Yaman not only picked up words in English and French, but also in different Arabic dialects, Kurdish, Persian, Urdu, Dari and Pashto. Calais both made, and was made by, multilingualism. New linguistic hybridities came to the fore, and people spoke to each other using a range of broken languages to share information and seek moments of shared humanity. The linguistic hierarchy discussed by participants in my research is closely entwined with perceptual dialectology as explored by Theodoropoulou and Tyler (2014), resulting in nationality-based communities being afforded different rights and dis/advantages. Calais was a space where language came under pressure, different languages competed for dominance and where people fought for their voices to be heard, but it was also a place where languages came together and were shared, where voices could become united and people might stand as one.

Arrival in the UK

The following extracts from interviews with asylum-seekers demonstrate the various ways in which people sought help upon arrival in the UK. Many of the participants in my research were dispersed to Glasgow after being held in detention centres across the UK for various amounts of time. Participants expressed feelings of fear, suspicion and anger towards authorities, yet, as the following extracts reveal, once in the UK their contacts with authorities changed in nature, and the police became people who could help them access the relevant services and allow the process of claiming asylum to begin. Below Yaman describes how he used his mobile phone to contact the police in an attempt to get out of the lorry. Yaman mentions in his interview the importance of having a mobile phone to contact friends and family, as well as receiving calls asking him for help. He discusses his friend needing an ambulance and that this was provided through contact with police officers, while other participants also spoke of receiving healthcare when they arrived in the UK, often required as a result of the poor living conditions in Calais and the stress of their journeys across the Channel.

Sophie: So when you arrived in the UK, did the lorry come straight to Glasgow?

Yaman: No. it was in the East of London, we stopped. I called the police. Let me tell you this [laughing]. I called the police, I told them I am inside of a trailer; they didn't understand me very well so they hung up on me ... And after five minutes he recalled me and told me, 'Are you in the back of a lorry?' I said 'Yes'. He told me to hang up and recall them so he can track my phone number, so he could find the lorry and stop it. So we did that, and he managed to contact the lorry by a radio ... so he [the lorry driver] stopped at the nearest station, service station. And the police came, and arrested us [laughs].

Sophie: So what did you say to them?

Yaman: Um, I didn't say much. They knew I was a refugee. They took us out. My friend was vomiting so they brought an ambulance, checked us out and they took me to a police station, and took my friend to another place, because he was under 18 ... then I got a call from the Home Office I think, asking me why you are here. And you know how it goes.

Something I want to draw out of the Yaman's story above is his use of the word 'vomming' to describe his friend's illness. The word is a quite specific Anglo-ism and Yaman uses it with ease, revealing how linguistically 'Anglo' Yaman has now become. Having a good command of English since his arrival means that Yaman has been able to develop linguistically on a different trajectory to some other participants, picking up, practising and using slang abbreviations of more formal words. Other participants arrived in the UK with very little English and thus had different, arguably more complex experiences.

Despite a lack of a shared language, participants found other ways to communicate their needs, reciprocated by authorities through the use of gestures and physical actions. Recalling points already made, this form of communication is described below by Daniel and Kibreab:

Sophie: Ok. So when you arrived in the UK who was the first person that you spoke to?

Daniel: Policeman. He speak with me. He says “hi, how are you?” When I got down from the lorry, the police come to me, and he asked some questions, but I cannot understand. He says “Do you want food?” I say “Stop. I can’t understand,” but he says [shows actions with hands for eating and drinking] and then I understand. “Yeah, I need some food and some water,” I said to him. The first time, we speak to the policeman.

Kibreab: No police. When I arrived ... we stayed in the lorry. He [the lorry driver] opened the door, and first he speak. We don’t understand nothing. Just he says “Just sit, sit, wait,” but by sign language. So we understood. So we sit. Then he called the police. Then we went to the police station, and we had a translator. But sign language first.

Daniel: Yeah, sign language first ... everybody understands that.

The use of gestures in initial encounters on arrival in the UK was common among my participants. Being found or approaching authorities in the UK can be daunting, yet the willingness of police to try their best to communicate through gestures helped participants to feel more at ease. Both Daniel and Yaman were taken to police stations for questioning. They were given access to an interpreter, but Yaman refused to use one because he was worried that the interpreter would not tell his story correctly. This distrust links back to the suspicion of authorities that he and many other asylum-seekers had developed on their journeys to the UK, a result of being mistreated or misinformed and, as previously mentioned, interpreters’ policing of language at other border points. The UK police conducted interviews with them, finding out who they were, where they were from, the route they took to the UK and why they left their countries of origin. This initial information was recorded and handed over to the Home Office, so that Home Office officials could carry out follow-up interviews and to see if the information provided was consistent.

Daniel and Yaman were held in cells for a night before being moved to detention centres in England. Detention centres act as another form of carceral geography, whereby ‘deviants’ or ‘undesirable’ others are placed in a space to keep them separate from broader society and where systems of control are present (Bloch and Schuster, 2005; Coutin, 2010; Mountz et al, 2012). The uncertainty and liminality faced by new arrivals is wrapped up in spaces of detention, acting as another border to citizenship (Gill, 2009). Similarly to the camp in Calais, detention centres work as non-citizen spaces within sovereign territories (Mountz, 2011; Gerrard, 2016). Instead of a welcome sanctuary in the UK, detention centres act as a surveillance zone that is external from society, working to depersonalise and highlight the statelessness of new arrivals (Gill, 2009).

Daniel, Yaman and many other participants describe their interactions with police officers in generally positive terms. A lot of communication with police was made possible through gestures and sign language; and, although this slowed down simple moments of communication, it made participants feel human and like they mattered, and that they were more than just a number. Daniel and his friend Kibreab both said that the police officers made an effort to speak to them and to help

them as much as possible. Hagos narrated his arrival in the UK and does so in a way that reveals the positive encounter with the policemen who he encountered after getting out of a lorry:

Sophie: Ok, and the lorry went to Glasgow?

Hagos: No, the lorry to Bedford. I think in ... I get off in a petrol station.

Sophie: Ok

Hagos: For the driver, what is this in English? [hits desk]

Sophie: Bang

Hagos: I banged for the driver and he says "who are you?" "It's me." "Where are you from?" "I am from France." "Oh my god! Get out of my car, get out"... I am not happy, I don't know where I am. What can I do? I think in my mind, I think hard. Then I see some police car ... "Excuse me?" "Ohhh welcome welcome." I saw two cops, you know. "Ohh where you come from?" "I am from Calais, from lorry." "Ok, ok, would you like water?" "Ok, I like water." ... After that I go for 15 minutes to jail, and one man is coming, go to interpreter, ask me some questions and they checked my fingerprints ... but then he arrested me, because of the police. After that I go to another station, detention for three days ... After three days, asked me some questions and more fingerprints; after three days, I come to Glasgow.

All participants knew that when they were found in the UK, they should use the phrase 'I am a refugee, please help', they also knew how to say their names and where they were from. In Calais, such information was fed back to people from others who had made it to the UK safely, including details of what would happen to them when they were either found by, or sought help from, the police. Information was also provided on what to say to help 'your case' and which nationalities were more likely to be granted asylum than others. The way information is shared exhibits the complex networks of refugees and asylum-seekers across Europe, with homes, detention centres, camps and borders acting as nodes in an ever-evolving web of relationships, support and information. This kind of information sharing evidently erases language 'barriers' that may be faced initially when encountering authorities in the UK. It also works across different migrant communities, with a sense that everyone in Calais deserves a chance at entering the UK irrespective of from where people had originally come, thus highlighting the sometimes contradictory nature of migrant communities. The capacity to share information has key language dimensions. Although shared immediately between people in the same language communities, multilingual individuals were then able to share information with people from other communities, thus creating an expansive network of information sharing. The primary 'brokers' of this information were often people smugglers operating in Calais or those people who had friends or family already in the UK. Migrant networks proved vital for my participants throughout their journeys, remaining important once they were in the UK. Those who were able to make use of their connections told of feeling more confident and safer as they crossed borders and encountered new places.

The asylum process is complex and at times contradictory, making it difficult for new arrivals to understand and to navigate. Both Yaman and Daniel were put in detention centres before being

moved to Glasgow; it was there that they met other asylum-seekers who had been waiting to find out their fate for varying amounts of time. Some people were being detained with the intention of being deported, while others waited to find out where in the UK they were going to be sent. Initially, Daniel and Yaman had positive feelings about detention; there were meals, they could shower, they had proper beds, televisions and games, and they were able to meet new people and practice English with some of the guards and other detainees. After three or four days, though, Daniel began to feel anxious as the weight of his experiences began to set in. In this moment of rest, he was able to reflect on his journey, in a place of liminality, bounded by high walls and guards, leaving him feeling “not here but not anywhere ... homeless in that time” (*Daniel*).

Arrival in the UK is unsurprisingly marked with uncertainty and fear. The knowledge that individuals have arrived in a safe country does little to reduce the anxiety that they face over their future. Gestures were commonly used in initial communication with police and, armed with a few basic phrases, participants were able to get the help that they needed. Being placed in detention nonetheless served to clarify their liminal position, ensuring that they were subject to further surveillance and questioning. This in turn produced future citizens who carried with them a certain level of fear that they could be deported at any time. One participant wrote about his experience of the journey to Glasgow, about the setbacks experienced and the importance of friendship both on the journey and once in Glasgow:

You know what am telling you is the truth and not everyone should know that. We were in France together, I did not come with him from Kurdistan. I met Karzan at France. And we had the same smuggler and we became friends. Also after we got arrested at the last control of UK border then moved to jail for one week on Spanish border, I was with Karzan. So we became soulmates. And later on we made it together. Here in UK we both were in detention centre. After that we got moved to Glasgow, same again together. We were lucky. So at hostel we did not keep apart. Then me and another person been moved to a new accommodation. There Karzan separated from me. I was going to be crazy. Karzan got a new house with a black man. But, keep it secret from that day Karzan has left his home and came live with me. After we were released from jail and went back to Jungle and tried hard, we were almost dead until we made it to UK. You can never imagine that ever what risk we have been through. In detention centre four days. They did screen interview and then they moved people randomly. We were lucky to be moved together at the same place. Even though there was no chance to choose your friend or your brother, no nothing, they would read your name one by one and get your personal stuff ready and wait in the car. Wait to go. That's how it was. (*Pamo, 19, Kurdistan*)⁵³

⁵³ This letter was given to me in an ESOL class by Pamo. I had met him and his friend Karzan several months before; their attendance at classes was sporadic but this was not out of the ordinary for many of the people I met during fieldwork. During my time working with them, I had heard several stories about their friendship and how they reached Glasgow. Although the stories did not always make sense or complement each other, I did not question it as my participants were free to tell me what they wanted to, and my role was to remain neutral. I had an understanding that people had different stories for different people depending on their position: police, Home Office, teacher, support worker, friend and so on. Pamo handed this letter to me as he was leaving the class, and I read it on my way home after the class. The language that Pamo uses reveals a lot about the emotions both he and Karzan felt during this time and also highlights the importance of friendship on migrant journeys. In the first line Pamo reveals that, although he is telling me the truth, it

Despite initial encounters with police being spoken about positively, as participants progressed through the UK asylum system and came into contact with different authorities, they began to grow suspicious of this system and about what was going to happen to them. When my participants found out they were being relocated to Glasgow, they had mixed reactions. It was an unknown city which raised levels of anxiety and uncertainty. Making use of their networks, Daniel and other Eritrean participants found out more about Glasgow, learned there was a strong Eritrean community in the city and that it was a place welcoming to refugees. Hearing these positive reports of Glasgow enabled them to look forward and to think about their future positively. Linguistically, participants knew little about Glasgow and described the shock that they felt when they first heard local people speaking. For all of my participants this shock turned into fear and frustration as they became increasingly aware of how different the Glaswegian dialect is from the English that they were used to hearing. Participants in my research expressed frustration at feeling like they were back to the beginning of speaking English as they could not understand a lot of what was being said, and that they worried they would not be able to communicate. Of course, over time it became easier and participants became more and more used to the local dialect, even beginning to celebrate and enjoy its uniqueness compared to more standard forms of the English language.

Arrival in Glasgow

Upon arrival in Glasgow, all asylum-seekers are taken to the Home Office premises in Govan to be registered and they are given initial accommodation, most commonly near to the Home Office. As discussed in the previous chapter, demand outstrips supply for housing and therefore some people

should not be known by people in a position of power, likely because of the fear of being deported or detained. Pamo uses the term ‘soulmates’ to describe his relationship with Karzan. This term signals a deep emotional attachment and understanding between two people; the experiences that Karzan and Pamo had together only served to deepen their relationship and the ‘luck’ of getting moved to Glasgow together meant a lot to Pamo. The word luck hints at the seemingly messy and unstructured nature of the asylum system in the UK – something often reported by those working alongside it, and something that became evident in interviews with my participants. Pamo states that he was ‘going to be crazy’ when he and Karzan were given different houses, despite being in the same city. Karzan was housed with a ‘black man’, although this phrase could be read as Pamo using the term in a derogatory way – someone who Karzan did not want to live with. It could also be Pamo’s way of distinguishing between himself as a Kurdish person and someone from Africa. Because of the way I received this letter I was not able to ask for clarification on this point, but, as Pamo does not dwell on the point further, I believe it was his way of describing the fact that Karzan had to live with someone from a different migrant community, and in all likelihood with very different cultural practices. Pamo goes on to talk about being nearly dead, and the risks they both took to get to the UK, :here there is an air of desperation, a need for me to understand how hard they tried to get to the UK. Pamo is making himself vulnerable in order to tell his story. Pamo then uses the term ‘brother’, something that many of my other participants did when referring to their closest friends. Brother is used in English to refer to a member of immediate family, and therefore using it to describe a friend suggests a very close relationship – mimicking that of a family, and someone whom is loved unconditionally. The final part of the letter reads in a way that resembles a sense of resignation: ‘That’s how it was.’ Here Pamo has seemingly accepted that the asylum system is not always fair, that within the system he has little autonomy or choice, and that he was one of the ‘lucky’ ones to be moved with his soulmate Karzan.

are placed in hostels and in bed and breakfasts as ‘temporary’ accommodation, as was the case with Yaman. Daniel was given a flat not too far from the Home Office, and was sharing with a man from Ethiopia:

Daniel: For example when I come to the house with Ethiopian guy he just like me, we speak our own languages. [laughing] He panics and said in little English, “I don’t speak Tigrinya, I speak Amharic.” I said no problem. He is good man. He is a clean man. I still know him. He is really good.⁵⁴

Participants are commonly housed with people from different countries with both positive and negative outcomes. It means that they are able to practice their English with people in a similar situation, and therefore do not feel embarrassed about getting things wrong. Furthermore, it allows them to get to know new people and to begin to build broader networks potentially of help to them while they settle in Glasgow. Some participants expressed gratification for being housed with people from different migrant communities, commenting on how it helped them to improve their English and to learn about other cultures as well as making friends. Others, though, had more negative experiences as a result of cultural differences and beliefs. On some occasions participants found it difficult to communicate with their flatmate due to a lack of English, and thus living arrangements were tense and there was an increased risk of conflict. For participants living with people from other migrant communities, English becomes the default language spoken by all, often interspersed with words from their native languages, accompanied by gestures and other forms of non-verbal communication. Here it is intriguing to reflect on the complex, hybrid versions of English that result when two non-native speakers living in the same space speak to each other. A new home-based language geography is duly created, whereby multiple languages are used, joining together through a ‘type’ of English that is not proficient and to a native speaker may make little sense.

There is little research into how asylum-seekers build and maintain their social and support networks once dispersed to cities across the UK. In Glasgow, there are a number of well-established migrant communities, particularly Iranian and Eritrean, yet how people integrate into these communities when they arrive here remains relatively unknown, particularly by practitioners working with refugees and asylum-seekers. Orientation to a new place can be a slow process and does not necessarily happen in a linear way. Participants expressed how daunting it was to arrive in Glasgow and not know anything about the city, nor understand the language or accent. Questions of accent only emerged after arrival in Glasgow, possibly a result of the majority of participants

⁵⁴ Daniel’s use of the word ‘clean’ in this quote is interesting. I believe that Daniel meant it to describe his morals, to mean that his flatmate was a good person who could be trusted. However, the word also has connotations of hygiene and can be related to not using substances like alcohol and drugs, which several of my participants flatmates did use quite heavily.

having watched films or television programmes featuring more standard version of English, and therefore were unaware of the various dialects found around the country. They were left to fend for themselves; they had to find out about charities which could help them and places which provided English language education; and many turned to their neighbours or flatmates for initial help. For Daniel, having his friend Berhane with him gave him confidence, and doing things together meant that they could help each other:

Daniel: Yeah, he came to Glasgow with me, from Calais. So we were together, but we don't know the place, we don't know any person, but we going to buy map of the city to help us. We always went to places together. Then we would come back to our house, and explore the map, to see where we could go. After that, I change my house, to Cumbernauld Road, new person stayed in my home, his name is Khalid, and he helped me more about Lidl⁵⁵, and shopping, and anything I needed. He gave me some information about how to live my life in Glasgow. When I first arrived it was very scary because I didn't know anything, I didn't understand anything. It was very difficult for me.

Kibreab had a chance meeting with his neighbour who was also from Eritrea:

Kibreab: My neighbour, he is Eritrean, he showed me everything ... but the first time I met him he travelled with me around the city. He came up to me and asked "Are you Eritrean?" "Yes" "Do you speak Tigrinya?" "Yes", then he gave me all the information. Classes, charities, the Home Office, shops, supermarket.

The people who Yaman met in his hostel helped him to find out where things were around the city. Although Yaman had very good English when he arrived, it was still difficult for him to navigate the city. He realised that he needed to improve his English, and that, although having some English helped him to orientate himself, only time would enable proper settlement and integration:

Sophie: And then how did you know where to go and what to do? In terms of where to go shopping or where to get help?

Yaman: Yeah. That was difficult for me in the first couple of days, but after I met the Syrians and Sudanese in the hostel, they helped me. I started to know Lidl, Primark⁵⁶, City Centre, what's around there. Some organisations that helped us ... the Home Office, where they are. And, then we met the solicitors.

Hagos: Yeah it's good. My friends always tell me, come here or go there. And that is the same, lots of people from Eritrea, we all tell each other. But also Kurdish and Syria, all the same. We all tell everything.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Lidl is a supermarket chain renowned for its cheap products and availability of a range of foods from around the world.

⁵⁶ Primark is a clothing store that sells men's, women's and children's clothes at very low prices

⁵⁷ This relates back to the network of information sharing discussed earlier in this chapter. Hagos explained that everyone shares any information that have about life in Glasgow, overcoming linguistic differences but also breaking down some of the suspicions and segregations that built up in Calais – particularly in relation to Kurdish communities.

Most new asylum-seekers in Glasgow find out about available services, how to access the dentist or GP, or where to go to English classes, through word of mouth⁵⁸. Although Migrant Help is contracted to provide this information, it often fails to do so, leaving newly arrived migrants to navigate things alone. As discussed in the previous chapter, there are other voluntary services that fill the gaps left by Migrant Help, yet these services do not have access to details about where asylum-seekers are being housed and therefore do not know the geography of potential service users; and so, although the services exist, they cannot target their advertising in the correct or required places and rely instead on communities sharing information with one another.

In terms of integrating into established migrant communities, different participants reported this process taking place with differing amounts of ease. For Daniel, going to the Eritrean church in Springburn and attending multiple English classes meant that he met a number of Eritrean people who invited him along to other events. This open and welcoming attitude to new arrivals was particularly prominent within the Eritrean community, who spent a lot of time together and always ensured everyone was cared for properly:

Sophie: How did you meet the other people from Eritrea?

Daniel: Mostly they can meet in the centre⁵⁹ or something. Even they are group of people that are coming together, they come separated two or three days, but they know each other from Calais. And then they can tell each other about other people, and we can all find each other. We collect people. Even for me, the Orthodox Church, I go there, and in that church I found a lot of people.

Throughout the research, participants shared their stories in both group settings and in one-to-one conversations. Sharing their experiences was cathartic for participants and aided understanding of each other. Many participants had taken similar routes and had similar experiences; when these were shared with others, it opened up dialogue about memories of family, friends and the journey itself. Furthermore, participants were able to share memories of home, helping to build their local social and support networks in Glasgow:

Hagos told us a bit more about his journey ... He was in prison for a few nights in London. He looked upset when he was talking about it. He said the Home Office moved six of them at the

⁵⁸ This deceptively simple phrase highlights the importance of language. It puts oral communication at the centre of information sharing and this is certainly the case for participants in my research who most commonly gave and received information verbally.

⁵⁹ In this quote from Daniel he is talking about meeting other people in Glasgow City Centre. George Square, the main square, is important for many of my participants and provided a central and well known meeting point for people. There is an apparent confidence among participants in the sense that, if they hear others speaking their native languages, they would commonly approach them and get chatting. This sense of community was found to be common for all of my participants. The significance of George Square is considerable; this is evident in Chapter 9, where I explore the everyday geographies of my participants. To consider George Square as a space of multilinguality helps to reveal its centrality not only in the city, but to many refugees and asylum-seekers as a place to meet old and new friends and to speak their own languages.

same time and dropped them off in various cities and they made their way north. Hagos said he felt very lucky to be in Glasgow. Then it was Muhamdean's turn; he stood up and walked to the front of the class, picked up a pen and began to draw on the whiteboard. He told us his whole story, from leaving Sudan to his arrival in Glasgow. Muhamdean explained to the class about his journey through the desert and how he was caught by police. He saw people getting tortured, raped and killed ... Muhamdean explained how thankful he is to be in the UK, to be safe, to be warm and to be welcomed. (*Field Diary*)

Memories and links to home were very important for participants, and these were navigated in a myriad of ways. For some, having a safe space to speak about their friends and family was crucial, while others preferred to partake in cultural activities in an attempt to decrease the distance between life before and after migrating. Such activities included listening to music from their home countries, cooking and eating traditional food, wearing traditional dress, practising religion, and recognising and celebrating national holidays or festivals. Of course, being able to speak their native languages with others in their community helped to create links to home and aided feelings of belonging. Participants also expressed pride about being able to teach native English speakers certain phrases or how to write words in their home languages, acts seen as a sharing of culture but also subverting the dominant power relations that they face in the UK.

After arrival in Glasgow, refugees and asylum-seekers face a range of challenges and have to make important decisions about their lives and futures in the country. These decisions can sometimes become contradictory, as explained in a letter given to me from Karzan:

Hello lovely friend,

I don't want to hide anything from you as I have not, so that I would like to apologise that I will not be able to continue the English class because I have almost found a job outside of Glasgow. I'd rather have a job that study English, as you know I only get £5 a day which is so bad and am in a poor life. The budget is just enough for food and nothing else. I've been sad and tired at home doing nothing and thinking too much, also I get depressed every single night. It's the reason I want to work and make a little bit of money for daily needs.

I don't know how you see my life or my living, but all I know is that I am not very comfortable to see people living in their life with everything and I ain't got nothing so far. I don't blame British people but it's the truth right?

I have come a long way, been in dangerous risks then I have reached the UK to what!?! Not to sit at home, to make a life, to have a good and safe life as I was willing and God willing as well.

Just wanted you to know what I am going to do.

We shall be in touch my friend.

(*Karzan, 20, Kurdistan*)

Learning English is often a priority for many people arriving in Glasgow, but for others, such as Karzan, the desire to earn money can overpower the desire or need to learn English. Although Karzan would be working 'illegally' and not earning a fair wage, Karzan felt that earning money immediately rather than developing his English and waiting for his claim to be assessed was his best option. The letter highlights the difficult choices and strict regulations to which asylum-

seekers are subject while waiting for their asylum application to be processed. In the letter, Karzan writes about his mental health struggles borne out of having little money and limited geographies, talking of a lack of comfort and stating that he is in a ‘poor life’ – both financially but also perhaps physically and psychologically. Karzan uses the non-standard English term ‘I ain’t got nothing’: although this is grammatically incorrect, it is not uncommon to hear terms like this used day-to-day. Picking up these slang terms is arguably a result of Karzan’s listening geographies⁶⁰, learning phrases he has heard outside of his home and then utilising them in his own written and spoken language. Finally, his use of rhetorical questions shows a fairly advanced command of English, despite not having attended many ESOL classes. This suggests that Karzan may have been doing some work at home, or again it may be a result of listening to people around him, on the radio or on the television. These geographies are explored in more depth in Chapter 9, where different sites of language acquisition are considered.

Glasgow is host to a range of migrant communities, and it is possible to survive day-to-day without having to speak English. These people tend to be well integrated into their communities, giving them a sense of belonging, a link to home and a support network. There is however a double-edged sword for well-developed, linguistically insular migrant communities. They offer support, friendship and advice, yet risk furthering members’ isolation from local communities as a non-porous linguistic boundary is created. The majority of participants in my research belong to such communities, and rely on them as new arrivals. However, as my participants began to settle, to attend classes and events, they began to mix with other migrants, becoming more confident in speaking English and meeting people from different backgrounds. The ability to ask for support is something that is very important, but also extremely difficult for refugees and asylum-seekers. Being unsure about how people will receive their requests, particularly people on the street, can make migrants feel anxious and increase the time they spent at home and with their own speech communities.

Conclusion: Between Liminality and Belonging

This chapter has explored the complex networks and community dynamics at play – always linguistically mediated – during asylum-seekers’ journeys to the UK and upon arrival in Glasgow. It has shown how these young people are at once highly mobile and highly immobile, often a result of constraints put upon them by people in a position of power. Their networks and experiences mean that they are connected to a multitude of people and places across and beyond Europe, at

⁶⁰ I use the term ‘listening geographies’ to describe the way that different languages, accents, dialects and voices are heard in different places. Listening geographies were an important part of language acquisition for my participants, as is explored in the following chapters.

places they have rested or been held back, and with people met along the way. Some of these connections remain once they arrive in Glasgow, while others prove more fleeting, but nevertheless important. These broad networks and distances travelled sit in tension with the relative immobility of refugees and asylum-seekers, who are subject to restricted movements across borders and on routes through countries. Financial, political and social statuses contribute to these restrictions, which in turn work to push asylum-seekers to the periphery of society. This mobility paradox is tied to the position of asylum-seekers being subject to carceral style geographies, such as constant monitoring and risk of detention, while at the same time participating in highly informal geographies; ‘illegal’ employment, temporary housing and the ability to simply ‘disappear’. The liminal position that is experienced on the journey and upon arrival in Glasgow slows down processes of settlement and integration. Yet a sense of belonging can begin to develop in places of rest such as Calais, as problematic as this camp was in many respects, or at borders where communities develop and communication takes place (Mountz, 2011). Furthermore, once in Glasgow, as people begin to meet people from their origin community and become familiar with the city, a (possibly unstable) sense of belonging develops which can lead to settlement and integration into existing migrant communities while at the same time remaining, in many cases, on the periphery of broader society.

Detailing my participants’ journeys has also, crucially, highlighted the intricate language geographies of migration. Linguistic landscapes change over time and space, as is evident when participants share their experiences of crossing borders, encountering new languages and acquiring new phrases. The importance of gestural language is discussed by participants on numerous occasions, since it allows communication to take place without a reliance on having a shared language, often providing moments of humanity – but also sometimes hostility – in what sometimes seem like long and lonely journeys. An essential link between language and friendship is evident in my participants’ narratives. Language links people to their homes, to belonging and to their individual and group identities. Friendship on the journey is important for feelings of safety and security, as well as for mental health purposes:

This is not such a long journey when you know that you will find friendship. It’s not such a long journey to remember that you are human again. (*Ahmad, 19, Syria*)

Having someone who could help with translation was seen as a benefit to many participants, particularly at border crossings where interactions with authorities were most common. The role of the translator was often delicate as they tried to help others but ensure their own wellbeing, which meant that people relying on those with multilingual abilities had to ensure a level of independence and negotiate the friendship with care. This chapter has explored how linguistic communities are

joined together as a result of multilingual individuals sharing vital information about onward movements. It has dealt with notions of hybrid languages as well as language diversity, and spotlighting the multitude of ways in which people communicate despite not having fluency in any language but their language of origin.

Migrant journeys, while having moment of humanity, have many more of inhumanity. Travel conditions and living conditions in camps are poor, and media reports regularly reduce people to numbers and use derogatory terms. Drawing on Agamben, camps work to turn migrants from subjects into governable objects, simultaneously inside and outside of the law. Linguistically, my participants were also both insiders and outsiders on their journeys to Glasgow. Rarely speaking the 'official' language of the countries through which they were passing meant that they had to find new ways to communicate with the state authorities. Yet, finding linguistic communities to which they could belong meant that support and friendship was found, with linguistic belonging often leading to cultural belonging. Perceptual dialectology reveals how some participants had 'easier' journeys than others, a result of sociolinguistic assumptions made about certain nationalities because of their language. Participants in the research had unique language geographies occurring on a range of scales as they made their way to Glasgow, a space of rest at the end of a long journey, but also a place where people and languages come together, forming often messy new language geographies. It is to this comingling of linguistic spaces in Glasgow that the remainder of my thesis will now turn.

Chapter 7

“Sometimes My Mind Gets Stuck”: The Embodied Language Geographies of the ‘Speaking-self’

The practice and performance of language is tied up with theories of existential phenomenology as described by Heidegger and Merleau-Ponty in the 20th century. They argued that being-in-the-world, and experiencing the world, can be based on understanding what the world looks like from a deep phenomenological sense of ‘bodies-in-encounter’ (Inglis and Thorpe, 2012). Simonsen (2012) draws on the work of Merleau-Ponty to suggest that this sense of being-in-the-world is personally experienced and highly situated. Scholars of this theory are interested in how the body and the environment constantly influence one another (Simonsen, 2012). Taking inspiration from Merleau-Ponty, Koefoed et al (2017) explore a practice-based understanding of social life through encounters and interrelations, paying particular attention to time, space and surprise. They argue for the use of the term *surprise* as encounters often involve negotiation of similarity and difference, and inclusion and exclusion, which constitute boundaries between bodies. Interestingly, and of relevance here is their suggestion that encounters involve historical and geographical mediation:

‘They presuppose other faces, other encounters of facing, other bodies, other spaces and other times. In this way, they reopen prior histories of encounter and geopolitical imaginations of ‘the other’ and incorporate them in the encounters as traces of broader social relationships.’ (Koefoed et al, 2017, p. 728)

These ideas around encounters and of being-in-the-world form a conceptual basis for this chapter, which focuses on the embodiment of language and its associated effects. The embodiment of language is temporally and geographically specific, and the context and conditions of encounters are important in creating highly situated embodied responses or demands (Simonsen, 2012). In terms of language, then, this chapter uses ethnographic and interview data to reveal how language is embodied in a range of situations and locations; exploring encounters within and beyond a classroom environment.

The chapter begins by exploring *where* corporeally language comes from, thinking about the different parts of the body and mind that are utilised when speaking different languages, an internal embodiment of different sounds and movements that work together to create spoken language. It then goes on to explore processes of translation and processing, investigating the more cognitive embodiment of language. The chapter also explores the role of non-verbal actions and how these

work with the verbal, or independently of it, and to what effect. Finally, I will look at how refugees and asylum-seekers experience a kind of ‘double consciousness’ or a third-person consciousness (Fanon, 1967), whereby a person experiences their body both internally and externally. Here I argue that, when using verbal or non-verbal language, an awareness of their own positionality influences their identity performance. This part of the chapter will use interview data in which participants reflect on their positionality in relation to languages that they were using. The chapter concludes by discussing the different speech acts utilised by refugees and asylum-seekers to create and maintain identities, paying attention to concepts linked to the role of language in identity performance. Participants’ reflections on the emotionality of using different languages, and the role that languages play for both their internal and external identities, can be considered through the use of terms such as ‘speaking selves’ or ‘speaking home’. Here we can come to understand the body as a space through which language is produced, used and reflected upon, but also *language* as a space; a home space, or a strange place, which is negotiated carefully by its user. Language is subconsciously embodied by both speaker and listener in a range of ways; this can be something as straightforward as which part of the body certain sounds or words come from, but it can also involve actions, facial expressions and body language. People’s choice of languages, and ways of speaking, do not simply reflect who they are, but make them who they are – or, more precisely, allow them to make themselves. In turn, the languages they use are made and re-made in the process. Here it is worth distinguishing between language as projected into the world and internal dialogue, both being highly embodied, but in quite different ways.

Furthering discussions on language, encounter and phenomenology, it is perhaps helpful to borrow from Ahmed’s (2000) work on the ‘strange encounter’. She argues that encounters are played out *on* the body and *with* emotions if we are to understand emotions as Heidegger and Merleau-Ponty did; that emotions are basic human attributes, neither purely psychological or physical, but tied up with practice, embodiment and social life (Koefoed et al, 2017). On emotions, Simonsen (2007, 2010) explores a possible double conception of emotional spatiality. On one side is the ‘expressive space’ realised through the body, arguably the performative, expressive and communicative elements of emotions. On the other is the ‘affective space’, one where humans are emotionally in touch, being open to the world and allowing it to affect the mind and the body.

The way that one speaks – one’s accent, how one addresses others, one’s word choice and even one’s intonation patterns – all work to communicate information about oneself. When speaking a first language, it can be argued that people go through a lifelong socialisation that enables them to interpret one another’s backgrounds, where we come from, our level of education, our trustworthiness, and so on, but what happens when it is not a first language being spoken or heard?

This chapter thus seeks to explore the embodiment of language by looking at both native languages and English as a second language, and the work that their languages do in the world.

Body Languages

The Body

I want to begin by discussing the physical processes of speaking. Throughout the research participants were forthcoming with their opinions of English and their native languages, as well as regularly highlighting differences. Often these differences were centred around the different kinds of sounds made and the associated mouth shapes, use of the throat, or stomach. Thus, conversations with my participants often became about the body and the way different parts of the body entered into linguistic repertoires – arguably highlighting the centrality of embodiment when speaking. In interviews with participants I decided to begin by asking about this embodiment, I asked participants to tell me about where their languages come from in their bodies, and then to compare this to English. Many participants shared their own analysis about the relationship between the body and language, these interviews were lively as participants demonstrated, or asked me to imitate movements and processes in order to create different sounds, words or phrases. In the following conversation with Kibreab and Daniel it is explained that, because Tigrinya is spoken from the throat and utilises the whole body, with sounds coming from a deeper place than just the mouth, they felt that it holds a depth of meaning that English does not:

Kibreab: Tigrinya we speak from our throat and body, but English is just in the mouth. Starts from here [signals to mouth], so it's not the same.

Daniel: Our bodies are different. English is shallow, it does not have the meaning like Tigrinya.

Kibreab: English is silent, Tigrinya is not silent, we have meaning to it.

This acknowledgement that English does not use the whole body but instead originates and is formed within the mouth was discussed by numerous other participants, such as Berhane, Hamidreza and Hadi:

Sophie: In Tigrinya you speak from...

Berhane: Yeah from here [signals to stomach and chest] and English from here [signals to mouth].

Sophie: Does your mouth, or body, feel different when you speak English and Farsi?

Hamidreza: Yes, different. Some words. Some letters. Some letters similar.

Hadi: 'W' is different. [makes different sounds in English and Farsi]

Hamidreza: [imitates sounds in Farsi that do not exist in English]

Hamidreza and Hadi: [Get into discussion about the differences]

Sophie: Farsi you speak from...
Hamidreza: Here [motions to stomach]
Hadi: It's different place.

The use of the body in the origin of sounds of a language, and how this embodied origin links to meaning, warrants further exploration in order to think about how meaning is assigned to a language. Here it is worthwhile reflecting on the use of the word 'meaning' and how it is employed in this context. Both Daniel and Kibreab seemingly equate meaning with the use of the whole body when speaking. They hint at the notion that Tigrinya uses parts of the throat, chest and stomach that are less commonly used when speaking English, and the depth of embodiment is directly related to this. In addition, it is important to note that neither Daniel nor Kibreab are fluent in English, and therefore their use of the word 'meaning' may also relate to one's identity, culture and home. For them, Tigrinya not only allows communication to take place with other Tigrinya speakers, but represents their Eritrean origins, and both their internal and external identities. Hence Tigrinya becomes more than just a form of communication, it becomes a homely space that creates a sense of belonging for Kibreab and Daniel.

The following part of the chapter explores the mouth and the mind as places where language is embodied, perhaps differently from the body parts from which a sound originates. The mouth and the mind are important places for making sense of otherwise meaningless utterances, linking back to the notion of the signifier and sign as discussed by Saussure (1916), by associating meaning with certain sounds, successful communication takes place. Miscommunication and misunderstanding happen when people assign different meanings to signifiers and signs. Furthermore, it relates closely to Merleau-Ponty and his argument that the mind is the meeting point between the body, language and environment (Silverman, 1973). Simonsen (2012) draws on this notion when she suggests that meaning and materiality are inseparable, she argues that body and mind are interwoven and, like Seamon (1979) believes that material life and thought are one. Both Seamon and Simonsen take Merleau-Ponty's ideas around corporeality as their starting point. Their work is based on a non-dualist ontology of the body and its environment. Thus, the body becomes a *lived body* that changes through interactions with an environment to which it responds (Simonsen, 2012).

In terms of thinking about the role of the mouth, when acquiring English as a second language, participants are learning how to make new sounds using the shape of their mouth in different combinations with the tongue, the teeth and the lips. These shapes and sounds are part of engrained physical or 'muscle' memory for native English speakers, but for those for whom English is not a first language, these combinations have to be learned, practised and entered into their memory and daily cultural repertoire. Until these new shapes and sounds are learned by the body, they will

always have to be carefully considered before being used, therefore adding an extra cognitive process when speaking English. This risks retracting from what the sounds signify and instead putting a focus on making the ‘correct’ sounds, effectively distancing participants from the meaning of the language. This is summarised by two participants below:

Sophie: When you speak English how does your mouth feel?

Kibreab: Yes, it is difficult in English. We cannot control our mouths.

Daniel: Different shapes, that are new to us, we don’t know what our mouth should do.

In terms of cognitive methods, processes of translation and the thought that goes into listening to English before being able to respond all create distance between the speaker/listener, meaning and the body. Processing language requires complicated cognitive processes which, for native speakers, have become largely automatic. However, when acquiring a new language these processes are more overt and learners are aware of the work that their mind is doing in translating, remembering, and moving from a silent sound in their head to an audible sound (utilising the new mouth shapes they have learned).

The Mouth

During interviews with participants I asked them to consider their mouth in relation to speaking English and their first languages. Much of these conversations took on a more practical form as participants showed me different shapes their mouths made when making different sounds. Furthermore, they asked me to try to make certain sounds from their languages too, which often ignited excited and humorous conversation as I floundered through their alphabet, working out how to use certain stomach muscles or parts of my throat to make the correct sound. This exercise not only worked as an equaliser in terms of the research-participant relationship, but also led me to reflect on my own embodied language practice and how language causes me to engage different parts of my mind and body, and the extent to which my comfort levels and awareness of my actions directly relates to my proficiency in that language. I will offer further self-reflection later in the chapter by exploring my positionality as an outside listener and my role in the audible landscape of the classroom and other interactions.

The data collected in relation to the mouth is a combination of interview and ethnographic data. In some English classes students practised phonics and making the correct shapes with their mouth to produce the correct sounds (figures 7.1 and 7.2). Certain letter combinations were difficult for the majority of participants: when sounds such as ‘th’ ‘sh’ and ‘w’ were used, it was clear to see the hesitation before the utterance as participants worked out where to position their lips and tongues.



Figure 7.1: A screenshot from a commonly used video to teach ESOL learners digraphs. (Turtle Diary, 2014)



Figure 7.2: A second screenshot from a digraph video. (Turtle Diary, 2014)

Although all languages are spoken using the same physiological techniques – exhalation, phonation and articulation (Isshiki, 1989), the different body parts that are used in speech meant that for some participants some sounds were harder than others to make. The difficulties in making certain sounds and shapes are highlighted by Hamidreza and Hagos below:

Sophie: How does your mouth feel when you speak English?

Hamidreza: [laughs]. Sometimes I can't speak with a very good accent and my mouth [makes weird shapes with his mouth], it's different from when I speak Farsi. My mouth is different. Sometimes sounds like t and h together [imitates sound], I can't do. Sometimes we speak Farsi here [throat], sometimes here [stomach], sometimes just here [mouth], my body is very different when I speak Farsi.

Sophie: You said Tigrinya is from here [points to throat]. Does your mouth do different things when you speak English and when you speak Tigrinya?

Hagos: Yeah exactly ... Different sounds. When I speak Tigrinya it is normally, for example "Moshemka Hagos" ... certain sounds are different.

Sophie: Which sounds in English do you find difficult?

Hagos: The t and h [practices making the sound over and over] [laughing], yeah, yeah, that's the problem [makes the sound again], oh my god, it is such a problem.

Yaman furthers these comparisons between English and native languages and offers his own reflection on the embodied differences between English and Arabic.

Sophie: How does your mouth feel when you speak English?

Yaman: I need a lot of water when I speak English, but not when I speak Arabic. Just now speaking with you, I am so thirsty.

Sophie: Does your mouth feel different?

Yaman: I feel like I am spitting. Arabic is from the inside, from here, here, and here, and here [points to body parts], English is from, mostly from the mouth and top of the throat.

Sophie: Are there certain sounds in English that are difficult for you to make?

Yaman: Yes, 's' and other sounds too. There are lots of 's' sounds [practices making different English sounds], yes.

Although these conversations took place during interviews, participants offered highly embodied responses, using gestures or by imitating sounds and other actions, furthering my argument that the embodied nature of language means it cannot be seen as separate from bodily actions and cognitive processes and feelings. For participants, trying to understand the role of their body in speaking both English and their first language, using their body and practising their movements or actions was the easiest way to share their embodied practices with me, creating something of a linguistic rehearsal or performance. This notion of an embodied linguistic rehearsal ties in with Rogers' (2010) work on language and performance. Rogers discusses the way that language is internalised and then reproduced as an embodied performance. She argues that the very nature of language is performative and affectual, and that linguistic performances are a means to express internal goings-

on. Butler suggests the presence of a ‘backstage artiste’ who does not obey the tongue. This so called ‘artiste’ is the body and the mind (Sullivan, 2011), this recognition of the importance of the body and mind in relation to language shows that they should be studied as a whole, not as distinct entities, in order to truly understand the nature of language and its embodied properties (Atkinson, 2010). As has been explored in this chapter so far, the practice of speaking engages the body in a variety of ways, and these change depending on one’s proficiency in a language, but also depending on what language is being spoken. Participants all highlighted the differences between their native languages and English, noting the different ways in which their bodies engage with the language:

Sophie: Do you feel different when you are speaking Tigrinya and when you are speaking English?

