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A mixed methods exploration of ESOL learners' trajectories.

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'Here is a long way'.

Language learning, integration, and identity:
A mixed methods exploration of ESOL learners'
trajectories

Jill Court
School of Education

A dissertation submitted to the University of Bristol in accordance with the requirements
for award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Social Sciences and Law

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Abstract

Political discourse tends to characterise English proficiency as the pathway to integration in Britain. However, there is mismatch between the rhetoric and the real-life experiences of migrant and refugee language learners, who are rarely consulted on their experiences and priorities. This thesis attempts to address this by exploring adult ESOL (English for Speakers of other Languages) learners' accounts of their learning English and integration experiences.

I present new perspectives on these issues by combining rich and comprehensive accounts from longitudinal timeline interviews (n=14) with questionnaire responses (n=409) from ESOL learner participants. By applying an identity conceptual lens to a new conceptual model of integration, I illustrate how ESOL learners' language learning and integration trajectories are shaped by the ways in which they variously are assigned, claim, negotiate, and resist, identity positions.

This thesis shows that the relationship between language learning and integration can be characterised as a Catch-22 in which English proficiency can improve integration outcomes, but also, positive integration experiences are needed to facilitate progress in language learning. Language learning and integration are interrelated processes in which the rate of progress can vary and may slow down, stall, or even be felt to reverse. Many issues shape ESOL learners' capacity to maintain motivation over extended periods of time. These include the ability to achieve and sustain more powerful and confident identity positions, and being afforded hope of realising imagined identities and desired futures. Looking beyond English proficiency, I illuminate other key factors which shape ESOL learners' ability to make headway in Britain, such as feelings of safety, well-being and confidence, and these are influenced by social and material conditions. Attending to the issues raised in the findings can facilitate ESOL learners to keep momentum and move forward in their trajectories.

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Author's declaration

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the requirements of the University's *Regulations and Code of Practice for Research Degree Programmes* and that it has not been submitted for any other academic award. Except where indicated by specific reference in the text, the work is the candidate's own work. Work done in collaboration with, or with the assistance of, others, is indicated as such. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

SIGNED: Jill Court DATE: 17 September 2021

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Glossary of terms and abbreviations

ESOL	English for Speakers of other Languages
EU	European Union
IELTS	International English Language Testing System
ONS	Office for National Statistics
LIUK	Life in the UK citizenship test
Understanding Society	Understanding Society UK Household Longitudinal Study

1 Introduction

1.1 Motivation for the study

The motivation for this study stems from my experiences of teaching ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) to adult migrants and refugees living in Britain. In contemporary British political discourse, the acquisition of English is frequently emphasised as essential for integration (Conservative Party, 2015; Casey, 2016; Bell, Plumb and Marangozov, 2017; HM Government, 2019) and learning and speaking English has come to symbolise willingness to integrate and embrace a British identity (Blackledge, 2009; Cameron, 2013). These views are reflected in the increasingly higher language requirements for those wishing to enter and settle in the UK (see for example Home Office, 2016). However, my background as an ESOL practitioner has made me aware of the many barriers faced by migrants and refugees who seek to learn English. ESOL learners usually have to combine their studies with navigating everyday life and striving to improve the future for themselves and their family. I saw first-hand the many challenges ESOL learners face to attending and progressing in class, including meeting course costs, caring responsibilities, work commitments, low levels of formal literacy and attending Home Office appointments.

Listening to the experiences of learners in my classes made me aware of the importance of improving their English skills to help them settle and thrive in Britain, but at the same time, learning English language skills was not the only challenge they faced to participating and succeeding in British life. For example, the learners shared their experiences of looking for work or having to deal with problems related to their immigration status or housing situation. Therefore, my ESOL teaching experiences highlighted for me the mismatch between the coercive discourse and policy on English and integration, and the experiences and challenges faced by ESOL learners both inside and outside the classroom. I have also witnessed swingeing cuts in government funding for ESOL provision which meant some of the learners I knew could no longer attend class, further highlighting the problematic nature of the political rhetoric.

In 2012 I enrolled on a part-time Master of Education degree during which I encountered concepts and ideas in second language learning which shed light on the ways in which the social context within which language learners live impacts on their language learning. Of particular relevance was scholarly work which examined the roles of identity and power in the language learning experiences of migrants, especially the work of Bonnie Norton (2000, 2013). During the master's course I also found

that there was limited existing research which adequately explored the perspectives of ESOL learners in Britain on their experiences of learning the dominant language and making lives for themselves (although academic research into the field of ESOL continues to grow).

It was my view that applying understandings from scholarship on second language learning and identity would help to better understand the experiences of ESOL learners, and elucidate the ways in which different aspects of integration (that is, learners' lives outside the classroom) interact with progress in learning English. I felt this conceptual lens would also be helpful in addressing the lack of understanding of the other challenges, besides language, that ESOL learners face in trying to make lives for themselves in Britain. This doctoral study is, therefore, a result of my professional and academic desires to gain a greater understanding of language learning and integration from the points of view of ESOL learners.

This chapter introduces the study by briefly outlining who ESOL learners are, and the social, political, and ideological context within which they are learning English. I then briefly introduce the conceptual lenses which guide the positioning of this study and the interpretation of the findings. Subsequently, I present the rationale, aims and research questions for the study, before providing an overview of the research design and the thesis as a whole.

1.2 ESOL learners and the social and political context

In the context of this study, ESOL refers to English language training aimed at adults who are long-term residents in the UK. ESOL learners constitute a diverse population. Their prior educational experience may range from little or no formal education or literacy to postgraduate qualifications, and they may or may not have knowledge of English on arrival (Kings and Casey, 2013). ESOL learners have a range of migration histories and statuses, including British citizens, refugees, asylum seekers, citizens of EU countries, labour migrants, and spouses or dependents of these. The length of time in the country can vary from newly arrived to thirty years or more. Much ESOL provision is government funded, with third sector organisations also providing classes. Classes may take place in further education colleges, adult education settings, training providers and voluntary sector organisations

As I explore in detail in section 2.1, much political discourse and policy concerning immigration and integration in the past two decades has focused on the language proficiency of people from migration backgrounds. This thesis argues that the discourse and policy has bolstered an association between English language, integration and British identity (Blackledge, 2009; Cameron, 2013). This narrative

has been reinforced by the increasingly stringent language requirements for entry and settlement in the UK (Blackledge, 2009; Simpson, 2019; Wright and Brookes, 2019). These language controls have been characterised as a panacea for threats to British national identity and social cohesion caused by migration and multiculturalism (e.g. Cameron, 2011; Harper, 2013a). Section 2.1 contends that in these discourses, the language practices of migrants and refugees are subject to scrutiny and those who are perceived to not speak English (well enough) are depicted as being unwilling to fit in and integrate into British society, and, furthermore, multilingualism is represented as a potential threat to the nation and national identity (Blackledge, 2009; Ros i Sole, 2014; Khan, 2019). These discourses align with a monolingual ideology which depicts English as the only relevant language in Britain and as an essential element of Britishness (Simpson, 2019; Wright and Brookes, 2019).

Despite political focus on the importance of English language acquisition, funding for ESOL has been reduced significantly, with a reduction of nearly 60% occurring between 2008 and 2018 (Refugee Action, 2019). There are waiting lists for many classes (Paget and Stevenson, 2014; NATECLA, 2016; McIntyre, 2017). I suggest that, in light of these overall funding cuts to ESOL and waiting lists, the announcements and strategies regarding the learning of English by migrants and refugees appear to be forwarding an anti-immigration agenda rather than facilitating the learning of English. Focusing on English proficiency implies reluctance on the part of refugees and migrants to learn English and that “successful” integration is dependent solely on their willingness to adapt by speaking English and adopting “appropriate” cultural identities and habits. The thesis argues that, as a result, the responsibility for (lack of) integration is placed onto migrants, in particular those who speak languages other than English, categorising them as ‘other’ (Strang and Ager, 2010) and positioning them in deficit ways. These narratives can fuel anti-migrant sentiment in the broader population, including instances of linguistic xenophobia (Simpson, 2019). Additionally, the discourse deflects attention from the role of other factors in integration, such as access to employment or discrimination.

These political narratives and agendas have had an influence in shaping ESOL policy and consequently the nature of current ESOL provision. ESOL policy has been a conduit through which dominant discourses on integration and English language have had an influence on the structure, curriculum and teaching of much of ESOL provision (Cooke and Simpson, 2009; Simpson and Gresswell, 2012; Cooke, 2019; Peutrell, 2019). Thus, dominant narratives on migration, integration and the English language shape the ways in which ESOL learners are positioned in society as a whole, and these narratives can filter into the ESOL classroom, affecting the practices within.

1.3 Conceptual lenses: Integration and identity

To explore the experiences of ESOL learners, I merge conceptual lenses which hitherto have not been combined. Section 1.1 has already highlighted that a focus on *identity* is a key feature of this study, and I combine this with a specific conceptualisation of integration. Norton (2000, 2013) characterises identity as

...how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is structured across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future (Norton, 2013, p.45).

Identities are processes which involve constant construction and reconstruction (Blommaert, 2005; Norton, 2013; Darvin and Norton, 2015). Identity is continually shaped by the ways in which people are *positioned* across differing contexts and interactions (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004). Identity and positioning are useful conceptual lenses through which to examine the experiences of ESOL learners as, in the experience of migration, 'one's identity and sense of self are put on the line' (Block, 2007, p5). Thus, ESOL learners are often compelled to adjust and reshape who they are and how they see themselves. Additionally, as described above, dominant discourses can assign ESOL learners negative and deficit identity positions. Examining ESOL learners' experiences through the viewpoint of identity and positioning can help to unearth the ways in which social context and power relations can affect ESOL learners' experiences of language learning. For example, occupying deficit identity positions can compound the marginalisation that many migrants experience, and this can reduce access to the types of social interactions which are conducive to speaking and improving skills in English (Block, 2007; Norton, 2013).

I also draw on the concept of *investment* (Norton Pierce, 1995; Norton, 2000, 2013) which helps elucidate the differing levels that individual learners appear to be engaged with, and motivated to participate in, various learning and social practices. Drawing on a model of investment which sits at the intersection of identity, capital and ideology (Darvin and Norton, 2015), this study examines how ESOL learners' experiences are affected by dominant ideologies (particularly language ideologies), as well as the ways in which the different types and varying levels of capital which ESOL learners possess interact with their experiences. The concepts of identity, positioning and investment facilitate an exploration of ESOL learners' language learning which widens the focus from pedagogical factors to encompass the wider societal and power relations which affect their experiences.

The use of the term integration can be problematic and has potential to be exclusionary and to reinforce normative ideals (Simpson and Whiteside, 2015; Spencer and Charsley, 2016; Collyer, Hinger

and Schweitzer, 2020). As suggested above, in British political discourse integration is generally characterised in assimilationist terms (Modood, 2013; Khan, 2019) in which certain individuals and groups are depicted as outsiders needing to conform to a mainstream homogenous society. This study rejects assimilationist perspectives of integration, instead characterising it as involving all groups in society including newcomers and the 'host' institutions and residents. Additionally, integration does not follow a linear path and instead consists of multidimensional processes (Spencer and Charsley, 2016). I draw mainly on Spencer and Charsley's (2016) model of integration and Ager and Strang's (2004a) indicators of refugee integration. However, in this study, I extend conversations in the field of integration of migrants and refugees by utilising my own model which facilitates exploration of the ways in which integration interacts with language learning and identity in the experiences of ESOL learners. I locate the different aspects of integration in three broad '*realms*': *affective* (e.g. feelings of stability and well-being), *social* (e.g. feelings of societal belonging and social networks) and *structural* (e.g. employment and housing). Another novel element of my exploration of integration is a stronger focus on the importance of affective factors in migrants' and refugees' integration experiences. Combining my conceptual model of integration with the identity conceptual lens enables me to examine ESOL learners' experiences in the different dimensions of integration and how these interact with their language learning. In so doing I extend current understandings of the language learning and integration experiences of migrants and refugees.

1.4 Study rationale and aims

Recent renewed focus on integration includes recommendations of more funds for ESOL learning (Casey, 2016; Bell, Plumb and Marangozov, 2017; HM Government, 2019), thus presenting the opportunity for cases to be made on how to improve ESOL provision. This, coupled with the rhetoric concerning English and integration, and the increasingly tough English language requirements for settlement in Britain, highlights the importance of a better understanding of issues facing migrant and refugee language learners in order to interrogate the dominant discourses and inform policy and the national debate. Furthermore, integration policies are generally based on top down understandings of integration (Pace and Simsek, 2019). Whilst being the objects of political discourse and policy, the views of migrants and refugees, especially those who are not proficient in English, are rarely included in the debates or consulted on their priorities and needs for settlement (Bryers, Winstanley and Cooke, 2013; Pace and Simsek, 2019). Therefore, this study aims to address the lack of information on ESOL learners' priorities, and attend to the mismatch between the rhetoric and the actual experiences of ESOL learners by exploring their perspectives and shedding light on what they feel is important for integration and having a good life in Britain.

Although political discourse and policy implies that migrants and refugees need to be encouraged or coerced to acquire the language, the long waiting lists for ESOL classes appear to belie this assumption (NATECLA, 2016; McIntyre, 2017). From my ESOL teaching experience it was evident that there are many barriers to learning English. Although a few previous studies suggest that aspects of integration, such as employment opportunities or access to social relations, can shape migrants' and refugees' progress in learning English (e.g. Charsley et al., 2016; Ros i Sole, 2014), most existing research focuses on English proficiency as a facilitator of integration. There has been little exploration of the ways in which aspects of integration can shape and interrelate with language learning. To address this, the study explores how these processes interact bidirectionally with each other.

Additionally, my teaching experience and interactions with ESOL learners illustrated to me that although English proficiency is important, language is not the only barrier which they face in settling and participating in British life. Some previous evidence exists of the many other factors which may facilitate or impede integration, such as recognition of previous qualifications, immigration status and level of income (Gidley and Jayaweera, 2010; NATECLA, 2016; Wonder Foundation, 2016), however there is a lack of research which explicitly and systematically investigates the challenges faced by migrants and refugees regardless of their level of English proficiency. Accordingly, in this thesis I investigate some of the other key factors which can affect ESOL learners' experiences irrespective of English ability. The goal is to act as a counterpoint to dominant discourses which, by focusing primarily on English proficiency as the gateway to integration into British life, place responsibility on the shoulders of migrants and downplay the other obstacles to integration.

Additionally, although identity as a conceptual lens has been used to explore how migrant language learners' social context shapes their language learning, to date it has not been explicitly applied to a systematic conceptualisation of integration to elucidate the ways in which integration interacts with ESOL learners' experiences of learning English in Britain. Consequently, a central aim of this study is to begin to bridge this gap in understanding.

The study aims are articulated in the following Research Questions:

RQ 1. According to their accounts, what do ESOL learners feel is important for integration and having a good life in Britain?

RQ 2. How are language learning and integration inter-related in the experiences of ESOL learners? (i.e. in what ways do language learning and aspects of integration act as barriers and facilitators to one another?)

RQ 3. Aside from English language skills, what other factors affect integration outcomes for ESOL learners?

RQ 4. How does attention to identity and positioning help to better understand ESOL learners' experiences of language learning and integration?

1.5 Research design

The central purpose of the study is to capture the opinions and perspectives of ESOL learners on their experiences, therefore the research design consists of qualitative interviews which elicited in-depth accounts from ESOL learners. These accounts are contextualised by data from a quantitative questionnaire which sought the views of a larger number of ESOL learners. As an ESOL teacher I have observed that learning English does not involve constant, uninterrupted progress for all learners, and therefore, like integration and identity, language learning is a dynamic and changeable process. Understanding the nature of these three processes and the ways in which they interact over time necessitated a longitudinal study to facilitate exploration of ESOL learners' evolving trajectories. I therefore carried out longitudinal interviews based around participant generated timelines which enabled us to explore together changes in their situations, experiences and perspectives. The 14 interview participants were all studying ESOL at an adult education setting in Bristol.

These accounts are combined with statistical data from an ESOL learner questionnaire, which situates the in-depth stories within the wider context. The use of larger scale quantitative data aims to highlight external forces and structures which shape and contextualise the interviewees' subjective experiences. In so doing I hope to address the tendency, articulated by Block (2012), of many in-depth studies on identity in applied linguistics to focus on the agency of their participants at the neglect of interrogating the external forces that structure and shape their ability to act. This strengthens the potential of the findings to counter the ideological *responsibilisation* (Bassel, Monforte and Khan, 2018) of integration and English learning which places blame for the purported lack of integration on individuals and their lack of effort to learn English. Combining statistical data with in-depth accounts also strengthens the potential for the findings to speak to policymakers. The questionnaire was

completed by 409 ESOL learners: 166 attended classes in Bristol and 243 were based in other locations in England and Wales.

With a few exceptions (e.g. Baynham et al., 2007; Graham-Brown, 2020) most studies involving ESOL learners have been cross-sectional and have not involved mixing qualitative and quantitative methods. Moreover, to my knowledge the combination of these methods has not hitherto been applied to exploring the integration and language learning experiences of ESOL learners. Where studies have collected statistical data on ESOL learners, they have not addressed whether their sample is representative of ESOL learners nationally. Thus this study addresses another gap in knowledge by incorporating statistics from other surveys on ESOL learners, and secondary data from the Understanding Society UK Household Longitudinal Study (University of Essex, 2017, hereafter Understanding Society), to demonstrate the ESOL learner questionnaire sample is broadly representative of migrant and refugee non-proficient English speakers in Britain.

The study focuses on ESOL learners in Bristol for two reasons. Firstly, 15 years of teaching ESOL in Bristol has given me in-depth knowledge of the ESOL landscape, as well as a range of contacts who facilitated access to ESOL settings from which to recruit participants. Secondly, Bristol has a large population of ESOL learners due to being an ethnically and linguistically diverse city with a large immigrant population. The 2011 Census shows that the proportions of people from migration backgrounds in Bristol are slightly higher than the total figures for England and Wales: 22.% of Bristol residents reported ethnicities other than 'white British'; 14.7% were born outside the UK and 8.5% reported to speak a main language other than English (Bristol City Council, 2016), compared to national figures of 19.5%, 13% and 7.7% respectively (ONS, 2012a, 2013a, 2013b). The countries of birth and languages represented in Bristol are broadly similar to that of England and Wales as a whole (see Appendix 1), the main exception being that Bristol has a relatively large Somali population; one of the largest in Britain (Bristol City Council, 2016). Section 4.2 in Chapter Four shows that the characteristics of ESOL learners in Bristol are broadly representative of those in the rest of England and Wales.

1.6 Chapter summary and overview of the thesis

Political discourse associates speaking English with integration, and positions ESOL learners, as non-native speakers of English, in problematic ways. There is apparently a mismatch between political rhetoric on language and integration and the real-life experiences of migrant and refugee learners of English. It is thus important to gain a better understanding of the relationship between language

learning and integration, and the other barriers to integration from the perspectives of ESOL learners themselves, in order to be better equipped to attend to their needs and aspirations. This thesis seeks to do so by exploring ESOL learners' accounts of their experiences, and applying an identity lens to a new conceptual model of integration to explore the processes of language learning, integration and identity. I present a new perspective on these issues which is both in-depth and broad by employing a mixed methods approach which combines rich and comprehensive data from longitudinal timeline interviews and statistical questionnaire data from a larger sample of ESOL learner participants. Thus, this study applies novel conceptual and methodological approaches to improve understandings of ESOL learners' language learning, integration and identity trajectories.

Chapter Two sets out in more detail the national and political context within which ESOL learners live and provides further evidence to support my argument that dominant ideologies construct them as 'Other' and position them in negative ways. The chapter then elaborates the conceptual lenses of identity and integration introduced above. Subsequently I review other key literature relevant to the language learning and integration experiences of ESOL learners and pinpoint the gaps in understanding which this thesis seeks to address. Chapter Three presents the methodology, including research approach, methods, ethical issues, reflections on validity and trustworthiness, and reflects on my positionality and some of the ways it shapes the study. Chapter Four presents the findings from the ESOL questionnaire, including a more detailed discussion of the analytical strategy, sample, and the variables used. Chapter Five gives a brief introduction to each of the interviewees before presenting the findings from the interviews. The quantitative and qualitative analyses are brought together in Chapter Six which integrates and extends these interpretations to address the research questions. Chapter Seven concludes by presenting the main findings and contributions, implications for practice and policy, limitations of the study and directions for future research.

2 Context, Conceptual Framing and Literature Review

This chapter first situates the study by outlining the political and pedagogical context within which ESOL learners live. I elaborate the argument forwarded in the previous chapter that integration discourse and policy promote ideologies which position ESOL learners in deficit ways. I examine recent government integration reports and strategy documents and explicate the ways in which integration is defined in these. I provide a brief background to ESOL and some of the agendas which shape its provision. Section 2.2 and 2.3 describe the conceptual lenses which frame this study: a) my conceptual model of integration; and b) identity and positioning. Section 2.4 begins by illustrating the ways in which language is ideologically loaded, shaping how ESOL learners' language skills can have differing values in different contexts. The section then examines existing research on the experiences of migrants and refugees for evidence on the ways in which language proficiency and integration may be related in ESOL learners' experiences, and the other key factors which may affect ESOL learners' experiences of integration, aside from their English proficiency.

2.1 Situating the study: Political and pedagogical context

The UK has a rich and long history of inward migration and recent estimates indicate that 14% of residents were born overseas (ONS, 2019). In the 2011 Census, 7.7% reported to speak a main language other than English, 3.2% reported to '*speak English very well*', 2.9% spoke English '*well*', 1.3% did '*not speak English well*' and 0.3% reported to '*not speak English at all*' (ONS, 2013c)¹. Of course, perceptions of speaking English '*well*' may vary from person to person, as may the definition of '*main language*' (Wright and Brookes, 2019). Despite the fact that the census found that over 98% of the population spoke English either as a '*main language*' or '*well*', political and media discourse at the time focused on those that did not, and portrayed these figures as a crisis threatening British culture and systems (Wright and Brookes, 2019 ; Sebba, 2017) . This negative and alarmist interpretation of the Census statistics on language added fuel to the policy and discourse discussed in the following section.

2.1.1 *English language policy and discourse: Ideology and constructing the 'audible other'*

This section details how political discourses and policies have constructed the English language as symbolic of British identity and a willingness to integrate, and the ways in which these purvey and reinforce language ideologies which depict non-native speakers of English as *others* who are not integrated. A requirement for knowledge of the English language as a condition for naturalisation in

¹ Appendix 1 shows that similar proportions were reported in Bristol.

Britain has been compulsory since 1981 (Blackledge, 2009). However, since the beginning of the 21st Century, language requirements for migrants and those settling in Britain have become increasingly stringent, and associated discourse has increasingly emphasised the necessity of embracing British values, with speaking English represented as evidence of willingness to integrate (Blackledge, 2009; Cameron, 2013). In 2005 the Home Office introduced the Life in the UK test, to be completed in English (or Welsh or Gaelic) as a requirement for British citizenship. In 2007, completing the test became compulsory not just for respective citizens but for anyone wanting permanent settlement in the UK (Simpson, 2019), although between 2007 and 2013, for applicants with lower levels of English there was the option of attending ESOL classes with citizenship content and passing an ESOL qualification (Taylor, 2007; Khan, 2019). In 2011, then Prime Minister David Cameron denounced multiculturalism as having caused the deterioration of a collective British identity (Cameron, 2011). Subsequently, his government revised the Life in the UK test to focus on the 'values and principles at the heart of being British' to help 'ensure migrants are ready and able to integrate in British life' (Harper, 2013b) and that they can 'demonstrate their commitment by learning the English language' (Harper, 2013a). The language requirement has since been extended to other groups of migrants to the UK and become increasingly stringent in terms of test regulations and language level (Wright and Brooks, 2019). These policy changes and the surrounding rhetoric thus associate the purported weakening of British national identity with migrants and refugees; the solution to the "problems" with British identity is that newcomers must prove their knowledge of British values and the English language.

At the same time as the language proficiency of people entering and wishing to stay in Britain has been increasingly controlled by legislation, the language practices of migrants and refugees have been continually under public and political scrutiny and discussion. For example, Boris Johnson declared in his campaign for leadership of the Conservative party that:

I want everybody who comes here and makes their lives here to be, and to feel, British – that's the most important thing – and to learn English. And too often there are parts of our country, parts of London and other cities as well, where English is not spoken by some people as their first language and that needs to be changed. (Halliday and Brooks, 2019).

The rhetoric depicts those who are perceived to not speak English (well enough) as unwilling to fit in and integrate into British society. Furthermore, speakers of other languages are represented as a potential threat to the nation and national identity (Blackledge, 2009; Khan, 2019; Ros i Sole, 2014). For instance, former UKIP leader Nigel Farage complained that Britain has 'become unrecognisable' because it is being 'taken over' by non-English speaking migrants (Hope, 2014), and David Cameron has asserted that not speaking English could make people more vulnerable to 'the extremist message

that comes from Daesh' (BBC News, 2016). The threat of the non-English speaker is underscored in rhetoric that specifies penalties and coercion such as the increasingly tough language requirements; cuts in funding for translation services (May, 2015); the proposed "stripping" of benefits from people who cannot speak English (Wright and Brooks, 2019) or recommending compulsory enrolment in ESOL classes (Bell, Plumb and Marangozov, 2017).

Rhetoric in which the need to encourage or coerce migrants and refugees to speak English surfaces repeatedly in media and political discourse, continually reinforcing associations between the English language, British identity and integration, and cementing the 'othering' of those who speak languages other than English.

The implication that 'Britishness' can be (at least partly) defined by the use of English as a mother tongue immediately puts those who do not speak English in the home in the category of other' (Strang and Ager, 2010 p.593).

These discourses and policies feed into a narrative that this purported lack of integration and weakened British identity is the fault of immigrants, in particular those who speak languages other than English. They are portrayed as solely responsible for their allegedly inadequate English skills and by extension, for the purported breakdown of community and societal cohesion. It has been argued that the citizenship test, and other policies aimed at the integration of migrants, are a manifestation of neoliberal responsabilisation ideology of individual self-improvement, in which individual actions, rather than collective or structural forces, are seen as the solution to integration "problems" (Bassel, Monforte and Khan, 2018; Suvarierol and Kirk, 2015; Turner, 2014). Emphasizing migrants' responsibility for learning English and integrating downplays external, structural barriers, and the roles of government and other organisations in overcoming these (Wright and Brooks, 2019).

These discourses are shaped by *language ideologies* which can be understood as 'the cultural (or subcultural) system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests' (Irvine, 1989 p.255). In this way, British political discourse and policy align with a *monolingual ideology* in which English is represented as the only language of relevance in Britain, is an essential element of British national identity and as such must be spoken by the entire population to maintain unity and stability in society (Simpson, 2019; Sebba, 2017; Wright and Brooke, 2019). Inherent in this is the ideology that multilingualism can cause difficulties or harm (Cooke, Bryers and Winstanley, 2019).

The above discussion highlights the ways in which this monolingual ideology, in common with other language ideologies, is a belief about language that is

shared and that [has] become so well-established that [its] origin is often forgotten by speakers; the beliefs accordingly become naturalized, perceived as common sense, and are socially reproduced (Vessey, 2017 p.278).

This ideology denies the multilingual reality of contemporary Britain, and downplays the importance of Welsh and Gaelic. This monolingualist discourse operates in conjunction with wider political and media discourse which generally represents migrants and refugees in negative ways, (Blinder and Allen, 2016; Marsh, 2015; Wright and Brooks, 2019). Consequently, the discourse

produces and reproduces audible others: it renders suspect those who do speak a foreign language in public, regardless of whether they are, in fact, fluent in the national language(s) of the place (Lisiak, Back and Jackson, 2019, p.6).

Thus, the position of speakers of other languages as 'others' who are at odds with British national identity becomes a common sense notion embedded in public opinion and attitudes; for example the view that speaking English is part of British national identity is commonly held (ETHNOS, 2005; Casey, 2016). This can shape behaviour towards multilingual non-majority ethnic groups and legitimise social exclusion and discrimination (Wright and Brooks, 2019). For example, rhetoric used in the campaigns for the UK to leave the EU and after the results of the Brexit referendum was strongly flavoured by depictions of the undesirability of migrants and refugees. Contemporaneously, there was a reported rise in hate crimes against refugees and migrants (Dodd, 2016) including reports of linguistic xenophobia directed at speakers of languages other than English (Simpson, 2019; TLANG, 2016). This latter can manifest in expressions of disapproval, hostility, or discrimination (Cooke, Bryers and Winstanley, 2019) or acts of extreme violence (see for example: Bilefsky, 2016; Deardon, 2016). This section has discussed the ways in which political discourse and policy associate English language with British national identity and successful integration. The following section examines recent government reports on integration which, interestingly, tend to take a more measured tone than the public rhetoric.

2.1.2 *Government documents on integration*

There have been several recent government reports concerning integration. Whilst they all encompass economic, employment and other structural issues for integration, they all have an emphasis on tackling social segregation, and focus on social and cultural aspects of integration, in particular the English language and British values and identity. The Casey review (Casey, 2016) defined integration as

the extent to which people from all backgrounds can get on – with each other, and in enjoying and respecting the benefits that the United Kingdom has to offer, such as: our values; [...] a good education, access to a strong labour market with a guaranteed minimum wage, and a welfare state; [...] and our institutions, norms and idiosyncrasies (Casey, 2016, p20).

Although the review highlighted issues of exclusion and inequalities, for example deprivation and unemployment, there was a focus on particular minority groups purportedly self-segregating and being reluctant to integrate, with Casey emphasising the obligations of newcomers to adapt to society (Stone, 2017; Graham-Brown, 2018). Recommendations of the report included renewed emphasis on British values, introducing an ‘integration oath’ for migrants, and promoting the English language.

In contrast to Casey, the All Party Parliamentary Group for Social Integration report, which focused on migrants, defined integration as a ‘two-way street ... requiring meaningful contributions by both newcomers and members of the settled population’ (Bell, Plumb and Marangozov, p. 8). However, its focus on measures for dealing with newcomers to Britain, including immigration policy, citizenship, and compulsory enrolment in ESOL classes, detracts from their claim of shared responsibility for integration.

In 2018, the government published a Green Paper on their Integrated Communities strategy (HM Government, 2018) and a subsequent Action Plan² (HM Government, 2019). It characterised integrated communities as ‘communities where people, whatever their background, live, work, learn and socialise together, based on shared rights, responsibilities and opportunities’ (HM Government, 2018, p.2). It emphasises that ‘integration is not assimilation’ and is a ‘two-way street’ (HM Government, 2018, p.2), involving everyone in society, including government, communities and individuals. However, the introductory pages focused on the English language and stated that ‘recent migrants should learn to speak and understand our language and values and seek opportunities to mix

² The Action Plan applies to England only.

and become part of our communities' (HM Government, 2018, p.2) and presented the role of long-term residents as merely to 'support them' in this.

These documents acknowledge (to varying extents) that integration involves all sections of society. However, these "behind-the-scenes" discussions contrast with the predominant tone of much of the accompanying "public-facing" political rhetoric on integration which has assimilationist undercurrents (Khan, 2019) focusing as it does on the linguistic and cultural practices of minority groups. It is these social, cultural and linguistic aspects which are emphasised in media and political discussions of the reports (see for example: Asthana and Walker, 2016; Peck, 2017; Payne, 2018). As a result, attention is often deflected from the many other factors which impact on the integration experiences of migrants and refugees, such as discrimination, policy, structural inequality and well-being.

Before continuing I will briefly address the complexity of discussing ESOL learners' experiences in Britain when my participants are resident in England and Wales (only), and many aspects of policy are devolved to Wales and Scotland. UK Government documents on integration vary in their focus, for example the Casey review encompasses all of Britain (and occasionally Northern Ireland) and refers to British society and Britishness, whereas the Integrated Communities Strategy also refers to integration into Britain and British values, but presents proposals for English policy (HM Government, 2019). The Scottish and Welsh governments argue for less draconian immigration policy than that administered by the UK government (Welsh Government, 2020; Scottish Government, 2019). The ESOL funding structures of Scotland and Wales are separate from those of England (Education and Skills Funding Agency, 2021). However, immigration policy applies to the whole of the UK and dominant political and public discourse on immigration alludes to Britain and British national identity, and likely shapes attitudes towards, and experiences of, migrants and refugees across the whole of Britain.

2.1.3 *ESOL provision and policy agendas*

This section briefly outlines the ESOL funding and regulatory landscape, and shows how government immigration and integration agendas intersect with other agendas to shape contemporary ESOL provision. I also argue that the deficit depictions of migrants and refugees in the overarching political discourses can be reinforced by the agendas that shape ESOL.

The majority of ESOL providers in England and Wales teach learners in classes according to the five levels originally prescribed by the Adult ESOL Core Curriculum (Department for Education and Skills,

2001): Entry 1, Entry 2, Entry 3, Level 1 and Level 2³. ESOL funding differs between England, Wales and Scotland. In England, free ESOL provision is available for some people on low incomes or who are unemployed. Others may be eligible for co-funded ESOL provision in which learners have to pay 50% of course costs. Asylum seekers cannot access government funded ESOL for the first 6 months (Education and Skills Funding Agency, 2021), and after this period most cannot afford the course costs of mainstream provision (Refugee Action, 2016). Some groups are not eligible for funded ESOL for their first 3 years in Britain (Education and Skills Funding Agency, 2021), for example, those on spousal visas (Casey, 2016). Low paid workers and people with caring responsibilities often cannot afford to attend classes (NATECLA, 2016). Some providers are able to waive fees for disadvantaged learners, but funding cuts make this increasingly difficult (NATECLA, 2016). In contrast, in Wales ESOL classes are free for the basic levels and in Scotland ESOL classes are fully funded (NATECLA, 2016).

Despite the increase in immigration to Britain, and political rhetoric on the learning of English, funding through the Adult Education Budget (the main funding stream) dropped by almost 60% between 2008 and 2018, resulting in long waiting lists for classes (McIntyre, 2017; NATECLA, 2016) and a reduction of nearly 40% in participation in adult ESOL (Refugee Action, 2019). Accessing classes may be impeded by shortage of spaces, lack of provision of the appropriate level, lack of childcare, course fees, or travel costs (Chick and Hannagan-Lewis, 2019; Morrice et al., 2019; NATECLA, 2016; Refugee Action, 2019, Vasey et al., 2018; Wonder Foundation, 2016). As well as affecting language learning, the inability to attend ESOL classes may well impact on experiences of integration. Qualitative studies with ESOL learners suggest that attending ESOL classes can increase confidence to engage in a wider variety of situations independently, and facilitate social aspects of integration, as they can provide opportunities to meet others from different cultural backgrounds, and potentially foster feelings of acceptance and belonging (e.g. Asadullah, 2014; Court, 2015).

ESOL provision has been shaped by various policy agendas, particularly employability (Cooke and Simpson, 2009) and integration and citizenship agendas (Cooke and Peutrell, 2019; Simpson, 2019). The employability agenda has manifested in the focus on employability skills in many ESOL courses, and in government funding centring on moving unemployed migrants and refugees into work (Simpson, 2012, 2015), and there is generally no funding for higher level English training, such as IELTS⁴ for example, which could help prepare ESOL learners to enter higher education and professional jobs. The incorporation of ESOL into integration and citizenship agendas has become particularly prominent

³ See Appendix 2 for ESOL level descriptors.

⁴ International English Language Testing System; an internationally recognised English test.

since 2007 when attending an “ESOL and Citizenship” class temporarily became one route to meeting the requirements for settlement. Thus, citizenship topics became embedded in the ESOL curriculum in many settings, reinforcing the role of ESOL learners as outsiders needing to learn about British culture and how to integrate (Cooke, 2019; Cooke and Simpson, 2009; Peutrell, 2019). The obligation of ESOL practitioners to “teach citizenship” has been further reinforced and given a renewed political dimension since 2015, when all adult educators became obliged to promote “British values” by embedding them into curricula (Ofsted, 2016). Materials for teaching British values have been created specifically for use with ESOL learners (Education and Training Foundation, 2018). Monolingual ideology is often replicated in ESOL classrooms, where historically, the monolingual approach to language learning has dominated, and using expert languages is discouraged or even forbidden (Foreman, 2017; Simpson and Cooke, 2017), although there are exceptions to this (e.g. Cooke, Bryers and Winstanley, 2018). This can reinforce the societal ‘othering’ of multilingual migrants and devalue their linguistic capital. Against the background of anti-immigrant and monolingual rhetoric, these agendas can imply that ESOL learners hold different values to those of the majority and need to learn how to integrate. Thus, the employability and citizenship agendas can operate as a means through which the negative representations of migrants and refugees in political and public discourse can percolate into the structure and curriculum of mainstream ESOL provision.