Hagos: Yeah, it’s a big difference. Because you know, English language is a soft language, you know. When you listen, when you speak, it is soft. But our mother language Tigrinya is hard, yeah it is, for example [speaks a few sentences in Tigrinya, makes some noises], see it’s hard. Starting from this you know [points to throat].

The embodiment of language is not only important for understanding of the self and consuming information, but – as discussed at the beginning of the chapter – it is vital in purveying meaning in various situated encounters, and also in creating, maintaining and performing identities. This communication of meaning often happens subconsciously for both speaker and listener, but, when the speaker and/or listener are not communicating in their first language these cognitive processes require thought and consideration, leading to further self-reflection taking place. This adds a complexity to standard non-representational claims about the (chrono)logical gap between action and thought. Harrison (2000) argues for greater attention to be paid to embodiment, and the centrality of it in everything we do. Harrison and other non-representational scholars suggest that it is the everyday practice of doing that should be of interest, rather than the ‘extrinsic sources of causality ... to events’ (Harrison, 2000, p.499). However, when looking at speech in the context of second language acquisition, what is, for native speakers, automatic and intrinsic, becomes extrinsic, thought out and somewhat modified for non-native speakers. The next section of this chapter considers cognitive processes of translation and emotions that are attached to language, while being attentive to notions around the internalisation and externalisation of identity.

The Mind

In thinking about everyday encounters with and through language, I want to explore how refugees and asylum-seekers utilise or experience cognitive processes that contribute to their understandings of the world around them, their daily geographies and their encounters with others. If humans construct and ‘know’ the world around them through language (Inglis and Thorpe, 2012), then I

want to explore here the processes that take place when the external world is happening in a language that is not one's mother tongue, and how interpretation and understanding is influenced by multilingualism. Although there are plentiful suggestions that action, and doing, come before thought or words, Ingles (2012) argues that 'it is the language of a social group that fundamentally shapes their sense of reality' (p. 168), while Saussure suggests that:

Without language, thought is a vague, uncharted nebula. There are no pre-existing ideas, and nothing is distinct before the appearance of language. (Saussure, 1916, 112)

Again, this raises a non-representational problematic; if doing, action and practice are assumed to be intrinsic, then this suggests a disruption to this, whereby thought and because of thought, language, are central to our being-in and knowing the world. For participants in my research thought came before action, where that action is speech or writing words. This is not to say that no action comes before thought, of course, but adds an extra layer to how people process and use language.

I am concerned with processes of translation which not only influence the literal understanding of written or spoken words, but also the interpretation of these words. Processes of translation change as English is acquired, but also vary in relation to participants' approaches to learning. Kibreab, with a relatively low level of English, explains in his interview that he always translates it into Tigrinya in his head, and thinks in Tigrinya before speaking in English. Hamidreza also discusses this process with me:

Sophie: When you are learning English, do you translate it in your head into Tigrinya?

Kibreab: Yeah, we translate. I think always in Tigrinya.

Sophie: When you read or speak or listen to English, in your head do you translate it to Farsi?

Hamidreza: Yes ... At first in my head it is Farsi, and then in my mouth it is English. When I want to speak, I need to think about a word, about a sentence.

Thus, processes of translation for some bi- or multi- lingual speakers become highly cognitive. Words and sentences become objects of reflectional thought rather than utterances making sense automatically. Hiwa has a higher proficiency in English compared to the participants in the above quote. He explains to me in his interview that he is now thinking in English almost all of the time. I asked him if this had changed over recent months, and he told me that, because he lived with someone who did not speak Farsi, they were both forced to speak to each other in English, and therefore day-to-day Hiwa's linguistic landscape was based around English. Furthermore, Hiwa participates in a greater range of activities than most refugees in my research, such as cooking classes and dance lessons. This means that he is meeting native English speakers and conversing

with them daily, helping to speed up his own processes of translation, which have taken a longer time to develop for those who have minimal interaction with native English speakers:

Sophie: When you speak or listen to English, in your head do you translate it to Farsi or do you think in English?

Hiwa: No, I don't translate into Farsi, I think in English.

Sophie: And when you speak, before you speak, do you think in English or Farsi?

Hiwa: I think English not Farsi.

The importance of interaction with native speakers was highlighted by all participants as something that would help these translation processes, yet was seen as a challenge, or a barrier, as it was felt that having meaningful and sustained interaction with native speakers was almost impossible to achieve for the majority of refugees and asylum-seekers. Hence a vicious circle arises here, the poorer is one's English, that harder it is to participate in activities with English speakers, thus hindering one's English improvement.

Hagos has a relatively high level of English yet spends most of his time with other Eritreans in Glasgow. He lives with another Eritrean person with low English proficiency and therefore only speaks Tigrinya at home. Unlike Hiwa, Hagos has relatively limited encounters with native English speakers and, even then, it is often only to carry out a formal transaction. In the quote below Hagos explains to me his problems with his own process of translation. He acknowledges that how he processes language is not beneficial to his language acquisition or levels of understanding, as what he thinks is the easiest option often ends up limiting his ability to communicate. The majority of the time he translates written words or words spoken in English to Tigrinya in his head, before interpreting and understanding what is being said. However, he then has difficulty translating his response from Tigrinya back into English, all the while aware of the time it is taking him to process this translation, making the encounter drawn out and making him feel awkward or uncomfortable. Here it perhaps helpful to consider the conjoint time-space component of linguistic encounters. As Koefoed et al (2017) write, drawing on Merleau-Ponty, encounters are always temporally and spatially situated. Different spaces call for different temporalities: some linguistic encounters are fast paced, or brief, while others are more sustained or allow time for contemplation. However, when one is unable to control the temporality of the encounter, it can become a cause for stress and anxiety. Hagos says that he would like to be able to start thinking and listening in English without having to use Tigrinya as a linguistic 'middle person' between listening and understanding. For Hagos, having the confidence to do this is crucial:

Sophie: When you are speaking English or reading English, in your head do you translate it or...

Hagos: That's a challenge for me ... because I made a mistake you know. Sometimes when I read or listen to you Sophie, immediately I translate in Tigrinya, after that stuck my mind,

because sometimes I should just listen in English. When I translate in Tigrinya it is not better for me, my mind gets stuck. I think I want to try to only think in English. It would be better.

During conversations about processes of translation, participants, like Hagos, acknowledge that it would be ‘better’ if they did not have to go through these at times difficult and complex processes in order to even have basic communication with someone in English. Hagos’ use of the phrase ‘my mind gets stuck’ neatly draws out my suggestion that for non-native English speakers, the mind becomes an intruder in moments of communication. The mind, and its cognitive processes, gets in the way of linguistic interactions, it creates a delay; the normal role of language as the lubricant of time-space interactions is stalled.

Participants employ different techniques to translate from their first language into English and back again, yet for those with lower levels of English this often also required the use of technology or reliance on a friend. The role of technology in language acquisition will be explored in the following chapter, addressing its place within the classroom and how it changes processes of language acquisition, as well as its ability to include or exclude certain nationalities:

Berhane: No, especially for words, for most words, they are, even I cannot translate, I use English, English, English, English. I only want to use English, no more Tigrinya. For example, when I come here, if I find a word difficult, you can Google, or take an English dictionary, and you can see the meaning in English it is simple, no problem. But now I only use English. I know a lot of problems, but there is no more problem in words.

Processes of translation have the ability to help or hinder a person’s ability to settle in a certain place and negotiate daily life. From ethnographic work at social events in Glasgow, it became clear that those who took longer to process language were often left behind in conversation or left out of both conversations and activities altogether. While there is no ‘quick fix’ to issues of translation, the ability to use technology or to rely on a friend with more English was deemed to be of importance to participants.

The Heart

Some participants highlighted that, although they had a good level of English, they prefer to translate into their first language as it ensures that they stay in touch with their mother tongue⁶¹, not risking the forgetting of certain words or phrases. This emotional attachment to language was common among participants, who all expressed their first language as being a link to home, and yet they also expressed their joy at being able to speak English, or when they acquired new English

⁶¹ Mother tongue is used as a term to describe my participants first language. It is a gendered term used to discuss the language one first learns, arguably revealing the role of the mother in teaching and promoting development in their children.

words or phrases, because it marked progression on their journey to settlement in Glasgow. These conflicting emotions were often difficult for participants to negotiate; there was awareness and a desire to learn English, but also to continue using their first language for more than just practical reasons, which led to dynamic sites of multilinguality, from the classroom to the dinner table. Through ethnographic work and my experiences in these sites, I began to think more deeply about the role of language and how emotional attachments and feelings of a language are played out through audible or inaudible dialogues. Later on, I will show how these unique sites are not spaces of neutrality, for the very act of occupying certain spaces and filling them with certain languages is an emotional and embodied experience.

Emotional responses to languages are common; and for participants this was particularly prominent as languages signalled links to home, encounters with new countries or memories from their journeys to the UK. Furthermore as mentioned previously, speaking English can invoke a range of emotions, from stress and frustration to pride. While the process of acquiring English is not a straight or easy path, the more practice that participants had, and as they found themselves improving, the more speaking English became a more positive experience. As English was acquired participants' relationship with their first languages changed. At times their first language was seen as a secondary language while they concentrated on learning English and settling in Glasgow, while on other occasions their first language was their only link to home, their families and their memories, and so became a priority for them. These different feelings did not sit in isolation of course, but were bound messily to a range of other processes.

In the quote below, Kibreab and Daniel acknowledge that speaking Tigrinya is not helping them to improve their English, calling it the 'anti-language' as it works against processes of settlement for them. However, in many situations Daniel and Kibreab make the choice to speak to their friends in Tigrinya, highlighting the conflicting emotions between wanting to communicate with ease yet at the same time wanting to improve English proficiency, once again raising the issue of encounters with native English speakers and how they change the landscape of language acquisition:

Sophie: You said that when you speak English you feel happy. How do you feel when you speak Tigrinya?

Daniel: When I speak Tigrinya before, I feel happy. Now, I feel not happy because Tigrinya is anti-speak. Anti-English.

Kibreab: It is the anti-language [laughing]

Sophie: What do you mean?

Daniel: When I meet my friends I speak Tigrinya, and I cannot improve my English because of this. So it is the anti-language.

The term ‘anti-language’ is an intriguing phrase. Both Kibreab and Daniel use the prefix ‘anti’ to describe Tigrinya, their native language, as something that prevents them from developing their English. Using this term provokes a feeling of Tigrinya being a negative opposite to English. Their use of the term also hints at an idea that they feel that they cannot use both languages, but instead must use only one. Of course, this is not the case in practice, and both Daniel and Kibreab are bilingual and use English and Tigrinya when necessary. However, in discussions of English acquisition they recognise that the only way to improve is to use English over Tigrinya. This conflict between speaking English and native languages is summarised by Berhane:

Berhane: I think Tigrinya can be spoken for a long time, and I know, but I cannot improve in Tigrinya, it is already full for me, I can speak fully. But for me English is in progress, I can improve, and when you speak with native speakers, your speaking is improving, and that makes me happy.

Sophie: So ... to speak English and to improve makes you happy. And when you speak Tigrinya, do you feel ...

Berhane: Yeah I feel comfortable. But when you compare with English, there is more stress on English, because you do not know, but it is good to learn. Eritreans, most of them, they cannot speak full English, so we are always learning. But they always want to speak Tigrinya, [yet] they need to learn English. So to speak to other Eritreans in English is good because we can all practice. I try to speak to them, but a lot of them do not have very much English and so they just want to speak Tigrinya.

Berhane’s comments create a sense of him wanting to assist other Eritreans in his community, moving towards a collective linguistic practice. In his interview Berhane clearly found it frustrating that he was unable to practice English with people he has a lot of contact with, instead having to seek a space to practice outside of his community.

Other participants spoke about the connection that their language provided to home and to their family. They told me how it made them feel comfortable and at home; a result of being able to communicate stress-free and without having to double-check each word they use, waiting to see if the person to whom they are speaking has understood them – something which proved to be a source of anxiety for participants in my research. Hiwa and Hagos explain below why speaking Farsi and Tigrinya is important to them:

Sophie: How do you feel when you speak Farsi?

Hiwa: Very happy. [laughing]. Very happy, really good. Because Farsi first my language, my mum language. It reminds me of home.

Sophie: Ok. And when you speak Tigrinya, how do you feel?

Hagos: Yeah I feel relaxed, I feel at home. It’s my language you know.

The comments above also highlight the role that language plays in identity and how it is tied to feelings of home and belonging. Occupying a precarious position in society, refugees and asylum-

seekers often have little opportunity to feel relaxed or like they belong. It also links to a further notion of being 'at home' with or in a language where the language itself is a space that creates a sense of being 'at home'. In addition to this, the gendering of language brought out by Hiwa's use of 'mum language' and the more commonly used term of 'mother tongue', is particularly pertinent if we are to cross-code language with home and gender roles. The notion of 'speaking home' is vital for refugees and asylum-seekers, it reveals how language and belonging are entwined and feelings of being 'at home' can be achieved through the use of certain languages. Conversely it also suggests that speaking other languages may create feelings of discomfort and become 'unhomely'. If refugees and asylum-seekers can achieve feelings of comfort and belonging through speaking their native languages, it is important that society and those involved in integration policies are aware of the importance of these native languages, moving away from the strong Anglophone approach that currently presides.

The role of heart and mind in processes of translation, but with respect to one's connection to a language, is extremely important in understanding how refugees and asylum-seekers embody both English and their native languages. As has been shown, strategies are not streamlined, nor are they all the same. Depending on someone's level of English proficiency, their time in the country, as well as their integration into both British communities and their own communities, how language is cognitively processed and understood changes, in turn, impacting their identity. While verbal language is important for communication and understanding, for refugees and asylum-seekers the addition of non-verbal actions and gestures complement verbal encounters. When verbal communication breaks down, non-verbal gestures can be employed to try to overcome these issues. The next section looks at a range of embodied actions; data is based on ethnographic work in community classrooms, but also from attending a range of social events and conversations before and after ESOL classes.

Gestural language and laughter

Participants utilise a range of non-verbal actions when encounters take place. The nature of these actions changed in relation to who they were interacting with and the location of the encounter. The situated dynamics of such encounters became apparent through observational work, and even when interacting with the same person or people, the site of encounter had an obvious impact upon how it progressed. The concept of encounter has been used for a body of work exploring contact in spaces of social diversity and difference (Wilson, 2017). Encounters can be studied to explore how people make meanings out of interactions – sustained or fleeting – and in different kinds of spaces. Encounters can both shape – and be shaped – by space, and research has explored numerous public and private spaces to further this claim. Cultural encounters are often analysed in ways that

perpetuate boundaries and borders between ‘us’ and ‘them’, ‘same’ and ‘different’ and other divisive binaries (Rovisco, 2010; Wilson, 2017). Thus, for many refugees and asylum-seekers daily encounters are fraught with notions of borders, boundaries and differing power relations (Domosh, 2010); encounters must be constantly negotiated and renegotiated as they navigate life in new urban areas. Valentine et al (2008) explore the role of language in encounters and find it to be a highly situated practice in (re)making identities and often impacts the ordering of various spaces.

Hame chi khoobe? (How’s it going?)

I want to begin by discussing greetings as a unique speech act and as a physical gesture. Greetings are pivotal in deciding how the rest of the encounter is going to proceed, and from my own experience greetings changed over the course of the research. Greetings between members of the same community would consist of a handshake and “how’s it going?” being uttered. This was the same whether it was men or women being greeted, but women did not instigate the greeting and tended to wait to be greeted by the men. For Eritrean men, the handshake was accompanied by a shoulder to shoulder ‘bump’ (see figures 7.3 and 7.4), although this move was reserved for close friends, as several participants explained to me at the beginning of one class.



Figure 7.3: Author’s sketch of two Eritrean participants greeting each other. (*Field Diary*)



Figure 7.4: Author's sketch of two participants shaking hands before leaning in to 'bump' shoulders (*Field Diary*)

As a young British female, I was aware of my own positionality during these encounters. At the beginning of the research process I was greeted with a handshake followed by “Hello Sophie, how are you today?” As I developed stronger relationships with participants, our greetings changed. With many of the Eritrean men, I was given a shoulder bump or sometimes a hug, and with the Eritrean women I was hugged. They began to use my name when greeting me and asked me more sincerely how I was, often speaking to me in Tigrinya, an intriguing positioning of being ‘one of them’:

I got to the class early today, I was sat chatting to Yohana when Awet, Hagos, Ahferom and Kibreab came bowling in full of energy. “Oh Sophie, Sophie” each of them said as they came over. I stood up to shake their hands and ask how they were. As I was shaking Awet's hand he gripped it differently and put his right shoulder towards my right shoulder. I stood there awkwardly not really knowing what was going on as the other all laughed. Yohana was still sat down smiling. Awet let go of my hand and attempted it again while Kibreab and Ahferom helped direct me to carry out what I now know to be a greeting among friends in Eritrea. Meanwhile, Hagos had gone to sit next to Yohana and was asking her how she was. (*Field Diary*)

With other participants the handshake was exchanged for a hug or an arm over my shoulder, accompanied with a more informal greeting. The physical contact represented trust and understanding in our relationship, and the move to informality was a sign of friendship. Some participants indeed greeted me in their own language, to which I would attempt to reply either in their language or in English, showing that I understood what they had said:

“Kemey aleka Sophie” Awet announced as he followed me into the kitchen to make some tea and coffee for the class. I laughed, knowing that he was testing if I could remember the Tigrinya some of the guys had taught me last week. “I’m good thanks. How are you?” I replied as I turned to him. “In Tigrinya!” Awet demanded. I laughed, I couldn’t remember. “Mushemka?” I asked, he laughed “No, Sophie. That’s ‘my name is’, nice try though. Nice.” (*Field Diary*)

Although my attempt to speak other languages was not always successful, it was clear that it was appreciated, and that participants enjoyed teaching me their languages. This possibility arose out of spending time with participants who wanted to share their language with me, and to teach me basic phrases; and, as mentioned previously, it also acted as a way to reduce power relations or barriers between myself as a researcher and them as participants. Showing an interest in their native languages was a way of sharing cultures, but also worked as an equaliser whereby they became the teacher. In a classroom setting, taking the time to greet each other created a sense of community within the space, helping the classroom to feel safe and comfortable for the learners.

Physical contact during encounters was common among men from the same communities. It often occurred during moments of joking and laughing together, particularly if they were talking in a group. When having conversations, participants would stand in close proximity to one another, often putting their hands on each other’s arms, shoulder or backs. Physical proximity and contact was most pertinent during moments of humour, where conversations became more informal, and when showing gratitude. Moments of laughter between friends or classmates worked to build social bonds and increase feelings of belonging. When humour took place in English and involved the whole class or group, it had a positive impact on the environment. When humour occurred in native languages, it could highlight or increase segregation between different communities or friendship groups. Humour is a speech act that can be employed to reduce tension or potential awkwardness, but can also build similarities between people, which in turn helps friendships to be formed. Participants often used humour in classes in English to engage the teacher in more informal conversations, but on a few occasions also used it to include learners who were quieter and were there alone:

Sarah and I started the class by playing a game. The guys always really enjoy them and it’s a good way to get them chatting to people they don’t normally speak to ... During the game Chien was in the middle and Tekle made a joke that meant Chien would stay in the middle.

The other guys accused Tekle of cheating (in a jokey way) and Chien started to join in. They were all laughing together and were including Chien in the joke. It was really nice to see him joining in with their joking and laughing as sometimes it looks like he is a bit left out but that didn't happen today which was good. It set up the dynamic for the rest of the class. (*Field Diary*)

Engaging others through humour strengthened the sense of community within the classroom, and, when carried out in English, highlighted the complex subtleties of language that were being learned. By using humour in English, participants were able to gain a sense of normality in their communication, having similar interactions as they would when using their own first languages.

Sometimes humour was used to laugh at themselves in relation to their language. When practising phonics, learners often found it funny listening to themselves trying to make certain sounds in English, and would laugh at themselves and their friends. Furthermore, getting words confused or misunderstanding and giving a wrong answer would at times provide humour for the class:

Daniel was talking about his friend from home and kept calling him his 'boyfriend'. The rest of the class were in absolute stitches, but he didn't notice for ages because he was concentrating so much on getting the sentence out. When he did notice, Awet explained to him in Tigrinya what he had been saying. Daniel put his head in his hands and started laughing. (*Field Diary*)

The above excerpt from my field diary carries several layers of analysis. Firstly, the humour that came from Daniel wrongly calling his friend his boyfriend may offer a window into different cultures' views on same-sex relationships. Secondly, I want to highlight that Daniel was not intending to be funny, and perhaps by concentrating so much on getting his grammar, vocabulary and phonics correct, his mind was thinking less about the contextual meaning of what he was trying to convey. After he had finished speaking, and perhaps had relaxed and his mind was not concentrating as much, he was able to reflect on what he had said and to see how it had been interpreted by others. This notion hints at my previous discussion of translation processes whereby the mind becomes a 'middle-person' between thought and speech, often slowing down or even stunting the speech act. When speaking, instead of focussing on whole utterances, participants focused on each individual word, and were only able to reflect on the true meaning of their utterances *after* they had taken place. Laughing at themselves or at their friends appeared to be an important tool for putting all students on an equal level and building relationships with the teacher, which was enhanced when students encouraged the teacher to practise phonics in their first languages, thus reversing the student-teacher roles:

Farid and Yaman were walking with me while we were on our way to the art gallery. They were talking to each other in Arabic, as far as I could tell they were debating the ingredient in a traditional Syrian ice tea. Farid put his arm over my shoulder and told me to repeat a word. I tried and failed. Much to their amusement. "No, no, it's like this" [Farid repeated the word]. I tried again. "That's better, but you are still wrong" Yaman laughed. I told them I could not

make the phlegmy sound from my throat at the beginning of the word. For the next few minutes we entered a series of them making the sound and me trying to repeat it. I managed it once, then reverted back to not being able to do so. Farid waved his hand towards me, “Like we can’t say ‘th’, you can’t say this one, maybe just give up.” Yaman laughed and told me that Arabic is difficult for a lot of non-native speakers. I certainly agree. (*Field Diary*)

This method was sometimes utilised by teachers to make the environment more relaxed and less formal. Humour played an important role in the classroom environment, as will be examined further in the following chapter; it helped to reset power relations and created a more inclusive environment – when it took place in English. When humour was used in their native languages the effects were highly situated. Within a classroom environment it was often exclusionary and created a division within the space. However, when used in more social situations it signalled friendship, comradeship and understanding. Furthermore, similarly to aspects of humour in English, it created a sense of normality and enabled them to forget the uncertainty faced in their daily lives:

I was sat on a table with Hadi, Osama, Sabri, Suleman and Majed. We were joking about supporting different football teams, and which teams were better. Hadi then turned to me to ask about Birmingham as a place to visit. While I was talking to him the others started talking in Arabic and were all laughing about something. When Hadi and I had stopped talking we turned back to the table, they continued their conversation, which was highly animated and they were clearly taking the mick out of Suleman because he was wearing a suit to class. Hadi sat quietly and phased out, I think he felt left out as he could not understand what the others were saying. (*Field Diary*).

In addition to laughing together, which generally required everyone in the encounter to have a certain level of language proficiency, participants took part in other activities that worked to build relationships without language. In exploring encounters, it becomes apparent how everyday spaces enable fleeting encounters, yet other spaces such as a classroom or designated social space provide more sustained encounters that involve emotion from both staff and from the people using the service. These encounters are embodied in a variety of ways:

[S]hared (albeit sometimes awkward) silences, gentle hands on knees or arms, gestures of contact and empathy, smiles, nods; bodies present and reactive to each other. Such contact can be understood as affecting, emergent and belonging to the world (Wright 2015), while in/securities of both refugees and asylum seekers and more settled residents shift; not unaffected by dominant policy and media narratives but also influenced by ongoing personal experiences and situations. (Askins, 2016, p. 524)

Shared activities also help to create mutual feelings of belonging. These include holding the door open for someone, or making them a cup of tea, offering a biscuit, or even eating lunch together before class. These actions, as well as dancing together, singing together and listening to music together, all worked to build relationships. Furthermore, when these actions took place between people with the same language, it worked as a conversation starter and thus actions came before words.

When we arrived at the ceilidh a group of the Eritrean guys went and sat at a table. I asked if they wanted to dance but they said they didn't know the moves. Myself, Dave and Amanda persuaded them to get up and we taught them the dance moves. They were soon getting into it and dancing with each other while Dave instructed them. Of course it was fairly chaotic on the dance floor but they were having such a good time ... Later on Daniel and Awet went onto the stage, they play in the 'band' in their church and so played a traditional Eritrean song while Kibreab taught us all the moves. (*Field Diary*)

Sabri gave me his headphones so I could listen to his favourite music from Sudan. Hadi is a musician and dancer and so wanted to hear it as well. I asked Sabri if he could play it without headphones, so he did. Hadi started clapping along to the music, and Sabri started singing. Meanwhile Osama came over and started dancing to the music next to where we were sat. I started laughing as Osama tried to get me to join in a traditional dance, to which Hadi also stood up and dragged me to my feet. Osama proceeded to teach Hadi the dance and by the grins on their faces they both really enjoyed it. (*Field Diary*)



Figure 7.5: A photograph of participants dancing at a ceilidh as part of Refugee Week 2016. (Author's own)

For those without a shared language, these moments were simple acts which showed humanity and created a connection between people. Whether it was a fleeting interaction or a more sustained encounter, these moments were important for participants in reducing feelings of isolation and loneliness, ultimately all about just being human together. This echoes Askins' work on 'emotional citizenry' (Askins, 2016), where she argues that, by communicating with someone on an emotional level, often through non-verbal actions, feelings of belonging can be built, aiding processes of

integration into certain groups and signalling ‘citizenship’ of a unit smaller than the nation-state.

For instance:

It was Hiwa’s turn to cook lunch this week, and he made Fesenjān (فسنجان) which was amazing. After he had served everybody, he came and sat at our table. Sabri, Mo, Mustafa and Osama were all asking him about it, how to make it etc. but also about food in Iran, this interaction started a big conversation about food. Omid was really impressed that I had tried several Iranian dishes before and then they started talking about Kala Pache, which is a sheep’s head they have for breakfast, and they thought it was hilarious that I was so grossed out. We sat round eating together and talking about our cultures; they always ask me a lot about British culture too. Taking it in turns to cook for each other is such a lovely idea and opens up dialogues between different cultures. (*Field Diary*)



Figure 7.6: A photograph of myself and some participants in fancy dress at the ceilidh. (Author’s own)

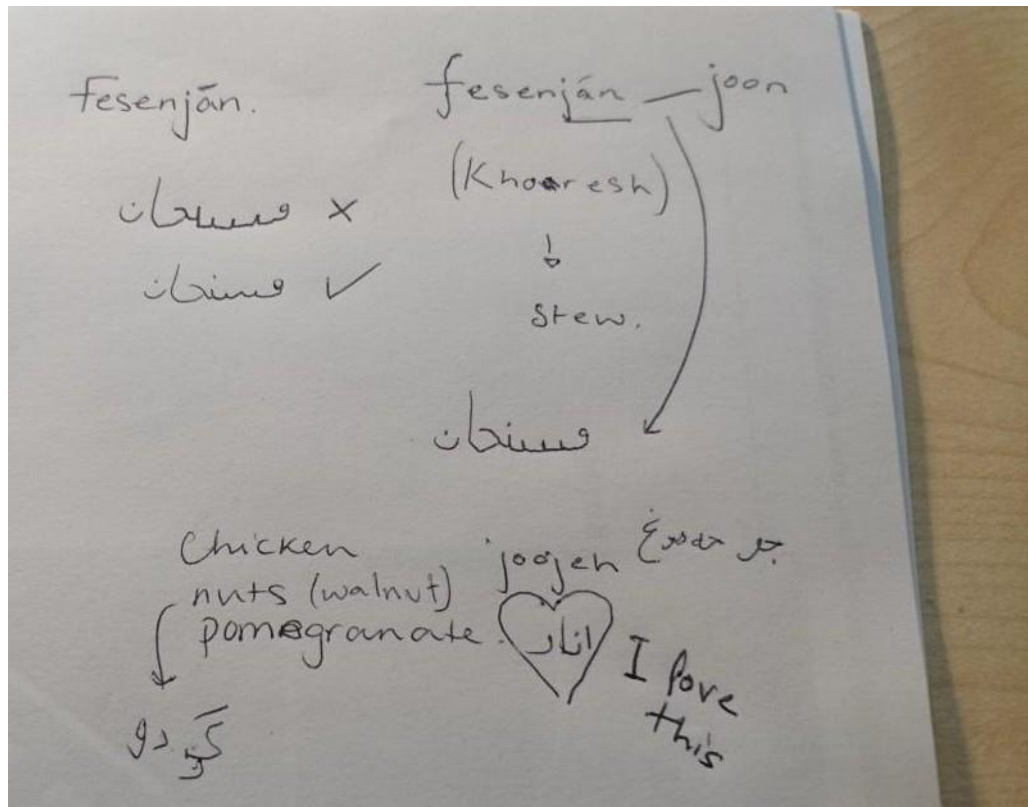


Figure 7.7: Notes from my field diary made by myself and Hiwa over lunch.

Figure 7.7 shows notes made by Hiwa and I while we were eating lunch. He wanted to tell me about the ingredients and for me to practice my Farsi writing, while in turn I taught him the ingredients in English.

It can sometimes be difficult for friendships to be created, predominantly because of linguistic and cultural differences. The notion of being human together and the role of non-verbal actions are of great importance for participants. Eating lunch together before class, listening to music together, teaching each other their own languages, making tea or coffee for each other, playing games together and even something as simple as laughing together, all reveals the importance of these ostensibly minor activities for the social capital of refugees and asylum-seekers. They do not require a good command of English; it is about finding common ground between people. Although these actions do not lead to instant friendship, they are vital in encouraging conversation, increasing confidence and reducing isolation, ultimately making someone feel human and providing a sense of normality so often sought by refugees and asylum-seekers.



Figure 7.8: A group singing The Proclaimers 'I would walk 500 miles' as part of an ESOL class centred on learning Scottish dialect. (Author's own)

Friendships may develop slowly over time, but on other occasions encounters may be more fleeting, yet regular, due to the relatively limited time spent together in the same space. Although lunch may be shared with the same group of people every week, these relationships are not always sustained outside of the space, but this does not mean they are not meaningful or impactful, suggesting that shorter, situated encounters are equally important as those that are more sustained. I want to argue here that these moments of humanity, the feelings of belonging and these small but meaningful actions, all work to move refugees and asylum-seekers from an object to be acted upon, to a subject that influences and is influenced by the world around them, thus 'becoming human'.

The different ways in which participants embodied language was best seen when observing their interactions from a distance. When participants were speaking English, they were less animated and often acted in a more formal manner. When speaking their native languages, participants were much more animated and used more relaxed facial expressions. There was an unnaturalness to their movements and body language when speaking English, which relates back to participants describing feeling detached and distant from the language, and the lack of meaning-making in the language for participants implied they did not know what to do with their arms or hands when speaking. They acknowledged that having a 'shortage' of English meant that they felt they could

not engage with it in the same way that they could with their mother tongue, since it lacked proper meaning. Conversely, when speaking their native languages, hand gestures or gestures of contact were extremely common. Furthermore, these feelings of tension and uncertainty meant that participants felt more vulnerable when speaking English: open to scrutiny and with the potential to get it wrong, for many people there was hence an avoidance of speaking English to native speakers who they did not already know.

Listening and Being Listened To

The geographies of sound and their affects have been explored (Gallagher, 2016), and here I want to consider language as a complex system of sounds that can have a wide variety of impacts on the listener as they seek to interpret, understand and react to what has been said. Listening, and being listened to, are embodied and understood in a variety of ways which can in turn make refugees and asylum seekers feel in, or out of, place. Kanngieser (2012) notes that the different characteristics of speech can make or re-make space, and she argues that ‘voice’ (or lack of) is the most immediate form of expression and that speech ought to be considered as a political force. I mentioned earlier that non-native speakers arguably have a ‘double consciousness’ (Fanon, 1967) whereby they experience their language both internally and externally. This doubling comes to the fore when exploring the embodied listening geographies of refugees and asylum seekers. When I asked participants about how they heard themselves when they were speaking English, it became prominent that they were very self-conscious and could not prevent a sense of ‘double consciousness’ when interacting with native English speakers. Participants reveal that they are almost constantly aware of how they sound to other people, particularly native English speakers, and discuss feeling of vulnerability and embarrassment in relation to not sounding “like a local” (Ahferom). Some participants also explained that they felt self-conscious when speaking their native languages too; this unease was felt for a variety of reasons, with the most common being they were fearful of racist comments or attacks, worrying that speaking their native languages in public would highlight their difference and attract attention. Wanting to blend in was a common feeling among participants, but it was felt that linguistically it was impossible; not speaking English like a native but being fearful of speaking their first languages in public – fearful of how they might be heard – meant that for many participants their spoken language geographies became extremely limited and a highly situated practice. In considering this matter, it is helpful to look at the production of space and power in relation to speech and linguistic worlds. Many scholars have argued that gender, race, education and culture are all inherently tied to language (Kanngieser, 2012), with Smith (1994) claiming that sound is inescapable from the social landscape, with one of these sounds of course being speech.

The listening geographies of refugees and asylum-seekers are vast in comparison to their spoken geographies. While hearing is an involuntary action for many people, listening requires a cognitive interpretive process to make sense of what is being said. Both hearing and listening are highly embodied when we consider *how* we hear or listen; with the ear, ear drums and the embodied affects it might have. Furthermore, it is important to think about those who have hearing impairments and how hearing for these people becomes visual through either sign language or lip reading. For refugees and asylum-seekers, the differences between hearing and listening become somewhat blurred as, even when actively listening, the cognitive processes do not always result in understanding. Therefore, I want to argue that the audible landscape for participants is far more dynamic and messy than for native English speakers, who can choose to what they listen and seek to understand, and what is simply ignored. Participants acquired aspects of English, or Glaswegian dialect, that were not taught in class, often simply from being in the city and paying attention to their surrounding linguistic landscape:

When I walked through the doors all of the guys had already set up the classroom and were chatting while Sarah (the teacher) got ready to start the class. Awet was reading something out of his notebook and when he saw me he grinned and called me over. I went over and stood behind him and Daniel. "Listen to what I know" Awet said, "Cheesin', smiling, greetin', crying, messages, shopping, pure, very, wheesht, shhh, boggin', dirty..." I was laughing and asked him where he had learnt these words, "and, and, bampot, stupid person" he said this quite loudly and the rest of the class burst into laughter, as did Awet. Sarah looked over at me and we both laughed too. He explained to me that he had learnt them at the weekend because he heard someone say wheesht and so decided to look up what it meant on the internet, and this led him to a 'Glaswegian dictionary'. He closed his notebook and said "I can be Scottish now." (*Field Diary*)

Little thought is usually put into where or how listening takes place, but for those who do not speak the language it becomes more pertinent. On some occasions participants would use terms that they had heard and, although not having a complete understanding, were still able to gain a basic understanding of what a term meant based on the context in which it had been heard. On other occasions, participants would arrive at English classes and ask what certain words or phrases meant, enjoying the feeling that they had learned something new on their own. Participants explained to me that it made them feel like one day they would be "Scottish, like a local person. Aye?" (*Tekle*).

Self-Reflection

Tekle's level of self-reflection and consideration of his future in relation to the present were found to be ubiquitous among all of the research participants. This part of the chapter considers ways in which refugees and asylum seekers reflect on their linguistic practices, and then goes on to offer some reflections on my own linguistic practices during the research process, inspired in effect

precisely by how my participants self-reflected. Several participants spoke to me about their disconnect from English, suggesting that, when speaking English, they only use their mouths and therefore it lacks meaning. The feelings of vulnerability and even embarrassment felt by participants when speaking English extends to when they are speaking their native languages too, as previously explored. The tendency for refugees and asylum-seekers to look at themselves externally may arise from their awareness of their liminal position within society; furthermore, their lives are plagued by uncertainty and this spills into their linguistic positioning too. Participants had few opportunities to converse with native English speakers and therefore, when they did, feelings of self-consciousness were heightened. Participants described feeling anxious when entering an encounter with a British person for fear of misunderstanding, being laughed at or judged, and other people witnessing the encounter. Participants reported feeling inferior to native English speakers as a result of not having the language. As a researcher, I was in a position where I could work to eliminate these feelings between myself as an English speaker and my participants as learners, as highlighted with Omid teaching me some sounds in Farsi:

Omid: Yes, very different. But in here not have [makes two Farsi sounds not common in English], you don't have, but in my language we have. [I try making the sound] [Omid laughs] It is difficult you see, language is not easy, Sophie.

Putting myself in a position where their language proficiency was greater than mine not only led to moments of humour, but also highlighted to my participants that we are all in the same situation when it comes to acquiring a new language. From my own observations alongside interviews with ESOL teachers, it is common for research participants to have a higher level of English than they self-perceive. This mistaken belief can be linked to the issues of self-confidence and feelings of vulnerability previously mentioned. When asked in interviews about their linguistic ability, participants often spoke of feeling small or childlike:

Sophie: How do you think you sound when you speak English?

Awet: Another person talking I think very nice, but I'm talking I think the same as a baby [laughs].

However, when participants were more relaxed in social situations or in class, they spoke more fluently and freely than they believed themselves routinely to do so, and this difference was evident from ethnographic observations carried out in these spaces. By overtly thinking about their English language ability, their English became inhibited and appeared laboured; when participants were more relaxed, though, they were not as concerned about making mistakes, with the key aim just being getting a message across. Below Farid describes his reflections on speaking English and Arabic, and how they differ between the languages:

Sophie: When you speak English how does it make you feel?

Farid: In front of my friends it makes me feel smarter, but in front of English people I feel small, because my English is not that good. I feel jealous of you. You speak better than me. I have to be better than you [laughing].

Sophie: [Laughing] You are competitive!

Farid: Yes, in English speaking I have to be competitive. But I'm not improving myself at home. I am improving the second I am speaking with you, but when I leave you, nothing.

Sophie: How does speaking Arabic make you feel?

Farid: Speaking Arabic? With you, it makes me feel smarter. But with my friends, they are smarter than me in Arabic I think.

Sophie: Why?

Farid: Because they are older than me, so they have more experience speaking than me. Sometimes they know more words than me, because the Arabic language is much bigger than the English language, it's much more difficult. But definitely more interesting.

As Farid suggests, limited encounters with native English speakers makes it difficult for learners to practise and to improve their English. Farid explains that he feels 'small' when speaking English among native speakers despite him having a relatively high proficiency. This undoubtedly makes him more hesitant to speak freely in encounters with native English speakers. Farid clearly shows that his emotions and feelings relating to language are directly linked to the context in which either Arabic or English is being spoken. Furthermore, he states that Arabic is a 'bigger' language than English as well as being more difficult. This statement is interesting, as although Farid is fluent in Arabic, he still believes it to be more difficult. His suggestion for this is that Arabic is based on phonetic sounds, and therefore multiple meanings are assigned to one sound. While this is also true of English, Farid's advanced knowledge of Arabic compared to English means that he is perhaps more aware of the workings of the language, hence his argument that it is bigger and more difficult. Kibreab felt that practising with native speakers is "good for our health, to meet people and to see people", while Berhane said that he felt good because he "can meet people ... make friends ... it is good to know lots of people".

Participants in the research were keen to meet local Glaswegian people, and the notion of Scottishness was highlighted by participants as something that they would like to feel. Despite their outwards enthusiasm to meet and converse with local citizens, a pervasive and underlying feeling of hesitance and fear was also present. It is an apparent contradiction but the multitude of emotions, feelings and experiences relating to encounters with local people makes it completely understandable. Participants' desire to go out into the community and meet people, make friends and converse was inhibited by the fear of getting something wrong, being ignored or being judged, thus a sort of 'Catch 22' arises. Participants were clear on the distinction between English and Scottish accents and, although finding the Glaswegian accent difficult to understand, when they picked up some dialect, or could imitate the accent, they were proud of themselves. The refugees and asylum-seekers in the research discussed their desire to be 'Scottish', and now largely have Scottishness as part of their identity. One of the key ways to make this happen was to master the

correct pronunciation. Daniel expressed his frustration with the Scottish accents and said that “the Scottish accent is very difficult. When I was in Eritrea I learned an American accent, so Scottish makes me feel disturbed.” Below, Ahferom talks to me about his reflection on his accent:

Sophie: How do you think you sound when you speak English?

Ahferom: Funny. Is it funny?

Sophie: I don't think it is.

Ahferom: Is it like an English person or obviously a foreigner?

Sophie: Nearly. You have an accent, but you're, some words not, you speak quickly, your words flow together and so it sounds natural.

Ahferom: That's nice.

Sophie: But how do you think you sound?

Ahferom: Well, I'm trying to improve myself to be more natural. I still feel angry about myself sometimes, because as I said to you, I cannot speak proper English with people, and I cannot practice, I feel sad sometimes. I can't speak your accent. And I cannot always express myself. Sometimes I see things on the internet, and I want to comment, but I do not have the words for it.⁶²

The struggle to express themselves fully, to ask questions, or to even understand what is being said in simple transactions can lead to feelings of frustration, but also to ones of shame and vulnerability. 'Not having the words' was a common feeling among my research participants; it conjures images of absence and emptiness, of stunted linguistic development, yet participants do have the words, just not in the language that they would like them to be in. This negative feeling was commonly internalised, and, as Farid suggested on the previous page, makes them feel small and even 'stupid' when speaking English, with participants, arguably wrongly, equating fluency in English to intelligence. These more negative emotions were counteracted by feelings of pride and excitement when new phrases were learned, grammar structures were mastered, and when they are able to help someone who has less English than them.