2.2 Conceptualising integration to study ESOL learners’ experiences

This study explores the social context in which ESOL learners are learning English by applying a conceptual model of integration built upon existing scholarship in the field. Definitions of integration are generally formed from a top-down perspective without seeking the views and priorities of migrants and refugees, whose voices are largely absent from discussions on integration (Bryers, Winstanley and Cooke, 2013; 2013, Pace and Simsek, 2019). In this section I review the limited existing research which describes migrants’ and refugees’, and ESOL learners’ priorities for integration, including my own previous research, before discussing wider integration scholarship. I then outline my own conceptual model of integration which is constructed by drawing together the evidence discussed.

2.2.1 *ESOL learner and other migrants’ perspectives on integration*

A small number of studies explore how migrants and refugees conceptualise integration and what they feel is important. Ager and Strang’s study (2004b) included qualitative interviews with 29 refugees in Glasgow and London, but did not focus specifically on ESOL learners. Bryers, Winstanley and Cooke (2013) explored what ‘integration’ meant to their two classes of ESOL learner participants,

and the barriers they faced. The charity Eaves explored the integration experiences of women who had come to the UK on spousal visas (although not all of these women were ESOL learners (Eaves, 2015). Focusing on social integration, Graham-Brown's (2015) small-scale study explored women ESOL learners' perceptions of their integration processes. Additionally, my own qualitative study with a class of ESOL learners (Court 2015, 2017) sought participants' views and experiences of learning English and integration.

Taken together, these studies show that the participants viewed integration as multifaceted and held a broad range of priorities concerning:

- personal feelings of safety, security, well-being
- confidence and independence
- English language proficiency
- social relations, connections and support networks
- mutual respect and cultural understanding with other members of society
- belonging
- matters of equality, rights and freedom
- income and employment
- housing
- education.

In addition, Bryers and colleagues concluded that their participants viewed integration 'as a nonlinear process of fleeting interconnecting moments rather than a final goal' (Bryers, Winstanley and Cooke, 2013, p.32).

These studies shed some light on migrants' and refugees' conceptualisations of integration and their concerns and priorities. They suggest that there are many aspects which ESOL learners view as important. These include English proficiency, but there are many other important factors including personal feelings of safety, well-being and confidence; cultural and social factors; equality and rights; employment, and housing and other institutional entities. However, only three of the studies focused specifically on ESOL learners and two studies involved women only. And, whilst the qualitative methodologies enabled the in-depth exploration of participants' experiences and the meanings they give to these, there has to date been no large-scale study which captures the views of ESOL learners as a population on what they feel is important. Further, there is limited understanding of which factors are perceived to be the most important, or of how priorities may differ between ESOL learners. These

need to be given greater consideration to increase understanding of the integration and language learning experiences of ESOL learners.

2.2.2 *Conceptual model of integration*

This study draws mainly on Spencer and Charsley's (2016) model of integration, and Ager and Strang's (2004a, 2008) indicators of refugee integration framework as a foundation for defining the various aspects of integration and the ways in which they interact with language learning and identity in ESOL learners' trajectories. In political communications and research literature, integration is characterised in a variety of ways, as are the desired outcomes of integration, and how these might be accomplished. The term integration is problematic in many ways, having the potential to be exclusionary, reinforce normative ideals and have assimilationist connotations (Collyer et al., 2020; Simpson and Whiteside, 2015; Spencer and Charsley, 2016). Despite the government documents which claim to view integration as "a two-way street", dominant political rhetoric purveys an assimilationist slant on integration (Modood, 2013; Khan, 2019) which characterises it as a one-way process in which migrants, refugees and people from minority ethnic and religious groups must come to fit within an existing, homogenous society. Moreover, the notion of a homogenous and established insider group defined by its existence in a stable and easily demarcated nation state is inaccurate in a globalised world characterised by physical and digital mobility (Simpson and Whiteside, 2015).

With these problems in mind, I was initially reluctant to use the term integration in this study and therefore searched for an alternative. I sought a framework which incorporated the wide-ranging factors cited by the migrant and ESOL learner participants in the aforementioned studies, and one that would widen the focus from cultural and social elements which is inherent in much of the political discourse and policy. I needed a framework that would facilitate the systematic exploration of affective, social, cultural, and structural factors in order to properly explore ESOL learners' trajectories.

Several alternative terms to integration have been used by scholars and policymakers. The term *belonging* is often used in relation to cultural or social aspects of integration (e.g. Ager and Strang, 2004a) or to denote whether an individual feels integrated (e.g. Heckmann, 2005). In literature on migration and integration, belonging is variously defined, but generally refers to emotional attachment to, or identification with a group, community or place (Yuval-Davis, 2006; Gidley, 2016; Yuval-Davis, Wemyss and Cassidy, 2018). Belonging can be a useful term as it necessitates focus on migrants' and refugees' feelings and experiences, and is less likely to be imbued with assimilationist overtones. However, belonging frameworks tend to focus on social and cultural factors and to

preclude systematic consideration of structural factors, such as employment, housing and income. These latter have been identified as important and separate factors by the participants in the studies mentioned above. Another term found in policy and research literature is *cohesion*, often referred to as social cohesion or community cohesion. Exact definitions of cohesion vary, but they broadly refer to people in communities and societies interacting and getting on well together and thus focus on social and cultural aspects of life (e.g. Pattar, 2010; Gidley, 2016). However, cohesion frameworks have been critiqued for focusing on social relations, at the expense of examining the ways in which factors such as inequalities and deprivation impact on cohesion (Jayaweera and Choudhury, 2008). *Inclusion* is another alternative term (Rudiger and Spencer, 2003), however its use appears to be usually applied to social integration or community relations (e.g. Patter, 2010), and has hitherto not been articulated as a framework for considering the range of factors which this study aims to explore. *Participation* has also been used, however this generally relates to issues of access, agency and change rather than social relations (Rudiger and Spencer, 2003), and arguably implies a focus on individual *behaviour* at the expense of the role of wider structural factors as well as migrants' feelings about their experiences.

In contrast, the frameworks of integration developed by Ager and Strang (2004a; 2008) and Spencer and Charsley (2016) facilitate comprehensive consideration of a wide range of factors affecting ESOL learners' trajectories in Britain. In particular, Ager and Strang's indicators of integration have been influential in recent scholarship on the settlement experiences of migrants and refugees, including Spencer and Charsley's conceptualisation of integration. Integration is a term commonly used in this field of enquiry and consequently there already exists substantial conceptual work on which this study can build. Additionally, as this study itself aims to interrogate existing discourse and ideologies relating to integration and the English language, and potentially contribute to policy, it is expedient to use the same terminology as the policymakers. Therefore, whilst acknowledging the problematic political and ideological implications of the term, these conceptualisations of integration were identified as the most suitable upon which to build the conceptual framework for this study. However, whilst it is important to consider the issues that ESOL learners, as migrants and refugees, face, there is a danger of perpetuating this one-way conceptualisation of integration "into" a homogenous society, which focuses on cultural, religious and ethnic differences. In fact, the UK is stratified in many ways (Spencer and Charsley, 2016), including by age and socio-economic status (Social Integration Commission, 2014).

This study conceptualises integration as two-way, involving engagement from both newcomers and the ‘host’ institutions and residents, encompassing participation, personal and social change (Phillimore and Goodson, 2008; Rutter, 2013; Spencer and Charsley, 2016). Rather than following a linear path, integration consists of dynamic and multidimensional processes which can reverse as well as proceed (Bryers, Winstanley and Cooke, 2013; Cheung and Phillimore, 2017; Gidley and Jayaweera, 2010; Lichtenstein and Puma, 2019; Spencer and Charsley, 2016). Feelings of being integrated can vary according to contexts (Bryers, Winstanley and Cooke, 2013, Graham-Brown, 2015, Ndofor-Tah et al., 2019) and “progress” may reverse due to, for example, loss of employment (Spencer and Charsley, 2016). ‘There is thus no integration ‘end-state’ and outcomes measured at any one time are a snapshot, not a permanent feature’ (Spencer and Charsley, 2016 p.4).

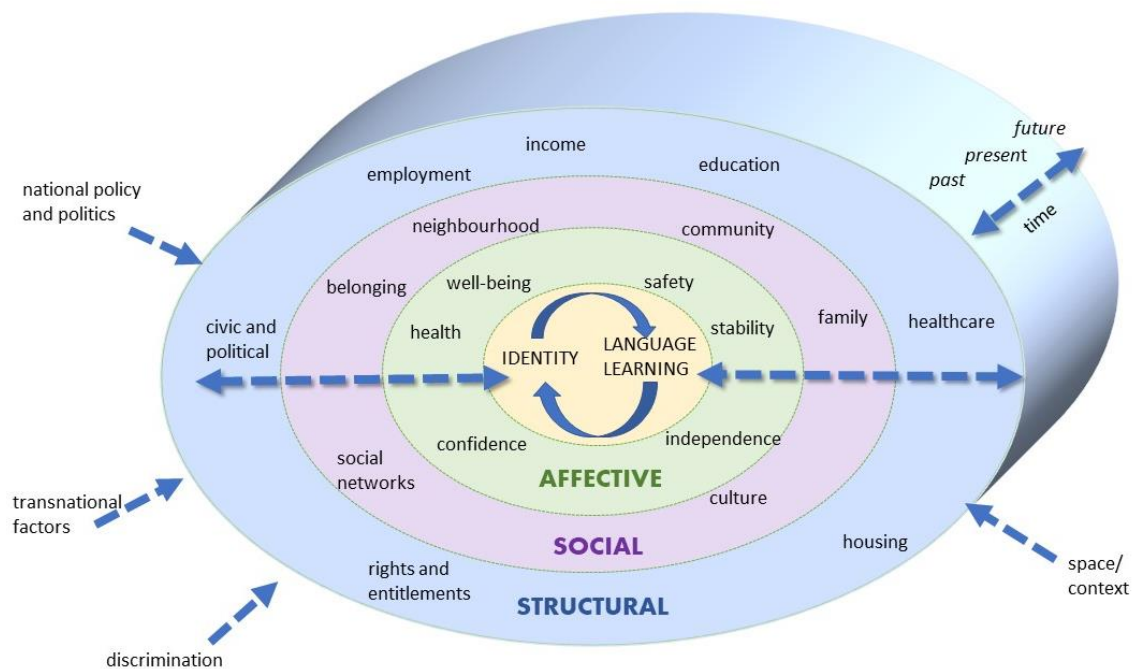
Ager and Strang (2004, 2008) outline ten domains of integration which they characterise as *markers and means, social connection, facilitators or foundation*⁵. Spencer and Charsley (2016) conceptualise integration as taking place in five *domains* (structural, social, cultural, civic and political, and identity), although these are interdependent and not discrete categories. They also outline several *effectors* which shape experiences of integration in these domains. Spencer and Charsley characterise language skills as part of the forms of *individual human capital* that constitute one of these effectors. Ager and Strang on the other hand describe language proficiency as part of the cultural competences which they characterise as facilitators of integration.

Drawing on Ager and Strang (2004; 2008) and Spencer and Charsley (2016), along with other studies, including those examining the views of migrants and refugees discussed above, I created a model depicting the various aspects of integration and foregrounding how they may interact with the processes of language learning and identity. The resulting model contains identity and language learning at the heart, with the aspects of integration in three realms; and factors that affect all of these are placed in the surrounding space (see Figure 2.1 below). Note that my use of the term *identity* in the model differs from that often used in integration scholarship, for example Spencer and Charsley (2016) use it to describe the process of migrants developing a shared identity and sense of belonging with the community which they live. Instead, as explained in Chapter One, this study uses Norton’s concept of identity which refers to a person’s sense of self and understanding of their relationship to

⁵ Since the analysis for the present study was carried out, Ndofor-Tah et al (2019) expanded and updated Ager and Strang’s indicators of integration framework for the Home Office. This framework adds social care, leisure, and digital skills to the existing indicators, and increases emphasis on stability, and on responsibilities.

the world, (which may of course include ways in which ESOL learners may or may not identify with British society).

Figure 2.1 Conceptual model of integration with language learning and identity at the heart



The ***affective*** realm of the model relates broadly to **feelings about, and in, oneself** and encompasses affective factors such as *safety, stability, health, well-being, feelings of confidence and independence* which have been found to be of great importance for migrants’ and refugees’ integration experiences (e.g. Ager and Strang, 2004b, 2008; Court, 2015, 2017; Fritz and Donat, 2017; Ndofor-Tah et al., 2019) and feature in the studies of migrants’ own views discussed in section 2.2.1. Their location in a separate realm reflects the aims of this study to bring greater emphasis to affective factors than is given in existing conceptualisations of integration. The importance of these factors are often disregarded by integration policymakers (Rutter, 2013).

The ***social*** realm is broadly characterised by **relationships with, and experiences and feelings towards, other people, local communities, and wider society**. It encompasses *social networks, communities, family, neighbourhood, culture and belonging*. Relationships with other people are sometimes differentiated by *social bridges*, which are social connections with people from different ethnic, national or cultural groups to oneself (sometimes referred to as bridging social capital); and *social bonds* (also known as bonding social capital) which refer to social ties and a sense of belonging to a particular group or community (e.g. Ager and Strang, 2004a). The cultural and belonging aspects

in this realm pertain to migrants' experiences and perceptions of how they relate to, and fit in with, others in their community and wider society. Discussion of cultural aspects of integration can be problematic, as there is a danger it can bolster assimilationist rhetoric and imply that a shared identity and culture is held by a majority, to which minority groups must conform (Gidley, 2016). This study does not attempt to define British culture or identity, but rather focus on the ESOL learner participants' perceptions of these concepts and how these might interact in integration and language learning processes.

The **structural** realm generally relates to **access to and participation in institutional structures and broader, more functional and practical aspects of British life**. It includes *employment, housing, education and healthcare*, (Spencer and Charsley, 2016; Ager and Strang, 2004) which are "critical factors in the integration process" (Ager and Strang, 2004 p.5). It also incorporates participation in the *civic and political* sphere, (Spencer and Charsley, 2016) and access to *rights and entitlements* (Ager and Strang, 2004). In addition to these aspects, I have added consideration of *income*, as on average, migrants and refugees earn less than UK born people (Miranda and Zhu, 2013) and thus participation in employment is in itself not a sufficient indicator of a reasonable standard of living. Whilst there may be some overlap with the social realm, in that some of these aspects can involve social connections, the focus in this realm is less on relations with people, and relates more to involvement with organisations and processes. As argued previously, political consideration of issues of access and participation in wider societal structures is often neglected due to a focus on social and cultural aspects of integration.

Migrants often hold transnational digital, social, cultural, economic and political connections, and possess transnational identities (Collyer et al., 2018, Pace and Simsek, 2019; Spencer and Charsley, 2016) and integration does not necessitate the wholesale severing of these in favour of those related to the new country of residence. Additionally, as demonstrated above, national policy and politics, especially regarding immigration and integration, permeates migrants' experiences. Accordingly, the model indicates that **transnational factors** and **policy** can impact all aspects of integration (Spencer and Charsley, 2016). Individual and structural **discrimination** can also affect aspects across the domains of integration, for example discriminatory practices and attitudes can affect access to social networks or employment (Charsley et al., 2016; Heckmann, 2005) and racial harassment can impact on feelings of stability (Ager and Strang, 2004). The model also highlights the **spatial** and **temporal** aspects of integration to emphasise that integration consists of dynamic processes and that people may feel more or less integrated at different times and in different spaces (Heckmann, 2005; Spencer

and Charsley, 2016; Bryers, Winstanley and Cooke, 2013). This also aligns with my conceptualisation of identity and language learning as processes which can vary across time and according to context. The three-dimensional aspect of the model emphasises the past, present and future dimensions of these processes.

Although the aspects of integration are depicted in specific areas of the model, it is important to consider the 'different dimensions of integration holistically' (Morrice et al., 2019 p16). Accordingly, the dotted lines dividing the three realms indicate that they overlap and therefore cannot be considered in isolation. The double-headed arrows crossing the realms show how the factors interconnect and that they affect and are affected by both learning English and an individual's identity. Additionally, the arrows on the outside of the model highlight other factors that potentially affect all aspects of the participants' experiences. This model is not intended to replace existing models of integration, but is designed specifically as a framework to enable me to systematically examine the different aspects of integration and their interrelation with ESOL learners' language learning, and the role identity plays within these. The following section now focuses in on identity to explain how it is conceptualised in this study and discuss existing understandings of the ways in which it shapes and interacts with ESOL learners' experiences.

2.3 Conceptualising identity and positioning

This section draws on scholarship which highlights the ways in which identity and positioning shape the second language learning experiences of migrants. I outline the concepts of identity and positioning and their relevance to ESOL learners' experiences of language learning and integration. I then discuss the roles of positioning and power in ESOL learners' interactions with expert speakers of English, and explore the various factors which can affect their motivation and investment in their learning and the role imagination plays in this.

2.3.1 *Identity, positioning and ESOL learners*

Block (2010) notes that identity as a concept is often not defined clearly, and has been used interchangeably with *subject position, subject positioning, or subjectivity*. After Norton (2000, 2013) this study characterises identity as:

how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is structured across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future (Norton, 2013, p.45).

Norton asserts that 'language constructs our sense of self, and that identity is multiple, changing, and a site of struggle' (Darvin and Norton, 2015, p.36) Thus this study perceives identity as fluid and that multiple identities can be held simultaneously by individuals; these may be in conflict or be differently salient at different times and contexts (Block, 2007; Norton, 2013; Rutter, 2013). Identities are processes and not fixed, as Blommaert (2005) explains:

people don't *have* an identity, [instead] identities are constructed in practices that *produce, enact, or perform* identity - identity is identification, an outcome of socially conditioned semiotic work (Blommaert, 2005 p.205).

Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) employ the concept of *positioning* to elucidate how identities are 'shaped, produced and negotiated' (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004 p.21). They draw on Davies and Harré (1990) who articulate positioning as 'the discursive process whereby people are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced storylines' (Davies and Harré, 1990 p.48). Positioning is a process involving both *interactive positioning* (how individuals are positioned by others) and *reflexive positioning* (how individuals position themselves). Pavlenko and Blackledge extend this definition of positioning to encompass 'all discursive practices which may position individuals in particular ways or allow individuals to position themselves' (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004 p.20). They assert that identities are negotiated via interactive and reflexive positioning and this identity negotiation is shaped by external individuals and structures, as well as individual agency.