'Feeling' Language

Language is inherently tied up with notions of identity, since it can clearly work to alter how someone presents themselves to others, but also how someone sees themselves. Different languages, dialects and accents have a range of connotations that are not ubiquitous and are spatially and temporally variable. Identities are fluid and the creation and performance of identities are situational, depending in part on the company in which a person finds themselves. The ability to speak a certain language and dialect can signal belonging to a certain group but can also mean that people are excluded from situations for not having the 'correct' or desired language. Identities are made up of a range of factors of which language is of course just one; this final part of the chapter

⁶² While most of my research centres around spoken language, and all that encompasses, it is inevitable and unavoidable that written language will occasionally enter into the discussion. This is due to the linguistic landscapes in which my participants find themselves, surrounded by language in oral, aural and visual forms.

will focus on ways in which language influences the identities of refugees and asylum-seekers as they negotiate processes of settlement and integration in to Glasgow.

In addition to markers of difference, young migrants' identity practices and affiliations are further shaped through their experiences of mobility. For many young people, their experiences of mobility and cultural change has left them with a feeling of homelessness or a rootless identity with no strong attachment to place (Sporton et al., 2006). The significance of place, in terms of birth, upbringing and ancestry is highlighted in processes of identity formation, and can serve to marginalise someone through a process of 'othering' (Ross et al., 2008). However, due to the large-scale movement faced by many migrants, these identity markers are more fluid, and can be intersected and reworked through social interactions, cultural practices and over time (Kiely et al., 2001). Both Ross et al. (2008) and Hopkins (2004) found that, for young people in Scotland, adopting practices that conveyed 'Scottishness' were important in identity formation. Things such as accent, drinking Irn Bru, and taking part in Scottish festivals or days (e.g. Burn's Night) all helped young migrants to claim a Scottish identity, revealing how identity markers such as birthplace, race, ancestry and upbringing disrupt connotations of Scottishness with being white, being born in Scotland or having Scottish ancestors, meaning that the idea of being 'Scottish' is salient and becomes attainable for minority ethnic groups (Ross et al., 2008):

Identity is now recognised as something that is continuously changing, non-static and non-essentialised ... The creation of hybrid forms of identity, which create links between different forms of belonging, have been widely researched ... In this way ... identity 'is not confined to an ethnic group, but is an amalgam, neither purely religious nor specifically ethnic, that may be linked to forging identity as a culture of resistance' ... In terms of national identity formation ... there are a series of identity markers being used by people to assert their identity: place of birth, ancestry, place of residence, length of residence, upbringing and education, name, accent, physical appearance, dress and commitment to place. (Hopkins, 2004, p.265)

A large part of identity formation comes from how others perceive 'you' in relation to themselves. Perceptions can stem from visible differences such as skin color, or not speaking the same language, or can come from broader discourses in society about certain groups of people, separating 'us' and 'them'. For example, participants in Hopkins' (2004) study felt that:

Markers of 'Muslimness' have heightened in significance as a result of the events and aftermath of September 11th 2001. In particular, dress choice, young men with beards and skin colour are recognised by the young men as markers that identify people as Muslim, and therefore as a threat. These markers have a powerful influence in determining the experience of young Muslim men's everyday lives in Scotland. (Hopkins, 2004, p.261)

Research has shown that those belonging to a 'majority' group are less likely to acknowledge their heritage and how this impacts their identity and relationships with others (Phoenix, 1998). Ross et

al. (2008) found that those from white Scottish backgrounds showed a lack of awareness of their own ethnic and cultural backgrounds, and instead emphasised their interests and personality when discussing their identity and social relationships. This finding echoes other research that shows how young people often base their friendships upon likes and dislikes rather than religious or ethnic identities (Valentine, 2000; Sporton et al., 2006; Adams, 2009; Dobson, 2009). Despite this, young migrants often place the largest emphasis on their nationality when seeking friendship. In communities with a large proportion of migrants, the emphasis on nationality aids cultural understandings, provides easier communication, and can help new migrants access existing networks of friendship and support (Darling, 2011; Wells, 2011).

The uncertainty and liminal position in which many migrants find themselves mean that they have complex notions of belonging and home. From interviews and general discussions with participants, it was found that many felt that their true homes were their native countries. Their family and friends are still there, and it can be argued that home for the young people revolves around family. As Archambault (2012) states, home and identity have a multiplicity of meanings for each individual, yet for my participants home indeed signalled the countries that they have left. As their time in Glasgow increased, participants began to feel more comfortable, yet this was often dependent on their living arrangements and social networks; those who were happy in their accommodation and had a strong social network felt that Glasgow could become home, while those who were not so situated still felt strong discord with the city. This (unsurprising) finding is in line with Sporton et al.'s (2006) findings about the interrelation between social capital and integration. Participants discussed different ways of trying to increase feelings of home, while at times expressing resentment, as was evident when Mohammed explained that "Afghanistan is ruined, but it is still my home. I didn't want to be here, I didn't ask for it, but I had to. Maybe one day it [the United Kingdom] will become my home."

Throughout the research, it became clear that many felt their language to define their nationality, and therefore saw their language as personal to them and their friends. The quote from Mohammed above links back to my previous discussion on 'speaking home' and 'speaking selves', whereby language has the ability to conjure a sense of belonging and a sense of being at home. What is more, Mohammed employs a linguistic strategy of stating what is home in order to try to 'trick' himself, or his mind, into feeling at home. While outwardly saying something is home was common for some of my participants, internally there remains a deeper link to a 'home' that is emotional, psychological and ultimately embodied. By communicating with others in their native languages, participants create a sense of community among their peers, and in turn this helps to

forge a sense of belonging. Adams (2009) found that communal identity among young refugees significantly aided the integration and settlement period.

A classroom discussion about identity and citizenship brought up a multiplicity of findings. Participants explained that by maintaining some of their traditional cultural practices, their life resembled something of a continuity of their lives prior to moving to the UK, and hence decreased the jolted feelings experienced as a result of their migration. This possibility echoes Adams (2009), who found that young migrants often try to maintain aspects of their former life in an attempt to ease the transition period. One practitioner in the research discussed the importance of this continuity:

Obviously these guys⁶³ are displaced not often through choice, and it's through desperation, it's not like they've chosen to leave behind their entire lives. And I think it's so important for these guys to hold on to that, because it's a huge part of their identity, and a connection with their families, so they can still connect their previous lives pre-migration. And that makes it easier as they settle here, culturally too, [and] their native language is really important. (*Rachel, Faith based community organisation*)

While all of my participants expressed their need and desire to learn English, in order to settle in the UK, they were equally concerned that, by not maintaining links with people from their 'home' country, they risk not using their native language and thus fear that they will 'lose' it – and, in turn, lose part of who they are. Many participants prioritise integrating into existing migrant communities rather than integrating into communities beyond migrant networks. A few people stated that this tactic was in order to maintain a sense of who they are and where they come from.

Participants also discussed the difficulties faced in meeting local people; they occupy different spaces, already have friendship groups and partake in different activities, thus rendering integration into local communities a challenge. However, for Karzan, it was a choice to remain 'disconnected':

Sophie: And so you don't feel ...

Karzan: Connected? No. I keep myself as a quiet person. I say 'hi, how are you?' Like that, but I keep my borders with people. Sometimes I think people get jealous because I have good English, and so for me life is easier. I am very lucky, and I try to help people, but I am still vulnerable. I only know you with English.

Karzans' use of the term 'borders' is interesting as it echoes scholarship on encounters where it is found that everyday encounters are often tied up with borders, boundaries and a sense of 'us' and 'them' (Valentine et al, 2008; Koefoed and Simonsen, 2012; Wilson, 2017). While much of this work focuses on how it is the 'majority', in this case British people, who build and maintain those

⁶³ 'Guys' is used here as a non-gendered collective reference to the refugees and asylum-seekers with whom Rachel works.

boundaries, Karzan shows that, for him, it his choice to maintain boundaries between him and other refugees, asylum-seekers and local communities. He acknowledges that, just because he has a good level of English, he is still vulnerable, a result of his asylum-seeker status in the UK. Thus, Karzan's maintenance of boundaries may be for self-protection, to ensure he can live in a self-sufficient way that means he does not have to rely on others. His statement that he knows only me with English was said in a way that hinted as a resignation to the fact that to remain as an individual entity, without connections to any other communities, was a way to ensure self-preservation. During the interview with Karzan, despite the externalisations of these feelings, I could not help but sense a feeling that a reason for Karzan's disconnect was out of mistrust of others as well as not wanting to be a 'burden' – feelings that may have arisen as a result of previous experiences on his journey to the UK.

For many participants, their identity has become blurred and they discuss no longer feeling like a citizen of *any* country. Their uncertainty in the UK means that they do not want to form strong bonds with the UK, but equally they understood that they could not remain close to their native countries, echoing Crawley's (2007) findings regarding the citizenship of unaccompanied asylum-seeking children. My research revealed the internal identity struggles felt by participants, reflected in how the young people navigated their lives here, some embracing British practices and opinions, while others resisted becoming immersed in British society. This distinction was evident from a comparison exercise and discussion which found that there were both positive and negative connotations with either 'becoming British' or remaining a citizen of their native country, with some participants feeling that 'becoming British' entailed disregarding their own cultural values.

These conflicting emotions and experiences can be mapped back on to the role of language in settlement and integration. Participants discussed the importance of their own languages as an expression of their identities and the connection that it gave them to their countries of origin, but also how it enabled participation in cultural activities. In an interview extract below, Yaman explains why his native language is important to him and airs his concerns over losing an ability to speak and read Arabic. This worry was echoed by many participants who had concerns that, by not participating in dialogue with people from their own communities, they would lose part of their identity; this is best summed up by Daniel who explained to me that "to lose my language would be to lose myself." To illustrate:

Sophie: When you speak, or read English do you translate it in your head?

Yaman: I used to, but not anymore. Now I get some difficulties in translating English to Arabic. Sometimes, I just forget the Arabic word for an English word. I am scared I will forget Arabic.

Sophie: How would you feel if that happened?

Yaman: Well, it would be very bad. So that's why I am trying to communicate more in Arabic with other people, and read some Arabic books so I won't forget. I have downloaded many books on my phone now, I want to read them so my Arabic won't be weak any more. And to be an interpreter or translator, I have to make my Arabic stronger than my English, because you have to put a definite word for every English word.

Sophie: And how important is Arabic to your identity?

Yaman: For me lots of things would be lost if I lost the Arabic language. I wouldn't be able to understand poetry, or read the Qur'an.

Other participants considered language the most important link to their home, their friends and their families. Speaking their native languages enabled participants to feel a level of comfort among, or despite, the uncertainty that surrounds their lives, and being able to understand those around them felt less isolating.

In terms of emotions when speaking English, something that was touched on earlier in the chapter, was the feeling of frustration as a result of having a 'shortage' of language. An inability to express oneself can be frustrating, and for participants this was a common issue. Their position in society, the complicated asylum system and their diverse set of needs all mean that the ability to express themselves is vital, ensuring that they receive the correct help, advice and care:

... someone comes here without any form of communication, form of expression, they're coming from a refugee background, coming from pretty vulnerable space. They've probably experienced horrific trauma beforehand, that they then have no means of expressing themselves, for an outlet is difficult, it's scary.⁶⁴ (*Gary, Community organisation*)

In addition to receiving assistance, being able to express themselves helps to build social connections, in turn reducing feelings of isolation and increasing feelings of belonging. Feeling isolated as a result of not being able to speak English has adverse effects on the mental health of refugees and asylum-seekers in an already vulnerable situation (Davies, 2005). Something that may be considered trivial in day-to-day life, such as asking how much something costs, can have far greater effects for refugees and asylum-seekers, as explained by one teacher and social integration worker below:

Socially, it's incredibly important in reducing isolation ... and I think we underestimate it. Buying a pint of milk, the first thing you do in a day, becomes a source of frustration, and it becomes a mission. We've all felt it ... on holiday, when you're just reduced to pointing and miming, and the embarrassment that brings with it ... and it's one thing being on holiday, it's a laugh, but we can feel that flicker of embarrassment and how lost it makes you feel. And if that was all day, every day ... it's so important, socially being able to talk to your neighbour, to negotiate getting on the bus. It means you can make appointments, and, if you can't do that, embarrassment leads to frustration, which leads to anger, which leads to massive issues ... They suffer all the same difficulties and emotions as any one British person with literacy

⁶⁴ While a lack of a means of communication or expression is troubling for someone entering a new country, trying to meet people and begin a new life, this quote from Gary also highlights that access to psychotherapy and counselling is also likely to require English, meaning that the very services that they need are out of reach for the majority of new arrivals.

issues, shame, embarrassment, not wanting to say, low self-confidence, all those things that go with that. (Tiff, *Community organisation and ESOL teacher*)

The above interview extract reveals how important language is in allowing expression and minimalising feelings of embarrassment and frustration, in turn reducing risks of further isolation and mental health issues. Expression is key to building, maintaining and performing identities and, if language is central to expression, then it is also to identity. Native languages are vital in creating and maintaining identities in relation to participants' lives pre-migration, but also now in Glasgow.

Conclusion: The Body as a Linguistic Means

With this chapter, I have demonstrated the multitude of ways in which languages are embodied by refugees and asylum-seekers. This embodiment has been evidenced through interview data, but also as a result of observations. Importantly, writing this chapter led me to reflect on my own embodied practices of speaking and listening, my positionality of insider-outsider and also how I used my body to teach English to my participants, taking me away from an objective researcher to become an active participant. Participants engaged a range of methods in order to speak both English and their native languages; revealing the different embodied actions and responses that multiple languages evoked.

In this chapter, I have considered the importance of the non-verbal in communication, encouraging thought about how important non-verbal actions in the lives of refugees and asylum-seekers are. The previous chapter explored gestural language in terms of communication when there is no shared language, whereas here I seek to show how non-verbal actions are important in providing 'humanity' and 'normality' for many of my participants who often feel isolated and alone. In line with Askins' (2016) notion of 'emotional citizenry', my research has shown how simple tasks such as making tea or eating lunch together can aid feelings of belonging within a group. Gestures of friendship or comradeship, explored here through humour and processes of greeting one another, all work to create feelings of trust and to build social capital among participants. The importance of non-verbal actions ties in with non-representational teachings, arguing for the importance of the seemingly mundane everyday practices to be recognised. In this chapter I have focussed on these actions and their effects, but through exploring processes of translation have also highlighted that thought must, and does, come before speech for language learners. Language use is not automatic or intrinsic but becomes extrinsic, sometimes interrupted and at times *overthought*.

As English is acquired, participants become active speakers and listeners, although listening plays an important part in acquisition itself. Actively engaging with a language involves a different set of

embodied practices and emotions compared to when participants felt a disconnect from a language. Moreover, acquiring English involves new shapes and sounds to be inserted into someone's linguistic repertoire, involving both embodied and cognitive processes to ensure that these micro-ethnographies can be recalled, allowing participants to express themselves. Embodied language is 'natural' to and for speakers of all languages and both mono- and multi-lingual people, but the precise embodiments involved are not universal but rather socially and culturally located (and originated). The shapes we make with our mouths, our body language and our methods of expression are all different ways of exploring the role of the body in relation to language.

Language is inherently linked to identity and, in part, embodiment allows identities to be made and remade using a range of situated practices. Language cannot be seen as separate from the body or the mind, and therefore should be recognised as a central element in providing understanding of lifeworlds and making sense of day-to-day experiences. Language thus becomes a space in itself, either homely or unhomely, comfortable or uncomfortable, and the way language is embodied often reflects these feelings. Language has the ability to be acutely felt by both speaker and listener and provoke a wide range of embodied actions, emotions and visceral feelings. Speaking 'home' becomes important for refugees and asylum-seekers as it provides a crucial link to their families, friends and memories pre-migration. The level of comfort felt when speaking their native languages was evident during my research as I saw participants relax, use more open body language and deploy more gestures. Language can be a dynamic space that includes or excludes language users and one language can be embodied in a multitude of ways, giving everyone a unique linguistic performance.

As a result of the cultural turn in geography and the interest in notions of practice and performance, geographers have begun to examine how language is performed to include or exclude people, and to establish hierarchies of social status. By considering language as a practice in itself, this chapter has shown how people utilise language to express, affect and understand the world. This focus has led to a better understanding of interactions and encounters through which people's identities are presented in the world, accenting the associated problems that occur during certain encounters or interactions, as well as their intrinsic emotionality. In exploring the embodied practices of language my participants have shown how it can be difficult to separate embodied responses, language and emotions. When discussing how they embody language, conversations always returned to how they felt when speaking certain languages, often noting that feelings of vulnerability and embarrassment are prevalent among participants when speaking English. Language connects bodies and minds to the external environment, and participants simultaneously internalise and externalise their language, resulting in the border between the individual and the world around becoming porous or

blurred, and hence the salient notion of ‘double consciousness’, as discussed in this chapter. The ways in which participants interact with the world around them, as well as the ways in which language is internalised, processed and expressed, all suggest a move from human object to human subject, in line with a possible critique of Agamben’s (1995) notion of ‘bare life’ (the asylum-seeker or refugee as mere ‘objects’ stripped of humanity). Thus, it is possible to argue that, as language is acquired, autonomy is increased and a political and active notion of ‘being-in-the-world’ is constructed. Through voice, and through language, one becomes a citizen subject. As participants acquire English, they move from their position in ‘The Jungle’ (an animal) to having a place in society (a human), from a policy statistic to a named person.

Chapter 8

“A Safe Space to Garble”: The Classroom as a Site of Acquisition and Practise

A church hall, an ‘activity space’, a library, or even a room in a supermarket; the community classroom provides a distinctive but variable site for language acquisition, language performance and language practice. With their various, and variable, assemblages of ‘materials’, which reflect the differing root uses of the spaces in question, the spaces are occupied temporarily by people pursuing a *common* set of practices; the curricular, teaching and administration are inflected by the spaces in subtly different ways afforded by the sites. The dynamics of such a space not only depend on *where* it is, but also *who* is in it. This chapter will explore the community classroom as a space of multilinguality in which language happens, offering an insight into the different ways in which these spaces are navigated by teachers, volunteers and learners, creating a micro-community in its own right. The community classroom, with its informalities, occasional chaos and welcoming environment, means that my research was highly situated, and is not reflective of ESOL classrooms in more formal institutions such as colleges or language schools. However, I am able to reflect on these informal spaces and practices and how these play a role in shaping language learners’ experiences. This chapter hence takes the community-based classroom as a site-specific language geography and explores the goings-on in these spaces.

The chapter begins by providing insight into the community of the classroom; the space itself and those that occupy it, keeping language as a central theme to be investigated. I then explore my participants’ motivations and priorities when learning English, before moving on to look at ‘linguistic happenings’ in the classroom. I finish the chapter by exploring the challenges faced by learners and practitioners in providing, accessing and developing ESOL education.

A Space of Belonging?

Before I delve into the social, cultural and emotional features of the classroom spaces, I want to offer a more practical overview of these arguably ‘functional’ spaces, that in themselves do not necessarily promote emotional or social ‘belonging’. A geographical description of the mundane fittings and fixtures of the sites will uncover the way rooms are temporally ‘customised’ and transformed into spaces that incite feelings of belonging.

Although the sites of community classes in my research varied, they all had one commonality; they were not classrooms. The sites varied in size, from large, sparse church halls to smaller community spaces that, without having maximum class sizes, could become cramped. The classes that were held in church halls also provided lunch either before or after classes, adding to the multiple uses of such spaces. The three church halls I spent time in were, for the class, filled with round tables and chairs. The tables were used to eat lunch, and then to sit at whilst the class was taking place. The church based classes were run independently of the church, yet drew upon the faith-based ethic of social care and help for those 'less fortunate'. This echoes Conradson's (2003) work on organisational spaces of voluntary welfare, suggesting that in New Zealand, in the latter decades of the 20th century social welfare provision was predominantly a matter for family and community, meaning a number of voluntary community-based organisations formed. I would argue here that in the UK, in more recent years, as we have seen a return to a Conservative government imposing strict and often severe funding cuts, again voluntary organisations are taking the place of statutory services to provide social welfare. Classes in the church halls had larger capacities and student numbers were commonly above 30. The halls were decorated with large wall hangings depicting images of Jesus, the disciples and other religious figures, as well as verses from The Bible and crucifixes. Two of the church halls were relatively modern and therefore were light, warm and did not necessarily feel like a place of worship – apart from the wall decorations. The third hall was in an old church in Govanhill; the room was dark and quite cold, meaning that many students kept their coats and jackets on, changing the feel of the space and highlighting their temporality within it. All of the classes used white boards on wheels that could be stored in a corner of the room when the class was not taking place. Some classes used flip charts in addition to white boards, as it was common for teachers to leave up the information that they had written so students could copy it down and have it to refer to later on in the lesson.

One class was held in a community room of a Tesco's superstore in Springburn. The room was located at the end of the checkouts, meaning that to access the room one had to walk the length of the checkouts in the opposite direction of shoppers leaving the supermarket: it felt like an unnatural thing to do and made people stand out from the Tesco customers. Inside the room there was a small toilet room and a small 'kitchen' with tea and coffee making facilities. In both the toilet and the kitchen there were boxes and shelves of toys, games, books, crayons, festive specials discarded and abandoned, not allowing you to forget that you are in someone else's space. The class was often interrupted by the sound of a voice over the tannoy, calling for more cashiers or searching for staff, blaring through from next door, yet it still somehow felt personal and private. The room itself was fairly small, with a high counter top on one side with stools and four computers, though these only worked intermittently. The room was used for a range of other activities throughout the week and

therefore before each class tables, chairs and the whiteboard needed to be manoeuvred into place. It was not uncommon for students to turn up early, often to see each other and socialise before class began, and as a result students would help myself and the teacher transform the room into a classroom. Tables were arranged in a ‘horseshoe’ shape, with the whiteboard placed in the middle, the shape of the tables meaning that all of the students could see each other, and the teacher was able to see all of the students, which worked well for classes that were more conversational.

The rooms that community ESOL classes were held in were not cosy, often sparse and impersonal. Yet the very act of transforming them into a learning environment, one where conversations, making friends and getting to know one another was encouraged, changed the atmosphere of the space from feeling shell-like to feeling like a socially and emotionally charged space. Within the supermarket room it became easy to forget where you were, only reminded by the tannoy or a trip to the loo. The church halls did not encourage religious teachings overtly or covertly, but instead focussed on community, friendship and support. When the classes finished, and the people left, the spaces once again became functional, void of personality and emotion.



Figure 8.1: A participant’s photograph of a community ESOL classroom.

Alongside the very ‘geography’ of the sites of learning and their various iterations, the people by whom the space were occupied were crucial in the ‘becoming’ of the space. Teachers and volunteers would welcome students into the spaces with open smiles and friendly questions; of importance was knowing the students by name or introducing themselves to new students, making the space personal to each individual. Engaging people in conversation before the classes began turned the spaces from silent, at times awkward sites, into places that were alive with chatter and sometimes humour. Of course, each individual teacher or volunteer had their own methods in welcoming students, but, like Conradson (2003) suggests, the appreciation of embodied actions must be recognised as a key way in which these spaces became human. A hand-shake, an embrace, a pat on the back or even simply a smile can all be vital in transforming mundane, non-descript places into warm and social environments. Friendships and social networks are formed and sustained in community spaces, which in turn aids feelings of belonging within these increasingly familiar, yet still highly temporary environments (Griffiths et al, 2006; Darling, 2011). Studies into such spaces highlight the importance of staff in these environments and their interactions with those who frequent the centres. Feelings of support, understanding, welcome and generosity are all reported as these ephemeral moments of association and recognition became part of daily life in these community spaces (Mestheneos et al, 1999; Lewis, 2010; Darling, 2011). By having positive associations, meanings are inscribed into the space, Holloway and Valentine (2000) stress the importance of the interrelation between spaces and their associated emotions and meanings. This interrelation has the ability to make someone feel ‘at home’ and create a sense of belonging, or indeed the opposite. The temporary nature of community classrooms means that these emotions and meanings are often spatially and temporally felt, unique to a particular moment in time and in space.

Community classes offer a distinctive site of language acquisition and social interaction. Usually run by third sector organisations and other non-state actors, these classes create an informal learning environment where students are able to attend lessons without having previously registered. This means that community classes are most commonly ‘drop-in’ classes, an approach recognising the transient nature of the refugee and asylum-seeker population and therefore allowing flexibility in class attendance. For many participants, appointments and other issues arise unexpectedly, making it difficult for them to attend classes; therefore, the flexibility means that if they are unable to attend for several weeks, it does not mean that they cannot resume attendance. The drop-in nature also means that people can start attending ESOL classes when they are ready, rather than having to wait for a new term, new course or space to become available. Despite the drop-in nature of classes being valued among learners and practitioners, it is not without fault. I found that the atmospheres in classrooms are important in influencing how the classes run and, due

to the transience of learners and new people coming and going week after week, the atmospheres differ regularly, impacting the community feel of the classroom. This posit mirrors Anderson (2009) who argues that atmospheres are in constant flux, forming and deforming as different bodies enter into relation with one another. Moreover, social interactions and relationships have to be renegotiated as new people arrive and long-term learners move on. It is again helpful here to turn to Anderson's (2009) work on 'affective atmospheres', notably where he states that atmospheres are affective qualities that emanate from, but are simultaneously something more than, an assembling of bodies, and that they affect, and are affected by, those bodies present. He suggests that atmospheres are always affecting, whether felt or not, and of interest to this research, is the consideration of how the atmosphere of ESOL classrooms change temporarily when they are filled with learning apparatus and learning bodies. Furthermore, Anderson (2009, p.78) argues that atmospheres are shifting and uncertain and 'may interrupt, perturb and haunt fixed persons, places or things'. This notion of haunting is echoed by Conradson (2003), who suggests that atmospheres exist without bodies in space, and therefore they may haunt certain sites. Thinking about my own research I want to argue that, despite the physical transformation into community classrooms, the sparse walls and impersonal décor means that the original atmosphere of the space, pre-classroom, is always present and only momentarily pushed to one side by the classroom transformation.

The Classroom as a Space of Asylum

The disconnect between community classes and more 'official' bodies, combined with their informality and constantly evolving nature, means that many learners see these classes as social spaces in addition to educational spaces. The combination of friendship and social interactions, alongside language education and wider support and advice, results in learners enjoying the time spent in the classroom, treating it as somewhere to go to get out of the house, to see people, to seek support and to provide routine. The classes presented themselves as a space of familiarity and indeed a community where refugees and asylum-seekers could come together in an everyday space within the greater unknown space of Glasgow. Refugees and asylum-seekers have little option of where they are located and with whom they live (Archambault; 2012), and furthermore their lives often lack structure and routine. Therefore, having a specific space temporarily intended for their use seems to be appreciated by participants:

Hamidreza: It is good place to be. Everyone is friendly and like family, with you, you [Sophie] are like our mother in the UK. [laughs]. No, no, it's great. I look forward every week because otherwise just home and sleep and feel bored.

Hamidreza's suggestion that I am like a mother highlights the caring nature participants feel in community classes – without overlooking of course the stereotyping of the maternal role – as well as the stability provided and how they help participants to feel 'at home'. Reflecting on Archambault's (2012) findings, many participants feel that, if they do not attend ESOL classes, they do not have other spaces where they can pass time outside of their houses. During classes, participants are generally content and very social, and it could be argued that this may not be the case for time spent outside of the classroom where their social networks are more limited (Hopkins and Hill, 2008) and their space for socialising is commonly confined to the home.

Attendance at Classes

Learners often travel from different areas of Glasgow to attend ESOL classes for a variety of reasons. In part, it is a result of their initial accommodation; ESOL classes are one of the first things that refugees and asylum-seekers seek upon arrival in Glasgow, which means that usually they begin attending classes near to their new homes. As explored previously, the classes provide a sense of community and therefore, even once – or if – they are moved into temporary accommodation elsewhere across the city, learners often return to the classes attended prior to such a move, as this is where they have built up relationships with other learners as well as with the teachers. Although attendance becomes less frequent or predictable, they often return to class to see people, creating a convivial environment; and teachers in my research highlight how much they enjoy it when learners come back to classes after a long period of time, as they are able to find out what they are doing now and how they have progressed:

Awet was in the class today. It was really good to see him and he seemed to be doing well ... I said that I hadn't seen him in a while and was everything ok (I am beginning to dread the answer to this question I find myself asking people regularly). He explained that he had been moved into a homeless hostel in Govan and so it was just quite far for him to come and he didn't get a bus pass so it was either expensive or a long walk ... I don't think I realised how important relationships between staff and students are as well as the role of having friends in the same class. (*Field Diary*)

Awet, among other participants, often returned to the Springburn class on a Friday after not having attended for several months. The flexibility of the classes, alongside the welcoming nature of them, means that they provide good spaces to meet others, to seek support and to build – or to affirm – friendships that can continue outside of the classroom. Some participants said that they attend ESOL class to meet others going through similar experiences to them who can offer peer support as well as friendship. This peer support transcends ethnic or nationality differences and is a level playing field in terms of providing and seeking help for fellow classmates.

Through interviews and observational work, it is evident that the informal nature of these classes lends itself to creating a highly social and flexible space of learning. It is a space to meet people from other places, share cultures and build bonds. Furthermore, classes provide a safe space where it is ok 'to get things wrong':

I had a guy in recently who has been very quiet, he is an Ethiopian guy, and his grasp of English has been very poor, and he's actually gone into a transition stage now where he will talk total nonsense to me and a few of the guys, I mean not total nonsense, but you know ... So we're actually trying to provide a safe space to garble, to get things wrong, to experiment with language. Because we have this other aspect, this social thing, people drop in, it's very nice. A safe space to garble about anything and everything, and there needs to be more of that. A place where you can be excited about speaking the language and someone will listen. (*Nick*)

This idea that Nick discusses – the notion of a safe place to experiment with language – is common in all of the classes where I carried out research. Interviewees from government and council organisations acknowledge the important work done by these non-state actors. These participants discuss the need for informal, drop-in type classes that not only provide education, but also a space for learners to practise their English. Practitioners recognise that non-state actors are best placed to provide conversational classes as they do not have to stick to the same curriculum requirements as colleges, and thus there is a feeling that third-sector classes complement college education, not comprising a direct replacement but filling a vital gap in ESOL provision. Moreover, community classes provide education when college waiting lists are long – some learners have been waiting for a college place for over 12 months – thus providing an important space for socialising and offering routine in otherwise uncertain times. By offering a welcoming community to new learners, social capital increases, which helps to create positive experiences for learners.

Third Sector Support

The charities, organisations and churches that run community classes are well positioned to offer support beyond language education, something which is very important in the lives of refugees and asylum-seekers. Learners sometimes come to class to ask for advice or support, such as needing help deciphering a letter they have received, or needing a native English speaker to make a phone call for them. While it is not always possible for the teacher to provide what the learners need, the educators are in a position to signpost the learner to the correct person or organisation, or there is often someone in the room who can provide the required support. This highlights the importance of community ESOL classes both within and outside of education, as well as the importance of the third sector in providing support to people who otherwise may not know where or how to access it.

Support and advice provided in ESOL classes was widely utilised by participants in my research. They rely on informal support and advice to navigate daily problems faced, as well as developing their understanding of life in Glasgow. For many participants, attendance at one community class enables them to find out about a host of others both through other learners, but also from teachers who work in multiple classes, moving towards a notion of a ‘network of spaces’:

Hamidreza: Sarah helped me about, about um, studying English. She gave some address similar to Tesco and some church for studying English.

Ahferom: Yeah the English classes, even the first time they are known by The Red Cross, after the Red Cross, you go to one class, you meet other people, they will tell you about other classes. Or the teachers will tell you about other classes. And by this people you end up knowing a lot of classes, and you can go all around the ESOL classes.

Hamidreza and Ahferom both recognise the way that the classroom acts as a space where information is shared, both between refugees and asylum-seekers and from teachers and practitioners. Figure 8.2 shows the whiteboard at the end of one class where students facilitated a discussion on where to buy a range of products while working within their budgets. During this activity, lively conversations took place about where to get the best Syrian bread, Iranian dates and clothes for Eritrean church, bringing the students closer together by sharing cultural traditions and practices.

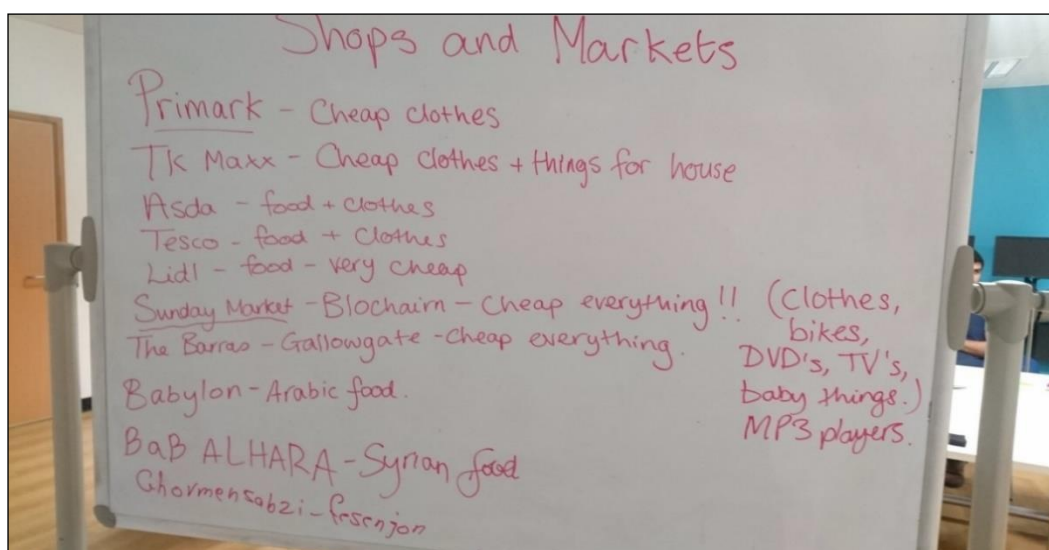


Figure 8.2: Results of a student-led discussion on where to buy various products in Glasgow (Author's own photograph)

So far I have discussed how community classes provide more than just an educational space by exploring the social, supportive and informal nature of these classroom spaces. I now want to turn to the development of cultural capital within community classes. Participants enjoy learning about

life in Glasgow and getting the opportunity to speak to native English speakers in an informal space such as the community classroom.

Participants are often keen to share their cultures, and conversations frequently turn to discussion around the differences between their countries and Britain, and more specifically Scotland. ESOL classes provide a good opportunity to talk about the differences between languages, in terms of (in)formality, slang, idioms and colloquial terms but also in relation to writing. Almost all of my participants come from countries that use non-Roman script, and many write from right to left and have complicated systems of language and sound. Thus, in class, participants are enthusiastic about teaching me to write in their language, with much amusement at my inevitable failure to master it as they watch me slowly produce jolty lines that barely resemble little more than a scribble.



Figure 8.3: A name badge with the Arabic translation of my name (Author's own photograph)

By attempting to write using the Arabic script, I share the difficulty of trying to write in a new language using a different written form, which works to reverse the teacher-student binary as the participants tell me what they think of my attempt. As was explored in Chapter 7, this kind of exercise acts as a leveller and is an important tool employed by teachers to encourage participation and to increase the confidence of learners.

In Search of Normality

Taking part in other activities, either before or after class or through the organisations running the classes, is a good way to meet new people and speak to others from different countries. They provide a space to build new and to expand existing networks, and it is often during these activities that peer support is offered, a result of feeling comfortable in the surroundings. Moreover, these

activities can create a sense of normality for participants, something that many seek; to feel like a ‘normal’ 20 year old or a 17 year old is something that many of them have not experienced since leaving their countries of origin, and therefore providing a space where learners can hang out and chat to one another is vital for the mental health of the young people in the research. These other activities also provide a safe place to practise English; and, although conversations take place in English between two non-native speakers, it is not about getting things grammatically correct but rather about building the capacity to communicate with others. Organisations that run the ESOL classes provide a range of non-ESOL activities for learners, ranging from Bible study to computer classes to gardening. One class organises a cooking group which works to build life skills, language skills and facilitates cross-cultural education:

I’ve seen cooking groups work really well, where people get multinational groups and they all teach each other how to cook. There were a few recipe books, there’s one in Govanhill and another Southside one where it’s made up of peoples favourite recipes from their own countries, and each week they took turns, they shared their skills and knowledge about how to cook certain dishes. And it’s cultural sharing. I think that’s quite culturally validating for people; they feel like, my culture was recognised, I’m a person, people understand that my culture has things to share and to give. It’s really important for people, and that sharing it always really nice. (*Sarah, ESOL Teacher*)



Figure 8.4: Previous ESOL learners on a walking tour of Glasgow, organised by a local refugee charity to teach non-native Glaswegians about the history of the city. (Author’s own photograph)

I found throughout my research that the transient nature of the refugee and asylum-seeker population was cyclical. Many participants stopped attending classes in autumn 2016; they did not all stop at once, but instead seemed to taper off. After speaking to those who remained, I discovered that it is because they had acquired places in college, moved to a new house or had job centre obligations. It is something that arguably exemplifies the generations of asylum-seekers and that, as they stay here for longer and move through the system, their priorities change, their daily lives change and their needs change. This transition means that they are unable to attend as many community classes as they once did, since the focus is now on gaining qualifications through more formal educational spaces and securing employment. At several events throughout the fieldwork process, I saw many of the learners who I had met when I first started attending ESOL classes. These people generally were now learning at college but through their communities found out about these social events from newer arrivals attending community classes. Like Awet in the extract at the beginning of this chapter, more settled participants often attend these events to see people who helped them as new arrivals, revealing how new arrivals rely on those who work in the third sector for support and advice and also the gratitude that refugees and asylum-seekers have for these organisations and individuals. As these generations of refugees and asylum seekers come and go, reflecting political, religious and cultural issues around the world, it is recognised that the classroom communities do not stop at the door but extend outside of the classroom both temporally and spatially.

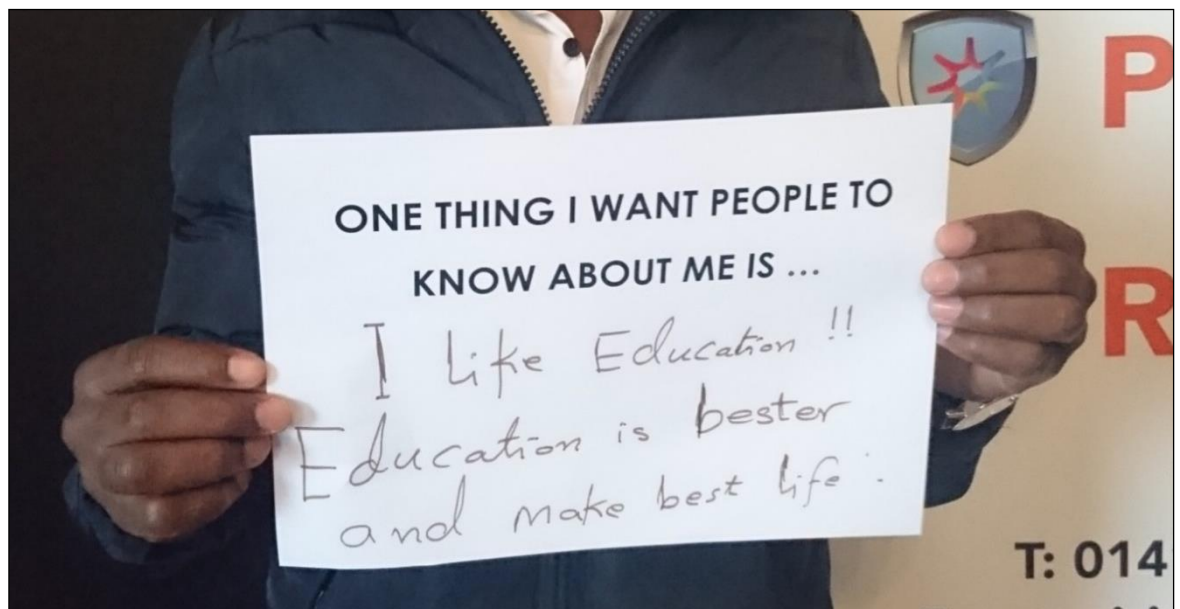


Figure 8.5: A participant writes about how important education is for him. (Author's own photograph, Session 4)

Participants express a range of motivations for learning English, ranging from employment to enabling social interactions with native English speakers. Learners have different priorities when it comes to learning English in terms of the aspects of the language upon which they want to focus and why. For some, learning practical or 'survival' English, such as filling out forms, how to book an appointment or what to do in an emergency, are key to ensuring they are able to navigate daily tasks with minimal trouble. For others, there is a desire to learn conversational English in order to meet new people and to have new experiences, to build their networks and to settle into their local communities. Other participants are keen to master grammar and spelling, often focussing more on their written language than their spoken; for those who have a higher level of previous education, this more formal language training is a priority as they feel that, by learning 'proper' English, it will enhance future opportunities and increase integration.

The Importance of Education

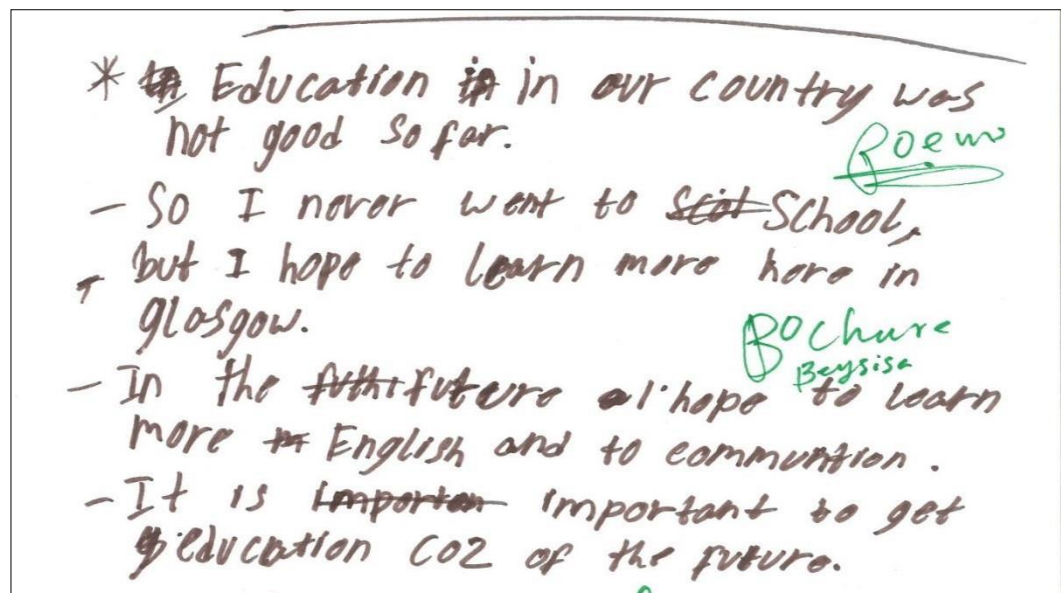


Figure 8.6: One participant's work on language and education. (Session 1)

Many participants are clear on their hopes for the future, which generally involve learning English and attending college. Figures 8.5 and 8.6 show participants' opinions on why they value learning English and education more generally. In workshop sessions, I asked participants to write about their educational experiences and their hopes for the future, and these workshops revealed the centrality of education in their lives, not only for future purposes but in providing support, routine and normality. There is also a sense that community classes act as a stepping stone between arriving in Glasgow and attending college. All of my participants have registered or are planning

on registering for college and are on a waiting list; therefore, in the meantime they attend a variety of ESOL classes and other groups to develop their English skills as well as to promote feelings of belonging and integration. These spaces were both sites of learning and spaces of trust and friendship, nurturing learners' progress to enable them to succeed in the future. Community classes tend to receive learners who have arrived in Glasgow relatively recently, and therefore still have many hurdles to overcome and processes to navigate. Community classes offer the support that they need to begin their journey to settlement in the UK, of which one path is English language support.

EDUCATION - + Language

- Education is Very important, any person with out side education ^{no 3 months} for life speaking, thinking, etc.

my country

- ^{primary} elementary school

- high school

- University

- collage

Glasgow

- elementary

- university

- collage

J' will be to collage, I' learning English, speaking, reading, & communicate any person, after collage I will be to university, looking job, ...

Glasgow is for me very good.

J' visit world

Figure 8.7: A participant's work writing about education and language. (Session 1)

It is worth highlighting here this participant's use of the word 'coz', a shortened version of 'because', often used in text messages. The use of this word reveals how some participants pick up colloquial or slang words, but also suggests that the majority of their writing takes place online or

through mobile communication, thus leading them to write in the same way as they would in these arenas. This raises interesting questions about the role of technology in language acquisition and also about how different aspects of a language are acquired at different rates. This more informal language is often acquired outside of the classroom, seemingly making it flow differently – more in line with how native English speakers use the phrases – from more formally acquired language, in turn aiding feelings of belonging.

The person who produced figure 8.7 highlights how important education is to them in all aspects of their life: from speaking to thinking, they write about how they want to be able to speak to lots of people, and to increase their chances of entering further education. The author highlights that, with a good level of English, they will be able to travel widely and see the world, echoing many of my participants who suggested that English was the ‘number one’ language – an international language – thus increasing mobility as it is acquired.

Previous Educational Experience

The cultural value placed on qualifications often depends on the previous educational experiences of participants and their families, which are also important when looking at the different motivations that participants have to learn English:

For some people college is a very daunting place for them to step into, especially if they haven't had any previous education in their countries. At least in the community classes we are introducing them to learning, and sitting down and working through worksheets and things.
(Louise, ESOL organisation)

As Louise explains, the issue surrounding English language education is not simply about learning the language, but also, for some people, about learning how to learn. The latter can lead to high levels of stress and a lack of self-confidence, thus putting pressure on their mental health and in turn reducing motivation. Although education is often a positive experience for participants, there are also occasions where more negative experiences arise. It is argued that young refugees are emotionally traumatised (Hopkins and Hill; 2008), and it is evident that some participants struggle with their anger and emotions. Methods of teaching are therefore important, and at times participants become irritated when the teacher demonstrates discipline or frustration with the students. Furthermore, tensions grow out of both not understanding work or finding it too easy and having to exercise patience while other students catch up. An appreciation that some learners simply do not know how to learn means that flexibility is key. A lack of regular attendance or poor time keeping has obvious implications for the classes and the other learners, so teachers and practitioners need to navigate the difficult contradiction between flexibility and appreciation of

their uncertain and stressful lives, on one hand, while educating them about the routine and organisation which makes for a good student, on the other.

A Geographical Routine during Adversity

As has been discussed throughout this thesis, refugees and asylum-seekers lives are busy with appointments, interviews and other administrative tasks. The uncertainty of not knowing what their days or weeks will hold can add to the stress that they suffer, and having a constant in their weekly routine, such as ESOL classes, goes some way to relieve this lack of a scheduled life, allowing them a sense of routine in a space where they can relax and concentrate on something other than their precarity in Glasgow:

They can switch off ... from all their worries, and just focus on the class, it gives them that chance to be a learner, not to have to worry about all of the other things. And then it comes to summer, and classes aren't on, and they're like ... we want English class. It gives them structure, it's that chance of support and social interaction. (*Louise, ESOL organisation*)

The importance of this structure is also highlighted by participants who attend as many ESOL classes as they can throughout the week. For participants in the research, each community class provides something different. Teaching methods, curriculum and more social learning varied across different sites, and participants spoke about going to a range of classes to have different experiences:

Metkel: I like Thursday because we can sometimes use the computers, so I can go on YouTube and stuff like that. But the class is small. So that is why the Govanhill class is good because there are lots of people to talk to. And there is food, so it is nice to eat and to talk before class, so then you can know who you learn English with. I go to class on a Tuesday and the teacher is boring. She teaches us grammar, I don't like it but I know I must learn it so that is why I go.

Furthermore, the multitude of classes attended by my participants turn their experience of Glasgow into a city pockmarked by temporary spaces of education. The locations of classes begin to act as landmarks, in turn navigating the city using these temporarily meaningful sites. Below Ishag and Sabri highlight how ESOL helps to structure their week both temporally and geographically:

Sabri: For example in Tesco, City Mission on a Thursday, and near the Red Cross from Monday to Wednesday, and another place, also, on Wednesday night. Four times I have been, and Monday night also. Lots of places.

Ishag: I learn with you in Tesco on Tuesday and Friday, I learn in City Mission on Thursday ... Near to the Red Cross, three days, Rosemount in Royston on Monday night ... Wednesday near to Lidl ... Many, many classes in Glasgow.

For communities that are isolated and self-sufficient, contact with native English speakers is lower than for other migrant communities, which already have very limited contact. Attending ESOL classes can offer people from these communities an hour or two a week to practise English, seek support and interact with others. Dana, who is Kurdish, outlines the difficulty of finding people with whom he can practise English outside of community classes:

Dana: I can't practise it on my own. I have to speak to someone so I can practice, but that is at class, with you, or with Sarah. But I cannot get better just on my own. There is no one to talk to. Everyone I know speaks Kurdish or works in a shop and has no time for me.

The ability to practise English was a motivation for more isolated individuals to attend classes, particularly having the time to practise with native speakers in an informal context without the stresses of everyday life. Community classes not only make improvement and progression into college possible, but provide wider support which has positive effects on the mental health of learners, increases their confidence and decreases their isolation.

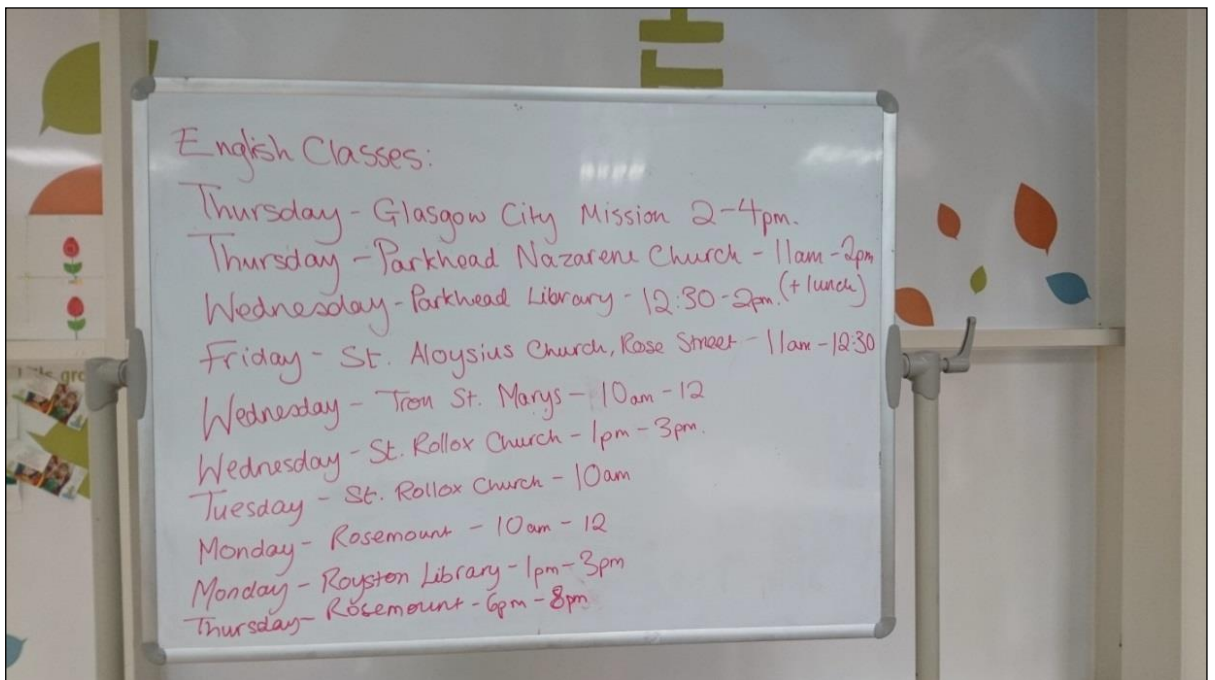


Figure 8.8: Student-led information sharing about ESOL community classes in Glasgow. (Author's own photograph)

Language in the Classroom

'A Safe Space to Garble'

Linguistic encounters and exchanges in community classes provide a breadth of insights into how language happens within an informal learning space. A range of speech acts are mobilised or practised within the classroom, resulting in a multitude of linguistic exchanges. Participants highlight the importance of learning English (figures 8.9 and 8.10) in order to communicate with other people, showing how participants place communication and meeting people high on their list of priorities, aiding feelings of integration and connection with others.

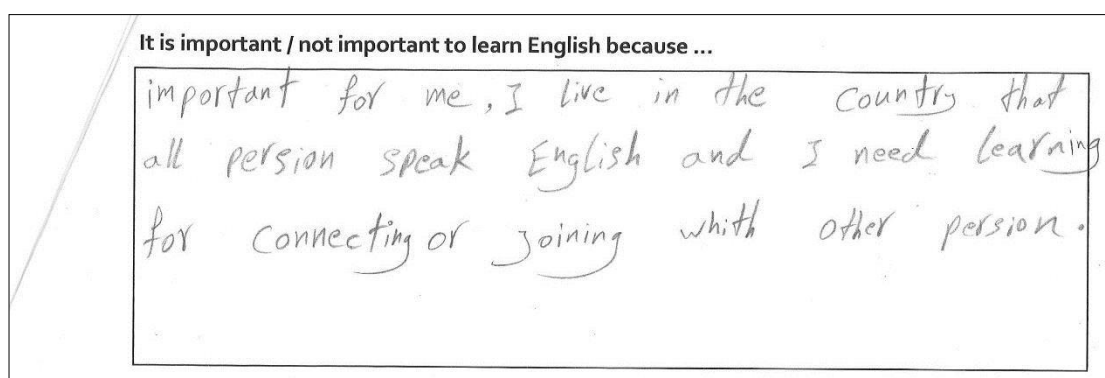


Figure 8.9: A participant's response on a worksheet, as here he explains why, for him, learning English is important. (Session 1)

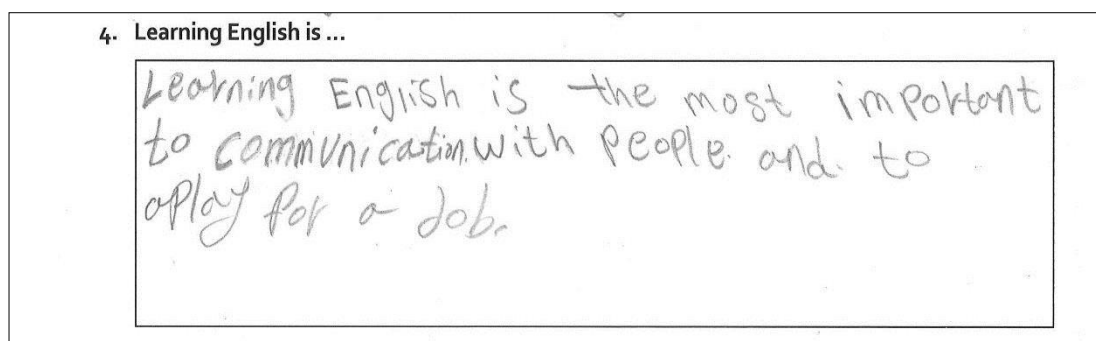


Figure 8.10: A participant completes a sentence beginning 'Learning English is...'. (Session 1)

The spoken language that occurs in classrooms is an interesting mix of learners' native languages and English, and there are also elements of dialect acquisition and slang present in addition to the more formal language being learned. Community classrooms are a site of multilingualism, with a

number of languages being spoken simultaneously in and between conversations. Some people move between conversations in order to help or translate for others, some only speak to the person next to them, while others want to speak to volunteers or teachers, asking questions about their lives – practising language with native speakers. These informal conversations also take place before and after classes and work to build relationships between students, again contributing to the community of the classroom. Conversations often revolve around learners’ cultures, food and families; participants are interested in getting to know other people and learn about different places in the world. Respect and rapport between students and teachers is vital to a positive educational experience, which becomes noticeable depending on precisely which teachers are present. When teachers spend less time getting to know the students and take a formal approach to learning, the classroom environment becomes tense and serious. When teachers and students have strong relationships, the class is more focused and enthusiastic. Teachers build rapport in different ways, but, as previously mentioned, taking time to welcome and introduce the students to each other worked to build a sense of community within the classroom. Furthermore, taking an interest in students’ lives, both pre- and post- migration, and paying attention to their native languages were ways in which teacher-student relationships were strengthened. This state of affairs is related to research about the importance of student-teacher relationships, and the need for students to feel empowered within a classroom setting (James et al; 2008).

Learners’ needs

Learners’ needs cover a range of issues, with some a result of their life experiences and current living conditions. Previous educational experience, as discussed earlier, plays an important role in the needs of learners and how they might best acquire language. Frances, a city council based ESOL practitioner, discusses some of these issues, in particular signalling the importance of understanding the cultures people are coming from and how these can affect their ability to acquire English:

[Some] learners are coming from more oral traditions, maybe [they] come from rural communities and have got varying degrees of literacy skills, so various different starting points. It’s learner centred so it will depend [on] what people are looking for, but around everyday situations, transitional English, a lot of speaking and listening, but we do also cover reading and writing. (*Frances, City Council organisation*)

Frances goes on to explain that the differing starting points in terms of level of proficiency impacts learners’ ability to progress and access more formal education in a college environment. Having low literacy skills or no former educational experience also impacts the psychological approach to learning, and participants who have low literacy in their native language are faced with a greater

number of challenges to overcome in the acquisition of English, putting pressure on their mental health in terms of motivation and achievement. A number of participants felt demotivated and embarrassed by their inability to pronounce words correctly or their failure to understand instructions from the teacher; in some cases, this led to students attending classes less regularly. The wide range of life circumstances that students face requires flexibility towards teaching and an acceptance that what works for one student will not work for another. Frances states that the general focus of classes is on speaking and listening, rather than reading and writing, hence on arguably the most immediate aspects of language needed when settling in a new country; and interviews with participants show that they also deem speaking and listening to be a priority, and often the most challenging – perhaps because of the instantaneous nature of it, with no or little time to process or translate words:

Osama: Writing, listening, reading, speaking – it is all important. But the biggest trouble is in listening and also in speaking, especially in speaking. I need to know these first.

Sophie: What do you think is difficult about learning English?

Kibreab: Hearing correctly.

Daniel: Pronunciation. Speaking.

Sophie: Do you enjoy...

Omid: I don't like listening, it is too difficult.

Each of these participants touch upon a different aspect of learning English. Osama appears to regard learning each aspect of English as different stages, with speaking and listening coming before writing or reading, despite the fact that acquisition of the latter is likely occurring alongside speaking and listening. Kibreab's response to my question suggests that he believes there is a correct and incorrect way of hearing, and that not understanding what someone is saying would be incorrect, perhaps a reflection of his position within society and the 'right' and 'wrong' categorisations of refugees and asylum-seekers. Finally, Omid interrupts me to continue on from a previous discussion. Omid conflates listening with being difficult and therefore not enjoying it, revealing his frustration felt at not being able to acquire listening skills quickly or easily. This frustration in turn impacts Omid's motivation to practise and to persevere with improving his listening comprehension.

A number of other participants explained that, because they do not have the opportunity to practise their speaking regularly, they find it the most difficult. Reading and writing can be practised at home (figure 8.11) whereas speaking requires interaction with others who also have command of the English language, something that is often limited for refugees and asylum seekers as was explored in the previous chapter. The majority of these required interactions take place within the

classroom, explaining why teachers often choose to focus on speaking and listening as it may be the only chance learners get to do this in a week.

Participants specified their desire to practise conversation, as this was seen to be the most rewarding and useful, since there are minimal occasions that reading or writing is required in places where there is no additional support:

Dana: More listening and speaking. I think that is the most useful, because you always use it. Reading and writing maybe for university or school.

Dana explains that, although reading and writing are good for further education, the jobs that participants are tending to be seeking require spoken English over the written⁶⁵. Although reading would be required in terms of health and safety documents, or for the employment contract itself, when doing the work it is spoken English that prevails. In the quote above Dana states that he would like more time to practise speaking and listening, reiterating my earlier suggestion that the only opportunity many participants get to practise speaking English is in the classroom. As discussed in Chapter 7, listening is happening all of the time, yet participants explain that they feel like they need more time to comprehend the words they are hearing to understand them, and often bring their questions about this issue to community classes, an issue also relating to Kibreab's desire to 'hear correctly'.

Louise teaches a different topic each week and when she is planning her lessons she tries to cover all of the essentials:

I think right, what do the learners *need* to know? If we're doing about health, they need to be able to go to the doctor, they need to be able to make an appointment, to send a note to class, even body parts. I try to think of all the essentials within that topic ... it's the survival stuff and how to get by. (*Louise, ESOL organisation*)

Louise here is focussed on what learners *need* to know. She suggests that, although there are extra things that will come under the topic of 'health', it is most important to teach the essentials under the assumption that – as they spend more time in the UK and as learners begin to settle – they will have more opportunities to develop their skills, but for the initial stage of settlement it is 'survival English' that is required. Nick furthers Louise's approach and suggests that English for social functioning and daily need is crucial:

⁶⁵ A lot of participants applied for manual jobs; work in warehouses or factories, gardening, commercial cleaning and work on building sites. Several participants had jobs handing out leaflets, working in a car wash and working for Amazon.

Social function yes. I think that's really important, just survival, being able to understand the system is absolutely crucial ... to get the gist of something ... English for social use, making it permissible to have a social life in Scotland. (Nick, Integration network)

Nick believes that English needs to be taught in a way that will enable refugees and asylum-seekers to build a social life, or social network, in Scotland. He argues for 'social English' to be taught which, in return, will work to relieve isolation and other mental health issues, as well as creating the opportunity for support networks to be built. Enabling learners to have independence through language is the aim of the teachers who took part in my research; this linguistic independence is built over time and as confidence increases, but, by equipping refugees and asylum-seekers with the linguistic tools needed to survive and to build relationships, community ESOL teachers make this process easier and more enjoyable for ESOL learners.

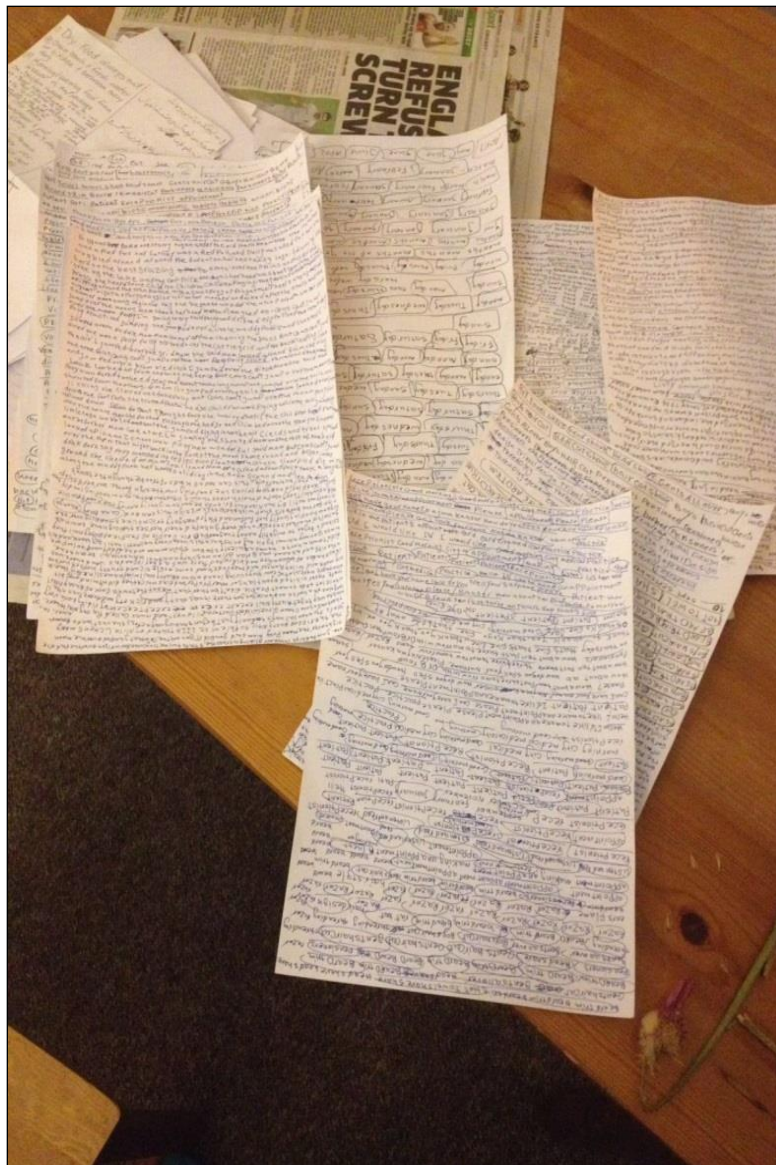


Figure 8.11: A participant's photograph of revision at home. (Dana)

Dialect Acquisition

During the class teachers speak slowly and try to soften their accents; this effort to speak clearly is to ensure the students can understand what is being said, often in response to students stating that they find it difficult to understand the Glaswegian accent⁶⁶. Issues around accent arose regularly during my research, with participants often wanting to learn to speak with a Glaswegian accent as they feel it would be one way to ‘fit in’ with locals, a large part of which is hence learning the local dialect. Thus, a paradox arises; on the one hand, participants need native speakers to speak in a slow, neutral accent, while, on the other hand, when out in the city they require an understanding of local dialect in order to make transactions easier. This also suggests a more ‘geographical’ point about spaces of languages. Public spaces in the city are thick with the Glaswegian dialect and accent contra the ESOL classroom where the accent is usually thinned out to ensure students are able to understand what is being taught. Mary explains how this paradox causes problems for ESOL students:

[The students] were saying when we leave here we’re all pumped up, our English is getting better, then we go out there and we are totally lost and our confidence just goes down. They get like “oh, I’m going to go practice this,” and the first shop they go into, you know, it’s broad Glaswegian and they then think their English is rubbish and you have to tell them that you know that’s dialect, you’re level of English hasn’t changed, but they don’t realise that. (*Mary, ESOL teacher*)

In addition to understanding that there are different dialects, I found that it helped participants’ confidence when I explained that I – as an English person first living in Glasgow – also sometimes struggled to understand what people were saying. When participants found this out, they seemed to relax and accept that it would take time to acquire and understand the Glaswegian dialect.

Their interest in learning the local dialect also raises interesting questions around the notion of ‘Scottishness’, and for some participants being able to identify as Scottish as the dialect is acquired is a motivation. Other participants feel that learning a more formal received pronunciation (RP) style of English is preferable as participants believe that this is ‘proper’ English – again raising interesting questions around notions of identity and what kind of identity they want to create for themselves⁶⁷. Suleiman is a young man from Sudan and is very keen to learn the local dialect, which he calls ‘Scottish’, and he wants to learn both the accent and the dialect and often comes to class with new words he has learned. In the field diary extract below Omar tells Suleiman that he

⁶⁶ Teachers tended to be Glaswegian, with local accents, and were well placed to teach dialect and colloquialisms, but often had to soften their accents for those learners with lower English proficiency.

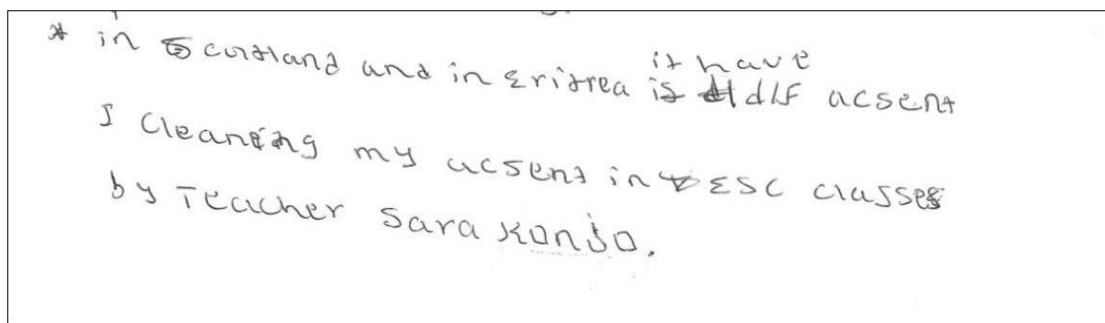
⁶⁷ See Hopkins work on young Muslims in Glasgow and their notions of Scottishness and identity.

must learn English before he can learn Scottish, suggesting that some participants see dialect and accent as distinct from the language and something that needs to be learned separately:

Suleiman asked if I could teach him Scottish. I explained that I was English and so wouldn't be much use to him. His friends started laughing and he explained that he really wanted to learn Scottish. Omar put his hand on Suleiman's shoulder and said "First you need to learn English".
(*Field Diary*)

This idea that dialect acquisition happens separately from language acquisition is of importance in my research, and it is common for participants to pick up aspects of the Glaswegian dialect and even accent without having a high level of English proficiency, suggesting that it can occur separately and that it does not necessarily require fluency in English to acquire a dialect.

Learners who want to learn how to say things in the same way as local people spend time in classes trying to perfect their accent. Repeating and mimicking the teacher and other volunteers provides an opportunity for participants to learn from native English speakers, yet participants expressed feelings of confusion as teachers and other staff have a range of accents and therefore one word was pronounced in a multitude of ways. Participants normally want to minimise their non-native accent, as this was seen to be a weakness or undesirable, and one participant wrote on a worksheet that he is 'cleaning' his accent (figure 8.12).



* in Scotland and in Eritrea it have
I cleaning my accent in ESC classes
by teacher Sara Konjo.

Figure 8.12: A participant describes that he is 'cleaning' his accent in an ESOL class. (Session 1)

The use of the term 'clean' suggests that he perceives his accent as dirty, and this particular participant wants to perfect his accent so as to not stand out. His use of 'clean' to describe how his accent is changing links nicely to notions of 'undesirability' and the abject. It also links back to discussions in Chapter 7 about the 'double consciousness' that participants experience when speaking to native English speakers. The participant has recognised that his accent is different and therefore it will influence how he is perceived and positioned by others. It is also revealing to see that this participant has used English and Tigrinya in the same sentence 'Sarah konjo' which means

‘beautiful Sarah’. This participant has used a word in Tigrinya to describe Sarah, who is the teacher in this particular class; although their written English is not perfect, they do have enough English proficiency to know the word ‘beautiful’ and therefore it is interesting to see that they have consciously chosen to write it in Tigrinya. Using a combination of languages is common, and it is interesting to see how participants use the Roman alphabet to spell words from their script based languages as there is not often a standardized form: this matter will be explored later in the chapter as I look further into written language.

Colloquialisms

Bereket: Keep your ear to the ground.

As well as accent and dialect, participants also enjoy learning colloquialisms and slang. Participants often use the term ‘aye’ instead of ‘yes’. For those who have been in Glasgow longer, this usage is seemingly natural and flows within the associated utterance, but for others, who have not been here as long, it is more of a performance and they often pause after using it, seeking acknowledgement from friends and teachers that they had used a ‘Scottish’ word. It is common for participants to learn phrases that they hear as they are walking around the city, bringing them into the classroom as they are eager to show others what they have learned. Often this leads to humorous interactions and exchanges as participants try to use the new phrases that they have learned:

We were doing role play about buying a bus ticket. I was the bus driver and Samson was pretending to buy the ticket. It was all going well and he had been able to ask for several different types of tickets. As it came to a close I pretended to hand him a ticket and said thank you, he replied with “Cheers m’dears!” I laughed and then explained to him why he probably shouldn’t say that to a bus driver. He looked a bit embarrassed but also found it very funny.⁶⁸ (*Field Diary*)

The phrases that participants learn are varied, raising interesting questions about their listening geographies and which things they decide to pick up on while ignoring others. Multiple participants acquired the terms ‘easy peasy lemon squeezy’, ‘junkie’, ‘speak of the devil’ and ‘it’s raining cats and dogs’. Some of these terms are quite complex linguistically and it was common for participants to use them in the wrong context, similar to Samson buying a bus ticket, yet their eagerness to use them means that they will practise using them in the correct context until they are confident with the meaning of the terms.

⁶⁸ The context in which Samson used this particular colloquialism is amusing. The phrase is generally very friendly and informal. Moreover, ‘dear’ is usually used in relation to a female or someone younger than the person saying it. Therefore, to use this term between two men is not considered to be the ‘cultural norm’.

As well as using Scottish or Glaswegian colloquialisms, participants bring their own colloquialisms into the classroom and either use them in their first language or translate them. One example here is some of the Eritrean community who call me ‘Sister Sophie’; in Eritrea they use the term ‘haftey’ when referring to a female friend, and this term is translated as sister when speaking to me. This notion of bringing their culture into the English languages can take complex forms but can also be as simple as using certain phrases translated into English, bringing together two languages and cultures. Nick discusses how such actions work to enrich the English language in these multilingual environments:

Lots of the Arabic speakers talk about their brothers, and it’s a general thing ‘you are my brother’, well actually I’m not. And it’s about them bringing their own culture into the language ... It enriches our English. Unfortunately we spend a lot of time ironing it out; the temptation is to go ‘no I’m not, I’m your friend, I’m not even your friend, I have a professional relationship with you’. (Nick, *Integration network*)

Nick acknowledges that in ESOL classes it is commonplace to teach a purified, perfect form of English – a clean English – which takes away from the varied versions of English that participants acquire, arguing that these different forms of English should be appreciated rather than suppressed. Participants will directly translate phrases from their native languages into English, resulting in phrases that, although not necessarily making sense, can be understood by English speakers. This sometimes results in linguistically interesting phrases. It also offers an insight into how their native languages work grammatically and the kinds of words that they use to describe things. One such phrase was uttered by Daniel shortly before Christmas; the lesson was about Christmas traditions and what people did to celebrate. We were looking at pictures of Christmas markets and the following exchange took place:

We were talking about Christmas markets and I was saying how they are nice to visit even if you don’t buy anything, and out of the blue Daniel just said “to satisfy your eyes.” (*Field Diary*)

I find the notion of ‘satisfying your eyes’ a really beautiful way of thinking about sight and why, as humans, we find things visually pleasing or not. It is also linguistically advanced in terms of the words used to achieve the resulting meaning; however, as it was a direct translation from Tigrinya perhaps Daniel was unaware of the complexity of his utterance. Daniel’s phrase is one example of how non-polished English and using language in different ways can enrich the language and provide new ways of thinking about concepts.

Deviant Language

This next section deals with the notion of deviant language (Pred, 1989). Deviant language is considered to be language that is different from the ‘norm’, or the desired language, in a particular situation. Use of deviant language can lead to exclusion from social or political groups, can cause a separation of ‘us’ and ‘them’, and may lead individuals to be labelled a ‘deviant’ because of their language use and by not speaking in the desired manner. The ways in which deviant language is used vary and it can range from slang to profanities, each having wide-ranging impacts on the user and those who are in contact with such language. Moreover, connotations with the word ‘deviant’ are negative and conjure images of dangerous outcasts; interestingly, this claim in itself reveals how language can create powerful imagery that has an impact upon the order of society. Using this notion of deviance, I want to explore the use of swear words and other forms of ‘taboo’ language in relation to what is taught – or not taught – in the classroom.

Everyday informal, or social, English, spoken among friends, family or colleagues, is often peppered with slang that is perhaps not politically correct: curse words and other words that would be inappropriate to use in certain situations. Using the notion of distancing language, where phrases are over extended to be less direct – and therefore more polite – I want to suggest that language encountered on a day-to-day basis is rarely formulated in this structure, and that therefore a more informal language – with devious elements – needs to be acquired by refugees and asylum-seekers in order for them to feel more ‘in-place’. This kind of English is not the same as ‘survival English’; language that is essential for ‘getting-by’, but instead about ‘fitting-in’ with those around them.

What may be deemed deviant language is not taught in class and therefore refugees and asylum-seekers pick it up from hearing it as they move around Glasgow. Thus, they are learning a kind of formalised, modest and streamlined English inside the classroom and informal, messy and sometimes ‘incorrect’ English outside, which then come together in both their written and spoken English in a range of ways. The extract from my field diary below reveals how Aziz, a young man from Afghanistan, has learned a new phrase which involves swearing. The way that he whispers it suggests that he knows that it is not very polite, yet he is also obviously very excited that he has learned a new colloquial saying. Not only did Aziz use the word ‘fucking’ but said it in a way that missed off the last letter making it closer to the local dialect. The use of the word ‘Baltic’ to mean cold is quite a particular colloquialism with a clear geographical reference to the Baltic sea in northern Europe, one that is perhaps entirely alien to Aziz’s own homeland. Thus, Aziz acquired a Glaswegian colloquialism within which a sense of deviance through swearing is included:

I asked him how he was and he told me he was fed up of the cold, wet weather. I agreed with him and said that it was extra cold today, he looked at me, smiled and then whispered “Aye, it’s fuckin’ Baltic”. We both laughed and I nodded and said “Yeah, it is. You sounded very Scottish there.” He smiled and then whispered under his breath “Aye, fuckin’ Baltic” before laughing again. (*Field Diary*)

Participants often expressed feeling like a local when they picked up swearwords. Very few used them regularly, but when they did others would giggle. Other than swearing, participants often used words that were not politically correct but were part of everyday speech. Tekle uses the word ‘nuts’ to describe someone who is ‘crazy’; both terms are not necessarily the politest terms to describe someone, yet they are words that are used daily among groups of friends and Tekle’s grasp of English here shows an advanced understanding of how certain terms can be deployed in particular situations. Recognising that ‘nuts’ is Scottish (although arguably this is used throughout the UK and beyond), although not necessarily correct, shows that he has an understanding that it is not the main word that would be used in certain encounters:

I had been trying to explain what ‘stupid’ meant. Tekle turned around and said “In Scottish speak it is ‘nuts’, a crazy person is nuts”. (*Field Diary*)

Although many participants know that in English there are often a number of different ways to say the same thing, they also realise that some words are not taught in class because they may be deemed inappropriate or taboo. Yet such words may actually be important to know when starting a new life in a new place, but also in order to take part in informal, social situations. On several occasions participants revealed that they did not know the words ‘pee’ and ‘poo’: these are not taught in class because it is not seen as polite to discuss such things, yet for participants it was important that they learn these kinds of words since they are part of daily life, and as they begin to integrate and settle with local communities they will hear these words being used⁶⁹. Thus, I want to argue that deviant language is as important as the formalised English that is taught in the classroom in processes of settlement and in developing a level of English that will enable them to ‘fit-in’ with native English speakers.

Written Languages

Community ESOL classes tend to focus on building learners’ ability and confidence when using spoken English, but in some classes there is also an opportunity to practise writing during certain exercises or to take note of new vocabulary. There are two aspects of written language on which I

⁶⁹ More formal language for bodily functions was not taught in class either. Interestingly, more formal language for bodily functions could be argued to fall under the ‘survival’ English category when considering health and what might be discussed at a doctors and hospital appointment. Therefore, bodily functions may fall into the categories of deviant, informal and survival English.

want to focus here: firstly, I want to look at participants' writing style in English, encapsulating how they use slang or 'text message' spellings; and secondly, I am interested in how participants write their native languages using the Roman alphabet and how these are standardised – or not.

During a number of the workshops with participants they were asked to write about a range of topics. While they were doing these activities, I noticed that they were writing using abbreviations that are common in text messages or online, perhaps because these two technological spaces are where participants most commonly write. Both texting and writing online is a common way for participants to communicate with their friends and families, and it is well known that people often use slang or abbreviations to speed up these modes of communication. During the activities I noticed that participants were writing in a very informal way and often using a similar sentence structure to that of speech.

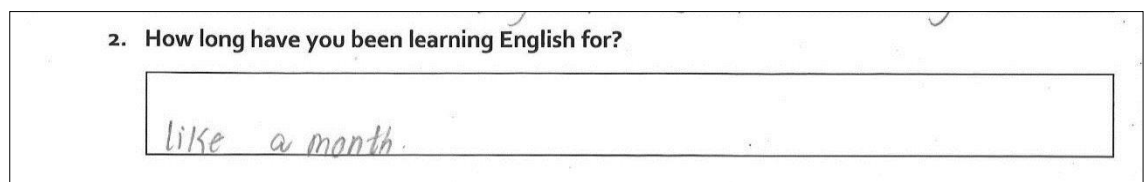


Figure 8.13: A worksheet response exemplifying a participant's colloquial use of the word 'like'. (Session 1)

This participant's written response to the question would not be an uncommon response verbally, yet written down it is informal and incomplete. This raises interesting questions about how refugees and asylum-seekers are taught, with the focus being primarily on spoken English rather than written, and how this fact may impact their linguistic lives as they move through the asylum system will be explored in more depth shortly. On other occasions participants employed abbreviations such as 'b/c' instead of 'because'; although this is a common abbreviation, it is interesting to see that it is one that a large number of my participants have acquired and employ with confidence.

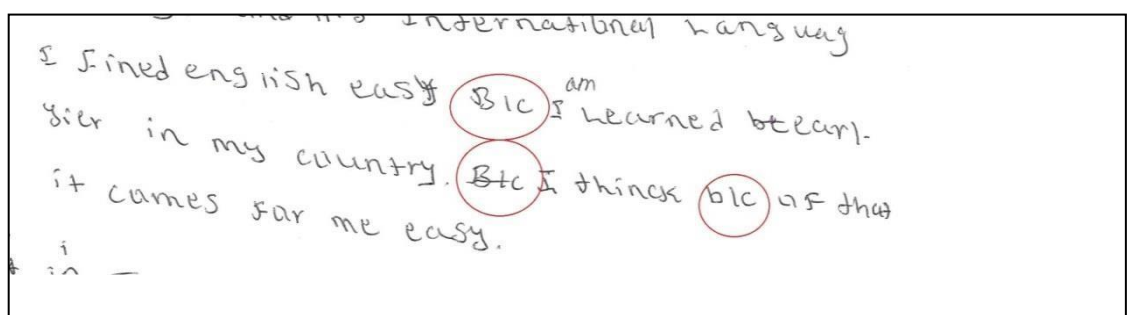


Figure 8.14: An example of the abbreviation 'b/c' being used. (Session 1)

Although this participant's grammar and spelling is not particularly advanced, their ability to employ this abbreviation shows a certain level of understanding of English and how abbreviations can be used, although it may of course be that they do not know it is an abbreviation. Furthermore, this particular participant has relatively advanced spoken English, revealing the gap between his spoken and written English, reflecting how being surrounded by spoken English can help with language acquisition even if it is not being formally acquired, whereas writing may take longer to acquire due to the grammatical complexity and formality of it.

The second aspect of written language that I want to explore is how participants write their language using the Roman alphabet, resulting in a more phonetic representation of languages that do not use the Roman alphabet. These representations of course differ from person to person, creating a range of non-standardised versions of participants' native languages. When participants tried to teach me some of their languages, they would write it in this Roman version, which often led to discussions (sometimes heated) about how to spell certain words. These Romanised versions of languages also encouraged participants to think about how certain letters could be combined to make particular sounds, in turn helping them with the acquisition of English.