However, Simpson (2013) points out that, although identities are fluid and can be newly constructed in discursive events, over time, through repetition and reiteration, they can take on elements of constancy and stability. Accordingly, analysis of identity should include 'a consideration of how established identity positions and self-understandings' are subsumed into ongoing interactions and discourses (Simpson, 2013 p.198). This is helpful in reminding us that identities are partially shaped by socially constructed and externally imposed categories which are imbued with aspects of "fixedness". These *ascribed identities*, such as **Muslim, woman, migrant** or **ESOL learner**, play important roles in individuals' continually negotiated identities (Block, 2007). These categories constitute many of the multiple aspects of an individuals' identity, and may take on differing levels of importance and meaning in different times and spaces. Individuals (and groups) may interpret these assigned categories in different ways and may assume, negotiate or resist them. However, despite being socially constructed, these ascribed identities generally continue to have ongoing meanings which, although often blurred or contested, can influence an individual's experiences, and shape their position in society.

Existing research provides examples of the possible ways in which ESOL learners positioned according to particular ascribed identity categories can have differing experiences of language learning and integration. For instance, **women** refugees have been found to have lower levels of language proficiency, be slower to access language classes, be less likely to be employed, in education or training (Cheung and Phillimore, 2017). Childcare responsibilities can impede women migrants' and refugees' ability to form social relations (Wonder Foundation, 2016) and can affect their language learning (Baynham et al., 2007; Wonder Foundation, 2016). Whilst women are more likely to be responsible for childcare, **parents** of both genders who are the main carers may feel less confident about their English skills (Morrice et al., 2019; Vasey et al., 2018). On the other hand, having a child at school or in childcare provision can provide opportunities for forging social networks with staff and other parents (Cherti and McNeil, 2012; Cheung and Phillimore, 2017; Court, 2016; Dines et al., 2006). This may benefit their language learning; ESOL learners with school age children (as opposed to very young children) have been found to be more likely to increase their proficiency than those without children (MHCLG, 2018).

Another ascribed aspect of identity relates to an individuals' **level of education**. Many ESOL learners have limited or interrupted experiences of formal schooling and may have low levels of written literacy which can impede progress in their language learning and act as a barrier to class attendance (Cheung and Phillimore, 2017; Baynham et al., 2007; MHCLG, 2018; Morrice et al., 2019). Many ESOL classes rely heavily on written materials and being unable to access these can impact negatively on low literate learners' affective experiences in class (Morrice et al., 2019). Large-scale studies have found positive associations between higher levels of education and social integration outcomes (Cheung and Phillimore, 2017,2014; Kearns and Whitley, 2015).

Age is another identity ascription and older learners may face more barriers to learning and progress slower in ESOL (Baynham et al., 2007; Morrice et al., 2019). **Immigration status** and history can also shape experiences. **Refugees** in particular can face challenges in many aspects of integration (Phillimore, 2011a) as well as barriers to accessing and studying ESOL (Refugee Action, 2016) (see section 0 for further information). Longer established refugees have been found to have higher rates of self-reported language proficiency (Cheung and Phillimore, 2017). On the other hand, there is some evidence that a protracted time between arrival in the UK and accessing ESOL classes can negatively affect speed of progress once in class (Baynham et al., 2007). Longer established migrants and refugees have been found to have better social integration outcomes (Kearns and Whitley, 2015).

Religion and **ethnicity** may also influence trajectories, for example, refugees who are Muslims or of African origin may experience worse employment outcomes (Cheung and Phillimore, 2014).

However, these identities are not discrete categories which can be examined separately (Block 2010); it is important to consider the ways in which the intersection of these identities can shape migrants' and refugees' experiences (Kaushik and Walsh, 2018). Additionally, these categories are not homogenous social groups and diversity exists within them. A particular dilemma in this study is that referencing categories such as *migrant*, *refugee*⁶ or *ESOL learner* can suggest homogenous groups with fixed identities, concealing the multiplicity and fluidity of identities. Many ESOL learners may not identify as a migrant or refugee, and these terms clearly have limitations for describing individuals who have been settled in Britain for some time. Moreover, increased globalisation, digitalisation and the tendency of many to keep strong transnational ties and involvement with countries of origin problematises traditional notions of migration (Block, 2010). Whilst recognizing these complexities, in this study I describe ESOL learners as migrants and refugees because they have moved to live in Britain on a long-term (but not necessarily permanent) basis, irrespective of motive, whilst emphasising the varied immigration histories and multiple identities of those individuals⁷.

Using identity as a conceptual lens is particularly useful to consider the trajectories of ESOL learners, as in the experience of migration 'one's identity and sense of self are put on the line' (Block, 2007 p.5). Usually, migration involves leaving behind a familiar set of social, cultural, and linguistic circumstances, and the immersion in new ones. As such, migrants and refugees are faced with the need to 'reconstruct and redefine' their identities (Block, 2007 p.5). This is particularly salient for ESOL learners who, as illustrated previously, are subject to language ideologies conveyed in political and media discourse which position migrant and refugee non-proficient speakers of English as Others whose belonging to Britain is in doubt. Many ESOL learners face economic and social disadvantage (see section 0) and this reinforces and is reinforced by the ways in which they are positioned in dominant ideology (Cooke and Simpson, 2009). The ideologies permeate into structures of mainstream ESOL provision via the integration, citizenship and employability agendas which shape

⁶ The UN Refugee Agency defines refugees as those who are fleeing armed conflict or persecution and returning to their home country endangers their safety (UNHCR, 2015). They differentiate refugees from migrants, who choose to move for economic, education or family reunion reasons. However environmental degradation, poverty and global inequalities make maintaining a clear distinction between 'voluntary' and 'forced' migrants problematic (Morrice, 2011).

⁷ As the purpose of the study is to examine integration and learning English, I do not include short term visitors or international students in these definitions, nor *flexible citizens* (Block, 2010) who choose to be based in two countries.

ESOL policy. Consequently, in many mainstream ESOL classes, ESOL learners' negative social positions can be reinforced, and they are offered a 'limited and deficit' set of identity options as prospective employees in entry level work, or migrants needing to learn how to integrate (Simpson and Gresswell, 2012 p.193). Thus, ESOL learners' identities in the ESOL classroom and in wider society are shaped by a variety of sociocultural and other factors including the prevailing ideologies concerning immigration and language. The following section examines how these forces shape their social relations with expert English speakers and their opportunities to practise their language skills outside the classroom.

2.3.2 *Power and positioning in second language interactions*

A common subject of consideration in the field of second language learning is the importance of language practice. For example, Spolsky (1989, cited in Norton Pierce, 1995) considers extensive exposure to, and practise of the target language as necessary for learning, and that the greater the exposure and practice, the greater the level of proficiency achieved. Spolsky differentiated between formal classroom learning and natural language learning - characterised by the learner being surrounded by fluent speakers using open, stimulating and naturalistic language (Norton Pierce, 1995). Immersion in natural language contexts is considered an essential complement to teaching in the classroom. It is often assumed that interactions in the naturalistic context are characterised by *negotiation of meaning* 'whereby all interlocutors involved in a conversation work towards mutual understanding' (Block, 2007 p.7). These perspectives align with the "common sense" assumptions often held by ESOL practitioners and learners that opportunities to speak English outside the classroom enable learners to practise and consequently improve their language skills.

However, these suppositions do not take onto account ESOL learners' (often marginalised and subjugated) identity positions which are intertwined with the social context and power relations inherent in linguistic interactions. The powerful language ideologies which ESOL learners are subject to 'promote some ways of speaking - and therefore some speakers - as more legitimate than others' (Roberts and Cooke, 2009 p.639) and this impacts their interactions with the native-born population. Norton (2000, 2013) conceptualises power as referencing

the socially constructed relations among individuals, institutions and communities through which symbolic [e.g. language, education and friendship] and material [e.g. economic] resources in a society are produced, distributed and validated (Norton, 2013 p.47).

These forces of power, positioning and ideology interconnect, resulting in many ESOL learners' interactions with local-born English speakers being 'unequal and asymmetrical in terms of power

differentials' (Cooke and Simpson, 2009 p.20). Bourdieu (1977) contends that language is not just a means to communicate but also an 'instrument of power' (Bourdieu, 1977 p.648), and, as many interactions involve an imbalance of power, one aspect of acquiring proficiency in a language is gaining the right to speech; 'the power to impose reception' and being viewed as 'worthy to speak' by the listener (Bourdieu, 1977 p.648). Miller uses the term 'audibility' to describe the 'degree to which speakers sound like, and are legitimated by, users of the dominant discourse' (Miller, 2004 p.291).

According to Lippi-Green (2012), when dominant language speakers hear an "accent" or other non-standard variation of the language, it is through 'language ideology filters' (Lippi-Green, 2012 p.73). When viewed through these language ideology filters, the language learners' non-standard English may be evaluated in negative social terms, causing the dominant language speaker to refuse responsibility for the 'communicative burden' (Lippi-Green, 2012 p.73). Consequently, they do not participate in the negotiation of meaning during interactions. Through the language ideology filter, the dominant language speaker may negatively evaluate not just the accent, but the social identity of the speaker (Miller, 2004). Therefore, during encounters with "native" English speakers, ESOL learners' level of language proficiency may be viewed as inadequate, and thus they may not be recognised as legitimate speakers of English who are considered worthy to speak. This can affect their power to impose reception and render them 'inaudible' (Cooke and Simpson, 2009 p.20).

For some ESOL learners, interactions in which they bear the sole responsibility for communication can cause nervousness making it harder to speak (Court, 2015; 2017). This is an example of the role which affective factors play in second language learning, a subject much debated in the field (Norton, 2013). In particular, there is an interest in the influences of anxiety and self-confidence in language learning (e.g. Gardner, 2005; Park and Lee, 2005). Gardner describes how anxiety about communicating in a language can affect language learning, and conversely, perceiving one has low skills in a language can cause anxiety about using that language. However, Norton cautions against portraying anxiety and low self-confidence as individual characteristics possessed by "poor language learners", arguing that the impact of affective factors on language learning cannot be understood in isolation from learners' relationships with power relations and structures in wider society (Norton, 2013).

In interactions in which a migrant language learner holds a subjugated identity position, their anxiety about speaking in English may be socially 'constructed within inequitable relations of power that [limit their] ability to speak' (Norton, 2013 p.102). Anxiety over speaking English may be induced by feelings of shame that ESOL learners can feel about their inability to communicate in English, especially those

in marginalised positions (Ray, 2016). Concerns over being positioned in negative ways, and the associated anxiety, may cause migrant language learners to avoid some situations in which they are required to speak English, in an attempt to prevent negative identities from being reinforced. This can reduce opportunities to practise English skills (Court 2015, 2017; Norton, 2000, 2013).

Feelings of anxiety, shame, or inferiority that ESOL learners may feel about their English language skills can be influenced by marginalisation, language ideologies and the associated unequal power relations and these can shape or be shaped by their social interactions with expert English speakers. However, it is important to note that 'anxiety is not only constructed within social interaction but also with reference to the learner's preoccupation with stressful day-to-day living conditions' (Norton, 2013 p.160). Section 0 presents previous research which illuminates the stressful conditions that ESOL learners may face in their daily lives, especially those without secure immigration status, and presents evidence that this can impede language learning.

Just as anxiety associated with being assigned deficit identity positions can impede ESOL learners' interactions with expert speakers of English, holding a strong identity position facilitates confidence to speak. Like anxiety, confidence is socially constructed, and shaped by issues of power (Norton 2000, 2013). ESOL learners' identities may hold less power in some contexts and more in others. In interactions in which ESOL learners hold a more powerful identity position they may be less concerned about their English skills and thus feel more confident to communicate (Court 2015, 2017). Moreover, individuals can gain stronger identities over time, for example positive experiences and successful English-speaking interactions can help ESOL learners to feel positively about their English skills and increase confidence to speak (Court, 2015, 2017; Norton, 2013). Both interactive and reflexive positioning come into play in interactions between ESOL learners and expert speakers of English. Whether a person is positioned, or positions themselves, in positive or negative terms, e.g. as capable or deficit (or legitimate or illegitimate) speakers of English, can shape opportunities for, and success in these encounters. Therefore, power and positioning can shape ESOL learners' interactions with expert English speakers and opportunities for naturalistic language practice.

Another important consideration is ability to access opportunities to speak English in the first place. Migrants and refugees can experience social marginalisation and are often employed in jobs where there are few chances to speak English (Cooke, 2006). For many ESOL learners, their English language interactions are restricted in quantity and variety (Cooke, 2006) mostly consisting of gate keeping (bureaucratic and service) encounters (Bremer et al., 1996) where power inequalities can be of

particular salience. British born people may not necessarily interact with ESOL learners in a way that offers opportunities for them to speak and to develop their English. Thus, the influence of ideology, power and positioning, mean that living in an English-speaking context, and being willing to practise English outside of class do not necessarily enable ESOL learners to improve their language skills.

2.3.3 *Investment, imagination, and hope in second language learning*

Another area of interest in the field of second language learning is the ways in which a learners' attitude towards learning and motivation determines their progress. The role of motivation in second language acquisition has been prolifically debated and its characteristics have been variously defined (Hudson, 2017; Norton, 2013). The concept of *integrative motivation* is sometimes used to examine differing levels of progress in adult migrants' language learning (e.g. Hudson, 2017). Gardner's (2005) concept of integrative motivation broadly contends that language learners who are open to the target language culture, and for whom their ethnolinguistic heritage is not an important part of their identity, will have greater motivation to learn than those whose ethnolinguistic background is a major aspect of their identity. However, the usefulness of integrative motivation in understanding the acquisition of English within a global context, where English has become an international language, has been frequently critiqued (Ushioda and Dörnyei, 2009). Its relevance is also questionable within a diverse and globalised context such as Britain where there is no easily identifiable monolithic culture to which all speakers of English belong. The implication that one must shed their ethnolinguistic heritage to be a successful language learner, aside from ignoring the multiplicity of migrants' identities, potentially reinforces assimilationist narratives which characterise migrants' cultural and linguistic practices as problematic for integration. Norton (2000, 2013) argues that integrative motivation, along with other theories of motivation in second language learning, focuses on the role of individual character traits and thus can imply that failure to learn a second language is due to an individual's inability to engage sufficiently with learning. She argues that motivation theories do not adequately account for power imbalances between language learners and target language speakers, and that being highly motivated does not necessarily result in successful language learning.

Drawing on Bourdieu (e.g. 1977), Norton developed the concept of *investment* in an attempt 'make a meaningful connection between a learner's desire and commitment to learn a language, and their complex and changing identity' (Norton, 2013 p.6). Investment helps understand:

learners' variable desires to engage in social interaction and community practices [...]. It signals the socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to the target language and their often ambivalent desire to learn and practise it. If learners 'invest' in the target language they do so with the understanding that they will

acquire a wider range of symbolic resources (language, education, friendship) and material resources (capital goods, real estate, money), which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital and social power (Norton, 2013 p.6).

The concept of investment rejects the binary categories often ascribed to learners, such as motivated/unmotivated and confident/unconfident. Instead, learners' attitude to learning is shaped by power relations and the multiple ways they may be positioned in different contexts at different times.

Darvin and Norton (2015) subsequently developed a more detailed model of investment, locating it at the intersection of *ideology*, *capital* and *identity*. Power permeates throughout these domains and shapes learners' performance of multiple identities within them. Their model seeks to facilitate a more detailed and broader understanding of second language learning which extends beyond 'the microstructures of power' (Darvin and Norton, 2015 p.42) in interactions and investigates the structural control mechanisms associated with these interactions. Their model of investment helps to understand the barriers that migrant language learners face in engaging with their learning, and the ways in which they can resist these constraints.

Section 2.1 describes how integration discourses contain language ideologies which have become part of a socially reproduced "common sense" and shape the way non-native speakers of English are positioned. Darvin and Norton note that examining language ideology helps elucidate the ways in which language policies are shaped and ethnolinguistic identities are constructed, as well as the ways in which power operates in linguistic exchanges. Nevertheless, they widen their focus from language ideologies to consider the broader role of *ideology*. Drawing on Bourdieu (1987) they characterise ideology as a normative set of beliefs determined by 'symbolic or world making power' which come to be accepted as the 'natural order' (Darvin and Norton, 2015 p.43). This order

constructs modes of inclusion and exclusion, and learners are positioned in multiple ways before they even speak. As embodied identities inscribed by race, ethnicity, gender, and social class, learners navigate through spaces where they are not only granted or refused the right to speak but also the right of entry (Darvin and Norton, 2015 p.43).

ESOL learners' experiences in Britain are shaped by multiple ideologies. Ideologies of language, integration, ethnicity, gender and social class determine, amongst other things: who can enter or belong in Britain and under what conditions; expected behaviour; and attitudes towards multilingual residents and non-proficient English speakers. By interrogating the mechanisms of ideology, it is possible to lay bare the power relations within communicative events and the power structures that can prevent entry into the contexts where these events occur.

Darvin and Norton (2015) view *capital* as power, and that it constitutes economic capital (material wealth and income), cultural capital (knowledge, education and cultural proclivities) and social capital (links to powerful networks), after Bourdieu (1986). Although determined by ideological structures, the value of these types of capital is not fixed and varies across time and space. If an individuals' forms of capital are those which are viewed as legitimate in a specific context, they afford that individual *symbolic capital* (Bourdieu, 1987).

ESOL learners enter different contexts equipped with varying types of their own capital, the symbolic value of which is shaped by dominant ideologies within those contexts. Carving successful lives for themselves in Britain (i.e. integration) requires utilising and converting existing forms of capital into those viewed as valuable in their new environments, as well as the acquisition of new material and symbolic resources (Darvin and Norton, 2015). This process is a site of struggle, as the capital ESOL learners possess (e.g. language, qualifications and skills) may not be bestowed symbolic value by the prevailing structures of power and ideologies which permeate the British educational system, labour market and ESOL provision. Besides knowledge of the English language, formal literacy skills also represent linguistic capital which holds symbolic power. The types of English and literacies which are privileged and legitimated in society (and consequently taught in the ESOL classroom) are determined by language ideologies.