Formal and Informal English

I have so far argued for the importance of learning informal, social English. While this is undoubtedly vital in aiding processes of settlement and navigation of daily life in Glasgow, there are of course occasions where formal English is required. These moments are likely to increase as people move through the asylum system – in court, at the job centre, opening a bank account, job interviews, and so on. Although colleges will often do further work on application forms, interview English and other forms of standardised English, it is important that community ESOL classes provide an element of such preparation. In terms of participation and motivations to learn, the English being learned must be relevant to the learner's everyday lives and to them personally. Gary believes that in terms of necessity, survival English⁷⁰ is of greater importance, and that grammatically correct English will come later as learners acquire more English, spend more time with native English speakers and become more immersed in city life:

I think that students want to get to that stage where they understand English grammatically ... it's a benchmark for them. If I understand the grammar, then my English is good ... But the survival English is always going to come out on top, because if you can ask how to get to the

⁷⁰ This notion of 'survival English' dovetails nicely with much older notions of 'survival geography', popular in early issues of *Antipode*. It also ties in with Mitchell and Heynen (2009) who explore homeless people's geographies of survival and their right to the city. Here they look at spatial and structural processes that influence not *how* someone may live, but *if* they shall live.

bus station in perfect English, with all the correct grammatical tenses, fair enough. But you know, you have to be able to ask how to get to the bus station, so just sheer communication. (Gary, *Community organisation*)

Gary highlights that the most important aspect is the ability to communicate your question or needs, and therefore mastering English grammar should not be a priority for learners. This point echoes my assertion earlier in the chapter that community classes are often a first port of call for refugees and asylum-seekers, often used as a place to practise their English while they wait for a place in a college. Like Gary, Nick believes that formalising the English language is not necessarily important in community classes, and therefore encourages a more informal type of acquisition. Here he discusses the notion of distancing language:

Distancing language, that's a great one. Fortunately we don't have to do it. So 'could you...' is a classic one, and 'would you mind...' 'do you think you could...', so an indirect kind of English. It's the indirectness, distancing from the point of the sentence or question. (Nick, *Integration network*)

As discussed in relation to deviant language, distancing language is the over-formalisation of English that results in perhaps an overly polite and indirect form of talking. A lot of other languages are more direct, which is indeed the case with all of the participants' native languages. For example, in English one might say 'Excuse me, please could you pass the salt?', in other languages a simple 'pass the salt' will suffice. For refugees and asylum-seekers who strive to camouflage themselves linguistically, dialect acquisition and the use of colloquial terms is one step in speaking what they assume to be the 'correct' and 'clean' way of speaking, moving away from the undesired language that new arrivals believe themselves to speak.

It became apparent throughout the research that the notions of 'clean' and 'deviant' language were closely linked to one another. Deviant language had a dual meaning for participants; on the one hand speaking deviant language was considered to include speaking with a 'foreign' accent, not speaking like a local and language that deviated from the 'norm'. On the other hand, deviant language included swearing, poor grammar and colloquialisms: in other words language that is not considered to be 'proper'. In turn, this dualism led to the notion of 'clean' language having two meanings too; one that could be equated with the first notion of deviant language, thus clean language was considered to be void of a 'foreign' accent, something that would ensure the speaker could 'fit-in' with locals. Yet 'clean' language was also meant in a way that suggested avoidance of colloquialisms, slang and swearing, the very opposite of the latter meaning of deviant language. It can be argued that a lot of everyday language use has a certain level of deviant language within it; swearing, slang and colloquialisms, thus I want to suggest that, if participants do want to

camouflage themselves linguistically, a certain level of deviant language needs to be acquired, calling into question the meaning of ‘clean’ language for different individuals.

Language that is taught within the classroom needs to be useful for encounters and interactions outside of the classroom, as Mary explained in her interview. On the one hand, it is easy to see the classroom as a safe bubble, a shelter from daily life and struggles, but if learners cannot apply what is learned inside the classroom to daily life, it risks refugees and asylum-seekers remaining isolated and anxious about their capacity both to communicate with others and to carry out daily tasks or transactions.

Chi Mishe? (How do you say it?)

Community classes offer a space where the student-teacher binary is disrupted, and this is often deliberately so as a method to empower students and to aid the retention of what is being taught. Teachers encourage students to talk about topics among themselves in an attempt to promote English practice and to consolidate new vocabulary that they have learned. In addition to this method and in line with discussions in Chapter 7, teachers ask students to share their languages in order to create bonds and relationships. Using students as translators for other students not only builds confidence but helps the learners to see the links between the words that they are learning and their native languages. Sarah explains how she utilises their multilinguality to create bonds and to aid retention of vocabulary:

Finding ways of creating bonds, and obviously there are loads of ways to do it, and I think that’s where having a slightly more relaxed approach comes in ... when you learn a new word, and I teach it to them, they maybe still struggle I’ll be like how do you say that in your language, and they’ll tell me, and I’ll say it, and they’ll all fall about laughing, and that’s important.⁷¹ (*Sarah, ESOL teacher*)

The method that Sarah employs is similar to the interactions that I have enjoyed with my participants, where the humour creates bonds and also shows learners that learning a new language is difficult for everyone. By reversing the student-teacher binary and creating a leveller in the form of language, conversation is opened up about different languages and how they are structured. These conversations also take place in English, and hence deepen learners’ understandings of linguistic and cultural structures. Sarah goes on to explain that, by offering this language exchange and by “making an idiot of yourself” attempting to speak their languages, power relations are disrupted, taking away from the authoritative teacher figure that students initially perceive. I found

⁷¹ When speaking to me in her interview Sarah regularly used the word ‘like’ when repeating conversations or to describe events. Going back to figure 8.13 it can be argued that a lot of colloquialisms and informal English is acquired by listening to the nuances of teachers’ speech.

this disruption to be the case on many occasions: when participants took time to teach me basic phrases, they enjoyed watching me try to make the correct sounds and to string words together, struggling to get the correct gender, tone and letter combinations. Taking an interest in others language and culture is one way of showing that care for and interest in their lives. The extract below is one occasion where I offered my knowledge of participants' native languages. I spent time learning basic greetings in a range of languages to show that their languages are just as important as English when it comes to communication:

Michael had been teaching me bits of Tigrinya while we were waiting for other people to turn up. Awet, Ahferom, Hagos and Benjamin all turned up together, when they came in I stood up to shoulder bump them and said "Selam, kemey alekum?" (Hi, how are you? In Tigrinya). They all cheered and started laughing. They enjoyed that I had learned to say it. They started replying to me in Tigrinya and teaching me to say 'I'm fine' (Ezgher Yimesgen) and so on. (*Field Diary*)

Although I found some of these languages extremely difficult, and my own retention of greetings leaves a lot to be desired, participants could see that I had made an effort and appreciated it. Speaking a few phrases in their languages also means students are encouraged to translate it into English building bridges between different languages and different people. Using greetings in different languages opened up dialogue and provided space for multilinguality, treating different languages as equal, moving away from a more Anglophone approach.

Barriers to Learning

Refugees and asylum seekers face a range of challenges in accessing and attending community ESOL classes. These barriers or challenges are unique to each individual, yet there are several ubiquitous issues that will be explored in this final part of the chapter, such as ESOL providers meeting a number of challenges in ensuring adequate and appropriate provision of classes, considered in Chapter 5.

The Asylum Process

The process of seeking asylum is undeniably fraught with worry, stress and uncertainty for individuals within it. Navigating the asylum system can be contradictory and confusing; and going through the system at the same time as trying to navigate daily life in a new city has a huge effect on the lives of refugees and asylum-seekers. The impact of life in the asylum system permeates into all aspects of the lives of refugees and asylum-seekers; one of these being language acquisition and class attendance. This permeation can be through issues around mental health, physical health, housing or finance, among many others. Nick encapsulates some of the issues that refugees and

asylum-seekers face in accessing ESOL classes, highlighting why they become a highly transitory group:

Now, some of them leave because of problems around level, some leave because they've been moved on by Serco or Orchard and Shipman, some have had their status changed. Some I fear for that they may have been chucked out of the country, some have mental issues, health issues, which you know that's my next big thing, is refugees, when's all this trauma going to come out? And I know other people have said the same thing. People dropping out, people's lifestyle issues, no jobs, no volunteering work, no regular classes, staying up all night, staying in bed all day. (Nick, *Integration network*)

The following extract from my fieldwork diary reveals a more personal account of why people stop coming to class, written after concerned friends told me about someone who I had come to know very well during research who had been moved and, as a result, was suffering from poor mental health:

Hamidreza and Ali stayed at the end of the class. I asked where Hadi was. Hamidreza explained that his case had been refused and that he had been moved to a flat in G33 – Barlanark. Hamidreza told me that Hadi is depressed and sleeping all the time. Because he has been moved so far away his friends can't afford to go and visit him, and he can't afford to go to see them, which means he hasn't seen anyone in a few weeks. I don't think he's receiving any kind of support. Ali and Hamidreza were really worried about him, but did not know what to do, as by spending too much time with Hadi they risked jeopardising their own attendance, finances etc. (*Field Diary*)

Asylum-seekers are moved regularly to other locations around the city, sometimes to better places and other times to worse; there is no obvious method in this rehousing and they are moved with very short notice. This relocation often means that they stop attending classes, but it also means that some travel long distances to reach classes familiar to them or to be with their friends. The choice to stay in classes with their friends is the choice of the learner, yet it raises issues around access to information for those who are moved to a new area and do not yet know about available services.

Mental Health

As has been touched upon throughout the thesis, participants have a range of mental health needs that are often borne out of experiences prior to migration, during the journey and then upon settlement in Glasgow. It is not uncommon for participants to suffer from depression and disappear from class for weeks or months, only to reappear later on; their depression can be triggered by a refusal of their case, finding out bad news from home or not having any money. Mental health issues can also stem from smaller interactions, however, as Tiff explains in this simple but very poignant remark:

So even just things as simple as not being able to answer the question “how do you feel today?” That can be incredibly frustrating, that would be frustrating for anyone, let alone someone who might be feeling isolated, or might not have a support network. (Tiff, ESOL teacher)

Not being able to communicate how they are feeling puts refugees and asylum-seekers in a vulnerable position where they are unable to explain their concerns, thoughts or worries, in turn meaning that they are not getting the support that they require. In addition to not being able to communicate their thoughts and feelings, not being able to communicate more generally also creates feelings of frustration and tension; participants put a lot of pressure on themselves to learn English in a certain way or at a certain speed, and when this does not happen they take it out on themselves.

This concern over what others think about learners’ English levels leads on to what Nick coins ‘ESOL inflation’, meaning that the majority of learners consider themselves to be beginners, when in fact, in terms of ESOL, beginners are a quite specific small band ‘at the bottom’ who have never spoken, written or read English before in their lives. For the majority of participants, they often place themselves at a lower level than that which they have really reached, meaning that participants were often embarrassed about their level of English (figure 8.15). These issues lead to a self-perpetuating cycle whereby they do not want to speak to native English speakers because they are embarrassed and have a lack of confidence, but in order to build their confidence they need to practice their English. A group of Sudanese students explained that they were worried that other people would belittle them because of their lack of language:

I was speaking to some guys at lunch today. We were talking about their lives before they came to Glasgow. They were telling me about what they had been studying at university, or what their plans had been for the future. They explained that, even though they are smart and educated, it is really embarrassing because when they are learning English they feel stupid and like children again. (Field Diary)

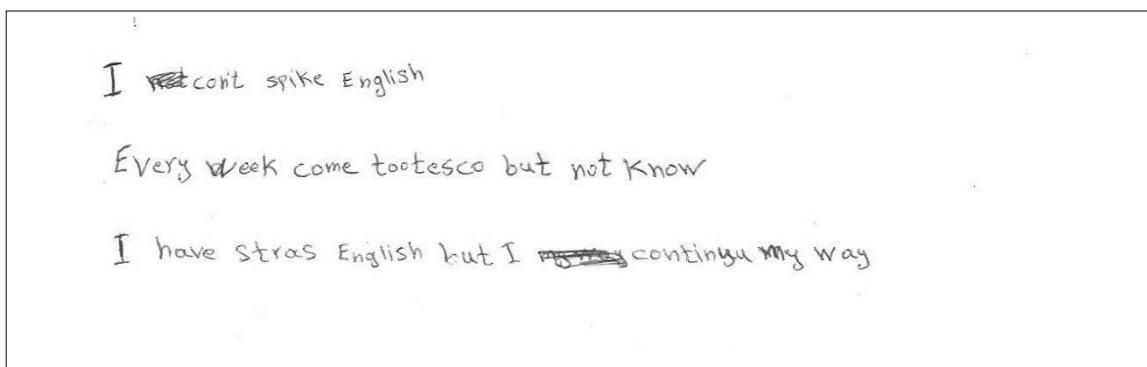


Figure 8.15: A participant’s reflection on their experience of learning English.

The lack of confidence and concern about what others thought expressed by participants has an impact on how they navigate daily life, maybe avoiding certain situations or places, often to their own detriment. Participants expressed feeling uncomfortable asking questions in shops, trying to open bank accounts or asking for directions, for fear of not being able to understand responses, fear of embarrassment and ultimately a fear of making themselves vulnerable. Community ESOL classes thus play a crucial role in providing an informal, safe, non-judgemental space where participants can practise their English, increase their confidence and ask for additional support. This context helps them to overcome some of the underlying challenges discussed here which refugees and asylum-seekers face in relation to language acquisition and practice.

Conclusion: “A Good Place to Be”

This chapter has explored the linguistic and related happenings within the spaces of community classrooms, while also paying attention to the attitudes and motivations of refugees and asylum-seekers to learning English and the challenges that they face. Ethnographic work made it clear that community-run ESOL classes offer more than just English language education, which contributes to the general environment of the classroom, being experienced as informal, open and friendly. Participants feel safe in the classes and are able to seek advice and support for a range of issues that they are facing. Classes offer stability and routine in what are often very uncertain life circumstances, and for young people who are away from their friends and family this stability is vital in helping with self-esteem and mental health issues. The informal character of community classes works to foster friendships and social interactions which in turn help to develop participants’ language skills as they put what they have learned into practice with other learners, teachers and volunteers. The safety that participants associate with community classes means that it becomes a space where it is okay to get things wrong, to falter and to require extra help, each of these aiding the learners’ ability to use what they have learned outside of the classroom. In consideration of this matter, English acquisition cannot be seen as a stand-alone endeavour, and learners need other things – such as security, relationships and good mental health – to be in place before language can be successfully learned and retained. Thus, language cannot be learned in a silo, it needs to be practised and used, and the space of the classroom provides a solid starting point for this activity, while at the same time bolstering learners’ confidence and self-esteem.

Participants highlight their desire to learn English as it is seemingly the key to their success in the future; this point is backed up by teachers and practitioners who believe that, once English is acquired, other possibilities become attainable. Learners have varied needs, dependent on their previous educational experience and on their experiences pre-migration, but also now in Glasgow.

Participants tend to prioritise speaking and listening over reading and writing; although each part is an important aspect of learning a language, the circumstances of refugees and asylum-seekers mean that speaking and listening are the most commonly used, and the most important facets for navigating daily life in Glasgow during the initial stages of settlement. Once they are in further education, employment or through the asylum system, writing and reading become more important; yet by this point many people are in formal education, where a curriculum is being followed.

Within the classroom participants are keen to build a Scottish identity, which is clear from some of the field diary extracts in this chapter, and, this keenness involves learning the local dialect, colloquial and idiomatic terms and being able to understand the accent. There is evidence to suggest that participants want to fit-in linguistically and to speak with the desired accent and dialect. This aspect ties into Pred's notion of deviant language, something that is prevalent in acquisition among refugees and asylum seekers, in somewhat of a paradoxical finding. On the one hand, refugees and asylum seekers want to avoid speaking deviant language in the sense of it being inappropriate for the time and place in question – in terms of camouflaging themselves by learning colloquial terms and the Glaswegian dialect, and, as one participant stated, the need to 'clean' their 'foreign' sounding accent. Yet, on the other hand, some of these colloquial terms, in addition to the acquisition of curse words and slang, are in themselves deviant language. Therefore an interesting question arises as to whether by learning deviant language participants are in fact becoming less outsider and more insider, since perhaps that deviant language is part of everyday speech. The dualistic interpretations of what it is to use deviant language and speak with a 'clean' accent add a complex layer to understandings of what is considered to be 'desirable' language, suggesting that different encounters require differing levels of deviance and cleanliness.

Finally, this chapter explored methods of acquisition through disrupting the student-teacher binary. By taking an interest in participants' languages, and moving away from the Anglophonic nature of more traditional English language teaching, the classroom becomes configured as a site of multilinguality, feeding back into the sense of community that develops within the classroom. It also fosters bonds between staff and students, helping to motivate the latter to participate in class and to retain information. It is unarguable that the community classes play a vital role in ESOL provision in Glasgow, done so in a space that is inclusionary for all learners regardless of proficiency or circumstance. The classroom is a lively, multilingual space where language acquisition, practice and performance are continually taking place, in turn constantly reshaping the space and the goings-on within it. The temporary nature of the community ESOL classroom allows for spaces to become imbued with emotions and meanings, if only for a short time each week. The multiple uses afforded by each site mean that these emotions and meanings attached to the space do

not exist outside of the classroom arrangement. Once the tables and chairs have been cleared away, and the whiteboard wiped clean, the rooms return to their original state, never otherwise a place of learning. The social space that is created within community ESOL classes mean that these enclosed rooms become safe spaces, safe spaces to 'garble' or to get things wrong, to embark on a trial and error approach to speaking. There is trust, warmth and reciprocity, allowing learners a space to 'just be', away from encounters infused with anxiety and vulnerability. For participants in the research, these geographical nodes were dotted around the city, with learners routinely moving between them at different times throughout a week. The spatiality of language becomes apparent when investigating the use of survival, informal and deviant versions of English. The different contexts and spaces through which these different facets of English are required have emotional impacts on participants as they strive to become akin to linguistic chameleons, not wanting to stand out from those around them. This outcome is easier 'said than done' (a peculiarly opposite phrase for this issue) for speakers of all languages, but is arguably more important for those who already find themselves in precarious and vulnerable positions.

Chapter 9

“I’m Feeling Happy Here”: Everyday Language Geographies in Glasgow

The previous three empirical chapters have explored the different spatialities of refugees and asylum-seekers linguistic practices; from the mobility of language as people move through Europe to the UK, to the more personal embodied nature of language use, and, in the previous chapter, to the space of the classroom in relation to language acquisition and language performance. In this last empirical chapter, I seek to expand on these different language geographies and consider both migrant communities and the wider space of Glasgow as both a network and as a space where language is practised, performed and mobilised in different ways. I have touched upon how different linguistic interactions and practices influence the daily experiences of refugees and asylum-seekers, and also how language plays a role in navigating the city and processes of settlement. I now want to broaden out these arguments and address them in the context of different places in the city, how language is used on a daily basis, and how language may impact the mobilities of refugees and asylum-seekers in Glasgow.

In order to do this, I will first outline the everyday geographies of my participants. I will examine the different city spaces where participants spend time, what they do in these places and their associated feelings about these different locations. Refugees and asylum-seekers are, as argued throughout this thesis, at once highly mobile and highly immobile, evident in the first part of this chapter uncovering the relatively limited geographies of my participants. The chapter then goes on to investigate the importance of refugee communities in processes of settlement, integration and language acquisition, tying in with work in the previous chapter about the classroom being a space of commonality and solidarity. The following part of the chapter draws upon the *speaking* and *listening* geographies of refugees and asylum-seekers that have been considered in various ways in the previous empirical chapters. Here I consider the wider spaces of interaction and encounter more explicitly, addressing who they interact with, in which languages and to what effect. I finish the chapter by highlighting the role of different languages in aiding processes of settlement and integration into both local neighbourhoods and the city of Glasgow more broadly, thereby scaling up some of the arguments have made throughout the thesis.

Conceptually, this chapter will investigate refugees and asylum-seekers as (im)mobile bodies and the ways in which language may influence this mobility. The increased mobility of people, and the resulting immobility some face, creates what may be considered a ‘mobile stranger’ (Darling, 2014), and reveals the ways in which binaries such as ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’ are produced, experienced and challenged. This chapter looks at Simmel’s ‘The Stranger’ as a way of perhaps conceptualising refugees and asylum-seekers in Glasgow, paying attention to how these ‘linguistic strangers’ navigate the city. In these conceptual discussions, I want to hold central Ahmed’s (1999, p.336) discussion of the *process of becoming* a stranger:

[T]he very experience of leaving home and ‘becoming a stranger’ leads to the creation of a new ‘community of strangers’, a common bond with those others who have ‘shared’ the experience of living overseas. We need to recognise the link between the suspension of a sense of having a home with the formation of new communities. The forming of a new community provides a sense of fixity through the language of heritage – a sense of inheriting a collective past by sharing the lack of a home rather than sharing a home.

Here Ahmed focusses on the notion of ‘communities of exile’, that is, those formed as a result of diasporic groups. This idea of a diasporic geography, and the importance of language for these people, is considered by Segrott (2001), who argues that people make connections to more than one place, in turn challenging culture and language as delimited by national boundaries. For Segrott, language thus becomes an important factor in determining commonality away from ‘home’. In addition to these imaginings of a shared linguistic identity outside of ones’ country of origin, the coming together of language and mobility in relation to refugees and asylum-seekers has been explored by numerous academics over the past decade⁷². Here I aim to build upon this conceptual work by arguing that language can influence the space in which it occurs as well as spaces influencing language, thus suggesting that language and space are mutually constituted. I also use the concept of ‘linguistic communities’ that I explored in Chapter 2 (Jackson, 1989; Brickell, 2013) to investigate integration into different spaces around the city and with different groups of people, often defined by shared markers of identity (Cameron, 2012).

Everyday Im/mobilities

Migrants have an awareness of the popular rhetoric surrounding them; the fear of ‘the other’, limited English, the different religions or skin colour, and the cultural misalignment. Migrants embody these differences in a multitude of ways, but ultimately prejudice against these embodied differences works to limit, or even to halt, the daily mobilities of migrants in the city. Netto (2011) discusses the way that (fear of) racially motivated harassment inhibits migrants’ movements, while

⁷² See Valentine et al (2008); Sporton et al (2006) amongst others.

Cantle (2001) suggests that separation of migrants from the mainstream leads to a sense of parallel lives being lived by native citizens and those newly arrived, often a result of encounters fraught with notions of borders, boundaries and power (Domosh, 2010). Participants in my research hence have limited geographies and tend to use only a handful of different spaces that are generally close to their homes (figure 9.1). The spaces depicted in the map in figure 9.1 are all arguably very local for this particular participant; furthermore, the author of the map has annotated each space with a specific purpose, suggesting that he does not travel to these places for leisure as such. This participant has drawn Tesco's⁷³ and the city centre as places that he visits to do his shopping. He plays football twice a week with a refugee team, learns to use computers in Cranhill, takes his brother to school in Parkhead, goes to appointments at Skills Development Scotland (SDS) and learns English at a community organisation (YCSA). Thus, it becomes clear that each location that this participant visits is for a reason, arguably revealing his limited geographies in Glasgow. It is worth highlighting that quite *how* limited is this geography compared to that of other Glasgow dwellers is open to debate, and perhaps for other people living within strict financial constraints, or with limited physical mobility, their maps would not necessarily reveal a much larger or more- expansive geography.

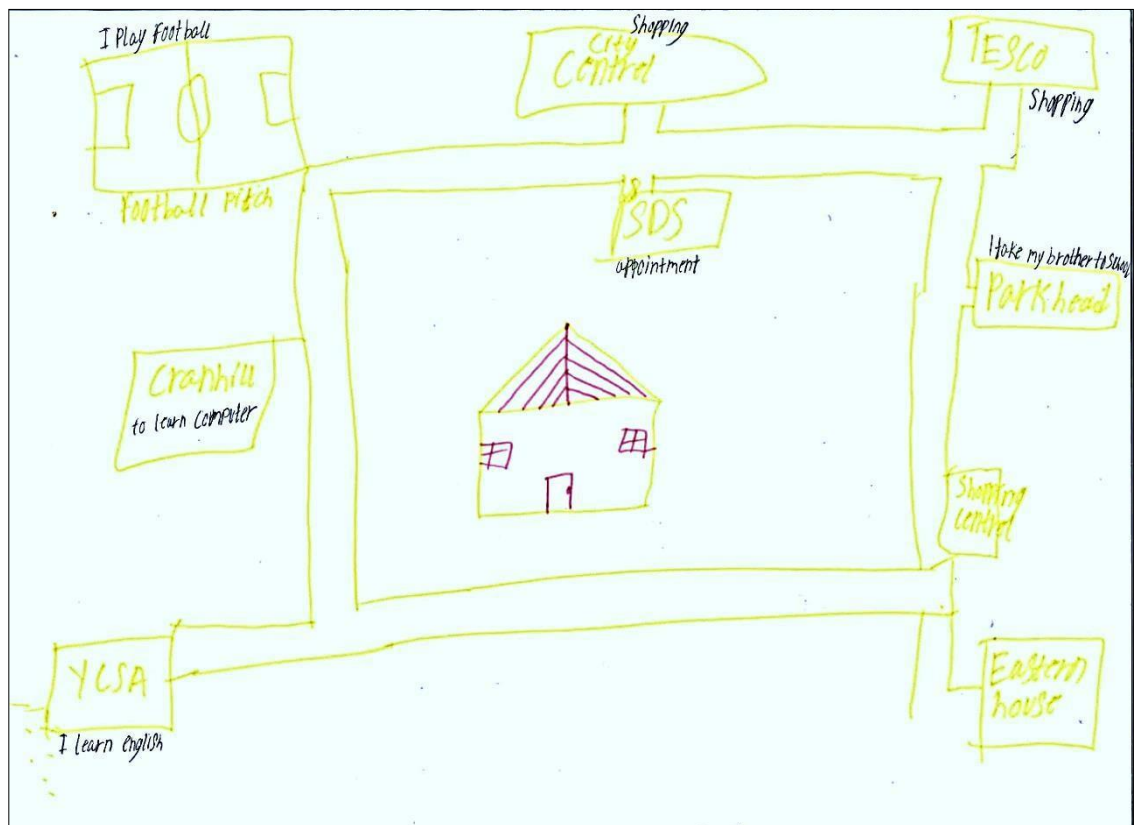


Figure 9.1: A participant's map, detailing their everyday geographies in Glasgow. (Session 2)

⁷³ Tesco's is a large chain of supermarkets in the UK.

Although participants are not *physically* restricted geographically, other factors mean that they often feel that they do not have the same ‘right’ to be in certain spaces as compared to ‘native’ citizens. This feeling can emerge as a result of financial limitations, feelings of not belonging and being made to feel uneasy as a result of prejudicial glances. It also raises interesting questions about refugee spaces and rights to the city (Sanyal, 2012; Darling, 2016), with McGhee (2006) arguing that refugees and asylum-seekers are disadvantaged in areas such as housing, employment, access to healthcare and education. My research has revealed that, when services are available, they tend to be provided separately from mainstream services, increasing segregation. Importantly for my thesis, one of these restrictions is language, and participants regularly avoid certain interactions or places as a result of feeling that they do not have the ‘correct’ language to navigate the space or due to imagined encounters that will take place – negatively anticipating their emotions and struggle before it happens, potentially made worse by limited English competence. That refugees and asylum-seekers seek to dodge certain encounters for fear of what might happen acts as a psychological barrier to mobility, which in turn hinders their experiences of Glasgow and constrains their use of English. This part of the chapter considers previous discussions of mobility in Chapter 3, and looks more closely at some of the spaces that participants use and the importance of language in these different spaces.

Im/mobility

I explored in Chapter 6 the im/mobility paradox that arises on migrants’ journeys across Europe. On one hand they are highly mobile, with networks spanning whole continents and moving informally across and between borders. Yet on the other, they are highly immobile, subject to governmental controls and sanctions, placed in camps and faced with barbed wire fences. Once in destination cities such as Glasgow refugees and asylum-seekers become seemingly immobile; people are told where to live, they are given a weekly financial allowance and are monitored by the Home Office and by other authorities and ‘extended border guards’ as they live their lives in the city (Piacentini, 2008). For some people, this constant monitoring means they become more ostracised, not wanting to leave their homes or participate in certain activities. For others, their reaction is to ‘go underground’ and to evade these authorities: these people become reliant on existing social networks, which in turn means they are able to move freely between cities and jobs (Mestheneos et al, 1999; Netto, 2011). Not only are there practical barriers to their movement, but other, more visceral barriers that render people out-of-place or unwelcome. Participants in my research reported both practical and visceral reasons for their relative immobility and limited geographies: two of the most common reasons for only visiting a handful of places, and their reluctance to go somewhere new were not having the ‘correct’ language and their awareness of

their own difference. The following sections will explore the first of these reasons – language – and investigate the role of language in participants’ city geographies.

Native Languages and English: Different Geographies?

Different languages produce different geographies for participants in my research; through self-directed photography and mapping exercises, it is evident that English and participants’ native languages had different spatial associations. Here I consider the four main locations that participants’ discuss as being part of their everyday geographies: home, parks and other public spaces, libraries and places of worship. Each of these sites produce different habitual actions, are used differently and have unique linguistic associations.

Home



Figure 9.2: A participant’s photograph of ‘my home’.

Home is considered to be a central point for participants and this was particularly evident in the mapping exercise where many participants drew their homes at the centre of the page (figures 9.1, 9.3 and 9.4). As covered in Chapter 3, the concept of ‘home’ has been understood as a multifaceted concept that not only pays attention to a particular dwelling or place, but also to its emotional and imaginative aspects (Blunt and Dowling, 2006; Baxter and Brickell, 2014; Brickell, 2014). Home has been conceptualised as a physical site, related to family and love, tied to individual identity, linked to material belongings, and a concept that can occur on different scales (house, neighbourhood, city, and country). It has also been theorised as a fluid state of being-in-the-world that can be created, transformed and/or abandoned (Blunt and Dowling, 2006; Brickell, 2013; Porteous and Smith, 2001). Home is, as Bhatti (2006, p.321) argues, not a static or fixed concept but one that is “always becoming.”

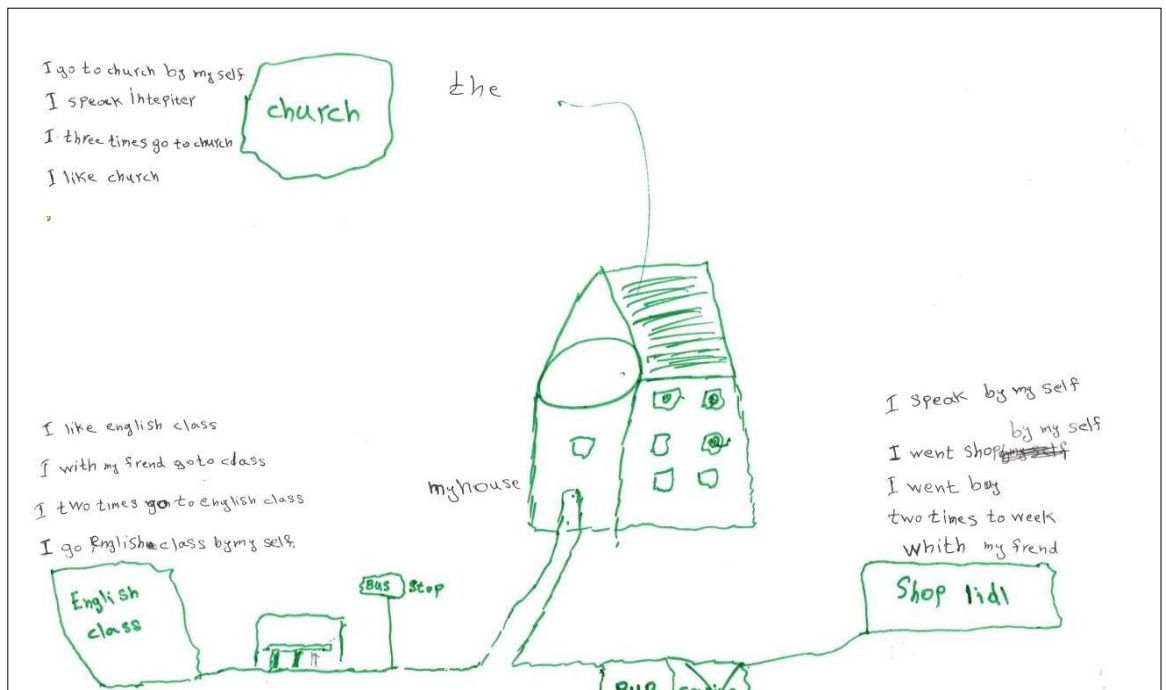


Figure 9.3: A participant’s map, showing their day-to-day geographies in Glasgow.

Houses that are provided for participants are generally seen as safe places where they can relax, be themselves and pass time. Although there were occasions where concern was expressed over someone with whom they were living, or about the general standard of their flat⁷⁴, participants still tend to refer to these places as home. Despite often living in deprived areas with high crime rates⁷⁵,

⁷⁴ The majority of participants in the research were housed in shared flats, although some had been placed temporarily in hostels and bed and breakfasts.

⁷⁵ <https://stv.tv/news/features/1365650-where-does-your-postcode-rate-in-scotland-s-deprivation-hotspots/>

the majority of participants reported their neighbourhoods to feel safe and welcoming with a sense of community. For some participants, it is of course possible that their point of reference is incredibly insecure or dangerous living conditions in their 'home' countries, particularly immediately before they left.

Participants also spend a large amount of their time with their friends in their homes (figure 9.4) or at their friends' houses; therefore, the home becomes a place of socialising, usually creating positive emotions connected to the space. Their homes are also a space where they talk to their friends and families over internet messaging and video services, and thus these spaces become associated with family, albeit virtually. These conversations, in person or virtually, take place in their native languages, again providing a level of comfort and positive association to the space of home. The imagined and emotional aspects of home, as Blunt and Dowling (2006) explore, are important here as participants practise processes of homemaking. For people in a seemingly uncertain set of circumstances, homemaking occurs as people try to recreate familiarity (figure 9.5), improve their material conditions and imagine a better future.

Figure 9.3 goes some way in revealing the large amount of time some participants spend by themselves. In each annotation the author has commented on the fact that he visits these places by himself, apart from one of his English classes that he attends with a friend, and the tendency to attend classes with friends was highlighted in the previous chapter. This participant has drawn his house in the middle of the page, suggesting that this is not only where he spends most of his time, but the place he considers to be central to his daily life in Glasgow.

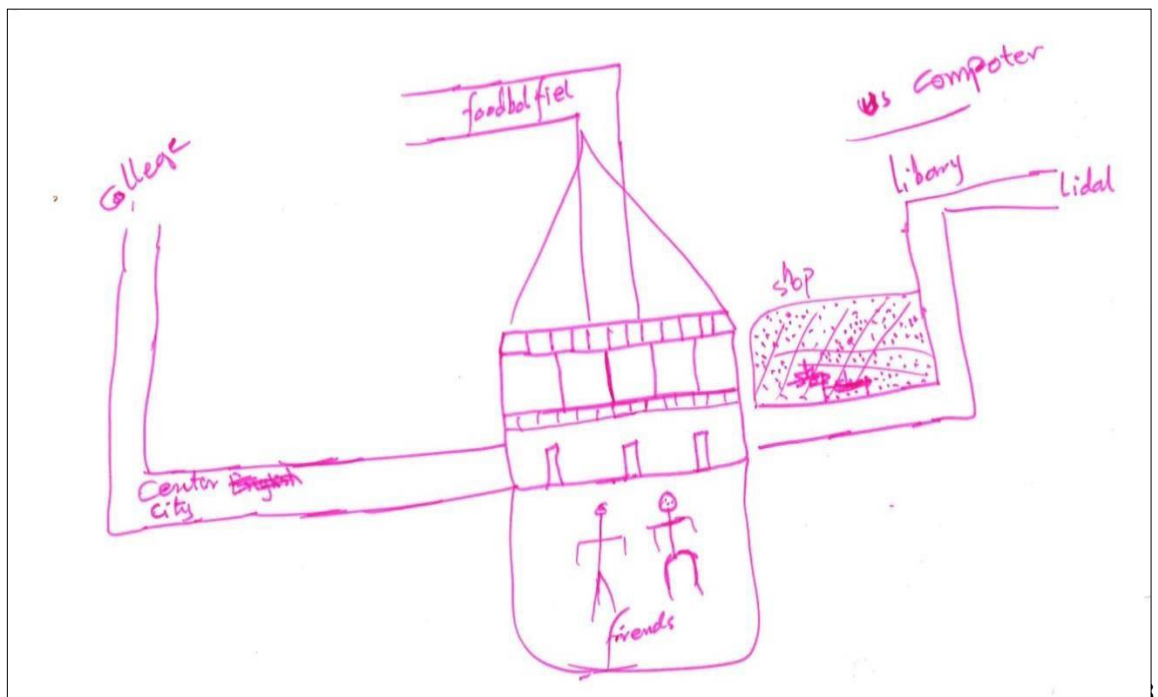


Figure 9.4: A participant's map of their everyday geographies

This map in figure 9.4 gives a slightly more hopeful sense of home-life with the authors depiction of friends in his home. Like the author of figure 9.2, the library, football pitch and a supermarket have all been annotated. This participant also attends college, which alongside playing football, hints at spending more time with other people in various capacities, arguably having a larger amount of social interaction, than is true of the author of figure 9.3.

Some living arrangements mean that English is the primary language spoken between flatmates, occurring because a number of participants are housed with people from different countries or regions, meaning that they are forced to converse in English as it is their only common language. Despite this possibility, participants predominantly associate their homes in Glasgow with their native languages, whether this is written online or in text messages, spoken over the internet to loved ones in their country of origin or somewhere else in Europe, or to their friends with whom they are spending time. Home is seen as a safe space where their native languages can be used without concern over what others are thinking, and also constitutes a space where cultural practices can be honored – tightening links to home, family and friends, but also, arguably, to their own origin language as well.

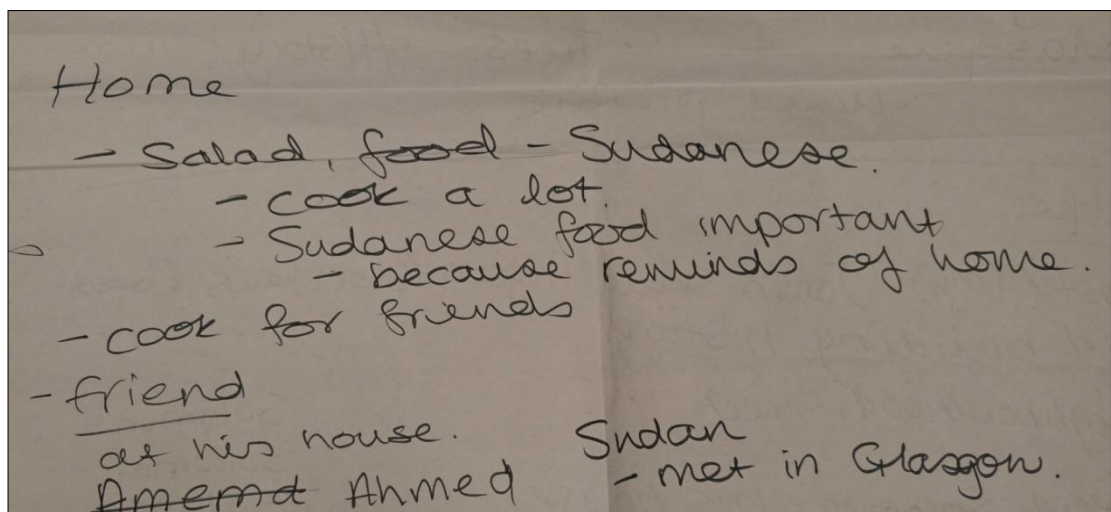


Figure 9.5: A participant's notes about the importance of cooking at home for him and his friends



Figure 9.6: A photograph showing a participant's Sudanese food that he cooked for a friend.

In this sense, home can be considered to be a cultural space where traditional practices are followed, native languages are mobilised and connections with families around the world are maintained. Yet this may all happen in a small flat in Glasgow, with Western furnishings, notices on the walls in English and at times a stranger from another country sat in the room next door speaking a different language to their own friends and family. Thus, for refugees and asylum-seekers in Glasgow, home is perhaps initially seen as a temporary place where they sleep, but over time this becomes more permanent and it becomes a space of safety, comfort and linguistic ease in an otherwise uncertain and linguistically challenging life.

Parks/Public Outdoor Spaces

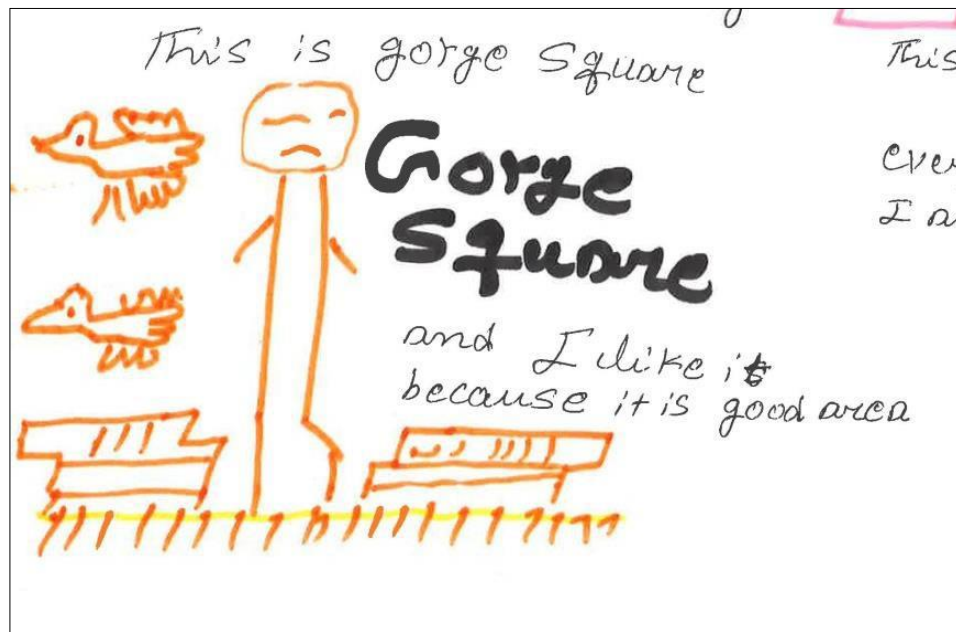


Figure 9.7: G[e]orge Square is seen as a central meeting point among participants.

Outside of their homes and places of education, participants spend a lot of time in parks and other outdoor spaces. A central space that all participants discuss is George Square, the main square in Glasgow city centre. George Square⁷⁶ is one of the most frequented places by participants in the research; it is a location that is used as a meeting point and as a place to hang out with friends. Because of its central location, participants who have been moved across the city are able to get there with relative ease, and participants say that they like George Square because it is busy and they can feed the pigeons. The importance of George Square for my participants became evident when I was organising interviews and a number of participants wanted to meet and conduct the interview in the square. Through self-directed photography, birds and other wildlife were popular subjects of photographs (also as seen in figure 9.8), as well as the river and canal being emphasised as good places to pass time; and in discussions around the photographs, participants told me about their enjoyment of being outside and feeling close to nature. The self-directed photography encouraged discussions about what they like and dislike about outdoor spaces in Glasgow, as well as how it differs from their home lands. The colours of Glasgow parks throughout the seasons was commented upon, often contrasted against the muted colours so many participants associated with their countries of origin. Several participants made a comparison between the green ‘jungle’ in their local park and the Calais camp nicknamed, ‘The Jungle’, as tackled in Chapter 6. Although the Glasgow weather is often less than agreeable, many participants from warmer climates enjoy the colder and wetter weather, but it did limit their geographies as, while they would happily go out in it, many outdoor spaces do not have shelter in which to pass time.

While George Square is a popular social space, other outdoor places provide relaxation and a chance to forget the stress and anxiety that participants often feel as a result of their complex lives in the UK. Exercise is important for participants and, although many would like to be part of a gym, this is not possible due to financial constraints, and therefore many participants run along the canal or the river to get exercise. Being outside and in nature has a positive impact on the mental health of my participants, and several participants expressed the joy felt when they went on the swings in their local park, explaining to me that they felt a rush of excitement and it felt like they were letting go of their worries (figure 9.9). Self-directed photography and accompanying discussion revealed the importance of surroundings on the emotions and mental health of participants and how spending time outdoors with friends, in parks or taking walks, as well as exercising, all help to produce feelings of relaxation for participants.

⁷⁶ George Square is a pre-eminent public space in Glasgow, literally at the heart of the city, a site of many big civic gatherings and events.

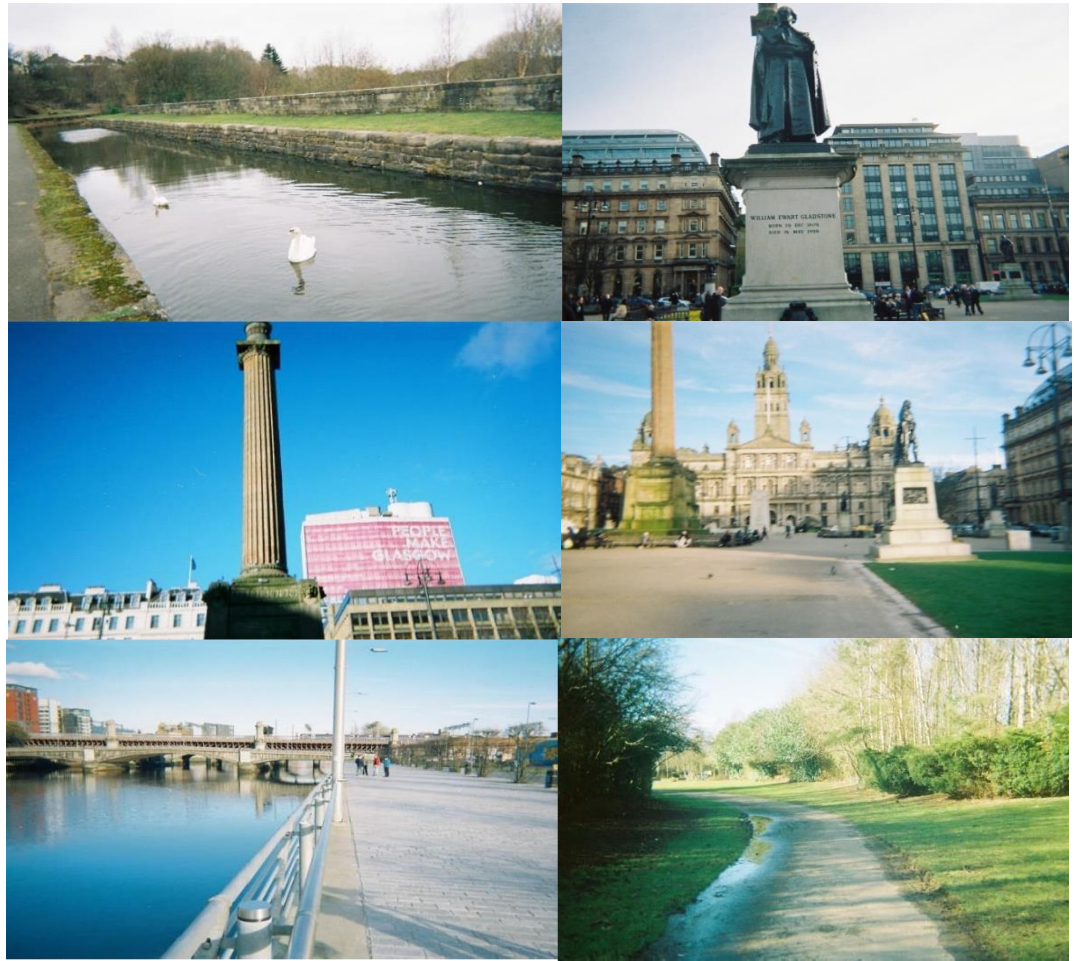


Figure 9.8: A collage of participants' photographs showing a range of outdoor spaces where time is spent.



Figure 9.9: A photograph of Daniel on a swing. (Participant's own)

Daniel: This is a picture of me, I am enjoying and relaxing in the park near to my home. I like this picture, when I do this game I forget every feeling of stress and things that have been destroyed. I'm feeling happy here.

Being in a city there are of course 'urban' sounds, including the sound of other people talking, and therefore listening geographies are still in play during these more peaceful moments for participants. That said, a lot of the outdoors time is spent time either listening to music from their countries of origin or sitting in silence watching passers-by, when the lack of pressure to speak to others, particularly in English, helps them to relax. Spending time in a park or taking a walk allows participants to be at one with their thoughts, and some spoke about taking time to think about their family at home or their personal journeys that brought them to Glasgow. This kind of 'down time' is important to participants and, despite them spending a lot of time by themselves day-to-day, time spent outdoors is usually a choice, meaning that they take the decision to spend time alone, creating a different effect from when they have no choice about their solitude, which creates feeling of isolation.

The Library

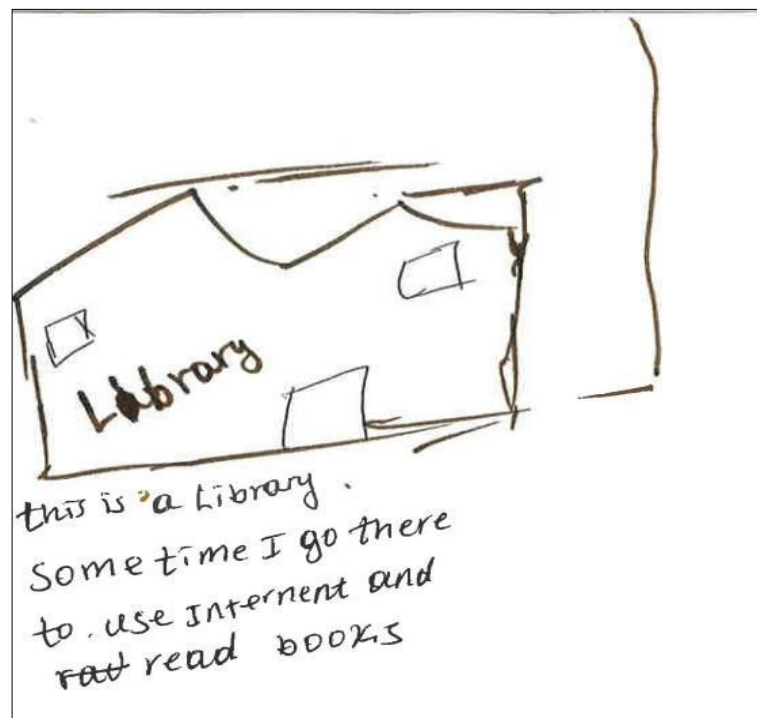


Figure 9.10: One participant's drawing and notes about their local library.

Glasgow Life⁷⁷ has public libraries across Glasgow that are free to access, and many participants spend time in these facilities using computers with access to the internet (as evident from maps drawn by participants). The computers are free to use, and participants utilise this resource for tasks such as looking for jobs and houses, or making their CVs. Libraries are closely associated with language acquisition for participants, with people who work with refugees and asylum-seekers encouraging the use of resources that can be accessed in libraries. Libraries have educational books to help people learn English (figure 9.11), but also carry books in a range of refugee community languages, meaning that participants not only use the library to read books in English but also in their native languages. This recent move to stock books in a range of languages other than the more obvious European languages shows that Glasgow Life recognises the changing demographic in certain Glasgow neighbourhoods, and that they have endeavoured to provide valuable resources for these new citizens. On the internet participants predominantly use their native languages, although some websites are accessed in English, and thus the library, much like the classroom, becomes a site of multilinguality in written and spoken languages.

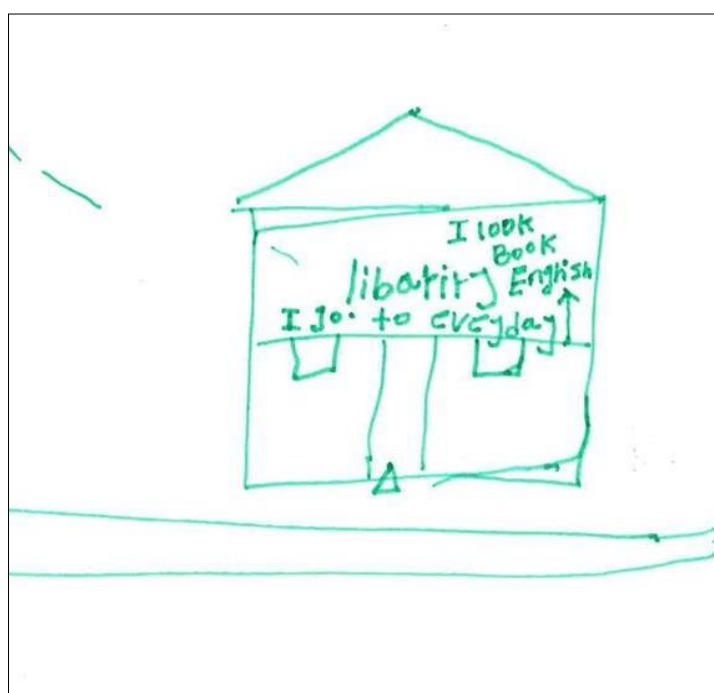


Figure 9.11: A participant explains their use of the library.

Some participants express embarrassment at having to look for books in the children's section as they are unable to read more complex books in English; those who used children's books to help them to learn English said they felt ashamed at not being able to read adult books, and experiencing

⁷⁷ Glasgow Life is a council funded body that runs the city's libraries, museums and leisure facilities.

concern that others judge them when they are seen looking at books with simple English. Hamidreza said that it was shameful that he uses children's books for reading:

Sophie: Other than in class, where do you learn English?

Hamidreza: Sometimes books from the library. You have seen them. Books for babies ... But it is shameful, because they are for babies.

Interestingly, participants do not express shame about using swings in the park and other play facilities intended for children. Instead participants expressed positive emotions in those scenarios. This leads to intriguing questions about what deems something shameful or not. Arguably, when something encourages feelings of being carefree and relaxed such as playing outdoors, there is no shame as it is beneficial for mental health. Conversely, using something like children's books in an educational setting is likely to make participants feel incapable and stressed about a lack of English, thus feeling like they have a lot of work to do in order to be equal to native English speakers, and hence the feeling of shame in this situation. Shame is an emotion that arose throughout my research, often expressed in very strong terms and seen as one of the most negative feelings, often being linked to God and religion. It was commonly used when participants spoke about their need for financial help and did not want to rely on others. The word shame also emerged during a conversation with two participants:

I asked Ahferom and Daniel if they were able to come to the Christmas party Lori and I were organising for the class. They said they were unable to because they had a celebration at church. I said that it was a shame that they could not come. Daniel replied by telling me there should not be shame, and that it is not shameful to be unable to attend the party. I explained to Daniel that I did not mean it in the way that he had interpreted it, and that I meant it synonymously with unfortunate. Yet this interaction piqued my interest in the word 'shame' and the power it held for people, particularly for my participants who had strong religious beliefs where shame has very negative connotations. (*Field Diary*)

Hamidreza's use of the word here suggests a deep embarrassment at not being able to access books more appropriate to his age, but it also signifies that he feels inherently bad in himself for not having better English proficiency. Despite the benefits of reading children's books in relation to language acquisition, the negative emotions that accompany this act may have consequences for self-esteem and confidence, and therefore encouragement from teachers and practitioners is important in ensuring learners stay engaged and have a positive attitude towards learning. Taking books home from the library enables participants to learn English at home, meaning that home becomes a private site of language acquisition where participants can take as much time as they need to read and to understand the words on the page.



Figure 9.12: A drawing by a participant depicting their local library.

The drawing in figure 9.12 shows that going to the library is a highly routinised encounter, since the drawer has written that the doors are open five days a week and that he goes to the library every day. Furthermore, the turn of phrase about having open doors, although basic, signifies a sense of welcome and freedom to enter, creating a poignant sense of how this particular participant views the library. The image also depicts “English learning” shelves and someone working on a computer: it is highly detailed, suggesting that this participant takes time in the library to consider his surroundings and that there is a strong sense of familiarity with the space.

In addition to using the library for computers and books, libraries have a host of leaflets and information for refugees and asylum-seekers – provided by Glasgow Life – and therefore libraries are seen as a place where information about various services can be accessed. These leaflets are often available in a range of languages, meaning more accessibility for those with limited English. Furthermore, some library staff have been trained in helping refugees and asylum-seekers to use the internet to register for colleges, to create e-mail addresses and to advise on what to put on their CVs (often qualifications and previous employment do not translate well). The library staff’s knowledge, alongside the various multilingual provisions, all work to make libraries welcoming and comfortable spaces for those newest in the communities.

ESOL assessments carried out by colleges and more central organisations such as Glasgow Life and the ESOL Forum are frequently undertaken in libraries around Glasgow. These assessments are advertised through leaflets or posters on community noticeboards in locations such as supermarkets and shops. People working with refugees and asylum-seekers will also receive information on

upcoming assessments and can signpost their service users to the locations in which they take place. Some of the leaflets provide this information in numerous languages, while others simply have the basic information such as address, time and a map with nearby bus stops on. Depending on the frequency of assessments, these sessions can often get busy and there is sometimes a queue to see the people running the assessments; they tend to be carried out in one part of a library, or in a study room adjoined to it. Those who organise the assessments commonly invite people from other organisations to attend in order to provide information about classes taking place as well as offering other support, advice and signposting. ESOL assessments are often the first step for people wishing to access ESOL education, and therefore many in attendance have not been in the UK, or Glasgow, for very long, which means that the assessments are not only beneficial in terms of getting 'levelled' in English, but also in finding out about other services that can be accessed. Finally, from my research it was apparent that over half of my participants had met people with whom they were now good friends at ESOL assessments, while waiting in the queue or hanging around afterwards. Thus libraries arguably have far more importance in the lives of refugees and asylum-seekers than people may assume: they are often one of the first public places visited on arrival in the city and provide a safe and welcoming environment for people to develop a range of skills, alone or with friends.

Places of Worship

Religion and faith are central to the lives and routines of most participants in the research. Participants are a mixture of Orthodox Christian, Christian and Muslim, and have various levels of devotion, which means that a place of worship is important and churches, mosques and other religious centres become permanent and steadfast in the daily lives of my participants, acting as more than just a religious space. I will therefore look at places of worship in two ways: firstly, with respect to the role of religion in my participants' lives; and secondly, regarding places of worship as a community space that goes beyond religion, paying attention to places of worship as entertaining a specific language geography in their own right.

Religion and faith are important in the wellbeing of the participants in my research. Participants find solace in religion and the ability to practise their religion helps to provide structure, positive mental health and a connection to their lives prior to migration. Many participants see religion as part of their culture; and, by participating in religious events and attending regular prayer services, they feel that they are maintaining one part of their cultural identity. Moreover, attending such services allows them to feel part of a community, be it religious or ethnic:

Hagos, Ahferom and Awet invited me to go to the Easter celebration at their church on Friday, Hadgu was the priest in the ceremony. Yohana and Senait met me outside and gave me some appropriate clothes to wear – mainly just something white to cover my head. I was really nervous as I had no idea what to expect. Awet was playing the drums and it was interesting to see him in that role, I only know him as the joker in class. I sat with the girls who guided me through the music, the prayers and the dancing. It was like nothing I have experienced before, and there was something very moving about seeing all these people in a place where they were expressing their religion and culture so freely and so ‘authentically’ (for want of a better word!). Of course, I did not understand a word that was said, but it felt great to experience a tiny bit of Eritrean culture, and to see how my participants are part of that, outside of the classroom in a space that they clearly feel comfortable in and like they belong. (*Field Diary*)

My experience at the Eritrean church in Springburn offered a small insight into the way the Eritrean community in Glasgow regularly come together. Everyone greeted each other and there was a sense of friendship amongst the congregation, and it was easy to forget that through the doors lay the remnants of the Red Road flats and an arterial road leading to the M8. This service was private, something for them that was so rarely shared with ‘outsiders’. There were people of all ages at the Easter celebration, each with different experiences pre- and post- migration, yet the coming together in this place of worship seemed to overcome such differences. In line with Segrott (2001) and Ahmed (1999), the people in the church had found a linguistic, ethnic and cultural community in which they could participate, creating a sense of home away from home.

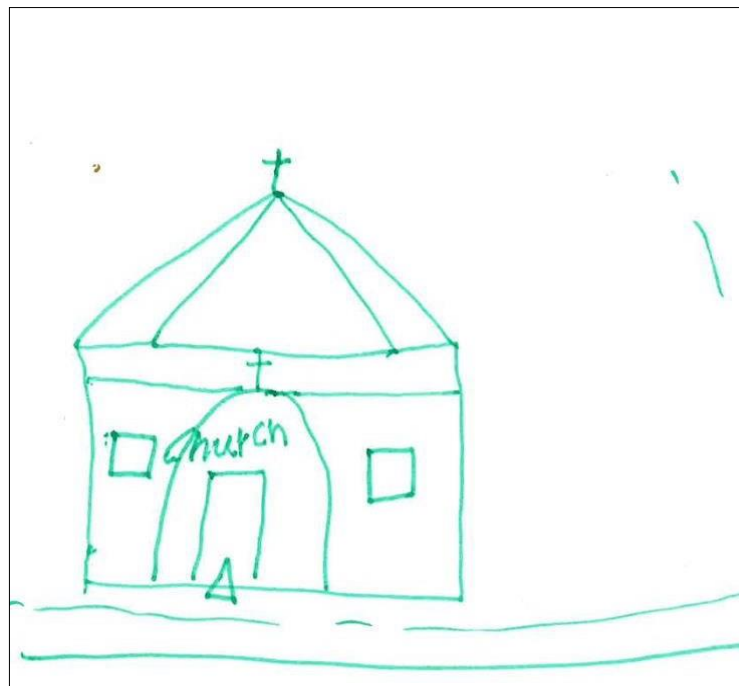


Figure 9.13: A participant’s illustration of their church.

Religious services take place in native languages: there is an Eritrean church in Springburn, home to a large number of people from the Eritrean community; mosques around Glasgow conduct

prayer and other services in Arabic and other languages; and two churches in Glasgow have specific services held in Farsi for Iranian Christians seeking asylum in the city. Therefore places of worship are associated with native languages and seen as a place of safety and support, as well as relief, for participants in the research. They are places where people from migrant communities can come together and share cultural practices, take part in religious festivals or events, and speak to others at different stages of the asylum-system and settlement process in Glasgow. This social element adds to the meaning of these spaces for my participants, in which regard they become spaces of community cohesion and development. They are also places of sanctuary and expression for the people in my research, signalling a sense of freedom from their lives prior to migrating. For those who are seeking asylum for religious reasons (namely Iranian Christians), the ability to go to church and to practise their Christianity freely serves as a constant reminder of the reason why they put themselves through the arduous journey to seek safety. However, this is not always the case:

I was talking with Hadi and Hamidreza about the two church services they go to that are held in Farsi. All of the Iranian people I have met go to these services as they are the only two in Glasgow and therefore I was asking Hadi and Hamidreza if they knew some of the people I had met in other classes. I told them their names and described them, Hadi said he knew them and that he sometimes spoke to them, while Hamidreza was just shaking his head. I asked him why and he explained that he did not like to speak to other people at church. He went to pray and that was it. I asked why he did not speak to other people there and he explained that just because they are all Iranian and all Christian does not mean that they will automatically be friends. I later asked Omid about the other people that go to church, and he said the same thing. (*Field Diary*)

This conversation with three Iranian participants is very revealing. While Hadi was happy to make friends and talk to others at church, both Hamidreza and Omid were seemingly fervent to do the opposite. This brings to light numerous issues when doing research with refugees and asylum-seekers and common assumptions about markers of identity. While for many people, finding commonality with others – a shared language, culture or religion – is important in processes of settlement, for others such as Hamidreza and Omid the need to integrate with their local native Glaswegian community is more important, particularly if they are to settle long-term in the city. Both Hamidreza and Omid explained to me that they had some friends from Iran, but that they were friends because they had other things in common, such as music and sport, so that their friendship went beyond basic markers such as age, gender, religion and so on. Furthermore, while the Farsi service at church was important for them, it was solely in terms of being able to practice their faith in a language they were able to understand, not because of the highly social nature of the Farsi services.

The above section has helpfully demonstrated the two sides to finding commonalities with others through religion. On the one hand, places of worship can be vital in providing a link to participants'

countries of origin, particularly in relation to cultural practices and language. They provide a space where friends can come together and where new links are made, aiding a sense of belonging. On the other hand, there are feelings of not wanting to become a part of the religious community and instead there is a want to form deeper relationships outside of such an 'obvious' marker of identity, yet having a space to practice religion is still important and it therefore becomes in effect a double-edged sword.

The home, libraries, parks and outdoor spaces and places of worship are the four main places that participants mapped, photographed and discussed in relation to their everyday lives, other, of course, than the 'classroom' covered in the previous chapter. Their geographies are arguably broader than just these nodes, but they are still evidently seen as core places of anchorage and stability. It is these places that provide the safety and support which is vital in processes of settlement and feelings of belonging in the lives of refugees and asylum-seekers in Glasgow. Moreover, these places offer a chance to meet others, helping to build social networks and to help people integrate into their local refugee community, although, as demonstrated, this is not for everyone, as people find different paths to settlement outside of refugee groups and migrant communities.

Importance of Community

Throughout the research it was apparent that refugee and larger migrant communities play an important role in the lives of refugees and asylum-seekers settling in Glasgow. They provide various levels of support and comfort to those who have recently arrived in the city, as well as facilitating a network of people able to foster feelings of belonging for people who have been in the city for differing lengths of time. Migrant communities sit at once inside and outside of broader society – playing a large role in neighbourhood landscapes and culture, while at the same time remaining isolated, even ostracised, from the daily goings-on of life in the city. As Darling (2017) argues, the more localised 'policing' of refugees and asylum-seekers – involving what I have previously described as extended border guards – mean that the migrant communities to which my participants may belong face a potential reduction of urban mobility. This section thus explores the role of migrant communities for refugees and asylum-seekers in Glasgow, but also considers how individuals and groups are placed within these networks of people, themselves existing in the tacit sociality and spatiality of life in the city. The intermingling (or not) of newly arrived migrants, migrant communities and local Glaswegian communities proves somewhat messy and is highly localised, yet how interactions and encounters take place have multiple impacts on the daily lives of refugees and asylum-seekers.

Here it may be helpful to offer some conceptual points on ‘community’. Firstly, community will always involve some element of imagining, and a sense of being part of something larger than simply the face-to-face interactions one may have with others. Connection and communication come into play here, and in its various forms communication may take place through various mediums beyond the physical encounter (Anderson, 1991). Thus, it can be reasoned that community is not spontaneous, but constructed (Robins and Morley, 1996; Latour, 2005). Urban geographers have begun to engage with community in a number of ways, thinking about ‘lost’ community, ‘false’ community and ‘beyond’ community (Amin and Thrift, 2002; Latour, 2005). It is important to think about how the term ‘community’ is employed and with what aim, for it is not a neutral term. Here I draw on Imrie and Raco (2003), who explore the use of community as a rhetorical device in policy-making. They argue that using the term ‘community’ may increase social division and lead to some people being termed ‘deviant’ (Imrie and Raco, 2003, p. 6). Pile (1996) has also investigated this matter and found that ‘community’ embraces notions of what is normal and what it means to belong. Sibley (1995) also demonstrates the divisive effects of ‘community’, as was explored in Chapter 3. While these considerations are helpful in exploring the (mis)use of such a term, it does little to enlighten people as to the way that connection does indeed occur in urban life. Urban geography’s turn to look *beyond* community provides us with some answers. Instead of looking at the sum of all parts, scholars are now focussing on the small interactions and arguably mundane moments of social life that provide connection (see Latham, 2003; Laurier and Philo, 2006; Amin, 2007). A notion of ‘light sociality’ (Amin and Thrift, 2002) means that groups may ebb and flow, some meetings being more sustained than others, united through shared interests or passions. Hence, these meetings are both more than and less than a ‘community’.

In consideration of the above arguments I will offer my own interpretation of ‘community’ in relation to refugees and asylum-seekers. Through first-hand and anecdotal evidence in my research, I want to argue that thinking in terms of community is still worthwhile. Participants in the research all spoke about the ‘communities’ to which they belong: some were very much based on face-to-face communication, while others were beyond this boundedness and involved general markers of identity, such as being Eritrean in Glasgow. Of course, participants do not know every Eritrean in Glasgow, but sharing a nationality with a minority of people in the city means that they felt part of this imagined community, a group of people who had a shared nationality, with a number of cultural and linguistic practices also being shared. Furthermore, the communities that do involve face-to-face interaction are more than simply ‘light sociality’, since people who regularly come together in a place of worship often sustain relationships and care for one another outside of the walls of the building, a sense of solidarity exists, borne out of being a minority, out of feeling

'different'. This brings me to my final point; exploring the everyday encounters, the minutiae of everyday life is unequivocally important in furthering understandings of how the cogs of urban life turn, and how life unfolds in the city. However, I believe it would also be somewhat of an oversight to believe that cities are fully integrated sites of equality and belonging. Division, prejudice and exclusion exist in urban life, and, while people belong to multiple 'communities' and borders between these are porous, participants in the research ultimately felt themselves to exist within community structures. My use of the term community hence arises from the position that participants perceived themselves to occupy and from the attempts to 'bridge' communities that I witnessed during my research, with native Glaswegians and majority groups wishing to meet, hold events *for* and care *for* those in minority groups, unconsciously and generally unproblematically 'othering' those from refugee and asylum-seeker communities.

Before turning to look in more depth at collective identities and what might be termed 'linguistic communities', it is also important to highlight the benefits that belonging to a community has for refugees and asylum-seekers. Communities provide a support network for people arriving and settling in Glasgow. People from a range of backgrounds with different life experiences join together in these communities to help each other build their lives in a new city; companionship is sought and friendships are built in migrant communities. These friends and companions become close confidantes, and relationships are built in such a way that forges a sense of unity between members of migrant communities, linked by their exile from home; and the ability to find comfort in others during often uncertain times helps to reduce isolation and to improve mental health.

Linguistic Communities and Collective Identities

Language is central to people's identities and to how they are seen by others. It shapes their experiences and contributes to feelings of (not) belonging (Jackson, 1989). Furthermore, language signals membership of certain groups, whether this be religious, ethnic, nationality or something else. These collective identities mean that information, stories and experiences can be shared between members of linguistic communities helping to build feelings of belonging and shared understanding. The collective heritage thereby created helps to develop links for my participants to their lives pre-migration and aids somewhat of a transferal of cultural belonging from their countries of origin to Glasgow. Despite being daily surrounded by a different majority language, different cultural traditions and new environments, belonging to what may be perceived as a 'community' allows for processes of home-making to take place, aiding settlement and feelings of belonging in the city. Being part of a linguistic community hence offers a 'safety net' where familiarity can be found. Talking about the Eritrean community in Glasgow, Metkel explains that,

through social networks found in various places, it is possible for people to come together, implicitly saying that having a shared nationality, culture *and* language makes it possible to ‘find’ people:

Metkel: Even they are group of people that are coming together, they come separated two or three days, but they know each other from Calais. And then they can tell each other about other people, and we can all find each other. We collect people. Even for me, the Orthodox Church, I go there, and in that church I found a lot of people.

Language allows for memories and for rules and norms to be shared (Pred, 1989), facilitating patterns of social life that occur locally, which is how language actively shapes and orders communities and wider society. In doing so, migrant communities are host to different relationships between their members, with different people taking on different roles within it and in turn ensuring a range of benefits for people who effectively belong to the community. As Frances reflects, considering why some refugees and asylum-seekers might be more motivated to seek out advice and language classes:

I think if you are in a part of the city where there’s a reasonable size a community of people speaking your first language then you’ve got more kind of support network and you’ve got more access to people who can help you out with things. Whereas we have students who are more isolated in communities, then there’s more motivation there. (*Frances, City Council organisation*)

Minority language use in refugee communities is inclusive for its members but itself risks increasing isolation of that community from wider society, particularly the case if these communities are well established and are able to operate externally from wider society⁷⁸, creating a relatively non-porous border between local people and migrants. For members of smaller more recently established refugee communities, English is often seen to be more important as the wider support network found in more established migrant communities is not necessarily available.

Pred (1989) focuses on place-bound traditions carried by language and suggests that linguistic communities and the cultural activities of these communities are geographically specific. I want to further Pred’s exploration of language and place to look at how, while dialect is arguably place-bound, languages more generally are not geographically specific, as evidenced in Chapter 5, and thus traditions carried by language can be dispersed and are ‘dispersible’ over time and space yet always originate, as Pred discusses, *in place*. Traditions are inherently tied to an original

⁷⁸ Several service providers to whom I spoke during my research explained the issues faced in engaging the Chinese community in English classes and other services. This was said to be because their community is well established both in terms of size and length of time in Glasgow. There are Chinese supermarkets, restaurants and social groups, which means that very few Chinese people, especially those who have recently arrived, take the steps towards integrating into Glaswegian society, as it is simply not necessary to be able to live in the city.

geographical place and hence language, but can occur anywhere where that language is spoken, or people of that nationality inhabit, adding another layer to the spatial specifics of Pred's assertion. Language is crucial for constructing and performing cultural identities for both individuals and the communities to which they feel that they belong (Harris, 1980 cited in Jackson, 1989). Sounds, words, signs and systems are created, adopted and maintained to help reinforce feelings of a collective community (Brickell, 2013); and this is certainly the case in my research, wherein participants explain that the first markers of their identity are the language that they speak and the country from which they come. Thus, language and nationality alone have the ability to create feelings of a collective community, and it is within these communities that participants express and participate in cultural traditions. Yet, culture, language and nationality always possess geographical or territorial reference point, sometimes implicit but at other times explicit, highlighting the importance of having such a concrete point of reference:

Abdulrahim: I am from Sudan, I speak Arabic. It is my own culture you know, that's the difference. The culture is different. If you have many different people in a place, there are many cultures, you know. Another culture you don't understand, they don't understand my culture. It is difficult. My community knows my culture, I do not know Eritrea culture, I do not know Syria culture, but I know mine. We are different, but together because all of our culture is not your culture.⁷⁹

The role of language in communities is vital in creating links to home, often conceived as *homeland*, feelings of belonging and creating both individual and collective identities. Processes of home-making are encouraged and facilitated as a result of belonging to a community, and speaking native languages in their homes and the homes of their friends in Glasgow, or in community spaces, is important to these home-making processes. It is important to highlight that some participants expressed feelings of self-consciousness when speaking their native languages outside of their community, thus highlighting the role that linguistic communities play in offering familiarity and comfort to people who may not have yet settled in Glasgow. Furthermore, it also highlights the role that migrant communities play in allowing people to express certain identities that may not feel appropriate, or they do not feel comfortable showing, when navigating daily life in Glasgow.

Routine and 'normality'

The provision of linguistic and cultural links to participants' countries of origin, made possible through being part of a community not only provides a space for cultural expression, but encourages feelings of routine and 'normality' for refugees and asylum-seekers in the process of

⁷⁹ This quote from Abdulrahim also suggests something about an overall community – of refugees and asylum-seekers, united across differences between people, places and languages.

settling in Glasgow. I have discussed the importance of routine in the previous chapter, and here I want to build upon this account by bringing in the notion of ‘normality’. My participants have all experienced long and difficult journeys to get to the UK and now have complicated and uncertain lives in Glasgow. Therefore, the ability to gain as much of a routine as possible, twinned with the opportunity and ability to participate in activities that take them away from processes of asylum-seeking per se, can work to aid settlement and to build confidence, as well as improving their outlook on their futures in the UK.

In addition to participating in activities within their communities, participants enjoy taking part in activities organised by third sector organisations such as swimming, bowling and visiting museums. These trips not only provide cultural orientation in Glasgow, but also give people the opportunity to take part in activities that they may otherwise not be able to afford, organise or even know about:

I think ... anything that encourages people to learn more about the culture where they're living ... I've never ever met a migrant who wasn't curious about potato scones, haggis, the history of Glasgow, landmarks. So I think they're so interested, as you would be if you lived anywhere. We always do a programme where we take people to Scotland's historical places, because otherwise they just don't go, and it's not through lack of curiosity, they're just not going to get on a bus and go to a castle. And again people absolutely love that, and I think it's really important for them, and how, if you don't know the culture or the history, how will it ever feel like home? (Tiff, ESOL teacher)

Tiff discusses the possibility of creating a new home, a new place of belonging. There is a hint at having to create a *new* home, in order to replace an *old* home, yet I want to return to the idea that, as home is emotional and experiential, it can span numerous places and times. Home is linked to identity and understanding, and thus it is possible to have two, three, four ‘homes’. In beginning to understand Scottish culture, a new home is being created, a new ‘normal’, but it may be merging, or growing alongside, existing notions and imaginaries of their other homes.

People from a range of nationalities take part in these activities, providing an opportunity for cultural sharing and encouraging relationships to be formed between people who would not usually spend time together:

I mean I think, as with anyone, folk are looking to make friends, and play football or go hillwalking, or whatever it is that they enjoy doing, but yes certainly in terms of integration there's a real recognition of the value of English language. (Christine)

For participants in my research, a routine and a desire to live like everyone else is important and spending time with others, taking part in a range of cultural activities, and feeling like they are part

of their neighbourhoods, their city and Scotland, are all important in providing this new ‘normal’ as they settle in Glasgow.

Insider or outsider?

In the first part of this chapter, I have focussed on the importance of migrant communities in providing support and a sense of belonging for people arriving in Glasgow. I will shortly turn to the city as a whole – including local neighbourhoods and other areas of the city – to explore the spoken and heard geographies of refugees and asylum-seekers. However, first I want to explore the paradox of being both inside and outside of a community, and to do this I will take two approaches. Firstly, it should be considered that not every refugee or asylum-seeker belongs to a community, with clear impacts upon those for which this lack of belonging is a reality; and secondly, I will reiterate my suggestion that migrant communities – although recognised – often remain on the periphery of society, rendering its members at once in place and out of place.

Taking the first strand forward, it is easy to suggest that all refugees and asylum-seekers arriving in the UK, or Glasgow more specifically, can be identified through language or nationality and assumed to have a place in certain communities. However, the reality is far more complex, and some people do not feel like they belong to *any* community, remaining isolated and without support from others. This lack of belonging can arise for a range of reasons, yet is often linked to experiences pre-migration or during their journey to the UK. In these instances, individuals will often seek solace with charities, in community ESOL classes, or in places of worship – although the latter can be a place of exclusion in itself. Feeling outside of a community impacts the individual in a multitude of ways, often negatively, as they do not have the same support and social networks as individuals who are part of such communities. This situation can increase isolation, impact mental wellbeing and ultimately slow down processes of settlement.

Broadening this analysis out to consider migrant communities as a whole, I want to suggest that, while these different communities are often recognised and celebrated, the legal, political and economic precarity of their members means they often remain closed and separated from wider society. The paradoxical position of the ‘asylum-seeker identity’, of being a non-citizen and being outside of the law, while also being subject to its constant gaze and power (Zylinska, 2004), and the negotiation of relationships with members of the host community (Piacentini, 2008), mean that spaces inhabited by migrant communities may become bounded and bordered. This state of affairs creates an interesting contradiction as, on the one hand, members of the community have a space in which they belong and feel comfortable, in turn aiding processes of integration and settlement into

migrant communities, but, on the other hand, their involvement in their own community may hinder other forms of participation, increasing their segregation and slowing their settlement processes.

The relative separation of migrant communities can be linked – as prefigured in Chapter 3 – to notions around the figure of ‘the stranger’ (Simmel, 1908) and difference, connected with Douglas’ (1966) discussions of proximity to ‘the other’ and Kristeva’s notion of ‘the abject’ (1982). The roots and routes of difference work to delimit those who are citizens and those who are not (Gerrard, 2016). Sibley (1995) considers the role of emotions in the creation and maintenance of boundaries between ‘us’ and ‘them’, while Brubaker and Cooper (2000) look at how powerful institutions create arguably harmful narratives around certain members of society, with both of these aspects contributing to the positioning of refugees and asylum-seekers in urban life. For Simmel (1908, p.322), the stranger is ‘the person who comes today and stays tomorrow’: this stranger is potentially highly mobile, yet remains fixed in place, and it is this ambivalent fixing that becomes problematic. Proximity to those who are deemed to be abject, a result of metaphorical and figurative discourse around ‘difference’, and ‘purity’, reinforces the justification of boundaries and borders (Ahmed, 2000). Sibley (1995) and Kristeva (1982) draw upon Douglas (1966) to explore the socio-cultural and geographical processes that are mobilised to maintain purity of the self, individually and collectively, and how this purification leads to someone becoming deemed either ‘insider’ or ‘outsider’. The separation of refugee communities from host communities is also arguably a result of the rhetoric used by powerful institutions in discussions of ‘community’ (Imrie and Raco, 2003), demarcating those who belong from those who do not. Complex politics surround refugees and asylum-seekers and, when looking at their experiences on a larger scale, these politics cannot be ignored or taken for granted. Thus, the isolation and segregation often faced by people arriving in Glasgow is inherently linked to the political landscape of the neighbourhood or city. With this point in mind, I will now turn to look at the Glaswegian community as a whole and explore the ways in which participants in my research are involved, paying particular attention to how their language use and acquisition is enrolled in the inclusionary and exclusionary processes.

The Spoken, Listened to and Visual Language Geographies

I have so far explored the everyday geographies of my participants, the spaces that they regularly inhabit and the emotional facets of these routines, as well as discussing the importance of communities for my participants as they navigate a new life in Glasgow. With attention paid to the different locations discussed at the outset of this chapter, and keeping in mind the role of different communities in the lives of my participants, I will now turn to the speaking geographies, listening

geographies and visual language geographies of my participants and, in doing so, open up arguments about the importance of multilinguality, the need for increased encounters with native English speakers, and importantly again highlight the way one small and seemingly insignificant interaction can be so much more than that to refugees and asylum-seekers.

Multilinguality

All of my participants speak a minimum of two languages, including English, but most also speak parts of numerous other languages which were usually acquired on their journeys to the UK. The multilinguality of participants means that, as discussed, different languages are used in different spaces, depending on who is present, what the space is and what is trying to be achieved. What this also means is that any space usually considered to be monolingual, one where English is conventionally or even exclusively spoken, can become a site of multilinguality when participants use the space as a site for speaking multiply, thereby highlighting the transformative and fluid nature of language:

Lori and I took the group bowling as it was near Christmas and we had discussed it in class as an activity they might like to do. When we got there, there were a group of men sat in the bar next to the games machines. As soon as we got in everyone ran off and started messing around with the machines, and shouting at each other across the room while Lori and I were sorting tickets. I could see the guys in the bar were looking quite surprised and a little bemused, but also a bit uncomfortable. The woman who I was sorting out the tickets with was smiling at the excitement being expressed by the group, Awet and Hagos came over and said hi to the woman behind the desk. The group's presence filled the space with different languages, and everyone that was in the space seemed to notice the change, they were looking and smiling as a new kind of liveliness filled the place. (*Field Diary*)

Such situations may also reveal how space and language can be mutually constitutive as the space influences what language is used, while language can impact the dynamics, environment and atmosphere of the space:

I went with Hamidreza to his solicitors as he needed to get a document for his case. When we went in there were three members of staff at their desks, two of them were on the phone and sounded like they were having quite serious conversations. Hamidreza tried to explain why he was there to the woman who was not on the phone, but she did not really understand him. I could see that Hamidreza was getting frustrated as he kept having to repeat himself using different words. I did not know whether to help him or not because I know he would have appreciated it, but I know he also really wants to be able to do things by himself. As he was continuing to try to explain three other Iranian men came into the solicitors. They were speaking Farsi and Hamidreza turned to greet them, as did I. Hamidreza then explained in Farsi why he was there, and this started a discussion. From what I could gather, the three men were explaining to Hamidreza what steps would be next in his case. All the while the woman was still waiting to find out what exactly she needed to do. I got Hamidreza's attention and turned him back to the woman, with the help of another of the guys she understood and went to get Hamidreza's file. (*Field Diary*)

These two field diary extracts show the way that different languages enter places in a range of ways. In the first extract, a bowling alley may be considered to be a space where English is conventionally spoken, and the presence of the group, speaking four different languages between them, caused people to look and take notice of them. The onlookers signified that it was out of the ordinary for them to hear so many different languages in such a space. The second extract took place in a solicitor's office in Maryhill: although the solicitors here worked in a range of fields, it was big immigration law solicitors and therefore it was not out of the ordinary to have foreign languages being spoken within the space. Hamidreza and the three other Iranian men seemed very comfortable in the solicitors and were not shy about speaking to each other in Farsi. These two extracts highlight how different spaces influence language use, and how others in the space may react, depending on the functionality of the space in question.

Participants thus have varied speaking geographies that are dependent on where they are, who they are with and the emotions and feelings associated with a space. It ought to be highlighted that sites of multilinguality also influence the linguistic geographies of native English speakers who enter into these spaces, particularly in relation to listening geographies whereby they are hearing languages other than English, again revealing how language and space are shaped by one another, with varying impacts for different people in the space.