Section 2.3.1 highlights that ESOL learners with lower levels of formal, written literacy face particular challenges in the classroom. Although these learners may possess a wide range of linguistic and literacy skills accumulated from their previous life experiences, these are not consistent with the text-based, academic, *powerful literacy* (Simpson and Gresswell, 2012) often relied on in the ESOL classroom. When learners' cultural and linguistic capital are not valued within the classroom they can be positioned as low achievers which reinforces an *identity of incompetence* (Cummins, Early and Stille, 2011; Manyak, 2004) causing students to disengage from the classroom. However, if the capital they possess is valued and legitimated within a particular context, this can foster strong and *competent identities*, facilitating feelings of confidence and empowerment to engage with learning. When learners' identities are validated, they may invest in their learning or other practices in their lives. Moreover, if learners can increase the value of their cultural capital and social power this has a potential to offer 'a wider range of identity positions from which the learner can speak or listen, read or write' (Norton, 2016 p.476). Broadening out from the classroom context, the ways in which ESOL

learners are positioned in social interactions can also reinforce identities of competence or incompetence.

For Darwin and Norton (2015), the ways in which ESOL learners are positioned and position others in different contexts are shaped by various ideologies and forms and amounts of capital. This positioning includes ideologically shaped ascribed identities such as immigration status, gender, or ethnicity. Through these mechanisms they are afforded or denied power, and simultaneously afford or deny power to others. However, these same mechanisms offer the potential to challenge ideologies and power relations; identity positions are constantly negotiated or resisted, offering potential for learners to realign their own positioning in relation to those of others. This model of investment elucidates the constraints ESOL learners face due to the ways in which the value of their capital and their identity positions are shaped by dominant ideologies. However, it also highlights the ways in which ideology, capital and identity are sites of struggle and flux and this can allow learners to resist these constraints and reshape their language learning experiences. *Imagination* also plays a central role in this concept of investment, as it enables learners to envisage the future that they desire, potentially propelling them to exercise their agency to an effort fulfil their desired future and imagined identities. This desire and imagination can enable learners to 'invest in practices that can transform their lives' (Darwin and Norton, 2015 p.46).

Norton, with various colleagues, has drawn on Benedict Anderson's (2006) concept of *imagined communities* to examine language learners' aspirations (e.g. Kanno and Norton, 2003; Norton, 2000, 2013; Pavlenko and Norton, 2007). Imagined communities refer to 'groups of people, not immediately tangible and accessible, with whom we connect through the power of the imagination' (Norton 2013 p.8). Imagination is both an individual and social mechanism through which language learners position themselves in the world and history and are able to enfold wider possibilities and meanings into their identities (Pavlenko and Norton, 2007). Language learners are often invested in imagined communities (for example members of a profession, or cultural group) which are situated outside the confines of the classroom. The ideologies and structures that govern ESOL provision can result in a learning environment which offers learners restricted identity positions which are at odds with their imagined community or imagined identity. Therefore, irrespective of their level of motivation to learn English, they may not feel invested in that class or their learning (Cooke, 2006).

Many ESOL learners do not have a secure immigration status, which can affect their ability to imagine a positive future and impact their sense of self and relationship to society. Bridget Anderson and colleagues contend that:

Being able to imagine a future with oneself in it (even if, at the time of imagining, a person is content with living in the moment), feeling that one can anticipate and take risks, and have a sense of possibility, these are important aspects of human experience and subjectivity. Immigration controls and the relationships that they generate undermine these and can force people to live in an eternal present (Anderson et al., 2009 p.7).

This eternal present experienced by those with insecure immigration statuses is a spatially and temporally liminal condition. Scholars researching the experiences of migrants waiting for immigration decisions liken this socially and structurally ambiguous status to Turner's (1969) concept of *liminality*, which signals a threshold stage between two social statuses (e.g. Khosravi, 2014; O'Reilly, 2018; Sutton et al., 2011). For Turner, people experiencing liminality are 'liminal personae ("threshold people")' who

are neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial (Turner, 1969 p.95).

O'Reilly (2018) highlights how asylum-seeking refugees are aware of their positions as *liminal personae*, both in terms of being in "limbo", and the way they are positioned as "asylum seekers" by the rest of society. She describes how they can experience *ontological liminality*; a term which expresses 'the ways in which a chronic sense of fear, insecurity, invisibility and a highly controlled existence are lived and internalized' (O'Reilly, 2018 p.821). Ontological liminality permeates asylum seekers' very sense of self, and thus is 'the internalized sense of being a liminal being, where an 'in between' existence becomes part of one's identity and everyday lived experience' (O'Reilly, 2018 p.835). Thus, ESOL learners with insecure immigration statuses may experience a hiatus in their trajectories as well as in their ability to imagine a positive future for themselves in Britain (Strang and Ager, 2010).

In addition to being shaped by imagined identity, investment is influenced by learners' hopes for the future (Norton, 2016). Other scholars have noted the role of hope in migration and mobility (e.g. Pettit and Wiebe Ruijtenberg, 2019; Serrano, 2018) and I argue that greater consideration of this can be important in understanding investment in migrant language learning contexts. Hope of a better future can enable people to plan and wait for an escape from challenging circumstances (Pettit and Wiebe Ruijtenberg, 2019), and can give migrants the strength to undertake difficult and dangerous journeys (Serrano, 2008). Serrano notes the importance of imagination in migration as being able to

imagine a better future motivates people to migrate. He draws on Bloch (1995, cited in Serrano, 2008) in stating that hope 'allows us to imagine the future and so direct our actions towards' future possibilities (Serrano, 2018 p.6).

The role of hope may be particularly important for asylum-seeking ESOL learners, especially for those experiencing ontological liminality. Sutton et al. (2011) draw attention to the ways in which this waiting in liminal space is:

a waiting that is endured because it is fuelled by a mixture of despair and hope: despair because of the knowledge that the waiting might culminate in [the worst-case scenario i.e. deportation] and hope because it is grounded in a longing for and expectation of a new status or identity at the end of the waiting period' (Sutton et al., 2011 p.30).

Many ESOL learners face a long journey to improving their English to the level which they feel will enable them to achieve their goals. Therefore, examining the role of hope in ESOL learners' ability to envisage achieving their imagined futures and identities may help to understand how some ESOL learners are able to sustain their investment in learning for a long period. It may also help to elucidate the ways in which ESOL learners can resist positioning and ideological constraints through the desire to be part of an imagined community or achieve an imagined identity:

Recognising that they have the agency to assert their own identities, learners are able to negotiate symbolic capital, reframe relations of power, and challenge normative ways of thinking in order to claim the right to speak (Darvin and Norton 2015, p.47).

Darvin and Norton emphasise that just as identity is multiple and fluid, ideology is multifaceted and is a site of struggle and competing ideas, and the value of capital shifts in different contexts. The malleability of these concepts of which investment is constituted enable a better understanding of ESOL learners' capacity for agency and resistance within these elements. This model of investment helps us to understand the extent to which learners are invested in their present and imagined identities. It can elucidate the ways in which power is bestowed or denied as learners are positioned and position others, as well as the ways in which learners can benefit from or resist these positions. The model can help explore learners' perceptions of how they might benefit from this investment, and how their forms of capital can act as affordances for learning. It also allows examination of structures which hinder learners' investment and ability to obtain particular types of capital, as well as the ways in which dominant ideologies shape their perspective on the world. By examining the ways through which ideology, capital and identity interact, the model highlights how learners can 'contribute to their own subjugation through the performance of hegemonic practices' (Darvin and

Norton, 2015) but also emphasises that learners have the ability to evaluate and challenge the forces associated with their position in society.

2.3.4 *Concluding remarks: Identity and ESOL learners' experiences*

Identity and positioning are useful lenses through which to study the experiences of ESOL learners because, as migrants and refugees, they are continually rebuilding and reshaping their identities in their new communities. In addition, the prevailing ideologies can act to position ESOL learners in marginalised and deficit ways which can impact on the quantity and quality of their opportunities to practise their English skills and thus progress in their learning. Investment can help us to understand how ESOL learners may be variously engaged or disengaged with their learning, and how this may be shaped by the ways in which they position themselves and are positioned by others, their imagined identity, and the way these may intersect with their cultural capital. Identity and positioning thus enhance understanding of the ways in which language learning and integration interact with one another, as they illuminate the ways in which the social context within which ESOL learners live shapes, and is shaped by, their learning of English.

2.4 Existing evidence on learning English and integration

This section now examines other existing research on the experiences of migrants and refugees for further evidence which can illuminate ESOL learners' experiences of learning English and integration. Organised according to the three realms in my conceptual model of integration, I discuss studies which show that language proficiency can facilitate various aspects of integration, and those that suggest that experiences of integration can affect migrants' and refugees' ability to learn the target language of their new country. I also consider evidence which points to other key factors which may affect ESOL learners' experiences of integration, other than English proficiency. First however, I briefly discuss how language itself is imbued with ideology which determines the value and power of ESOL learners' linguistic repertoires as they move across contexts. I examine how this has implications for ESOL learners' language and literacy practices as they navigate their lives in Britain.

2.4.1 *Ideology, context and power: shifting values of language*

As section 2.1.1 demonstrated, ideologies around language shape the monolingual nature of British political discourse in which migrants are often characterised in deficit ways. These dominant language ideologies use linguistic differences to justify social inequalities and serve the interests of the powerful in society (Piller, 2015 p.7). Language ideologies do not only circulate in discourses at a societal level but are also interwoven into everyday linguistic and communicative practice (Rampton and Holmes,

2019). Thus, language itself is ‘an ideological object’ as it is endowed with social and cultural concerns and is not just a neutral means to convey meaning (Blommaert, Collins, and Slembrouck 2005, p.199). This understanding of the ideological nature of language is supported by work in the field of literacy studies which rejects conceptualisations of literacy as a neutral skill, instead highlighting that literacy reflects and reproduces power relations (Hamilton, Tett and Crowther, 2012). Brian Street’s influential *ideological model of literacy* contends that:

literacy not only varies with social context and with cultural norms and discourses (regarding, for instance, identity, gender and belief), but that its uses and meanings are always embedded in relations of power. It is in this sense that literacy is always ‘ideological’ – it always involves contests over meanings, definitions and boundaries (Street, 2012 pp.16-17).

From this perspective, literacy consists of socially situated practices taking place in all aspects of everyday life (Pahl and Rowsell, 2012) and there is no one ‘single literacy that can be unproblematically taken for granted’ (Hamilton et al., 2012 p.3). There are many literacies which are utilised to make meaning in different contexts, including multimodal, digital and oral ways of conveying meaning.

Education policies and discourses tend to be ‘premised on a basic skills model that prioritises the surface features of literacy and language’ (Hamilton et al., 2012 p.5). These discourses also characterise the function of literacy and language education as to increase individuals’ “value” in the labour market. The association of ESOL with employability (see section 2.1.3) underscores this ideological message that the purpose of ESOL provision is to reduce the financial “burden” which learners place on society and increase their worth in the market economy (Cooke and Simpson, 2008).

Language ideologies determine which particular literacies, languages, and language varieties are considered to be of value, as well as those which are deemed appropriate for particular functions and contexts (Collins and Slembrouk, 2005). Blommaert (2009) argues that ‘language operates differently in different environments’ (Blommaert, 2009 p.14) and therefore an understanding of language necessitates interrogation of the relationship between linguistic forms and the context within which they are used. The value of language shifts globally. Section 2.3.3 illustrated how the value of ESOL learners’ linguistic capital can be depleted during migration, and that this can impact the ways in which they are positioned within new contexts. Language varieties which hold value due to their high status in a particular global context may be perceived as ‘expensive’ resources in that context, but, transplanted to a different context, the same language codes can be assigned new functions and meanings that may hold little value (Blommaert, 2009).

The value and function of linguistic repertoires are unequal on a societal and global level, and this leads to inequalities in power (Blommaert, 2009). As well as shaping the value and function of linguistic repertoires, context and space determine the ways in which people are expected to behave and the ways in which they are positioned (Blommaert, et al., 2005). In communication events, people are restricted by the characteristics of their own particular linguistic repertoire. When there is a gap between linguistic capabilities and their 'expected or normative function' within a communicative context, inequalities in power occur (Blommaert, 2009 p.77). When a person moves to a space in which their linguistic resources are not valued or recognised, they can appear 'inarticulate, silent, deficient or powerless' (Prinsloo, 2017 p.365). In this way, 'differences in the use of language are quickly, and quite systematically, translated into inequalities between speakers' (Blommaert, 2009 p.71).

For many ESOL learners, is not just the fact that their expert languages are devalued by migration to an anglophone setting characterised by a monolingual ideology; they may also find that the particular *varieties* of language and literacy they possess may hold differing values across different contexts which they navigate in their lives in Britain. Barton and Hamilton (2001) highlight that different literacy practices are associated with different domains of life. These domains are 'structured, patterned contexts within which literacy is used and learned' (Barton and Hamilton, 2001 p.11) according to particular patterns and norms shaped by various institutions (e.g. family, religion and education) which possess varying levels of power.

Socially powerful institutions, such as education, tend to support dominant literacy practices. These dominant practices can be seen as part of whole discourse formations, institutionalised configurations of power and knowledge which are embodied in social relationships. Other vernacular literacies which exist in people's everyday lives are less visible and less supported. This means that literacy practices are patterned by social institutions and power relationships, and some literacies are more dominant, visible and influential than others. One can contrast dominant literacies and vernacular literacies (Barton and Hamilton 2001, p.12).

These different types of literacies do not transfer straightforwardly across different domains (Hamilton et al. 2012).

Many ESOL learners may have limited experience of formal schooling and text-based literacy and therefore may not be proficient in the dominant, 'powerful' literacy practices. However, that is not to say that they do not possess a range of linguistic and literacy skills which enable them to operate effectively in informal domains such as family life, shopping and community activities. Unfortunately, these vernacular literacy and language skills are often not consistent with the text based academic

literacies often prioritised in the domain of the ESOL classroom. Much of ESOL provision still draws on the ESOL curriculum which characterises literacy in terms of page-based monolingual reading and writing skills. The dominant view of literacy constitutes a deficit model which focuses on what people cannot do rather than recognising the 'validity of peoples' own definitions, uses and aspirations for literacy' (Hamilton et al., 2012 p.3).

Lack of adequate skills in dominant literacy practices can also pose a barrier to employment in Britain due to 'the increasing textualization of even the most unskilled manual work', as most jobs now require employees to engage substantially with paperwork (Cooke and Simpson, 2008 p.92). ESOL learners need to deal with bureaucracy, such as that of schools, health services, banks, or immigration services, which requires knowledge of formal, 'powerful' literacy and language skills, and these encounters are generally monolingual. Therefore, the language and literacy practices which ESOL learners may find effective in many aspects of their daily lives, may not be effective in these more formal, bureaucratic domains. Where they may be positioned as competent in some aspects of their lives, they may be repositioned as deficit, powerless and even voiceless in formal domains such as employment, education, or even their ESOL classes.

This illustrates how linguistic competence is not a neutral skill but is shaped by whether the speaker has the 'power to impose reception' in a particular communicative exchange (Bourdieu, 1977 p.648). Migrants can gain or lose linguistic competence by moving through space (Blommaert, 2007). As discussed in section 2.3.3, whether ESOL learners are positioned as competent speakers of English is shaped by context. Language ideologies permeate all contexts, determining the ways in which individuals are positioned, influencing the extent to which they are perceived to be linguistically competent. Viewed from this perspective, when ESOL learners in Britain experience communication barriers, this is not due to a language deficit on their part but the result of 'how individuals and their communicative 'baggage' are inserted into regimes of language valid in that particular space.' (Blommaert et al., 2005 p.198).

Examining the ways in which space can determine the power and value of language helps to shed light on how 'what are adequate linguistic capabilities for one setting can be profoundly inadequate for another' (Collins and Slembrouk, 2005 p.191). The shifting value of language on a global scale means that during migration ESOL learners' communicative and linguistic resources are devalued. The supremacy of particular, dominant, literacies in many aspects of British society can pose further challenges for many learners.

The following sections explore existing evidence on the relationship between language proficiency and the various aspects of integration. Most of the studies discussed examine English proficiency as a single concept rather than isolating types of language or literacy, with the few exceptions mentioned in section 2.4.4.

2.4.2 *Affective aspects of integration*

In section 2.3.2 I highlighted some of the ways in which feelings of anxiety and confidence, and other affective factors, can interrelate with ESOL learners' language learning experiences. I now look at further evidence on the relationship between English proficiency and the affective aspects of integration (i.e., feelings about and in oneself, including stability, and mental and physical well-being). Several quantitative studies have found a cross-sectional association between higher language proficiency and better health (Bakker et al., 2016; Office for National Statistics, 2013c; Cheung and Phillimore, 2017), and an Australian small-scale longitudinal study of adult migrant learners of English found a correlation between improved perception of well-being score and increased proficiency (Kim et al., 2012). However, none of these shed light on the direction of these relationships. A larger quantitative longitudinal study of British resettled refugees (Tip et al., 2019) found that higher language proficiency was associated with improved well-being at a later date (and that contact with British people could be a mediator between the two). These studies do not establish a causal link between affective factors and language proficiency, however qualitative studies of refugees in the UK (Refugee Action, 2017) and Ireland (Ćatibušić et al., 2019) found participants viewed the acquisition of English as the key to improving their well-being, independence, and reducing isolation.

Fewer studies explore whether affective factors can influence progress in language learning. Exceptions include a large-scale longitudinal mixed methods study with resettled refugees (Morrice et al., 2019), which found a statistical association between health and well-being and language proficiency, and from the qualitative accounts concluded poor emotional and physical health can impact on the ability to learn English, as did a qualitative study of migrant women in Britain (Wonder Foundation, 2016). An interview study with migrants in Europe concluded that feelings of safety and stability were essential prerequisites to learning (Fritz and Donat, 2017). Qualitative accounts of asylum-seeking ESOL learners highlight how experiences of instability and insecurity can affect their ability to attend class or concentrate on their studies (e.g. Hodge, Pitt and Barton, 2004).

Qualitative accounts suggest that the relationship between confidence and language learning may be bidirectional, with lack of confidence being felt to be a barrier to speaking in English, but at the same time, improved English can promote confidence (Wonder Foundation, 2016). Thus, existing studies suggest that improving English proficiency has a positive impact on affective factors such as health, feelings of well-being and confidence, but there is also evidence that low confidence, poor health and well-being can impact on the ability to improve English skills.

I now consider evidence of other key factors which can influence the affective aspects of integration for migrants and refugees, aside from their level of language proficiency. Cheung and Phillimore (2013) found an association between being economically active and good health. Qualitative accounts suggest that poor quality housing conditions can impact negatively on wellbeing (Ager and Strang, 2008). Asylum-seeking refugees are particularly likely to experience insecure and inadequate housing circumstances. Their housing conditions and place of residence are determined by the government scheme which “disperses” asylum seekers across the UK to locations with cheaper housing (Parliament, House of Commons Library, 2016). Under this system, asylum seekers are likely to be moved frequently and be placed in poorer communities with fewer resources and less ethnic and cultural diversity (Casey, 2016; Phillimore and Goodson, 2008). This can result in increased likelihood of experiencing hostility, isolation, feeling unsafe, and poorer mental and physical health (Bakker et al., 2016; Cheung and Phillimore, 2017; Kearns and Whitley, 2015; Rutter et al., 2007; Spencer, 2006). Section 2.3.3 argues that asylum-seeking refugees’ experiences can affect their sense of self as they experience ontological liminality, and their integration trajectories can be severely hampered. The legacy of seeking asylum often lives on after refugee status is achieved; many remain insecurely housed, unemployed or unable to properly access health services for extended periods (Phillimore, 2011a; Sim, 2009) and are more likely to experience poor mental health (Phillimore, 2011a).

Many members of the British public hold negative attitudes towards immigrants (Casey, 2016), and migrants and refugees can experience negative attitudes and behaviour from other members of British society, including discrimination and harassment (Bryers, Winstanley and Cooke, 2013; Flam and Beauzamy, 2011; Foreman, 2017). This can impact on migrants’ and refugees’ feelings of safety and well-being (Ager and Strang, 2008; Bryers, Winstanley and Cooke, 2013; Ndofor-Tah et al., 2019). Muslim migrants may also encounter Islamophobic discrimination and harassment which is exacerbated by negative depictions in media discourse (Casey, 2016; Hopkins, 2016; Jayaweera and Choudhury, 2008; Phoenix, 2011; Welch, 2016). Since the Brexit referendum in 2016, EU citizens in the UK have faced new uncertainty about their immigration status and future in Britain and there is

evidence that they have experienced increased hostility as their ability to belong in Britain has been brought into question (e.g. Ranta and Nancheva, 2018). Conversely, previous studies suggest that experiencing friendly social contact, however fleeting, with others in the local area has a positive effect on well-being and feeling safe (Ager and Strang, 2008; Dines et al., 2006) as does belonging to bonding social networks (Jayaweera and Choudhury, 2008).

To summarise, evidence indicates that ESOL learners with higher levels of English are likely to have better outcomes in the affective aspects of integration, however explanations of the mechanisms behind this relationship are mixed. Existing research suggests that key non-linguistic factors which influence ESOL learners' affective experiences include asylum seeker status, housing conditions and the attitudes and behaviour of other members of British society. However, most studies do not isolate the effects of these factors from the impact language proficiency may have. Exceptions include Bakker et al. (2016) and Cheung and Phillimore (2017) which found that living in asylum housing predicted poorer health, even after controlling for level of language proficiency.

2.4.3 *Social aspects of integration*

I now examine evidence on the relationship between language and aspects in the social realm which encompasses social relations, culture and belonging; and relates to relationships with, and experiences and feelings towards, other people, local communities and wider society. Discourse and policy purports that learning English enables migrants and refugees to form social relations with the majority, British born population. Conversely, as discussed above, many in the field of second language learning contend that practising the target language in naturalistic contexts (i.e. outside the language classroom) greatly facilitates progress, (e.g. Spolsky (1989, cited in Norton Pierce, 1995); and ESOL students and practitioners generally believe that practising language skills in real life contexts helps to consolidate and expand their learning. Therefore, I examine existing evidence to support either, or both, of these directions of causation in the relationship between social integration and language proficiency.

Existing research has found associations between English proficiency and extent of social networks. These include large-scale quantitative studies of refugees in the UK (Cheung and Phillimore, 2014, 2017) and migrants and refugees in Glasgow (Kearns and Whitley, 2015). However, the authors do not explore the possibility that this association could be due to those with more social contacts having more opportunities to speak English and thus improve their skills. Another issue with these studies is that no distinction is made between interactions with people from similar cultural backgrounds to the

participants, and interactions with people from the local born majority population, and do not consider whether English or other languages are spoken within these interactions. Therefore, this limits the conclusions that can be drawn on the role of English in social integration. A few studies do support the view that improved English proficiency results in increased social interactions with the British born population, such as Tip et al. (2019), and MHCLG (2018); the latter also found that more proficient ESOL learners spoke English outside of class more frequently. Qualitative evidence indicates that ESOL learners feel that practising English outside the classroom in real-world situations improves their confidence in using the language (e.g. Vasey et al., 2018).

However, as discussed in section 2.3.2, social conditions, power relations and identity positions can restrict ESOL learners' access to the types of interactions which can facilitate practising a wide range of language skills, and unequal power relations within interactions can impede learners' ability to communicate. Norton (2000, 2013) highlights the 'Catch-22' situation many migrant language learners face: accessing anglophone social networks can facilitate confident language learner identities and English proficiency, however, English proficiency and confidence is generally needed to gain access to these English-speaking interactions. This paradox is supported by two small-scale qualitative studies with ESOL learners in Britain (Court, 2015, 2017; Graham- Brown, 2015). The evidence suggests that there are complex mechanisms at play in the relationship between migrants' social interactions with expert speakers of English and their language proficiency, and these can be elucidated through exploring the roles of identity and positioning.

Another feature of discourses concerning the nature of migrants' social interactions and English proficiency is that extensive social bonds and speaking first languages can impede the acquisition of English, and therefore restrict relations with British born people. This is implied in discussions which link "ethnic segregation" to lack of English proficiency (e.g. Cante, 2001; Casey, 2016), and stated in justifications for cutting funding for interpreting and translation services (e.g. May, 2015; Pickles, 2013). There appears to be few empirical studies which shed light on this, with the exception of two cross-sectional large-scale studies which examine ethnic diversity in migrants' local area. A US study found negative associations between migrants' language proficiency and a larger share of 'co-native speakers' in the local area (Akresh et al., 2014); and a UK study found English proficiency was negatively associated with the proportion of people from minority ethnic groups in the local area (Dustmann and Fabbri, 2003). However, neither study ruled out other explanations such as migrants with low levels of English being drawn to areas where they have co-ethnic support networks. The view that speaking first languages inhibits acquisition of English is also prevalent in the field of ESOL

(Simpson and Cooke, 2017), although a growing body of scholarship refutes this and provides evidence that utilising multilingual skills can enhance language learning (e.g. Cummins and Early, 2011; Giampapa, 2010; Simpson and Cooke, 2017; Cooke, Bryers and Winstanley, 2019). Therefore, there is conflicting evidence as to whether the ethnic make-up of the area in which migrants live, and the speaking of languages other than English, have the potential to either facilitate or impede language learning.

It is argued that English proficiency supports integration by increasing feelings of belonging to Britain and identification with British culture (e.g. HM Government, 2018). Section 2.3.3 outlines the much-debated concept of *integrative motivation* (Gardner, 2005), which, if applied to the experiences of ESOL learners, may suggest that identifying with British people and culture supports ESOL learners' motivation to learn English and thus facilitate progress. However, the few studies which have explored relationships between language proficiency and local or national belonging and identities (e.g. Court, 2015; Kearns and Whitley, 2015; MHCLG, 2018) have apparently found no evidence of this. Therefore, it would seem that more research is needed to interrogate the view that migrants and refugees' sense of belonging or alignment with British identity and their English language learning experiences are related.

Existing research suggests several non-linguistic factors can influence ESOL learners' social integration experiences. Kearns and Whitley (2015) found that migrants and refugees were less likely to have positive experiences of social relations and feelings of belonging than British-born participants. They found that for migrants, living in a non-deprived area was more likely to predict social integration than English proficiency. These findings support qualitative (Wessendorf, 2014; Wonder Foundation, 2016) and quantitative (Sturgis et al., 2011) findings that positive relations between groups can be impeded in more deprived areas where there are shortages of resources such as housing and services. Hostility towards migrants and refugees can be exacerbated by media and political discourse (Jayaweera and Choudhury, 2008; Githens-Mayer and Lambert, 2010), as discussed above. Experiences of harassment and discrimination can affect migrants' and refugees' social relations (Phillimore, 2011) and impact on their sense of belonging (Bryers, Winstanley and Cooke, 2013; Karlsen and Nozroo, 2013). Ethnically and culturally diverse local areas can present more opportunities for social relations between different ethnic and cultural groups (e.g. Wessendorf, 2014).

Political concern about so called residential "ethnic segregation" often implies that strong social relations between people from similar migration backgrounds impedes social integration and feelings

of belonging to Britain (e.g. Cameron, 2015; Cattle, 2001; Casey, 2016). However, qualitative (Ager and Strang, 2008) and mixed methods (Jayaweera and Choudhury, 2008) studies suggest that bonding social networks can improve experiences of social integration, and there is qualitative (Ager and Strang, 2004b; Bryers, Winstanley and Cooke, 2013) and quantitative (Karlsen and Nozroo, 2013) evidence that relations with people from similar cultural backgrounds may facilitate a sense of belonging.

In terms of structural factors, evidence suggests that being in employment is positively associated with better social relations and local belonging (Kearns and Whitley, 2015), although working long or antisocial hours can also be a barrier to migrants' social life (Charsley et al., 2016). Migrants and refugees often experience insecure housing conditions which can impede ability to access local networks and connections (Gidley and Jayaweera, 2010), especially asylum seekers who live in Home Office housing provision (Bakker et al., 2016). Qualitative accounts suggest that the length of time refugees wait before being granted asylum impedes their ability to make social connections (Phillimore, 2011).

These different evidence sources suggest that the relationship between English proficiency and interactions with British born population may be bidirectional and influenced by power relations and identity positions. However, there appears to be a lack of empirical evidence which elucidates whether ESOL learners' language learning is related to their feelings of belonging. There are also indications that ESOL learners' social integration experiences may be affected by other factors besides language skills, including immigration status, level of deprivation in the area, housing, and relations with, and behaviour of, other members of society.

2.4.4 *Structural aspects of integration*

This section examines literature regarding migrants' and refugees' language learning and integration experiences within the structural realm, which broadly encompasses access to and participation in institutional structures, and functional and practical aspects of integration. Most existing evidence on language proficiency and structural aspects of integration examines the link between language proficiency and employment outcomes. Many ESOL learners believe that improving English skills will help them find work or get a better job (Court, 2015; Schellekens, 2001; Vasey et al., 2018) and many large-scale studies have found a link between language proficiency and employment outcomes. For instance, quantitative cross-sectional studies suggest that English proficiency is positively associated

with being employed, being in higher level occupations, and higher wages (Dustmann and Fabbri, 2003; ONS, 2014), and that literacy in particular is a predictor of better employment outcomes (Dustmann and Fabbri, 2003). In terms of the direction of influence, Cheung and Phillimore (2014) found that higher English skills, especially in written literacy, predicted better employment outcomes later on.

However, other studies suggest that language proficiency does not necessarily facilitate better employment prospects. Kim et al. (2012) found no link between language proficiency and migrant participants gaining employment, and an ethnographic study of refugees in the US found that English proficiency and determination was not enough to secure satisfactory employment, as participants often ended up in low-wage entry level jobs (Warriner, 2007). The positive association between employment outcomes and language skills may in part be explained by the opportunities that having a job can present for improving proficiency. Qualitative research with ESOL learners found that participants viewed working as providing opportunities to socialise in English and thus improve their skills (Court 2015, 2017). However, potential opportunities which employment may afford for useful language practice may be restricted by the kinds of work which migrants and refugees are often limited to, as these can offer little opportunities to interact in English (Cooke, 2006).

Similar to the Catch-22 situation of English proficiency and opportunities for anglophone social interactions (Norton 2000, 2013), the relationship between employment and language may also constitute a Catch-22: as lack of English can be a barrier to finding work in anglophone environments, and this then limits opportunities for practising and improving language skills (Charsley et al., 2016). Employment can actually be a barrier to attending ESOL class due to long working hours, and many low level jobs pay insufficient wages to afford course fees (Charsley et al., 2016; Foreman, 2017; Morrice et al., 2019; Vasey et al., 2018). As a result, refugees who find work earlier instead of learning the host country language may end up with lower income and less opportunities at a later date (Hyndman and Hynie, 2016).

There appears to have been less focus on the ways in which other structural factors of integration interrelate with language proficiency, although Cheung and Phillimore (2017) found that higher language proficiency is associated with better housing. Living in overcrowded, inadequate or unstable housing can affect ability to attend class, concentrate on learning or do homework, as can being on a low income (Wonder Foundation, 2016).

There is some evidence of other key factors which may affect the structural aspects of integration aside from English proficiency, however, studies rarely attempt to isolate the effect of language proficiency. In general, migrants and refugees experience poorer employment outcomes; (ONS, 2014; Phillimore and Goodson, 2008; Miranda and Zhu, 2012). Discrimination due to characteristics such as ethnicity, religion may play a part in this. For example, people from Black, Asian and minority ethnic groups tend to experience disadvantage in the labour market (Casey, 2016). Refugees feel that their employment and educational opportunities are often hindered by long waits for acceptance of their asylum application (Phillimore, 2011). Overseas qualifications and work experience are often not recognised by employers in the UK (Vasey et al., 2018; Zwysen and Demireva, 2018), and culturally specific interview conventions can be barriers to succeeding in job interviews (Roberts, 2019; Schellekens, 2001; Roberts and Cooke, 2009).

Poor employment outcomes are likely to affect income, and poverty can be an issue for many ESOL learners (Schellekens, 2001) especially those seeking asylum, who currently must survive on weekly payments of £39.63 (GOV.UK, 2021). Migrants and refugees often experience poor or insecure housing (Gidley and Jayaweera, 2010; Rutter, 2013; Sim, 2009) particularly asylum-seeking refugees who are affected by the government dispersal scheme. The quality, stability and security of an individual's housing situation can impact on participation in education, employment, and civic activities (Gidley and Jayaweera, 2010; Phillimore and Goodson, 2008).

These studies bring to light the many other issues ESOL learners may face to structural aspects of integration, although few studies have identified factors that still exist after accounting for the effect of language. Exceptions include studies which found that improved employment opportunities are associated with increased bridging social networks (Lancee, 2010) and personal networks (Cheung and Phillimore, 2017); this latter finding applied to male refugees only.

There appears to be a lack of research which properly examines the complexities in in the relationship between language proficiency and employment outcomes, and even less on the relationship with other structural aspects of integration. Aside from English proficiency, migrants and refugees face other barriers to good employment including: discrimination and disadvantage due to gender, ethnicity or religion; low levels of education; nonrecognition of previous education and skills; and lack of social networks with British born people. Low income and poor housing conditions can also impede integration experiences.

2.4.5 *Concluding remarks*

Reflecting on the above evidence, it seems that language proficiency and integration may be related in many aspects. Improving English language skills may improve affective factors such as well-being, but simultaneously poor well-being can impede ability to learn. A similar pattern emerges when we consider language and social integration outcomes. The evidence supports Norton's depiction of a Catch-22 in which lack of English proficiency can prevent engagement in interactions with the British born majority, but good quality anglophone interactions are needed to improve one's English skills. When we examine studies concerning employment outcomes and language proficiency, we also see a similar scenario in which lack of English proficiency may reduce positive employment outcomes, and poor employment outcomes can decrease opportunities for learning English. In general, existing research either explores the effect of language learning on integration outcomes, or to a lesser extent, how aspects of integration may impact on English proficiency. However, there is little exploration of the ways in which they may impact each other bidirectionally.

Moreover, most existing studies use subjective self-reported language measures, (except for Kearns and Whitley (2015) whose measures are derived from non-ESOL trained interviewer judgment and Dustmann and Fabbri (2003) who use measures derived from self-assessment and interviewer judgment), and thus the findings may be based more on confidence rather than actual proficiency, or may not be based on consistent measures. There appears to be a lack of research which explores the relationship between language learning and integration utilising participants' more objective measures of language proficiency, for example those assessed by trained English language teachers.

Existing evidence indicates several other key factors which may affect ESOL learners' experiences aside from their level of English skills. Immigration policy is an important determinant of asylum seekers' and refugees' experiences, impacting on housing conditions, employment, health, feelings of stability and well-being, access to social networks and experiences with other members of society. Experiences of discrimination or harassment can impede affective, social and structural experiences of integration. Bridging social relations with people from different backgrounds appear to be important for social and structural aspects integration, although evidence from existing studies is not consistent on the ways in which bonding social networks can facilitate or hinder integration. Migrants and refugees are often employed in low-level jobs which can impact on income and other aspects of integration. Additionally, housing conditions and level of deprivation in the local area can impact on various integration outcomes.

It might seem logical to assume that ESOL learners' outcomes in all areas of integration would improve the longer their stay in the UK. Indeed, there is some evidence that time in the UK has a positive effect on integration outcomes such as housing (Cheung and Phillimore, 2017), employment (Cheung and Phillimore, 2014) and social integration outcomes (Kearns and Whitley, 2015). On the other hand, qualitative accounts suggest integration processes may reverse as well as progress, and individuals may feel more, or less, integrated at different times in their life course (Spencer and Charsley, 2016). Examining these existing studies has revealed a fragmented picture of the other issues migrants and refugees in Britain may face aside from the language barrier. To date there has not been a study which paints a fuller picture by explicitly separating out English proficiency from the other factors which affect the integration experiences of ESOL learners. Additionally, most studies on integration focus on refugees who have come on resettlement or asylum route, and rarely include participants with the range of migration backgrounds that are found with ESOL learners.

2.5 Conclusion: How to address the gaps in knowledge

Although recent political documents on integration describe the importance of tackling disadvantage in income, employment and other structural issues, in general, political discourse and policy focuses on the social and cultural aspects of integration and in particular the cultural and linguistic practices of migrants. The small amount of existing research which consults the views of migrants and refugees themselves shows that there are multiple factors which they find important for integration and making headway in Britain. However, to date there is no larger scale data on what ESOL learners as a population feel is important, what their priorities are or how these may differ between learners. This study draws on previous research on the views and experiences of ESOL learners, migrants and refugees to create a model which considers integration as taking place in three interconnected realms: affective, social and structural, and the ways in which these interrelate with language learning and identity.