Transactions

In terms of speaking, participants reported that the majority of English that they used day to day occurred during transactions in shops, on buses or at the post office. In these situations encounters are fleeting, brief and speaking is often kept to a minimum. The majority of the time participants feel that they have enough English to carry out these interactions; yet, if they had a question to ask, were asked a question or a problem arose, they were not always well equipped linguistically to deal with them instantaneously. It was also felt by participants that they did not get enough opportunities to speak informally to native English speakers, and therefore were unable to develop the tools needed to overcome problems often encountered when conversations went 'off the script' that they had previously rehearsed in their mind:

Now if the learners aren't in the situation where they're really able to practice their English, obviously living in the city you're exposed to a version of English ... because that is feedback that we get all the time: "I can understand my tutor because she speaks clearly and slowly, but then I go out and I don't have a clue." (*Jo, ESOL teacher*)

These transactions are often routine for the person with whom they are interacting, and therefore do not provide an opportunity to develop language skills or to acquire new words or understanding. In

addition to this, some participants express feelings of nervousness or embarrassment arising each time a transaction was carried out, regardless of how many times they had done it before:

Farid: Speaking is the most difficult, maybe pronunciations or new words, there is not time to practice with native speakers. How can I know if I am right or wrong? Always just it is “£2, here you go, thank you.” That’s it. No more. “Good bye” they say.

These feelings could be a result of not receiving feedback on their language skills and thus not knowing if they are speaking ‘correctly’ or if it is ‘wrong’, as Farid points out above. Their uncertain feelings also stem from the reality that each time that they interact with a stranger, they do not know what kind of reception they will receive, and therefore feel apprehensive each time they enter such encounters. This uncertainty is twofold: participants express concern that the person with whom they are interacting will not show understanding or patience, putting them under pressure to ‘get it right’ first time. Secondly, and in part due to the aforementioned concern, participants are aware that there may be an element of racism expressed towards them, although not necessarily explicitly. Several participants showed awareness that lots of people did not want them in the country, often an underlying worry for them in encounters with local people. Not having enough English to explain themselves clearly is seen to strengthen these views according to participants:

Yaman: I think most of the time I am ok, because I have the words. But I do not have the accent, and sometimes I say words very differently, so they might not understand me. And then they know I am different, not from here. And if they already don’t want me here, they will not help me or listen to me sometimes, because they already don’t like me, and then I can’t even speak properly.

As explored in previous chapters, these more negative feelings mean that participants are more inhibited and therefore may not speak as much English as they would like to do, or are able to do, for fear of making themselves vulnerable. The generally positive encounters that take place within community classrooms are contrasted by these anxiety-producing interactions, spotlighting the safety provided by the classroom but also how vital it is that refugees and asylum-seekers are well- equipped to cope across a range of situations in which they may find themselves.

Formal Encounters

Other than the informal transactions that participants described above, the second most common use of English is in formal encounters such as signing in at the Home Office or during meetings with solicitors, the job centre and other government bodies. These meetings occur in formal spaces that are often a new environment for participants. Due to the formality and often clinical nature of

the rooms where meetings are held, in addition to the serious nature of the encounters, participants describe these encounters as uncomfortable and that they are made to feel ‘out of place’:

Berhane: They [the Home Office interviewer] were talking at me, but I did not understand, I tried to ask for more information, but they just use words that are too big for me, and my English is good, so I don’t know how other people do it. But my interpreter tried to help me, but they are not allowed, they can only say what he says and what I say. Because otherwise they might be telling me secret things that the Home Office can’t understand because it’s Tigrinya. So I just have to sit and not understand. And then I ask for help from someone else, like Refugee Council.

Sabri: I do not know, Sophie. I just don’t know what they say, you would understand, but not me. I just sit there, don’t know what to do. No time, just 30 minutes, if I don’t understand, my problem, not theirs. It is difficult and scary because this is my life, this is my future, and I don’t understand what he say about it.

Language that is used is often advanced and difficult to understand; when paired with people not understanding the system or process through which they are being put, it results in feelings of uncertainty, anxiety and isolation. Numerous reports reveal how the asylum system is designed to confuse and alienate refugees and asylum-seekers, evident perhaps in how formal encounters take place and even through their very locations. In terms of language in such settings, it is common for interpreters to be available; thus, not only do these sites become spaces of multilinguality, but it means that refugees and asylum-seekers do not necessarily need to understand everything that is being discussed in English, instead relying on someone who can translate for them. In situations where an interpreter is unavailable, participants explain that they often did not understand everything that had been said, being left with a lot of unanswered questions. In these circumstances letters are often written to enable people to take more time to understand what was discussed, and so they can take the letter to an English class or to a charity to seek interpretation and further support. Not being able to understand what is said often leads to feelings of vulnerability and fear, particularly if the person feels like they have misunderstood something which may relate to their future in the UK. On several occasions participants have been required to attend a second meeting but have not understood these instructions, putting their claim for asylum at risk. Having trusted people available who are able to help with translation and support is extremely important for refugees and asylum-seekers who otherwise must face numerous challenges alone. This issue is evident in the quote from Berhane, who explains that he uses other organisations to help him with the asylum process, going to official appointments and then seeking help elsewhere, in places where he does not feel embarrassed to ask questions or to need more time to understand things that are said. A similar set of examples is provided by the following two passages:

Ahferom: When I knew the boat had gone under the water with my cousin on I went to Home Office for help, I wanted to tell them. They told me how I could find out if my cousin had died,

they gave me lots of paper with stuff on, but did not tell me what it said. Just give to me. Then I went. But then I went to Lori and she helped me understand and showed me what to do. Because of her help I could find out what happened to him.

Majed came and sat next to me at lunch, he opened his bag and put a pile of letters on the table. He asked me to help him. I told him that I would try, but it depended on what it was about because I do not know the ins and outs of the system. There were three letters and a text message. The text message was an appointment for him to go to college to find out about starting ESOL classes, but he had missed the appointment because he had not seen anyone who could help him understand it in time. I felt quite uncomfortable reading the letters as they were related to his asylum claim and I did not know if he knew how much information there was in them. I read through them and explained that he had to go and give more evidence in a meeting with his solicitor because the Home Office required information about his family in Sudan. Another of the letters was relating to his financial assistance, which again was uncomfortable to read. I read through them and explained to Majed what he needed to do. He was extremely grateful, but I became worried about how many other people were missing vital appointments as a result of not having any help with making sense of the complicated jargon used in the letters. (*Field Diary*)

These formal encounters provide refugees and asylum-seekers with a chance to use English to converse in a formal environment, yet, precisely because of the very formality of these encounters, once again people are reluctant to speak for fear of getting it ‘wrong’ and making themselves more vulnerable – linguistically as well as physically in the UK. This state of affairs highlights the importance of informal learning environments and community ESOL classes in allowing refugees and asylum-seekers a safe space to practise speaking in a non-judgemental and supportive environment, in the hope that, with practice, these feelings of vulnerability in relation to speaking English will be reduced.

Staying Silent

Evidently, feeling under pressure, feelings of anxiety and being vulnerable all lead to refugees and asylum-seekers becoming self-conscious and even ashamed of their English. Although they acknowledge that, in order to improve their language skills, they need to use it in a range of environments, the fear of getting things wrong often weighs heavier than the desire to practise and thereby to put themselves in a vulnerable position. Thus, the result is that for some people it is easier to remain silent, let others do the talking or simply try to limit the amount of linguistic exchange:

Karzan: I lied to them [the Home Office], and I was scared they would know, so I don’t ask any questions. Just answer theirs and say yes or no. I listen but was scared to speak because if I get it wrong they might find out I lie.

Hamidreza: I say nothing. I just move my head for yes or no. Sometimes I understand, sometimes I don’t, but it not matter because I don’t want to speak, I don’t want people to hear that I can’t speak.

Avoiding speaking English of course risks further isolation, slower linguistic development and a lack of self-confidence, yet for some silence is seen as a way of ensuring self-preservation.

The majority of participants with a low level of English rely on others from their communities who have higher language proficiency. Those with more English will accompany people to the shops to buy things, or to other places where an encounter might take place that they are incapable of navigating alone:

Hadgu: Yeah it's difficult, because you know, for example, if you go to Post Office, it usually simple method, you just show them something, you don't need to speak. Sometimes if you need clothes or shoes, I go to there with Awet or Ahferom to help them.

This claim once more highlights one of the many ways in which communities offer support for their members, yet also reveals that people who have been here for a long time may still have relatively limited English due to not having the confidence to use it, and thus not practising or developing their skills, in turn limiting their mobility and social networks. Participants' speaking geographies are hence often limited and bounded. Refugees and asylum-seekers are presented with very few opportunities to speak to native English speakers, and when they do, often encounter people in highly fraught physical and psychological encounters that have negative impacts for their language use. In contrast to the limited speaking geographies of refugees and asylum-seekers, I will now turn to auditory geographies to explore the sites and spaces of listening.

Geographies of Listening

Only the person who listens hears (Dietze, 2000, p. 20)

I have already examined the embodied responses of listening in a previous chapter, but now I wish to think more directly about the everyday geographies of listening. Active listening – as opposed to simply hearing – takes place constantly for participants in my research. It is common for speakers of the dominant language in a space to listen to some sentences or people more than to others, but for refugees and asylum-seekers, often in places where they do not speak the dominant language, active listening becomes the *modus operandi*:

The younger ones are really alive as to what's going on. They're really listening and picking things up, it's constant, and they get better at it as time goes on. Even if they don't understand everything, they're always trying. (*Louise, ESOL organisation*)

One theme running throughout this thesis is the notion that English is acquired continuously from simply 'being' in the city, which is particularly prominent when considering the geographies of

listening whereby language starts to be acquired as soon as participants enter a space where English is being spoken. Listening is not enough to be able to speak to others, but it does help refugees and asylum-seekers become attuned to the accent and the cadence of the words. Although acquisition through simply being in the city certainly does not come without fault, misunderstanding, stress and at times awkwardness, it provides an opportunity for participants to become familiar with colloquial language spoken in the local dialect:

Sophie: Do they tend to pick up on phrases that they've heard on the street?

Rachel (Faith based charity organisation): Yeah, especially because in this building you've got the contrast of proper Glaswegians, and then some of the other guys are picking it up, trying to work out what it means, or using it again in the wrong context, which has caused a lot of hilarious conversations. But yeah, I think they do listen very clearly to what is going on around them and take that on board. For the most part I think they think Glaswegian is a totally different language. Like, "I can speak English, but I can't speak Glaswegian."

Many participants commented on the difficulty faced in understanding Scottish accents, yet it was clear that this difficulty makes them even more determined to try to decipher what is being said, rather than just giving up – which participants felt would be detrimental to their English acquisition, with most accepting that it is not going to be an easy journey, but one that will be worth it in the long term:

Hadi: Just in the street ... I listen to talking. It is difficult to understand. Scottish, I not understand. If English, a little. But Scottish, no. But I know it will get better and one day I will go "Oh, I know this."

Abdulrahim: Sometimes when I speak with Glasgow people, I listen, yeah, because it's different and I need to improve my language. Before I not speak English, but now I speak more, but I always have to listen. Sometimes though, people have to speak slowly so I can listen in Scottish. Sometimes I think I can understand Scottish language, though I would like to learn more.⁸⁰

Extended listening (Gallagher et al, 2016) works to reveal different responses to different sites of listening. In some situations, listening can take a more passive approach such as listening to conversations that are occurring in a certain space, but where the individual is not involved; whereas in other situations listening may require more involvement if the individual is part of a conversation or encounter. Whether doing participatory or passive listening, participants always suggest that they are actively listening to each word that is spoken in order to interpret it and its meaning in certain contexts. Participatory listening is ephemeral and likely to occur in the same

⁸⁰ Throughout the research there was a resounding notion that native-born Glaswegians speak 'Scottish' not English. Participants considered it as separate from English, and something that they needed to acquire to become citizen of the city. I explained regularly that as a non-native person living in the city myself, it was ok to not sound like local Glaswegians, but for my participants it was important that they do everything they can to 'fit-in', one of which is acquiring 'Scottish'. These issues have already been explored at some length in Chapter 7.

places where participants in the research speak English, meaning that their speaking and listening geographies match up; but passive listening occurs much more ubiquitously and is perpetual, and so the two geographies diverge. Furthermore, passive and participatory listening invoke different responses, with emotions such as stress and anxiety more commonly felt during participatory listening compared to less traumatised emotional states arising during passive listening. Indeed, in the latter respect participants express feeling a high sense of achievement when they are able to understand other people's conversations, particularly if spoken at a normal pace in a local accent. Participants often say that, when they are able to understand conversations taking place on the bus or in a shop, they are made aware of their linguistic progress, in turn feeling positive and optimistic about their future in the UK. These different spaces, geographies and methods of listening all work to show how listening becomes integral to those who occupy a place where they do not speak the native language:

Berhane: Outside you can learn English. You just have to listen. I am always listening for new words. And on the street, people talking, I hear them.

Feelings related to listening have the ability to intervene in processes of listening, and so it is indeed important to consider different types of listening and their associated emotions (Bennett et al, 2015). Space also influences listening, with some places affording more sustained practices of listening, while others are more fleeting (such as walking down a street). These spatialities and associated types of listening impact upon how English is acquired by refugees and asylum-seekers, allowing space for colloquial and local dialect to be heard in a normalised environment outside of the classroom, where colloquial language tends to be taught in a more ordered way, as covered in the previous chapter. The results of participants' listening geographies highlight how language is often messy, unordered and unique to individuals.

Visual Language Geographies



Figure 9.14: A Glasgow streetscape, showing signs and advertisements, a mural and a map.

While it may appear in most of the places that we look, human minds do not always process the written words that take form in front of us. The term ‘linguistic landscape’ is given to the words that appear in our everyday worlds, whether they are shop signs, road signs, graffiti or even scribbles; each person’s encounters with linguistic landscapes is unique, based upon their own lives, spaces and movements (Ben-Rafael et al, 2006). It could be assumed that refugees and asylum-seekers operate in a predominantly English-based linguistic landscape, but with further exploration it becomes apparent that their textual landscapes are often multilingual. Although Glasgow’s shop signs, billboards, public notices and so on are usually in English, with the increase in translation applications available on mobile phones, an increased awareness in community languages, and more resources being made available, textual landscapes are becoming increasingly multilingual. When outside of the classroom with participants, it was not uncommon for them to ask what signs or billboards said, and it was apparent that things that I would commonly just walk past, not even noticing, they would see and read, revealing how participants in my research are indeed constantly observing – not just listening to – the language present in their surroundings.



Figure 9.15: A Middle Eastern supermarket in Glasgow with signs in Arabic. (Author’s own)

Libraries and other Glasgow Life venues (museums, gyms, and swimming pools) have printed information in a wide range of community languages, and churches provide The Bible and other texts in Farsi and Tigrinya, although mosques still predominantly operate in Arabic. The multilingual textual landscape suggests an awareness and appreciation of increased multilinguality

in the city, while also making it a more welcoming and comfortable place for refugees, asylum-seekers and other non-native speakers to navigate.

Conclusion: Experiencing Glasgow Through Language

This final empirical chapter has demonstrated the role of migrant communities in processes of integration, settlement and support in Glasgow, and I have also explored language in relation to different spaces that refugees and asylum-seekers use, while also being attentive to the place of English in these spaces. Finally, I have engaged with the spoken, heard and seen linguistic landscapes that my participants navigate daily, highlighting in particular the limited verbal encounters with native English speakers and the resulting effect on their English language acquisition.

Throughout my research, and indeed throughout this thesis, I have discussed different sites and spaces of belonging and therefore want to argue that integration into migrant communities, classroom communities, refugee camp communities and more⁸¹, *all* hold equal importance for the wellbeing of refugees and asylum-seekers as they begin to build their lives in Glasgow. While integration into wider society is unarguably important, vital for long-term settlement and in being able to participate in city life, I believe that integration into migrant communities should not be seen as secondary to this goal. In fact, for many people, settlement into migrant communities provides the support and resources needed to encourage and to aid integration into broader society, thus emphasising the importance of these communities acting as a ‘base camp’ for such an ascent. Achieving a sense of belonging is vital for my participants’ mental health and day-to-day outlook on life, and so finding a cultural or linguistic community in which to integrate is often a key thing that my participants seek upon arrival in the country. But secondarily to the search for English language training – to allow inclusion, or at least ‘survival’, in the majority language ‘community’. Community languages are an essential part in this process, providing continuity for refugees and asylum-seekers, enabling them to participate in cultural activities and to achieve a sense of belonging.

⁸¹ Here again there is a further proliferation of the term ‘community’, to reference the ‘collectivities’ of individuals gathering at or around certain sites. This proliferation of how I use the term community ought to be seen as a deliberate way of exposing the multiple, overlapping, sometimes conflicting sites of human collectivity and gatherings, relevant to the ‘language geographies’ being constantly made and unmade, performed and un-formed.

Mapwork at the beginning of the chapter shows the highly routinised and geographically specific mobilities of refugees and asylum-seekers in the research. Each place visited held a specific purpose for the participants as well as hosting a range of emotional geographies, felt and acted upon in various ways. Spaces such as libraries, parks and places of worship all provide support and comfort for participants in the research, while their homes are the central base of their lives in Glasgow. Choosing to focus on community as a unit, whether real or imagined, I have shown the importance of refugee communities and the relative separation between these minority communities and the host population. In turn this leads to an abject positioning of refugees and asylum-seekers in Glasgow. Using Simmel's work on 'The Stranger' alongside work by Sibley and Kristeva, it becomes clear how new arrivals in the city are often categorised into the binary of 'us' and 'them', a result of popular rhetoric and existing prejudices. This separation leads to 'them' becoming strangers within 'our' streets, 'our' neighbourhoods and 'our' society. Refugees and asylum-seekers belong to linguistically 'strange' communities, creating boundaries between host populations and more recently established communities. Yet these new migrant communities are also a vital support network for people who have recently arrived in Glasgow and allow for early processes of settlement to take place.

The imagined encounters that refugees and asylum-seekers project into the wider city are often far more nerve-wracking than the reality. The limited speaking geographies of refugees and asylum-seekers as they acquire English means that each encounter is potentially fraught with anxiety and concern over about 'what might happen'. These imagined encounters cause participants to be wary of their words and to whom they are talking. The anxiety that surrounds spoken encounters, or the imagined encounters, serves to hinder language practise and slow down language acquisition. Although individuals here are acquiring some language as a result of their listening geographies – and this tends to be colloquial language – they lack the confidence to mobilise it through speech. A lack of opportunities to practise comes back to the immobility of refugees and asylum-seekers in the city for both practical and psychological reasons. This isolation, established on both an individual and a community level, means that processes of integration into broader society are lengthened or at times do not occur at all.

The linguistic landscape of Glasgow is changing as increasing numbers of refugees and asylum-seekers make the city their home. Community languages are being entered into a variety of different sites, whether this is written, heard or spoken, enhancing the embodied responses that people have to language. Languages are coming together in new places, resources are being made available for people without English and audible experiences are becoming more diverse. For refugees and asylum-seekers, the increasing diversity of languages in Glasgow means that

navigating daily life is slowly becoming easier. This increase in diversification, as well as their acquisition of English, means that over time their imagined encounters will become less fraught and confidence will be built up to take part in informal conversations with native English speakers. Despite these developments, refugees and asylum-seekers still possess extremely limited geographies, both linguistically and physically, which in turn risks increasing isolation and feeling of exclusion, and so hence the importance of both collective migrant communities and more specific national, ethnic and language communities in providing a safety net and a support network as new lives are composed in the city.

Chapter 10

Conclusion: Language in Motion

Having words gives freedom (*Tekle*, 22, Eritrea)

My language gives me the right to dream (*Ahferom*, 19, Eritrea)

To lose my language is to lose myself (*Daniel*, 23, Eritrea)

Beginnings and Endings

I want to begin this concluding chapter by skipping to the end. The writing of this thesis has led us to an end-point as such, a place where settlement becomes possible, friendships are built and a sense of permanence may prevail. However, it is important to highlight that, despite an end to my participants' journeys and a steadier sense of language acquisition as they settle in Glasgow, their language experiences remain in flux. For language is never static, as has been argued throughout this thesis, and that remains true even if the speaker, or listener, is settled. As English language is acquired, embodied experiences of speaking and listening, as well as processes of comprehension and translation, evolve as participants become better acquainted with their new linguistic context. Moreover, native languages continue to be used, but perhaps with changing associations and meanings. Importantly too, participants in this research may not remain in Glasgow; they may choose or be forcibly moved to other parts of the UK, removed to European countries or back to their homelands. All of this means that, despite this thesis ending with suggestions of settlement into refugee and local communities, participants' journeys are not necessarily completed, and the stories and journeys reported upon here are simply their journeys *so far*. With this in mind, I now turn to reflect on the geographies that this thesis has encountered and uncovered, before considering my own language geographies during the research process. I then move on to offer five key contributions that the thesis makes to scholarly endeavours and on-the-ground practice, before finishing with a future research agenda and the resulting impact of this research.

This thesis has investigated the multiple and fluid language geographies of refugees and asylum-seekers now living in Glasgow. It has brought together perspectives on both language geographies and geographies of migration to explore the different ways that these two fields of inquiry can come together to illuminate processes in different times and spaces. I have moved through three distinct geographical sites – the body, the classroom and the community – as well as considering

the journeys taken by my participants to reach Glasgow. This thesis owes much to successful collaborative endeavour with a range of organisations in Glasgow, working to make a difference in the asylum landscape in the city and of course to the service users themselves. Collaborative work allowed for the voices of a range of actors to be heard and, hopefully, understood.

I began the empirical chapters of this thesis by outlining current migration policy in the UK before looking at language policy and ESOL provision in Glasgow more specifically, providing a contextual basis for the rest of this project. Chapter 6 returned to participants' homelands and traced their linguistic journeys from the moment they left their countries of origin to their arrival in Glasgow. This chapter revealed how languages are acquired, lost and altered over time and space, highlighting that they are not bounded in the same way as are geographical territories, but instead move across borders and boundaries, carried by the people making these journeys to Europe. I captured the moments when participants first encountered European languages and what this meant to them, before looking at their initial engagements with English upon arrival in the UK.

The following three chapters each took a site of language use to uncover the unique geographies encountered in such spaces. Firstly, in Chapter 7 I looked at the body as a geography where language happens. The multiple facets of speaking and listening were explored, revealing the highly embodied nature of language use, and language acquisition, as well as considering the emotions experienced in these processes. Gestural language was also found to be vital in communicating and building relationships between people who do not have a shared language, a finding that builds upon work suggesting that communication need not only be verbal and that physical actions can be just as important.

The thesis then moved, in Chapter 8, to look at the ESOL community classroom as a space of multilinguality and as a space where language is practised. It explored how the space of the classroom becomes a temporary – yet regular – community in its own right and is considered a 'safe space to garble' (*Nick*), but also a safe space more generally. The community classroom is arguably a unique space where people from all backgrounds come together with a common goal of acquiring English; in the process friendships are made, support and advice are provided, and processes of settlement are encouraged. Being in the classroom becomes a micro-geography, separated from day-to-day life on the other side of the door, although this separation was not always beneficial. It became apparent in my research that, while grammar and formal English are important for participants in certain situations, classes maybe ought to focus more on 'survival' English; English that would more readily allow people to live day-to-day in the city and to converse with people outside of the classroom. In an absence of sustained encounters with local people, the classroom became a space of both acquisition and practice; and, if this did not happen, participants often felt like they were not making progress, since when they stepped out from the

room they were once again linguistically lost. Participants were enthusiastic to learn local dialect and colloquialisms to help them with daily navigation and settlement in Glasgow. Learning local dialect also had close ties to matters of identity, with participants reporting that they felt more Scottish when they could use and understand the geographically specific accent, dialect and phrases.

Finally, in Chapter 9, this thesis considered the city of Glasgow as an overall language geography. I began by looking at the everyday geographies of refugees and asylum-seekers, revealing the relatively limited mobility and highly routinised nature of their geographies. Four main spaces (not including the ESOL classroom) were excavated, and in doing so the language geographies of each space were considered, revealing the situated nature of language and how space and the language used within it are mutually constituted. Refugee communities were proven to be important in processes of settlement in Glasgow, but also in terms of linguistic belongings, identity performance and language acquisition. Throughout the thesis, and perhaps most pertinently in chapter 9, it was highlighted that the limited encounters that refugees and asylum-seekers have with native English speakers become a hinderance to English language acquisition, contributing to a host of emotional impacts such as feelings of not belonging, apprehension about meeting people outside of their own refugee communities, and feelings of shame and embarrassment.

This thesis has hence uncovered the complex, unique and diverse language geographies of refugees and asylum-seekers in Glasgow. Speaking and listening are multifaceted endeavours that are neither linear nor finite, and certainly do not exist in a silo. They are variable over time and space, they are multiple, and they are embodied and emotional, always affecting those involved.

Reflections as a researcher

As part of my research I spent a large amount of time in locations where English was not the primary language being spoken, and here I offer some of my own reflections on simultaneously being linguistically ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’, and how my own listening geographies during the research process influenced my work. The classroom became a space of multilingualism and many of the languages were not ones that I had heard before. Over the course of the research, my experiences of hearing these languages changed. At the beginning I found it difficult to listen to multiple languages at once, and to hear individual words or sounds. Moreover, I felt that I could not even make a guess at what people were saying to each other, which made me feel tense and like an outsider – our ability to communicate was completely absent, putting what seemed like a barrier between myself and the students. However, this sense gradually changed over time as we, the classes, became better acquainted with one another and as I adjusted to the environments in which I

spent time. In terms of listening, I began to be able to pick up on certain words and their meanings; although I did not learn the languages, I was able to understand what people were saying to each other, suggesting that language has multiple layers to it, beyond that of Saussure's signifier and sign – particularly the performative, embodied and contextual nature of linguistic happenings – which can reveal a large amount of meaning. In addition to beginning to understand parts of the languages being spoken, I became more attuned to hearing a range of languages and therefore felt more relaxed. The use of body language was another way in which I was able to understand what was being said between people, and, increasingly subconsciously, paid a lot of attention to this facet of linguistic embodiment.

During the research process I was both linguistically an 'insider' and an 'outsider'. Being a native English speaker placed me as someone who could understand what was happening in the different sites of ESOL education and could converse easily with other English speakers, particularly ESOL teachers, thus meaning that I 'belonged' in these spaces, (albeit, these spaces are explicitly coded as an ESOL class and therefore participants also belonged in these spaces). Spaces of ESOL education become multilingual spaces where speakers of all languages belong; shared spaces created *by* those fluent in English, and *for* speakers of other languages. So, on one hand I was able to understand the teacher, instructions, what was happening as well as the cultural context of an educational space (something not all participants were familiar with). On the other hand, as one of two or three English speakers in a room of over 15 people, and with little means to communicate easily with them all, I felt somewhat of an outsider who could not enter into the various social groups, linguistically or culturally. When I was with groups of ESOL learners, it was clear that they felt able to speak to each other in their own languages without it being construed as rude; and, as I developed my listening skills to understand some of what people were saying, I was able to follow conversations and feel less on the periphery.

My own experiences during the research highlighted the importance of listening geographies in processes of language acquisition. Although I can only speak very few words of Arabic, Tigrinya and Farsi, I am now able to understand far more. I have come to understand that, through linguistic immersion, as well as considering the context of conversations, understanding can take place. Being surrounded by a language encourages processes of acquisition, which was apparent from both my own experiences and the experiences of the participants in the research. Being both an insider and an outsider was an interesting position to hold and brought with it insights into how language is embodied and how communication can still take place without speaking the same language. I now turn to offer five contributions this thesis makes across the scholarly, policy and practice-based landscapes.

Language on the Move

First are the intertwined notions of ‘moving languages’, language on the move and linguistic hybridity. Throughout this thesis I have looked at the different ways in which languages meet and mingle, in different spaces and at different times. The starting point was investigating the journeys that my participants made to Glasgow and the languages by which they were characterised. As people move within and across territories, dialects and languages change; there are sometimes great similarities and at other times great differences. People become vessels that carry these different languages with them, sometimes, as in the case of participants in this research, over large distances. Language is acquired on migrant journeys, some languages more fully than others, as refugees and asylum-seekers pass through different countries and as certain words are learned to enable them to continue their journeys successfully. At places where participants spent significant amounts of time, languages were often acquired more completely, particularly if participants enjoyed or endured sustained encounters with authorities and local people. In addition to the local languages encountered, the languages of other refugees and asylum-seekers co-existed in prison cells, refugee camps and reception centres at key locations in Africa, the Middle East and in Europe. In Chapter 6 Yaman describes how Arabic has now entered European life as a result of large numbers of Arabic speakers moving to and through the continent, revealing how people are capable of changing the linguistic landscape both temporarily and more permanently.

In addition to the movement of languages, languages change in themselves, and hence my use of the term ‘moving languages’. Pronunciation, accent and dialect quite obviously differ, often in relation to geography, but what I want to emphasise is the way in which new speakers of a language facilitate linguistic change. As languages were acquired on my participants’ journeys, they spoke with different accents to locals as well as to each other. These new pronunciations, sounds and rhythms change how the language sounds and functions. This change links back to Saussure’s (1906) discussions on linguistic merging and blending, particularly at convergence zones. Through processes of translation and interpretation, words may take on new meanings, or new phrases created as people try to find different ways of being understood. Often in the course of conversations with other non-native speakers, words are misused or even made up, all the while changing the very fabric of language. ‘Translanguaging’ is a term used to describe how language users employ resources from different languages, bringing them together to communicate more effectively (Velasco, 2014). With little regard for the ‘boundaries’ of language, the mixing of multiple languages enables speakers to interact with others possessing different language skills from themselves. This finding is in line with work by Makoni and Pennycook (2007), who argue that current conceptualisations of language are limiting a more nuanced understanding of how people communicate. They go on to argue that the act of classifying languages serves to constrict

language and make mixed language practices almost 'illegitimate'. In theorising language as a 'social, cultural and political act' (Pennycook, 1994, p.29), we can come to understand the importance of mixed language practices and the invention of 'new' forms of language.

Carrying this point forward, I want to turn to linguistic hybridities as a version of 'translanguaging'. In Chapter 6, I wrote about how languages blend to create a hybrid version of English. In the chapter I described a new kind of hybrid English that manifests when two or more people with different languages live together and use English to communicate. Words from their own languages enter the arena and become commonplace in conversation; it is also likely that they are speaking in 'broken English', and therefore use terms that may make little sense to a native English speaker, but can be understood by others in the conversation. This kind of linguistic hybridity also comes into existence in other spaces; indeed, in the highly multilingual space of an ESOL classroom people speak to each other in versions of English peppered with numerous languages, both native and ones acquired on participants' journeys. In Calais, the refugee camp saw people communicating in shared languages, albeit with different dialects. An example is Kurdish: one participant was from Iraq and he describes how he was able to communicate with another Kurdish man who was from Iran. Although they spoke different versions of Kurdish, they were each able to use words from the other's dialect to ensure understanding, and hence a hybrid version of Kurdish was mobilised. Linguistic hybridities allow for communication to take place in the absence of a singular, standard shared language. As people settle in a new place with a new language, people develop different ways to survive, the local language is used but there is often a lack of fluency, and therefore other 'foreign' words enter speech repertoires, leading to a mixing and merging of languages. Translanguaging occurs when bi- or multi-lingual language users combine their spoken languages without adherence to the social and cultural norms of either, so creating this hybrid form of communication.

The Emotional Geographies of Language

Throughout this thesis, reference to the emotional aspect of language use has been prominent. Prior studies in emotional geography tend to focus on the body and how emotions are *felt* in geographical contact (Davidson, Bondi and Smith, 2007), but arguably overlooking the emotionality and embodiment of language. Studies in the field of language geography in turn largely overlook emotional aspect to language and the strong links through to embodiment (Davies and Harré, 1982), while this thesis bridges this divide to show how language and emotions are inextricably linked and mutually constitutive. Language use brings a number of positive and negative emotions and feelings to the fore, often a result of how encounters are played out. Positively, language use can promote feelings of success, settlement and enjoyment, while creating feelings of belonging

and strengthening identities. Negatively, it can be scary, embarrassing and stressful. It can create feelings of being out of control and result in a loss of independence, something with which refugees and asylum-seekers often struggle. When speaking native languages, it is rare to consider our own emotions or feelings during the moment of language use, yet in this research I realised just how integral are emotions to language use. In this respect, my own positionality became important as I reflected upon my own language use, but also as I acutely felt participants' emotional experiences as they retold their language stories.

A common theme in this research is how speaking English can ignite feelings of shame and embarrassment. Shame is felt as a result of not feeling 'good enough', feeling small and feeling childlike in terms of language use. This also ties back to a loss of independence, since not being able to communicate without assistance is frustrating and makes participants feel ashamed that they needed so much help to carry out basic interactions. Hamidreza expresses his shame at having to access books from the children's section of the library; as a man in his 20s, this is particularly shameful and embarrassing to him, with a negative impact on his mental health. Embarrassment arises more commonly as encounters are taking place, and the presence of this emotion is hence felt more acutely. Embarrassment occurs for participants when they mispronounce or misunderstand and when their lack of English hinders an encounter. For my participants, the embarrassment that they feel, although often only temporary, manifests itself in a fashion that could mean future encounters being regarded as anxiety inducing, with many saying that they are worried about having to speak to people who they do not know. Feelings of shame and embarrassment can have longer-term impacts, particularly in relation to participants' geographies of speaking. Places where an embarrassing encounter took place may be avoided in future, or interactions with local people become reduced as a result of not wanting to make themselves vulnerable, and feelings of not being in control over their emotions, alongside a loss of independence, are detrimental to the lives of refugees and asylum-seekers in Glasgow. Emotions and speaking are intertwined, inducing an effect far deeper and long-lasting than the temporary embarrassment felt at forgetting a certain word. Askins' (2016) work on 'emotional citizenry' explores how small gestures and moments can have meaningful impacts, and this includes more negative moments. Thus, forgetting a word or being ignored when asking a question can be far more affecting than one might assume. This understanding also emphasises the importance of community classrooms as spaces where these affects can start to be overcome, as small gestures of care and humanity can be found within the classroom, something evident in this thesis and also in Askins' work.

The range of emotions and feelings that participants experience when speaking English reveals the high level of self-reflection and self-awareness in play. In Chapter 8 several participants wrote in a written exercise that they wanted to 'clean' their accent, meaning that they want to become

linguistically camouflaged. They see their accents, pronunciation and lack of local dialect as out of place – or deviant – from the norm. This awareness of how they sound, alongside the concern that they might be treated differently as a consequence, has led participants to strive to acquire what they termed ‘Scottish’. This notion of deviant language differs slightly from Pred’s (1989) use of the term, but nevertheless encapsulates how participants see themselves as a result of language use.

The links between language and feeling ‘at home’ are evident throughout this thesis, but perhaps most obviously in Chapters 6, 7 and 9. Speaking native languages generally came with more positive emotions and feelings for my participants than when speaking English. The ability to feel ‘at home’ in a language allows for language to be conceptualised as a space consisting of cultural, social and emotional parts. ‘Speaking home’ refers to how participants used their native languages to promote positive feelings and to make themselves comfortable, essentially using language as a ‘comfort blanket’ in their new environments. The concept of language as home helps to highlight the links between language and identity, showing language to be such a powerful tool in creating, maintaining and performing identity.

Moving from Human Object to Human Subject

The empirical work in this thesis began by focussing on policies and practices that treat refugees and asylum-seekers as numbers, figures and statistics. My final empirical chapter then concludes by seeing them as members of multiple communities as they go through processes of settlement in Glasgow. Leaving their homelands as citizens, my participants spent months, sometimes even years, as stateless, nomadic non-citizens; conceptualised by some governments and media outlets as homeless and worthless. Upon arrival in the UK, refugees and asylum-seekers have very little control over what happens to them, as they are put through the stringent asylum system and moved around the country. Armed with only a small amount of English, they lack control, independence and autonomy. As English is acquired, however, refugees and asylum-seekers can slowly begin to take control over some aspects of their lives. Their position means that many are still under governmental scrutiny, unable to work, and with no financial or housing control and unsure of their future in the UK; but, with increasing levels of English, other aspects of their lives can become fulfilling.

Participants in the research hence move from being a human *object*, whereby they are acted *upon*, to being a human *subject*, whereby they can interact with the world around them. Acquiring English allows refugees and asylum-seekers to participate in their worlds, to interact with others and, vitally, to be able to express *themselves*, which enables them to ask for help, express their needs and understand the policies to which they are subjected. Cresswell (2010) looks closely at the

politics of mobility, arguing for the recognition of representation when studying (im)mobility and disclosing the complex entanglements of politics and power tied up with certain forms of movement. Ahmed (2000) recognises the role of politics by suggesting that being able to ‘build a home’ in a new country can be highly political; it is vital for processes of settlement, but also to be recognised as a member of the community. Darling (2013) explores the rights of refugees and asylum-seekers in cities and contends that, in being recognised and ‘accepted’ by host communities, they are able to interact with others and to *live* in the world. The ability to build a life in their new homes, together with the capacity to access appropriate services that can aid processes of settlement, is all made possible through language acquisition, meaning that, with an increased proficiency in English, refugees and asylum-seekers can look towards their futures in the UK. This is particularly the case if refugee status is achieved and participants are able to seek employment.

The ability to act as a member of society and participate in their local community is important for establishing feelings of belonging and thereby having a positive impact on the day-to-day lives of refugees and asylum-seekers in Glasgow. Having interactions and encounters with local people, it has been argued throughout this thesis, are important in aiding language acquisition, despite these encounters remaining limited and sometimes being embarrassing or anxiety-inducing. They are making themselves ‘available’ for ‘encounter’ with language as relational subjects. This issue neatly returns to the aforementioned discussion of the emotional geographies of speaking, with positive emotions becoming more commonplace. It is therefore plausible to argue that refugees and asylum-seekers move from being animals in ‘The Jungle’ and statistics in a government report, to humans in the city who have the capacity to lead independent lives with meaningful relationships, all, or at least partly, the result of the acquisition of the host society’s language.

The (Im)mobile Linguistic Stranger

The final contribution that this thesis makes to work around refugees and asylum-seekers is to understand how they can be conceptualised as ‘the (im)mobile linguistic stranger’. Building on work by Simmel (1908), Douglas (1966), Kristeva (1982) and Sibley (1995), I want to argue here for an understanding of how refugees and asylum-seekers are adversely positioned in society, resulting in the many barriers and challenges faced by this particular group of people when starting a new life in Glasgow and the UK more generally. Most closely my argument resembles work carried out by Harman (1988), who explores the relationship between language and societal and community membership. Harman reflects on the role of ‘the stranger’ as being both *actor* and *other* in society, and it is this othering of those proximate to ‘us’ that most accurately defines both physical and psychological positionings of refugees and asylum-seekers in Glasgow. Simmel conceptualises ‘the stranger’ as the person who comes today and stays tomorrow, and it is the

mobility paradox here that becomes of central importance. As I stated at the outset of this thesis, refugees and asylum-seekers are at once highly mobile and immobile. Their lives are characterised by high levels of movement and migration, yet, due to the stringent rules set by governments, they also end up being highly immobile; maybe placed in detention centres, in camps and in cities. Once they arrive in Glasgow, they do not have freedom of movement, but instead must remain in the city, with their presence regularly monitored through trips to the Home Office. Thus, refugees and asylum-seekers are fundamentally people who arrive one day and stay the next. Refugees and asylum-seekers, with their ‘strange’ languages, cultures and different appearances, cause some members of the population to desire distance, securing themselves *away* from this new population. Borders and boundaries are created and maintained through various practices of othering; and, when and where contact may take place, it can be seen as risky, frightening and even disgusting. Media outlets and government rhetoric often work to consolidate this othering, providing proof for some local communities that boundaries need to be in place. Building on Douglas and Kristeva, these boundaries and borders can be seen as a mechanism for maintaining purity among local populations, rendering refugees and asylum-seekers as abject others at risk of contaminating host communities.

Policy and Practice Implications

As Brexit negotiations continue and we near the UK’s separation from Europe in 2020, it is likely that immigration policy in the UK is likely to undergo substantial changes as border controls become stricter and freedom of movement is more closely monitored and managed. At the time of writing, it is unclear as to what these changes may bring for refugees and asylum-seekers already in the UK, nor for those who continue to arrive. The contribution that I make in terms of policy is focussed on ESOL provision in Glasgow, a city that has the largest population of refugees and asylum-seekers outside of London (www.gov.scot, 2017). The ESOL landscape in Glasgow is one characterised by complexity. Colleges providing ESOL courses form part of a joined-up network with a centralised registration process and classes provided city-wide, yet colleges do not function in a geographically strategic manner and therefore many learners are required to travel to the other side of the city to attend their classes. While travel funds are provided, for people with other responsibilities the time it takes to get to and from class can easily become a burden. This burden may then jeopardise their attendance and subsequently put them at risk of not receiving their JSA benefits if they are in receipt of such funds. While the colleges are council and government funded, very few community ESOL providers have such benefits. My research found that community ESOL classes are vital for refugees and asylum-seekers in Glasgow; colleges often have long waiting lists, some people do not wish to attend formal education for numerous reasons, and

community providers are well-placed to offer more than just education support. As discussed in Chapter 8, community classes are spaces of friendship, support and mutual understanding, ones well placed to tend the needs of people newly arrived in the city, as well as of those who are more settled. The community classes are just that, community-based, and this fact ought to be reflected in existing policy, with policy makers and funders recognising that community ESOL classes provide social activities, emotional support and advice in addition to language education. Moreover, the importance of such classes in the welfare of refugees and asylum-seekers, and in how that they bring people together, becomes central in daily life in Glasgow.