The concepts of identity and positioning help elucidate the relationship between ESOL learners' language learning and their social context, and the role of power relations in this relationship (Norton, 2013; Darvin and Norton, 2015). ESOL learners are often socially and economically marginalised, and this can reinforce and be reinforced by their deficit identity positions. Social conditions, power relations and identity positions present in learners' everyday lives can affect both access to, and the quality of, opportunities for naturalistic language practice, shaping their ability to practise a wide repertoire of English language skills and potentially impacting on language learning (Block, 2007;

Bremer et al., 1996; Norton, 2000, 2013). Moreover, identity, imagined identities, capital and ideology can shape ESOL learners' investment in their learning.

However, although these understandings illuminate how social context and issues of power affect migrant language learners' progress, this scholarship does not specifically address the relationship between learning English and integration. My previous work illuminated this to a certain extent, in considering how the ESOL learner participants' experiences of language learning and integration were linked via the interconnection of identity, confidence, and independence (Court, 2015, 2017). I found that for the participants, increased confidence to engage in a wider variety of English-speaking situations without help from others could increase opportunities to practise English, as well as lead to feelings of greater independence and bolster stronger identity positions. Thus, increased access to English language interactions and social networks could increase an ESOL learner's ability to gain a strong identity position from which to speak. However, in interactions where communication in English was unsuccessful, participants felt less integrated. This suggested that the extent to which ESOL learners feel integrated shapes their confidence to speak and therefore affects their opportunities for social interaction and practising English. However, this was a small-scale study and did not specifically address the many aspects of integration, and only captured a snapshot of participants' perceptions of their experiences. It did not focus on the role of investment and ideology in these experiences. In addition, it was limited in its consideration of how social structures and inequalities affected the participants' experiences. Block notes that identity research in applied linguistics often focuses on the struggles and challenges faced by individual language learners, resulting in a sharper focus on the ways in which they act to shape their realities at the expense of in-depth examination of the external social forces which govern their experiences (Block, 2012, 2013).

There is a need for a greater understanding of the language learning and integration experiences of ESOL learners. From examination of existing evidence, it appears that the relationship between language learning and integration may be interdependent in many ways, however, to date few studies directly interrogate this relationship and its underlying mechanisms. There is also evidence of many other, non-linguistic, factors which may affect ESOL learners' integration experiences, although there is a lack of explicit separation of English proficiency from other factors which may impact on ESOL learners' integration experiences.

To gain a deeper understanding of these issues, there is a need for in-depth exploration of ESOL learners' accounts, contextualised by statistical data from a relatively large ESOL participant sample.

A longitudinal study will help to better understand how these mechanisms and directions of influence operate within the spatial and temporal processes of integration and language learning. In addition, a combination of methods is needed to gain a more detailed understanding of the integration priorities of ESOL learners and whether this differs between groups. Therefore, to address this need, this study employs a longitudinal mixed methodology combining longitudinal in-depth qualitative interviews with statistical questionnaire data. In addition, applying the conceptual lenses of identity and positioning in analysing the findings of this study facilitates a wider comprehension of the ways in which ESOL learners' language learning experiences interconnect with their experiences in the various aspects of integration.

3 Methodology

3.1 Introduction to chapter

The previous chapter highlights the many gaps in understandings of ESOL learners' experiences. I argue for the need to consult ESOL learners themselves on their priorities and experiences, and that this is best addressed by a longitudinal mixed methods study, involving in-depth exploration of subjective accounts contextualised by quantitative data to elucidate the mechanisms behind the processes of language learning and integration in ESOL learners' trajectories. This chapter describes the approach and methods used to address these needs. Firstly, I explain the reasons for taking a *qualitatively driven* approach to mixed methods (Hesse-Biber, 2010a, 2010b, 2015a). Then I outline the research design, context and samples for each strand of the research, before going on to describe the methods in detail. After that I outline my techniques for analysing the qualitative and quantitative data and integrating the analyses. I also consider issues of validity and trustworthiness of the study, discuss key ethical considerations and reflect on the ways in which my positionality shaped the study.

3.2 Qualitatively driven mixed methods

3.2.1 *Research approach*

The principle aim in this research is to better understand the language learning and integration experiences of ESOL learners through exploring their opinions and perspectives. I examine how their experiences are shaped by societal and cultural phenomena. I align with Guba and Lincoln's definition of *constructivism*, which holds that understandings of reality are socially constructed, and individuals have different subjective experiences of this reality:

Realities are apprehendable in the form of multiple, intangible mental constructions, socially and experientially based, local and specific in nature (although elements are often shared among many individuals and even across cultures), and dependent for their form and content on the individual persons or groups holding the constructions (Guba and Lincoln, 1994 pp.110-111).

This world view is also referred to as *social constructivism* which emphasises that these realities are socially constructed through interactions (Roberts, 2006). From this perspective, subjective experience and meaning is a vital component of knowledge creation (Hesse-Biber, 2010a, 2010b, 2015) and 'knowledge is socially constructed by people active in the research process' (Mertens, 2015 p.17) including the researcher, whose perspective and subjective experiences shape the research. This

study addresses the research questions by exploring how ESOL learner participants view and construct their experiences, as interpreted through my own viewpoint.

As the constructivist stance prioritises subjective experience, it is usually viewed as incompatible with quantitative methods which tend to strive for objectivity. However, Lather (2006) and Hesse-Biber (2010b) challenge the notion that research methodologies must be categorised according to a quantitative/objective vs. qualitative/subjective binary. The next section discusses philosophical and methodological issues for the qualitatively driven approach to mixed methods used in the study.

3.2.2 *Qualitatively driven mixed methods*

Mixed methods research can be defined as combining qualitative and quantitative methods and data in a research study (Creswell, 2014; Mertens, 2015). Researchers using mixed methods often espouse a pragmatic philosophy (Creswell, 2014). Pragmatism has many forms and interpretations, but when applied to research methods it is often broadly conceptualised as a “what works” approach to choosing the most appropriate methods to address research questions, and thus is not committed to any epistemological or ontological stance (Cresswell, 2014). However, Hesse-Biber (2015) argues that pragmatic approaches which focus purely on research design and methods can neglect reflection on issues of subjective and objective knowledge. In so doing, pragmatism can implicitly convey a positivistic approach, privileging the value of objective knowledge over subjective experience, and neglecting consideration of how the researcher’s subjectivity influences the research (Giddings, 2006; Giddings and Grant, 2007; Hesse-Biber, 2010; 2015a). There also is a danger that the qualitative aspect is inadvertently marginalised, as questions of ‘how many?’ dominate individual experiences, ‘emergent understandings’ and ‘the unique, the contradictory and the contestable’ (Giddings, 2006 p.202). In order to avoid these pitfalls, I take a qualitatively driven approach to the mixed methods design. Qualitative approaches to mixed methods focus less on hypothesis testing and more on discovery of new ways of understanding; they are defined not by their use of methods, but by the ontological and epistemological approach of the researcher (Hesse-Biber, 2010a).

I used mixed methods in this study to foreground the subjective experiences of ESOL learner participants and explore how the statistical data and findings create the context and backdrop to these stories - or whether they tell a different story; thus being ‘open to a multi-layered view of the social world’ (Hesse-Biber, 2010a p.9). The methods address the need for an up-to-date picture of ESOL learners’ experiences in the current political and social context – including obtaining quantitative data to contextualise these experiences. MacDonald (2013) argues that:

the quantitative/ qualitative dichotomy is not useful in ESOL research when there is a pressing need to both provide updated and accurate context to the national debate, whilst also persuading and illuminating that debate with carefully-chosen, credible personal accounts (MacDonald, 2013 p.56).

Phillimore and Goodson (2008) state the need for combining in-depth longitudinal exploration of refugees' experiences of integration over time with quantitative measures to better understand the ways in which different aspects of integration interact over time. My approach in this study bears similarities to that of the researchers on the mixed methods ESOL Effective Practice Project (Baynham et al., 2007) who held qualitative, social constructivist stances, but used quantitative data in order to increase the policy impact (Roberts, 2006). Their incorporation of quantitative and qualitative data within their social constructivist paradigm involved continual consideration and debates on the 'imposition of categories' and

using statistical findings as trigger points to drill down into the data for qualitative analysis and maintaining a general sceptical stance about the 'social facts' that statistics produce (Roberts, 2006 pp.10-11).

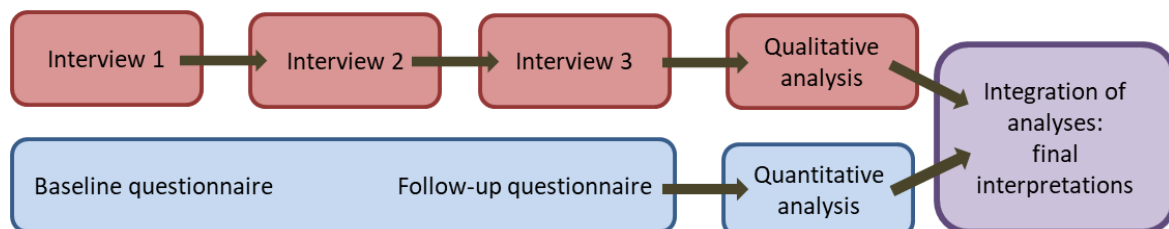
In this study, the qualitative interviews generated participants' subjective accounts of their experiences of learning English and integration in Britain, as they represented them to me. Combining these with a quantitative questionnaire is in-step with my axiological standpoint from which I wished to include the views of as many ESOL learners as possible. The anonymous questionnaire was intended to provide a safe space for participants to express views or provide information that they may otherwise wish to keep private. The statistical data from the questionnaire facilitated the exploration of whether, and how, external factors and wider structural issues, such as gender or race inequalities, or immigration status, are associated with participants' experiences, on average. Statistical analysis has the potential to bring to light inequalities which subjective accounts are not able to reveal, as people are not always aware of the ways in which they are disadvantaged due to discriminatory practices. For example, African American study participants who reported no experience of discrimination in their workplace had in fact been the subject of discrimination when this was measured statistically (Darity, 2003). In this way the study aims to interrogate the implication in political discourse that perceived lack of progress in learning English or in integration is largely a result of individual factors. Incorporation of statistical methods can enhance the ability to achieve this by adding an element of generalisability to the study.

3.3 Research design, contexts and participants

3.3.1 Research design overview

The qualitative element constitutes longitudinal timeline interviews with ESOL learners conducted between November 2017 and July 2018. The questionnaire was administered at two different time points; the baseline questionnaire took place between October to December 2017 and a follow-up in May to July 2018. As explained in Chapter Four, the number of participants who completed both baseline and follow-up questionnaires was small and there was relatively little change in many of the variables, so the focus of the quantitative analysis is on the cross-sectional data collected at baseline. The qualitative and quantitative strands were analysed separately, and then these analyses were integrated to construct the final interpretations. Figure 3.1 shows how all the elements of the research fit into the overall research design.

Figure 3.1 Data collection and analysis overview



Notes. The arrows indicate where analysis, or initial analysis, of an element informs the next.

3.3.2 Interview context and participants

The interviews all took place in an adult education setting in Bristol. Bristol is the eighth largest city in England, its population being estimated at 465,900 in 2020 (Bristol City Council, 2021). It has a significant population of people from migrant and BAME backgrounds, and it is estimated that over 91 languages are spoken (Bristol City Council, 2021). I had previously taught at that institution and therefore knew the context and many members of the ESOL teaching team. I recruited interviewees by visiting ESOL classes and inviting volunteers to take part in the project. During the research period I interviewed eight interviewees three times, two interviewees twice, and I met four interviewees once only. Brief details of the interviewees are presented in Figure 3.2 below.

3.3.3 ESOL questionnaire contexts and samples

The questionnaire captures the views of a wider range of ESOL learners, constituting a much larger sample of 409 participants, although only 150 completed both baseline and follow-up. The questionnaire was administered via ESOL teachers to learners in Bristol (n=166) and various other

geographical locations in England and Wales (n=243). In Bristol the questionnaire was completed by learners at the setting from which the interviewees were recruited and another, community-based setting at which I also used to teach. The national sample was recruited through teachers contacted via two ESOL practitioner networks; the National Association for Teaching English and other Community Languages to Adults (NATECLA) and the ESOL Research forum – a national forum and email list for ESOL researchers and practitioners. The sample constitutes learners with diverse characteristics including a wide variety of countries of origin, age groups, and length of time in Britain. It is a non-probability sample consisting of participants accessible via these recruitment methods (and not randomly selected) and therefore cannot be considered representative of ESOL learners as a population. This is partially addressed by comparison with a nationally representative sample in the Understanding Society data, and data from four existing surveys of ESOL learners. Full details of the questionnaire sample are presented in section 4.2.

3.4 Timeline interviews

My aim was to interview approximately ten ESOL learners three times each over the research period. I approached ESOL teachers at the college for help with recruiting participants. These teachers taught Level 1 (intermediate) and Level 2 (upper intermediate) classes and were former colleagues. I arranged a time to visit their class to explain my project to the learners and what participation would involve. After visiting four classes, 14 ESOL learners had volunteered to participate in the study. I arranged meetings with all of them in anticipation of likely attrition.

Interviewing 14 learners allowed me to include participants with a variety of experiences and backgrounds, whilst being able to explore their accounts in depth. The data from the ten participants who I interviewed more than once afforded the opportunity to explore changes in their perceptions and experiences over the academic year. The interviews took place in a private room (either an empty classroom or small office) at the ESOL setting, usually on the day the participants were attending class, but occasionally they met me on their days off. The interviews lasted for approximately one hour.

Figure 3.2 Interview participants

Pseudonym	Countries of origin	Age	Highest level of previous education	Children	Length of time in UK	ESOL level	First interview	Second interview	Third interview
Ada	China	late 20s	graduated high school	1	7 years	Level 2	Feb 2018	–	–
Ali	Iraq (Kurdish)	28	interrupted, left aged 9/10	0	10 years	Level 2	December 2017	February 2018	May 2018
Anna	Albania	early 30s	left aged 14	3	11 years	Level 1	November 2017	March 2018	–
Edmund	Ghana	23	started University		1 ½ years	Level 2	February 2018	May 2018	June 2018
Emma	Belarus/Latvia	44	further education/ vocational college	2	7 years	Level 2	January 2018	March 2018	June 2018
Fatmira	Albania	early 30s	left aged 13	2	11 years	Level 1	November 2018	March 2018	–
Flowers	Iraq/Sweden	mid 40s	PhD	0	3 years	Level 2	December 2017	April 2018	June 2018
Gill	Taiwan	early 40s	graduated University	1	4 years	Level 2	January 2018	April 2018	July 2018
Hanin	Sudan	late 20s	graduated University	1	4 ½ years	Level 2	January 2018	March 2018	May 2018
Muna	Somaliland/ Netherlands	late 40s	limited and interrupted schooling	6	14 years	Level 1	February 2018	–	–
Mustafa	Somalia/ Netherlands	40s	started University	4	13 years	Level 1	December 2017	–	–
Pital	Colombia	44	started University	4	5 years	Level 1	November 2017	February 2018	May 2018
Ranu	Iraqi Kurdistan	42	interrupted, left aged 10/11	3	16 years	Level 2	February 2018	April 2018	July 2018
Wicky	Pakistan	late 20s	college	0	10 years	Level 2	February 2018	–	–

When talking to the participants, I referred to the interviews as ‘conversations’ (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2018) to stress the informal nature, and disassociate from connotations of “job interview”, or “Home Office interview”. I also brought in some healthy snacks to share with the participants. The interviews were audio recorded using a voice recorder.

The interviews enabled me to explore how the participants constructed meaning and interpreted their experiences in their accounts. This enabled me to gain insights into the complex and multifaceted processes of integration, language learning and identity positioning, and how, and in what way, these processes are intertwined and change over time. Researching with ESOL learners presents a particular set of issues regarding the language barrier and power relations (see section 3.9) and participating in interviews in English can be challenging and tiring for ESOL learners, particularly when describing experiences at length (Graham-Brown, 2020). Accordingly, I drew from my previous experience of researching with ESOL learners, the most significant of these being two qualitative master’s research projects which utilised semi-structured interviews and visual and participatory data collection tools (Court, 2015 and Court, 2016). Lessons learned from the methodologies and findings of these previous projects informed the literature review, aims and methodology for this study and highlighted how using visual and other tools can enhance interviews with ESOL learners.

Therefore, to facilitate the interviews I used the following tools: timelines, photo elicitation, prompt cards and vignettes. The visual nature of the timeline and photo elicitation activity aimed to mitigate potential language and literacy barriers and facilitate verbal expression (Bagnoli, 2009; Crilly, Blackwell and Clarkson, 2006). Visually representing aspects of participants’ lives can provoke new insights for participants on their experiences (Crilly, Blackwell and Clarkson, 2006). They can provide stimulus for reflection and discussion, act as memory prompts, and help create a shared understanding of the topic (Rouse, 2013). These, and the prompt cards and vignettes facilitated interactions with the participants by supporting communication and acting as stimulus for discussion. Although I had an overall plan as to how they might be used, this was flexible and dependent on negotiation with the participants and the ways in which the interviews evolved. I also used an interview topic guide, as described below. Second and third interviews were informed by the previous interview and by emerging themes from ongoing preliminary analysis of all interviews.

3.4.1 *Interview guides*

The interviews were partially structured by interview guides designed to enable me to explore similar topics with each participant, but permit flexibility to investigate in greater depth emerging subjects

which felt significant (Arthur et al, 2014). I used an interview guide method developed in my previous projects which included the wordings of possible questions and topics as well as rough plans for carrying out the timeline and other interview activities. These were not used as a fixed schedule but to help me to communicate as clearly as possible with ESOL learner participants. The guide for the first interview was shaped by key issues identified in the literature review and findings from my previous projects (see Appendix 3). The guides for the second and third interviews were adapted for each participant and shaped by the content of the previous interviews with that participant, as well as preliminary analysis of interview data. Examples are shown in Appendix 4 and Appendix 5.

3.4.2 *Timelines*

Timelines as interview method involves the creation of a visual representation of:

a participant's life events placed in some sort of chronological arrangement, with visual indication of the significance or meaning attached to highlighted events (Kolar et al., 2015 p.15).