Community ESOL provision in Glasgow is not uniform. It began as a response to an influx of dispersed people in 2000 and has continued to grow ever since, yet it has done so in an ad-hoc fashion, responding to the increased demand in certain areas of city – those where the Home Office provides accommodation. However, more recent changes to housing arrangements mean that refugees and asylum-seekers are no longer concentrated in certain neighbourhoods, but are more sparsely dispersed across the whole city. Due to funding limits, organisations are not in a position to be able to establish new classes everywhere that they are required, which has resulted in clusters of classes in areas traditionally occupied by refugees and asylum-seekers, while other areas of the city remain void of ESOL provision. This spatially uneven landscape is by no means the fault of those providing ESOL provision; a lack of communication between government authorities such as the Home Office mean that there is no information about where people are being housed and therefore where classes might be best placed. Glasgow is host to many organisations of differing sizes and ages designed to help refugees and asylum-seekers. Many of these organisations offer ESOL classes, providing a range of class levels, methods of teaching and types of English, yet the ad-hoc nature of their initiation means that there is a lack of centralised knowledge about where classes are, what they provide and by whom.

This research has entailed collaboration with a range of organisations, and through this participatory work I discovered some of the struggles faced by the third sector in ESOL provision. Perhaps both a blessing and a curse, the drop-in nature of the classes means that student numbers and levels of English proficiency fluctuate greatly. Although some of the classes were ‘levelled’, meaning that they are advertised as being for students with a certain level of English proficiency, in practice this ‘levelling’ was impossible to manage as students should not be, and were not, turned away. This openness results in a welcoming environment, but also means that classes can be difficult to teach and to plan in advance due to not knowing who will turn up. Secondly, students attend classes for different reasons; some want to practise conversation, some want to perfect their grammar, while others want to learn practical English such as how to book appointments and fill out forms. Thus, community classes find themselves stretching to meet the needs of all learners, all

the while seeking to ensure quality of teaching and learning for everyone in the room. The resulting multiplicity and disparity of goals can be extremely difficult for teachers, who themselves are sometimes volunteers, and can be stressful for learners if the class is pitched at too high a level of English instruction.

To reiterate my arguments in Chapter 5: community classes are pivotal in filling the gap that is left by formal learning institutions. For refugees and asylum-seekers, ESOL classes provide a routine, and they also allow people to learn English while on lengthy college waiting lists or while they are still trying to understand the complex asylum and educational systems in place. For some people, trauma, mental health issues, financial difficulties and other responsibilities mean that community classes are *their only* opportunity to learn English, meet people and access support: hence the importance of community classes in not just the ESOL landscape of Glasgow, but across the refugee landscape more broadly. Thus, I have five policy recommendations to enhance the provision of community ESOL classes in Glasgow:

1. Glasgow City Council, alongside the Scottish Government, should work to encourage and facilitate greater partnership working between themselves, formal learning institutions (the colleges) and third sector ESOL providers to ensure that the needs of all learners are met and in order to share best practice and information that will ultimately lead to enhanced ESOL provision across the city. This also involves consulting learners themselves about their needs and requirements.
2. A comprehensive assessment of geographical demand is required. Third sector organisations should be privy to Home Office data regarding the housing of refugees and asylum-seekers, so that they are able to provide classes in areas where there is deemed to be most need. This would reduce travel costs for learners, as well as provide a more sustained approach to ESOL provision.
3. Leading on from point 2, an up-to-date picture of all available community classes needs to be achieved. While there have been some attempts to do so (see maps in Chapter 5), they inevitably remain incomplete as classes are continually opened and closed. The information should detail the locations, times, levels and nature of the classes (if they are drop-in or referral only). It should be distributed to all appropriate individuals and organisations across the city and be available at information points such as libraries and ESOL assessments. It should be, as far as possible, continually updated.

4. If classes wish to be ‘levelled’, or if they want to focus on certain facets of language acquisition such as conversational, practical or grammatical, English for employment and so on, this ‘levelling’ or focus should be advertised and enforced. This policy would reduce the pressure on teachers and ensure that learners are accessing appropriate classes for their levels, reducing feelings of ‘not being good enough’ and stress. Again, participants should be directed to appropriate classes at their assessment. Nonetheless, it is also important that there remain a number of drop-in, multi-level classes given the holistic nature of community education.
5. Finally, the vital work carried out by third sector ESOL providers for refugees and asylum-seekers needs to be recognised and reflected appropriately in funding provision. Without these classes there would be hundreds of refugees and asylum-seekers without education, support, advice and friendship, ultimately leaving people isolated, segregated and at risk of harm.

This thesis has shown how language is central to the lives of refugees and asylum-seekers in Glasgow, and I want to argue that language can produce a hierarchy of strangeness. Someone with a different dialect but who still speaks fluent English will be less strange than someone who speaks a European language and a lot of English, who in turn will be less strange than someone from Eritrea who speaks Tigrinya, writes in a non-Roman alphabet and only has a handful of English words in his or her repertoire. This hierarchy of strangeness puts those from the farthest places, with the least English and ‘most foreign’ sounding languages, at the bottom of the hierarchy: hence my conceptualisation of refugees and asylum-seekers as linguistic strangers. As language is acquired and aspects of UK culture are understood and sometimes adopted, they may become less strange to the eyes and ears of ‘native’ occupants, in turn enabling them to have encounters with local people and participate with their local community. Yet they still remain ‘different’, and boundaries will continue to exist, an impact of political rhetoric and immigration rules. Refugees and asylum-seekers are thus at risk of remaining not only strangers in their local communities but also strangers in the country, to be treated with caution and suspicion, questioned and categorised into good and bad, deserving and undeserving, among other binaries. My thesis of course sets its face against such a state of affairs, precisely why I insist on a politics of seeing my participants as subjects – as becoming subjects and potentially valued citizens – not as mere objects to be objectified and objected to.

I have brought together the fields of language geographies, migration research and language studies and in doing so have opened a dialogue between aspects of work in each of these fields. This thesis has shown that language is integral to research into refugees and asylum-seekers lives in the UK,

and that day-to-day it is always present – psychologically and physically. Furthermore, languages have a geography, and when these are brought together with migrant geographies a complex picture is uncovered, showing that they should not be seen as separate. This research project has involved embodiment throughout: bringing a new angle to all of the main fields of work, this embodied angle has created new ways of looking at language use among refugees and asylum-seekers, as well as of how emotions enter educational settings. This work contributes to ‘new language geographies’ by providing a rich study of bi- and multi-lingual language users in a setting that is not yet ‘a home’ for them.

Refugees and asylum-seekers can hence be conceptualised as (im)mobile linguistic strangers, people who enter the UK and settle in cities unannounced. They do not move on, as they have in other European countries, but instead begin new lives, create new communities and bring new cultures and languages to local neighbourhoods. Even once English is acquired, they remain ‘other’; people who seemingly need to be controlled and monitored. Language use is sometimes policed on a small scale, with people feeling uncomfortable that their neighbours do not speak the same language, or when traditionally monolingual spaces become multilingual as new community languages are entered into the space. Refugees and asylum-seekers can unfortunately do little to overcome their positioning as ‘strangers’ in local communities; but, in acquiring English, they can take steps to feel at home in Glasgow, begin to build a ‘Scottish’ identity, forge new friendships and trigger processes of settlement. In speaking their native languages, they are able to maintain their identity pre-migration, feel ‘at home’ with their language, belong to refugee and migrant communities and ultimately be themselves. Thus, life as a refugee and asylum-seeker, although never straightforward, requires careful and continuous negotiation of various linguistic norms, structures and associated spaces as daily life in Glasgow is navigated. Language does not exist in a vacuum but is instead variable over time and space, leading to the complex and dynamic language geographies explored in this thesis. With these contributions and musings in mind, I now look to the future to consider what may be next for these ‘new language geographies’.

Research-Led Impacts of ‘Moving Language: The Language Geographies of Refugees and Asylum-Seekers in Glasgow

The final part of this concluding chapter considers the variety of impacts that this research has had on a range of scales and for differing reasons. The Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) define impact as:

[T]he demonstrable contribution that excellent research makes to society and the economy'. This can involve academic impact, economic and societal impact or both: Academic impact is

the demonstrable contribution that excellent social and economic research makes in shifting understanding and advancing scientific, method, theory and application across and within disciplines. Economic and societal impact is the demonstrable contribution that excellent social and economic research makes to society and the economy, and its benefits to individuals, organisations and/or nations. (ESRC, 2018)

The following section turns to look at the various ways in which this research project has had impact in a range of contexts from the personal to the academic. The policy recommendations previously outlined are described in more detail in Appendix 6, which offers suggestions for service providers striving to make ESOL provision in Glasgow more comprehensive. These policy and practice recommendations have been one output of the research, highlighting how academic work and on-the-ground experiences can come together to shape things in the future.

Research Impact in Research Practice

Alongside the academic and policy related findings outlined in this chapter, it is important to consider the impact this work has had on those involved. Throughout the research participants told me that they enjoyed taking part, trying new activities such as photography and mapping, and that being able to tell their stories to a neutral party was helpful and beneficial to their mental wellbeing. My collaboration with the organisations in Glasgow did, for a year, increase their capacity to work. They were able to take more people on day trips due to having an extra pair of helping hands, while an extra person in the classroom meant more people could be helped and a greater range of linguistic levels could be catered for. I have also been personally impacted by the warmth and honesty of the refugees and asylum-seekers who I met, worked with, ate with, danced with and laughed with. They taught me about their worlds, their experiences and needs, but they also taught me about resilience, strength and humanity. These impacts may seem small, but they are important. The ability to teach five more people how to buy a bus ticket or fill out a form, or being able to take ten young people to the zoo or swimming are meaningful ways to show that we are all human despite our differences. I hope that in some way this project will raise awareness of just how important language is for refugees and asylum-seekers, and how it encompasses so many emotions and experiences, never neutral. The collaborative nature of this research project proved successful, as did the ‘observant participant’ approach taken to ethnographic work. The creative nature of some of the fieldwork was engaging for participants and allowed them to express themselves in new ways, hopefully all the while being an enjoyable experience.

Research Impact Legacies

The generosity of the organisations with whom I worked was vital for the success of this project. Working with a range of people and organisations offered me the chance to see things that worked

well and things that worked less well within ESOL learning environments. In light of this, and because from the outset I wanted people to benefit from this research, I have produced a briefing paper based on my research findings, particularly focussing on the practice of ESOL education. I will feed these findings back to key people and organisations with whom I worked in the hope that they are able to continue to provide a high standard of services to refugees and asylum-seekers in Glasgow. A key aim of this project was to have a wider social impact, and what I hope this research has achieved is the importance of community ESOL classes in Glasgow. Through sharing experiences with and between organisations with whom I worked, my aim was to focus on how best English language education can be provided and promoted in Glasgow, ensuring that the needs of learners and potential learners are met.

Research Impact into New Practice

Towards the end of completing this thesis, I made a decision to find employment in the third sector: I now find, reconnect and, where possible, reunite families separated through conflict, persecution and terror; people who have lost all means of contact with their loved ones as a result of having to flee their countries of origin. It is a drop in the ocean when the statistics and figures are considered, but working with colleagues around the world I hope to impact the lives of individuals, all seeking safety and security in a new country. Meeting and speaking to participants in this project opened my eyes to the lives of others, and I have taken inspiration from their strength and commitment to bettering their lives with me into my new workplace. Undertaking this research has been an often-emotional endeavour, it has been a personal journey and an honour to work with a group of incredible people, who I hope one day will have the life for which they dream.

Research Agenda

In bringing together language, geography and migration, this research has represented a myriad of ways these fields mix, merge and influence one another. In Chapter 2 I argued for a more sustained approach to new subfields of language geography, namely to consider the emotional, embodied and performative aspects of speaking, listening, reading and writing. Outlined below are four key areas that would be lucrative areas of research, particularly considering current political situations around the world and as people continue to arrive in the UK in search of safety.

I want to first consider the emotional and embodied aspects of language. The empirical chapters in this thesis all touched upon – some more than others – on the ubiquity of emotion in relation to language, and the impact these emotions had on language use. The embodiment of language remains understudied in both geography and in linguistic studies and further research would prove worthwhile

for both scholarly fields. As geographers continue to put people and bodies at the forefront of studies, research into the role of language here would be a positive addition. Studies around linguistic embodiment would be particularly well placed in research into those who have hearing impairments and thus rely more heavily on non-verbal communication, working to emphasise the importance of not just verbal language but gestural and emotional language as well.

In a similar vein, research into the role of technology in language use and language acquisition is something that would prove worthwhile. In my research it was clear that some people relied heavily on programmes such as ‘Google Translate’ or online dictionaries to translate between different languages. Moreover, as touched upon in Chapter 7, many students use YouTube, Television and Radio to help with acquisition, and online spaces such as Facebook become forums for language practice. In addition, these online spaces often required certain languages to be translated into the Roman alphabet, producing huge variations in the way words were spelled. Studies here would benefit from considering virtual, online geographies, as well as how writing, and the space in which things are written also have distinct micro-geographies. Looking into the role of social media would produce interesting outcomes in both geography and translation studies.

Taking a more political outlook on future research, the politics of language(s), although already researched, may benefit from further studies as the UK becomes increasingly hostile to those deemed ‘different’. Part and parcel of the Conservatives ‘hostile environment’ is the use of hostile language, both in politics and in the media, but also day-to-day. Research into the place of hostile language and its impacts would prove interesting, as would studies into how this hostility and apprehension towards refugees and asylum-seekers impacts their own use of language. Moreover, the way that language(s) are policed, ordered and categorised, building upon my discussions of linguistic hierarchies and hierarchies of ‘strangeness’ would be an interesting and important line of inquiry.

A final strand of research that could stem from this thesis is to look at multilingualism in classroom environments (both formal and informal). The UK is becoming increasingly multicultural and multilingual, and as a result classroom environments are likely to become spaces where people come together with a vast array of languages between them. To research the way that these different languages are celebrated, navigated or perhaps even erased will help to aid understandings

Of the way languages can be shared and acquired, and what this might mean for future language policy. A social geography approach to multilingualism in educational spaces would also prove worthwhile, thinking about the bonds and divides that language can create and the impacts of this on the people and the spaces within which multilingual happenings occur.

Appendix 1: Information and Consent Forms



Language Learning and Language Use Among Young Migrants

Information Sheet

My name is Sophie Shuttleworth and I am a student at the University of Glasgow. I am doing some research about the places where you learn English. I am researching how you experience places that you learn in, and also how you feel about learning English.

Aims and Objectives

- 1) I would like to understand your experiences of school and other places you learn, such as community centres.
- 2) I would like to find out if you feel that learning English is important so you can learn other things and have a good time at school, at home, and with your friends.
- 3) I would like to know about the different places you use language.

What do I need to do?

I want to arrange the research project so that it is fun and you have the chance to do some activities you might not have tried before. These activities will happen in a group.

I want to understand more about your life in Glasgow and learning language. Together we will do some drawings and make maps about what languages are important and where you speak with them or learn them. You will also have the chance to take some photos of places that are important to you. You can tell stories together and make posters of your journey to school or a place you spend a lot of time.

As well as this, we can talk about where and how you learnt to speak English. This can be in a group with your friends or one-to-one – it is your choice.

If you do not want to do any of these activities you do not have to. I will not talk about things you do not want to talk about and I will respect your choices.

If you start taking part but change your mind you can just tell me when you want to stop, I will not ask you any more questions.

What will happen to the information you tell me?

Everything you tell me will be kept private. When I write my final project, I will change your names so no one will know the information came from you. If you do not want me to use your work or things you have said in my project you can tell me on the consent form and I will make sure none of your work is used.

Questions?

It is your choice if you want to work on the project or not. If you do, you need to ask the person who looks after you at home. I have a form for you to fill out which you can do when we start our work together. If you have any more questions you can ask me in person or e-mail me.

Thank you for taking the time to read this form,

Sophie

Contact Details

Sophie: sophie.shuttleworth.1@research.gla.ac.uk

If you have any worries about the work please contact my teacher at university:

Hester Parr: Hester.Parr@glasgow.ac.uk



Spaces of Education and Language Acquisition Among Young Migrants

Information Sheet

I am a PhD student from the University of Glasgow conducting research for my PhD, funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC). My research examines how young migrants navigate spaces of language acquisition and education in Glasgow. From this research I hope to understand the importance of language in their lives and the role it may play in helping them to settle in Scotland.

Aims and Objectives

The aims of this research are as follows:

- 1) To provide in-depth understanding of school and language learning environments and how young migrants experience these places.
- 2) To investigate how language may be a barrier to education and how processes of learning English can have social impacts.
- 3) The research will look at the impacts of language use beyond these educational environments, such as aiding community involvement or interaction, and how these impacts can add to, or detract from young migrants social lives.

What will taking part in the research involve?

You are invited to take part in the research project by attending an interview, this will last no longer than 1 hour and can be arranged at a time and place suitable for you.

The following topics will be covered in the interview:

- Issues of access to education for young refugees and asylum seekers.
- Issues around language in the educational experiences of young migrants.
- How you feel young migrants are treated in educational environments.
- Discussion around the integration of young migrants and the role educational environments play in their integration.
- Ways that language can aid involvements and participation across a range of places for young migrants.
- Teaching young migrants and your experiences of this.
- What could be done differently to help you teach these young people, and to improve their learning.

With your permission a tape-recorder may be used to record the interview to ensure accuracy of information. This recording will be kept confidential.

What will happen to the information?

Contributions to the research will be anonymous and confidential. Pseudonyms will be used and no personal information will be shared. Materials collected will be stored on a password-protected computer only accessible by myself, information will be viewed by myself and my supervisor.

The project will be completed at the end of 2017 and submitted to the department of Geographical and Earth Sciences at the University of Glasgow.

You can withdraw from the project at any stage by contacting me or my supervisor using the contact details below. You do not have to give a reason for your withdrawal and any information you have provided will be discarded. Your participation is entirely voluntary.

What if I have Questions?

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet. If you have any further questions or concerns please do not hesitate to get in touch using my details below.

If you would like to take part please contact me and we can arrange a meeting. You will need to sign a consent form that will be available at the time of the interview.

Many Thanks,

Sophie Shuttleworth

Contact Details

Project Researcher: Sophie Shuttleworth

E-mail: sophie.shuttleworth.1@research.gla.ac.uk

Phone Number: 07519889756

Project Supervisor: Dr. Hester Parr

E-mail: Hester.Parr@glasgow.ac.uk



University
of Glasgow

Participant Observation Information Sheet

My name is Sophie Shuttleworth and I am a student at the University of Glasgow. I am doing research for a project about young migrants in Scotland. I am doing my research because I want to learn about how young migrants use language to speak to their friends, teachers and other people.

You are invited to take part in my research for this project; the details and how to take part are below.

The Project

This project is about how refugee and asylum seekers use places where they learn English. The research I am inviting you to take part in is called participant observation. I will be looking at how you and your friends talk to each other and how you and members of staff interact. My focus will be on language and conversations.

What does it involve?

I will be spending time in places where young migrants learn English. I will sit at the back of the room and watch as you take part in activities as normal, I will also take part in some of the activities with you. I will be observing how you, your friends, and members of staff speak to each other. I am not interested in what you are saying, but the type of language you use. Whilst I am there I will be taking notes, these notes will help me to write up my project.

What happens to the information?

I will make notes in class but I will not use your name, you will be anonymous and no one will be able to find out your information. The notes I take will only be seen by myself and I will keep them safe on my computer. If you would like to see the notes I can show them to you after your class, if there is anything you do not want me to write in my project you can tell me and I will delete it.

Taking part is completely voluntary and if you change your mind about being in the project please let me know and I will make sure I do not use anything you say when I write my final project. Not taking part will not have an impact on you.

If you are happy for me to observe you and you want to take part in the project please complete the consent form attached to this sheet.

If you have any further questions or worries, please speak to me in person or send me an e-mail using my e-mail address below.

Thank you for reading this information sheet.

Sophie

Contact Details

E-mail: s.shuttleworth.1@research.gla.ac.uk



Language Learning and Language Use Among Young Migrants

Consent form

Please tick the boxes, fill out the information at the bottom, and return to Sophie.

- I have read and understood the information sheet.
- I would like to take part in the research.
- I understand I can stop taking part at any time, even after Sophie has finished working with me.
- I can ask Sophie if I am unsure about anything or have any questions relating to the work.
- I am happy for my work to be used in the project, and I understand that my real name will not be used so no one will know it is me that did the work.
- I am happy for things I tell Sophie when she is doing research to be used in the project, and I understand that my real name will not be used.
- I am happy for Sophie to record group discussions that I take part in for the research, and understand that these will only be heard by Sophie.

Signed

Print Name

Date/...../.....



Spaces of Education and Language Acquisition for Young Migrants

Consent form

- I have read and understood the information sheet.
 - I would like to participate in the research project as described on the information sheet.
 - I would like to be assigned a pseudonym in any work that arises out of this research.
 - Any information I give may be used in the project unless otherwise stated.
 - I understand that I can withdraw from the research at any time.
 - I give permission for a tape recorder to be used, knowing that the recording will be kept safe and secure.
-

Signed

Print Name

School/Organisation

Date/...../.....

Contact E-mail or Telephone



Participant Observation Consent Form

Please tick the boxes, fill out the information at the bottom, and return to Sophie.

- I have read and understood the information sheet.
 - I would like to take part in the research.
 - I am happy for Sophie to use my contributions in her final project, and understand that Sophie will not use or give any personal information about me to anyone.
 - I understand I can stop taking part at any time.
 - I can ask Sophie if I am unsure about anything or have any questions relating to the work.
 - I understand that I can ask to see the notes Sophie takes when she observes my class. If she has made notes about something I do not want her to use in her project I can tell her and she will delete it.
-

Signed

Print Name

Date/...../.....



Photography and Creative Work Consent Form

Please fill out this form, fill out your details at the bottom, and then return to Sophie.

This form is about how I will use work that you make, and photographs that you take, in my project. It is important that you understand that you can keep the work you do, and if you are happy for me to use it in my project, I will take a copy. This means that you still own your work and you can use it for other things if you would like to. If you are happy for me to use your work in my project, I will make sure no one can find out who you are.

- I give permission for Sophie to use photographs I take in her project and understand that I will not be able to be identified from these photographs.
- I am happy for Sophie to use any drawings, posters or stories I make in her project, and again understand that no one will know they are from me.
- I understand that I will be able to keep my work and Sophie will take a copy of it, this means that the work is still mine and I can use it for other things.

Signed.....

Print Name.....

Date/...../.....

Appendix 2: Worksheet

LEARNING ENGLISH

Name.....

1. How many languages do you speak? What are they?

2. How long have you been learning English for?

3. Where do you learn English?

4. Learning English is ...

5. What do you like about learning English?

6. What do you dislike about learning English?

7. It is important / not important to learn English because ...

8. Places where I speak English:

9. Places where I speak my native language:

Appendix 3: Interview Schedules

Interview Schedule (Practitioners)

Project Overview

This is an ESRC funded doctoral project in Human Geography, being carried out at the University of Glasgow. It began in September 2014 and is due to be completed at the end of 2017.

The aim of the project is to explore language acquisition and language use among young migrants in Glasgow from a range of perspectives. The three principal aims of the project are:

- To explore spaces of language acquisition outside of college classrooms, thinking about processes of acquisition and how this impacts identity and integration both within and outside of the classroom.
- To look at the language geographies of young migrants – where languages are spoken, in what combinations, with whom and experiences/impacts of these geographies.
- To investigate the embodied and performative aspects of language in relation to identity and integration, while being attentive to the spaces in which language encounters take place.

I have spent the last six months in a range of community led English classes at various locations around the city and with various migrant communities. I am working with migrants between the ages of 16 and 25 in these classes. During these classes I have been observing the methods used to acquire English, as well as looking at how language is used, the kinds of encounters that take place and how this impacts the learning environment. I have also spent time with people in social settings provided by charities across the city. These have afforded me the opportunity to explore language use outside of a learning environment and given me time to talk on a more informal basis with young migrants.

The purpose of this interview is to build upon some of my initial findings from this period of observational work, as well as to find out more about language policy and provision in the city, issues relating to this, and the perceived experiences of students.

Key Interview Themes:

- 1. Language policy for colleges and third sector organisations in the city.**
- 2. The ESOL curriculum.**
- 3. ESOL provision in Glasgow.**
- 4. Educational needs of young migrants.**
- 5. The Importance of language in the everyday lives of young migrants, and associate experiences.**
- 6. Educational attainment of migrant students.**
- 7. The role of language in cultural and societal participation.**
- 8. Language as resistance/the formalisation of English.**
- 9. Language acquisition and proficiency – what next?**

Language policy for colleges and third sector organisations in Glasgow

- What is the policy on English language learning for migrants set out by the Scottish Government?
 - And how is this interpreted and implemented by Glasgow City Council?
- Does this differ between colleges and third sector organisations?
- Do you think any changes could be made to the policy to improve it?
 - If so, what are these changes, and why do you think they need to be made?
- In your opinion, does ESOL provision in Glasgow successfully implement this policy?
 - Why/why not?

The ESOL curriculum

- Can you begin by telling me a bit about the different levels of ESOL courses?
- What is on the curriculum?
 - Balance of grammatical learning, and practical issues such as how to book an appointment etc.?
 - Differences between the curriculum for adults and children?
- Who creates the curriculum and do you believe that it is appropriate for students?
- Do you believe that anything needs to be added or removed from the curriculum?
- Are there differences between the way ESOL is taught in colleges and the way it is taught in community run classes?

ESOL provision in Glasgow

- Who are the main ESOL providers in Glasgow?
- How big a role do third sector organisations play in the ESOL landscape in the city?
- What is the process of accessing ESOL classes?
 - From testing to accessing classes?
- Is there a good relationship between colleges and third sector organisations?
 - Evidence of joined up working city-wide?
- What are the main challenges faced by third sector organisations in providing ESOL classes?
- Are there certain communities that need to be targeted more than others in terms of ESOL provision?
- How do third sector organisations go about advertising classes?
 - Is this sufficient, could improvements be made?

- Do you believe there is sufficient provision across the city?
 - Are some areas more in need of ESOL classes than others?
 - Any areas that you think should have more available classes?

Educational needs of young migrants

- In your opinion what are the main educational needs of young migrants in Glasgow?
- From my observational work it has become apparent that there are a range of methods when it comes to teaching ESOL. Some classes are centred on grammar, while others are worksheets based, and build vocabulary, while others tend to focus on more practical skills such as what to do in an emergency, how to book an appointment, or when to go to a doctor, how to buy train/bus tickets etc.
 - Do you think one of these is more important than another?
 - What are the pros/cons of each approach?
 - What seems to be the priority for students?
- While ESOL provision is undoubtedly important, and learning English is often a priority for people who are new to the city, do you think there are other courses or activities that migrants might be able to participate in that would not only improve language skills but also enhance their social capital and aid processes of integration and settlement? (E.g. computer classes, employability skills, social events, cultural events/education etc.)
- Are different migrant communities more or less likely to access language classes than others?
 - Are there obvious differences in attitudes towards learning between migrant communities?
 - If so, why do you think this is and how do they differ?
- Do you think the government's policy on language education, and the ESOL curriculum are appropriate for the needs of young migrants?

Importance of language

- How important is learning English for young migrants?
 - In your opinion but also in terms of what migrants have said?
- What are the main challenges faced by young migrants in accessing language education?
 - How can these be overcome?
- What role does language play in building their social networks (both English and native languages)?
- Outside of the classroom, what do you think the main way young people learn English?
 - Socialising with English speakers? Technology? Library?
- How important do you think English proficiency is in the everyday lives of young migrants?
 - Consequences of not being able to speak English?
- What do you think the links between language and identities are?

- Both in terms of the kind of English they learn but also in terms of their native languages?
- What role does language play in the integration and settlement of migrants?

Educational attainment

- Are there challenges in navigating the existing educational level/attainment of young migrants when it comes to ESOL classes?
- How do you measure progress in ESOL classes (when it is not being studied for a formal qualification)?
 - Are there any issues around this?
- In terms of achievement – what are the main issues or challenges young migrants face when learning English?
- What are the main challenges faced by young migrants in relation to attending classes?

Cultural and societal participation

- What can be done to improve or increase societal participation of young migrants? (Not talking about them ‘contributing’ to society – I mean enhancing their experiences of life in Glasgow.)
- How do young refugees and asylum seekers often build their social networks?
 - College, community, church, etc.
 - What factors can help or hinder the development of social networks?
- What work is being done to overcome isolation and segregation of young refugees and asylum seekers?
- What aspects of these young people’s social lives make it easy or difficult for them to ‘fit in’ with their peers?
- Is it common for the young people to attempt to pick up new cultural practices in an attempt to integrate or do many hold on to their cultural identities, resisting ‘British’ cultural practices?
- Is cultural connection important in building social networks and overall integration for these young people?

Language acquisition and proficiency – what next?

- I appreciate that everyone progresses at different rates, but how long does it generally take for students to get to a level where they might be able to take part in other courses or look for a job?
- In terms of future aspirations, what kind of things do young migrants want to do in the future – job, education, family etc.?
- How does having a reasonable level of English proficiency influence processes of settlement in Glasgow?

End Points:

- Overall, thinking about both English and people's native languages, what role does language play in the everyday lives of young migrants?
- Is there anything else you would like to add?

Closing Remarks

Thank you very much for taking the time to talk to me today. Your insights will be extremely valuable for my work and in aiding understanding of this particular issue.

I plan to complete my thesis by the end of 2017, should you wish to find out more, or to have a copy of my results please let me know and I can give you a summary paper of my findings once I have written the thesis.

If you have anything else to add, or any queries at all, please do not hesitate to get in touch with me using the contact details on the information sheet.

Interview Schedule

Student Interview

Language Journeys

In this interview I will ask you some questions about your journey to Glasgow. I want you to think about the languages you spoke and heard while you were on your journey. Thinking about where you were when you learnt new words, or phrases in different languages, where you spoke your native language, and where you met people who spoke other languages.

Beginning:

- When you left your country, what languages did you speak? Did you know any English?
- When did you first experience a language you did not know on your journey?
 - Which language was it?

The Journey:

- How often did you have to speak a different language on your journey here?
- Where and how did you learn new words or phrases?
- Who did you speak to on your journey to Glasgow?
- Are there any words or phrases in any language that were essential to know or understand?
- In Calais, Dunkirk, or at borders, what languages did you hear?
 - Did different languages have different associations?
 - How did you feel hearing these languages?

Arrival in Glasgow:

- When you arrived in Glasgow who did you speak to?
- What did you say to them?
- Where did you learn those words or phrases?
- Who helped you when you arrived in Glasgow?

Experiences of Learning English

- Where do you learn English?
- Is learning English important to you? Why/Why not?
- How do you feel about learning English?
- What aspects of English do you want or need to learn? Why?

- Writing, reading, speaking, listening.
- Grammar, Practical etc.
- Do you enjoy learning English?
- What challenges do you face learning English and accessing classes?

- How does speaking English make you feel?
- How does speaking your native language make you feel?
- When you speak/read/hear/write English do you translate it from/back into your native language?
 - Does this differ depending on if you are speaking /hearing /reading / writing?
- How does your mouth feel when you speak English?
- How does your mind feel when you speak English?
- How do you think you sound?
- Is this different from when you speak your native language?

Social Language

- Where do you speak English?
- Where do you speak your native language?
- Do you have friends who speak different languages from you?
- Do you speak English with any of your friends?
 - If so, how do you feel when you talk/listen to them?
- How does speaking English help you day to day?
- Other than in English classes, where do you learn or practice English?

Appendix 4: Neighbourhoods within Glasgow's Strategic Planning Areas

North West	North East	South
Anniesland, Jordanhill & Whiteinch	Baillieston & Garrowhill	Arden & Carnwadric
Blairdardie	Balornock & Barmulloch	Bellahouston, Craigton & Mosspark
Broomhill & Partick West	Blackhill & Hogganfield	Carmunnock
City Centre & Merchant City	Calton & Bridgeton	Castlemilk
Drumchapel	Dennistoun	Cathcart & Simshill
Hillhead & Woodlands	Easterhouse	Corkerhill & North Pollok
Hyndland, Downhill & Partick East	Haghill & Carntyne	Croftfoot
Kelvindale & Kelvinside	Mount Vernon & East Shettleston	Crookston & South Cardonald
Knightswood	Parkhead & Dalmarnock	Govanhill
Lambhill & Milton	Riddrie & Cranhill	Greater Gorbals
Maryhill Road Corridor	Robroyston & Millerston	Greater Govan
North Maryhill & Summerston	Ruchazie & Garthamlock	Ibrox & Kingston
Ruchill & Possilpark	Sighthill, Roystonhill & Germiston	Kingspark & Mount Florida
Temple & Anniesland	Springboig & Barlanark	Langside & Battlefield
Yoker & Scotstoun	Springburn	Newlands & Cathcart
Yorkhill & Anderston	Tollcross & West Shettleston	North Cardonald & Penilee
		Pollok
		Pollokshaws & Mansewood
		Pollokshields East
		Pollokshields West
		Priesthill & Househillwood
		Shawlands & Strathbungo
		South Nitshill & Darnley
		Toryglen

Mackinnon (2015) 'Glasgow's ESOL Providers'

Appendix 5: A Table of UK Immigration Acts Since 1904

Name of Act	Main points and changes made
Aliens Act 1905	This targeted "undesirable aliens" - such as paupers, lunatics, vagrants and prostitutes - who could be refused entry.
British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act 1914	This granted the common status of British subject upon those persons who had specified connections with the Crown's dominions.
British Nationality Act 1948	The Empire's dominions each adopted their separate citizenships, but retained the common status of British subject.
Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1968	This required certain potential migrants to supply proof that either they, their parents or grandparents had been born in Britain.
Immigration Act 1971	<p>Commonwealth citizens lost their automatic right to remain in the UK, meaning they faced the same restrictions as those from elsewhere. They would in future only be allowed to remain in UK after they had lived and worked here for five years.</p> <p>A partial "right of abode" was introduced, lifting all restrictions on immigrants with a direct personal or ancestral connection with Britain.</p>
Immigration Act 1988	This act ensured that only one wife or widow of a polygamous marriage had a right to enter the country. It also ensured people with freedom of movement in the European Community did not need leave to enter or remain in the UK.
Asylum and Immigration Act 1996	It became a criminal offence to employ anyone unless they had permission to live and work in the

	UK.
Immigration and Asylum Act 1999	The act removed benefits from asylum seekers and created the National Asylum Service to house them, taking pressure off local authorities.
Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002	This created the first English test and citizenship exam for immigrants and introduced measures against bogus marriages.
Asylum and Immigration Act 2004	This act introduced a single form of appeal that remains to this day and made it a criminal offence to destroy travel documents. It limited access to support for those told to leave the UK.
Immigration, Asylum and Nationality Act 2006	<p>A five-tier points system for awarding entry visas was created.</p> <p>Those refused work or study visas had their rights of appeal limited.</p> <p>The act brought in on-the-spot fines of £2,000, payable by employers for each illegal employee, which could include parents taking on nannies without visas.</p>
UK Borders Act 2007	<p>This provided the UK Border Agency with powers to tackle illegal working and automatically deport some foreign nationals imprisoned for specific offences, or for more than one year.</p> <p>It gave immigration officers police-like powers, such as increased detention and a search-and-entry roles. The act brought in the power to create compulsory biometric cards for non-EU immigrants.</p>
Borders, Citizenship and Immigration Act 2009	This act amended the rules so people from outside the European Economic Area had to have residential status for eight years before being eligible for naturalisation.

	<p>Those seeking naturalisation through wedlock had to be married for five years first.</p> <p>The act also allowed immigration and customs officers to perform some of each other's roles and imposed a duty on home secretaries to safeguard children.</p>
<p>Immigration Act 2013</p>	<p>Require private landlords to check the immigration status of their tenants.</p> <p>Require temporary migrants, such as overseas students, who have only a "time-limited" immigration status, to make a contribution to the NHS. A £200 levy has been mentioned as an option.</p> <p>Require banks to check against a database of known immigration offenders before opening a bank account.</p> <p>Create new powers to check the immigration status of driving licence applicants and to revoke the licences of overstayers.</p> <p>Introduce a "deport first, appeal later" policy for thousands facing removal who face no "risk of serious irreversible harm" from being sent back. Also reducing the grounds for appeal from 17 to 4.</p>

Immigration Act 2016	<p>Introduce new sanctions on illegal workers and rogue employers.</p> <p>Provide better co-ordination of regulators that enforce workers' rights.</p> <p>Prevent illegal migrants in the UK from accessing housing, driving licences and bank accounts.</p> <p>Introduce new measures to make it easier to enforce immigration laws and remove illegal migrants.</p>
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Source: <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications>

Appendix 6: Policy Recommendations External Use Document



English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) Education for Refugees and Asylum-Seekers in Glasgow – Recommendations

Sophie Shuttleworth, University of Glasgow

For more information on the research behind this document, or if you have any queries please contact:
Sophie Shuttleworth – s.shuttleworth.1@research.gla.ac.uk

This document has been put together as a result of a three-year research project into ESOL provision and education in Glasgow. One aim of the project was to look at the different places refugees and asylum-seekers access English language education and the impact this has on their settlement and integration into life in Glasgow. A year was spent carrying out research in community ESOL classes, and therefore the recommendation in this document do not consider ESOL education provided by formal learning institutions. Moreover, the classes did not offer accredited qualifications and therefore work outside of the curriculum. The classes provided an insight into the multitude of ways ESOL is taught, and allowed the researcher to see what kind of spaces classes occupied. Classroom research also offered an opportunity to look at how students interacted with each other and the use of language in these interactions. In-depth interviews were carried out with students, teachers and associate professional who support refugees and asylum-seekers in the city, these provided further understanding of how classes are accessed and attended, and how provisions are organised. The following recommendations are based on key findings from the research, and take into account current policy on and practice in, ESOL education in Glasgow.

1. Cross-sector Partnership Working

ESOL classes are provided by a large number of organisations in Glasgow, some of these are centrally funded, some are grassroots organisations and other have charitable statuses. What is apparent is that there remains a lack of comprehensive partnership working between the various organisations.

Glasgow City Council, alongside the Scottish Government, should work to encourage and facilitate greater partnership working between themselves, formal learning institutions (the colleges) and third sector ESOL providers to ensure that the needs of all learners are met and in order to share best practice and information that will ultimately lead to enhanced ESOL provision across the city. This also involves consulting learners themselves about their needs and requirements.

A centralised forum that meets regularly would be best placed to encourage partnership working and provide a starting point for further collaboration between ESOL providers. The research showed that in many cases there is very little knowledge of what ESOL services are available and how they can be accessed, therefore information and knowledge sharing is key to providing a comprehensive ESOL picture for Glasgow.

If points two and three (detailed below) are carried out, partnership working between all sectors will be able to successfully meet ESOL demand in the city.

2. Comprehensive Assessment of Demand

Currently there is no way of assessing the demand of ESOL in Glasgow, other than recording how many people are turning up to classes and in which locations. However, this is not an accurate picture of demand in Glasgow, and fails to take into account reasons people attend classes, and if they have travelled outside of their own areas of the city to attend. It is vital that a comprehensive assessment of geographical demand takes place in order to target areas with high demand and little provision, ensuring everyone has equal access to ESOL.

Only Government bodies such as the Home Office and housing providers with whom they work have access to data regarding the housing of refugees and asylum-seekers. Some aspects of this data ought to be made available to ESOL providers, or a centralised ESOL body, in order to ensure that there is sufficient provision in areas where refugees and asylum-seekers are being housed. Moreover, if data can be provided about the type of accommodation (initial housing, foster care, independent housing), this will give some indication as to how long individuals have been living in the UK, or Glasgow, and if they are more or less likely to have basic English proficiency. A substantive overview of potential ESOL demand will result in a more sustainable method of ESOL provision for both providers and students.

3. ESOL Provision in the City of Glasgow

In conjunction with seeking to understand the demand for ESOL classes, there needs to be a more substantive overview of what provision currently looks like across the city. This can then be looking at alongside demand to ensure targeted provision. Although there has been some work to provide a map of all available ESOL classes, there are many that are not included and given the often-changing nature of provision, this resource needs to be kept up to date.

The information should detail the locations, times, levels and nature of the classes (if they are drop-in or referral only). It should be distributed to all appropriate individuals and organisations across the city and be available at information points such as libraries and ESOL assessments. It should be, as far as possible, continually updated.

4. Levelled and Curriculum Specific Classes

The research found that although many classes had a designated level that students needed to be to attend the class, this was not measured or enforced for various reasons. This unfortunately sometimes had a negative impact upon teachers who were unable to plan and prepare classes with appropriate materials. In classes that are drop-in and for all levels, teachers were more prepared for a range of students. While both levelled classes and mixed level classes are extremely beneficial to learners, with each providing a range of benefits and learning approaches, if classes are more strictly managed, it will reduce the negative side-effects. However, in order for this to be successful, the level of the class needs to be

advertised and enforced.

Another aspect of ESOL provision prominent in the research was the need for different ‘kinds’ of English to be taught. While some classes focussed solely on day-to-day English, others included aspects of more formal English, English for employment, grammar, or very basic survival English. As detailed above, this ought to be advertised to avoid students feeling that they are not getting what they want from classes. More importantly, these different types of English need to be tailored to the level of the class.

In theory, all refugees and asylum-seekers should have their English assessed at a formal assessment so they can be placed on the correct waiting lists at colleges. If community ESOL classes are advertised at these ESOL assessments, students can ensure they attend classes that are suitable. It is also vital to highlight that the research found community ESOL classes to be holistic, and offer more than just English education, and therefore those classes that are mixed level and drop-in are key to ensuring a range of other needs can be met, and provide a safe space for many people, and therefore these classes should not be eradicated in total in favour of a more formalised system.

5. Funding

Funding for non-governmental organisations is currently limited and very competitive. The research found that many ESOL providers are competing for the same funds, highlighting the need to partnership working to try and create the best possible ESOL service across the city of Glasgow. Rather than competing for the same pots of money, providers could work strategically to provide a holistic service across and between organisations by bidding for a wider range of funds.

The vital work third sector organisations do in providing ESOL to people waiting on a college place, or who for various reasons are unable to attend more formal education is currently not recognised by the Scottish and UK Governments, and this is reflected in the reduction of funds in recent years, despite increasing numbers of non-English speakers arriving in the city. If providers are able to produce research and reports to prove the need for more funding, alongside steering groups, it will help to put ESOL education on the policy map at a higher decision-making level.

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