I adopted timelines in the interviews with an aim to 'increase the possibilities of seeing events and perceptions of these events within contexts of wider life experiences' (Adriansen, 2012 p.43). They are useful tools in longitudinal studies due to their potential to facilitate consideration of the past, present and future (Bagnoli, 2009). Consequently, they helped to illuminate the interviewees' language learning and integration trajectories. However, the purpose was not to reduce the interview interaction to a focus on a chronological account of events, but to aid the participant (and myself) to construct their accounts of their experiences (Adriansen, 2012) and to support communication.

The timelines were introduced in the first interview, at an appropriate moment in the conversation. As the concept of a timeline may not be clear to everyone (Bagnoli, 2009) and may not transfer across cultures, the participants were first shown a variety of different timelines (e.g. Bagnoli, 2009; Kolar et al., 2015). This was to illustrate and clarify the concept and demonstrate the various and flexible forms that their own timeline may take (Kolar et al., 2015). After briefly showing the example timelines I put them away and asked them to create their own timeline to '*show important things that have happened in your life in Britain*'. I emphasised that the participants could create the timeline in any way they liked, that I could help if needed, and I provided sheets of A3 paper, pens, pencils, and if they wished, a ruler. How the timeline was constructed depended on the interviewee. They engaged in differing levels: some created detailed diagrams, whereas others were relatively simple, and Edmund included his future plans in his. Two participants (Muna and Fatmira) made a start and then asked me to continue with it whilst they talked, and Ali said to me '*You can write. I'm gonna tell you and you write it for me*'. It appeared that these participants were not confident about their literacy skills,

highlighting one of the limitations of this method. In the first interview, I generally encouraged participants to depict and talk about their life since coming to Britain, and their present situation. At the second and third interview the timeline acted as a prompt to recall previous interviews and discuss changes and developments that had occurred in the participant's life, and in the third interview I encouraged more of a focus on future plans and aspirations. The timelines were amended and added to in each subsequent interview.

The creation of the timeline helped me to explore how the participants constructed their experiences of learning English and integration as processes. The timelines supported our discussions and acted as stimulus for recounting various experiences. They highlighted perceived instances of progress, improvement, stagnation or a reversal in their language learning and integration trajectories. Through a constructivist lens, the 'different temporal logics evidenced by various timelines' (Kolar et al., 2015 p.28) i.e. the form and characteristics the timelines took, provided insight:

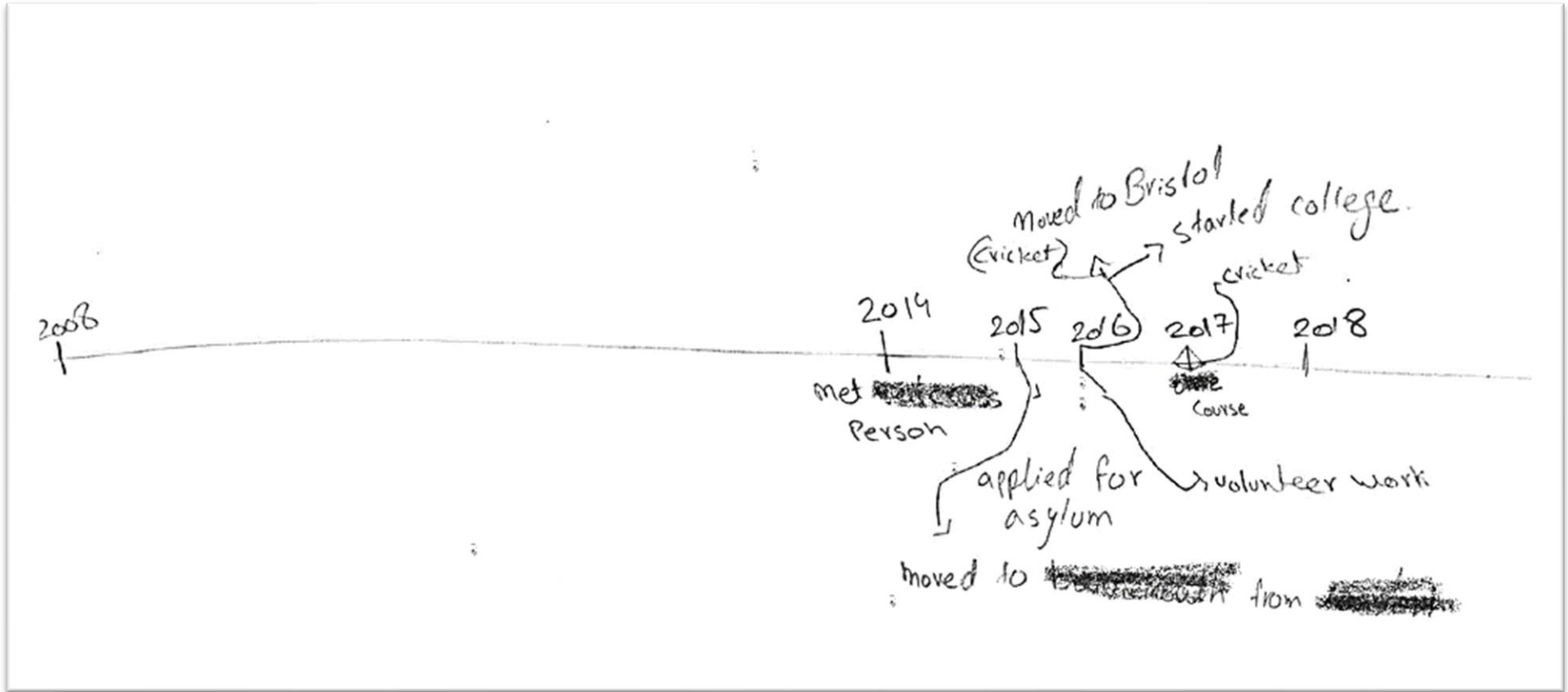
into the ways that participants make sense of and position the relative importance of various events in navigating the struggles they face...[and shed light on]... the relevance and meaning of particular events for how they experience the present and understand possibilities for the future (Kolar et al., 2015 pp.28-29).

Another aim of the timelines was to foster shared ownership of the interview by facilitating the interviewees to participate in the reporting and the product of the interaction (Adriansen, 2012). Even in the cases where I was involved with constructing the timeline, I sought the participants' input, and they were able to see what I was writing (Adriansen, 2012). I hoped it would afford the participants more control over the topics discussed in the interview and give them more agency in the process. For example, Wicky used the timeline to demarcate the topics I could ask him about and what was out of bounds. As shown in Figure 3.3, he left a large gap between 2008 and 2014 and, pointing to it, said:

OK nothing happened in this time<laughs> ...I think 2014, 2015 I claim asylum. Important thing -I just don't want to do the details, I will just tell you that in 2014 I just come out from the big problem which was causing me from 2008 to 2014. I just want to discuss about this.

Wicky used the timeline as an opportunity to assert agency over the interview, and make the boundaries clear to me.

Figure 3.3 Wicky's timeline



Thus, the timelines afforded several benefits to the interviews. However, as discussed, the participants engaged with them to differing extents, and aside from the aforementioned potential issues of literacy skills, it may have appeared similar to a classroom activity to some participants and thus reinforced unequal power dynamics (see section 3.9). However, when there was less participant engagement with the timeline, this did not correspond with lower engagement with the interviews: all the participants talked in-depth about their experiences and opinions. And, as discussed in section 3.7.1, the timelines were analysed in conjunction with the explanations and discussions surrounding them. Participant timelines not presented in the main body of this thesis are presented in Appendix 6.

3.4.3 *Photo-elicitation*

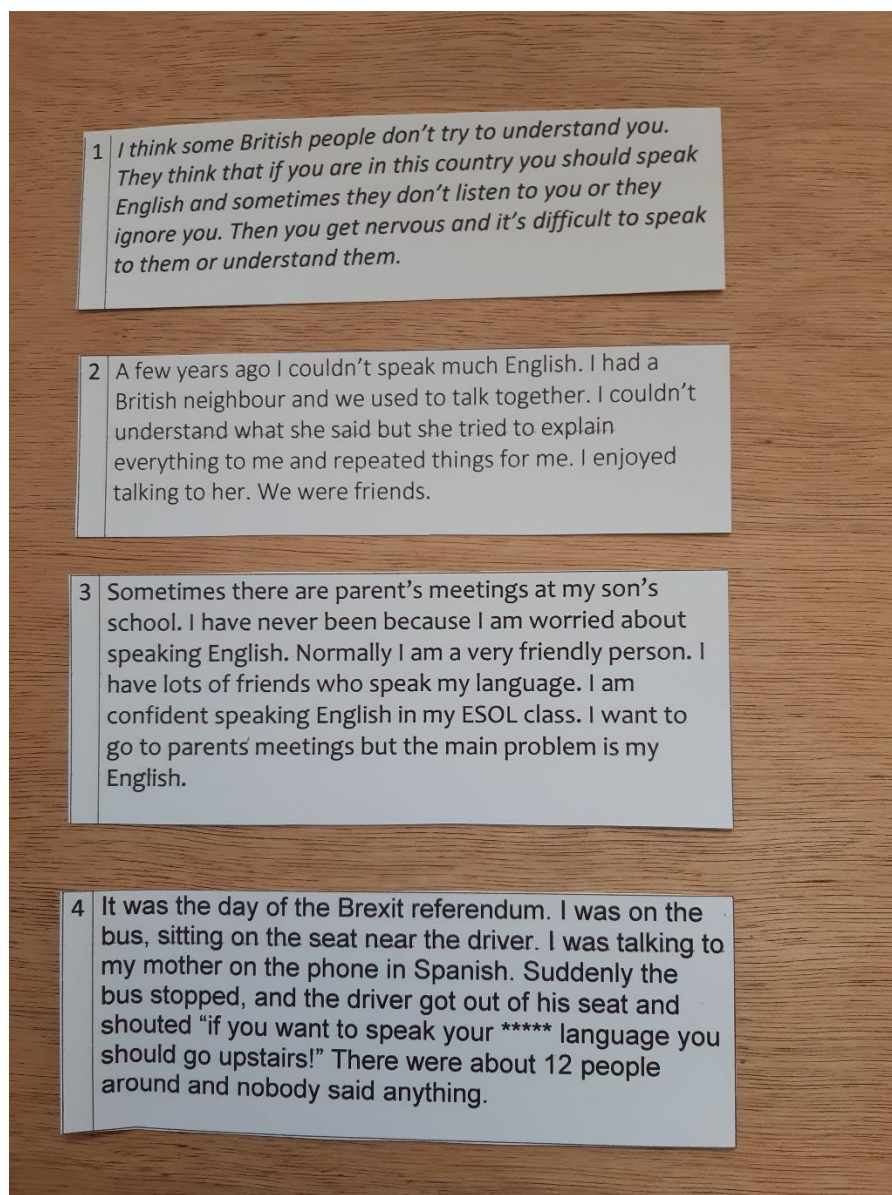
My use of photos in the interviews drew on photo-elicitation interview methods (Harper, 2002; Epstein et al., 2006; Pink, 2013). In advance of the second and third interviews, I invited the participants to bring in photos of things which were important in their life in Britain, for example important events or objects. Asking participants to select photos to show me was another attempt to afford them influence over the discussion and ownership over how they represented their lives (Wang et al., 1998). Interviews were encouraged to reflect on and discuss any photos they produced. They engaged with this activity to differing extents. Some said they did not have anything to show me, others showed me photographs they had on their mobile phones, whilst Gill was the most involved with this activity, printing out full colour copies of a number of photos and spending a large part of the second interview discussing them. Nearly all the photos presented by the participants depicted people so for ethical reasons I did not obtain copies of these, in any case the aim was to generate discussion rather than record images for analysis. Exceptions were the prints which Gill had made especially for me, and a few other images which did not depict people.

3.4.4 *Vignettes*

Vignettes in qualitative research usually constitute short stories or scenarios to which participants are invited to respond (Barter and Reynold, 1999). In this study, in the second interview, I presented the participants with four short vignettes which contained quotations from four different non-expert speakers of English describing their experiences (see Figure 3.4). The first three were adapted from participants' accounts in my exploratory master's study (2015), and the fourth was adapted from a newspaper story (Eldiario.es, 2016). I introduced the activity by saying: '*Here are some things that other people have said about their experiences of living in Britain. I'm interested in what you think about their experiences*'. I offered participants the chance to read the card themselves or we read

them together. The aim was to elicit participants' perspectives on these different language related scenarios. Vignettes can facilitate this as they can prompt different interpretations of events, provide a less personal means to discuss sensitive topics, and allow participants more control over disclosing personal experiences (Barter and Reynold, 1999, 2000). I particularly hoped that Vignettes 1 and 4 would encourage participants to feel more comfortable discussing negative attitudes of British people or negative encounters they had experienced, which they may otherwise have avoided due to our respective positionalities. This enabled them to choose whether to talk about their own experiences, or to discuss the topics in a less personal way.

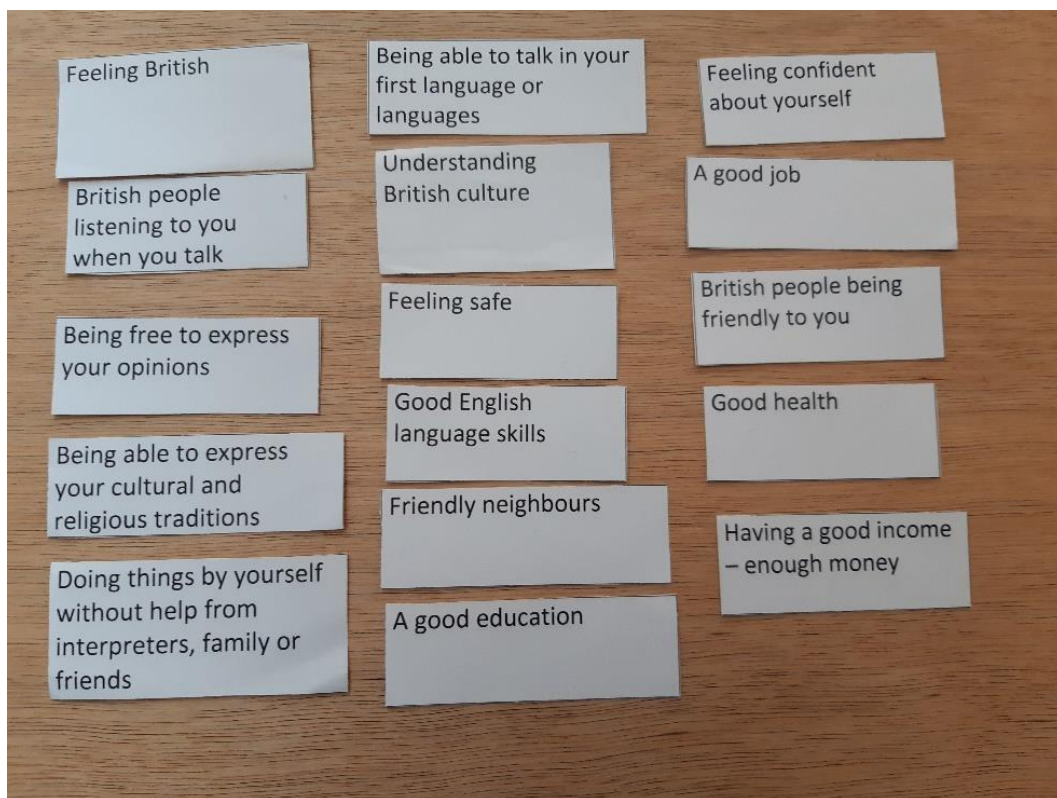
Figure 3.4 Vignettes



3.4.5 Prompt cards

In the third interview I handed the participants a pack of prompt cards (see Figure 3.5) and asked them: 'These are things different people have said are important to have a good life in Britain. What do you think about these things?' The prompts on the cards were derived from items on the ESOL learner questionnaire (see section 3.5.2) and a further three factors (*British people being friendly, health and income*) which I added after reflecting on initial interpretations of data already collected and further reading of relevant literature. If the participants needed more guidance I asked, 'How important do you think they are?'. Participants responded differently to this, some picked up each card in turn and discussed the topic, while others grouped them according to perceived importance. If further prompting was needed, I asked participants to choose the three most and least important to them. The purpose was to guide the discussion more directly towards eliciting interviewees' opinions on these factors, whilst allowing them some freedom to discuss what was most pertinent to them. This generated in-depth responses which elucidated and supported the questionnaire analysis in addressing RQ1.

Figure 3.5 Prompt cards



Therefore, the timelines, photo elicitation, vignettes, and prompt cards aimed to enhance the interviews by supporting the participants' communication in English, enabling them to have more

control and ownership over how their experiences are represented, and prompting them to reflect on aspects of their experiences from a broader range of perspectives than would otherwise be afforded through verbal questions alone.

3.5 ESOL learner questionnaire

3.5.1 *Sampling and distribution of questionnaire*

The questionnaire was made available in online and paper-based formats and involved a group administration technique (Dörnyei, 2010) in which the teacher introduced the questionnaire to the students to complete independently. Teachers had the choice of giving their learners a link to the online questionnaire, printing copies from a pdf, or receiving paper copies which I sent, together with a stamped addressed envelope, for returning to me. Additionally, I distributed paper copies of the questionnaires to the teachers in Bristol ESOL settings by hand. Of the baseline sample, 29.8% completed online questionnaires, and 70.2% completed paper copies, and the numbers for the follow-up sample were 30.7% and 69.3% respectively. Teachers were requested to use the teachers' notes which were provided for both the online and paper versions (see Appendix 7 and Appendix 8). This administration method had several benefits. It was an efficient way of accessing ESOL learners, as each teacher who administered the survey recruited several learners. The teachers were requested to provide language support and check the participants understood the participant information and were able to give informed consent, whilst respecting confidentiality. This method also facilitated matching the baseline and follow-up questionnaires for each participant, without having to ask for names. The follow-up questionnaire was sent to the participating ESOL practitioners who were requested to administer it to the classes to which they had given the first questionnaire. Out of the 43 teachers who administered the baseline questionnaire, 33 returned completed copies of the follow-up. Reasons for teachers' non-participation in the follow-up included nonresponse to my emails, time constraints or that the class term had already ended. The likely reasons for participant dropout were that they had left that class, were absent when it was administered, or were unwilling to complete the second questionnaire. It may have been that the longitudinal sample disproportionately lost people who were less confident in literacy skills, or were experiencing challenges in their language or integration trajectories leading to non-attendance or leaving their ESOL class.

3.5.2 *Questionnaire contents*

The questions were designed to measure variables informed by the review of the literature, and from findings from my previous empirical work. The paper questionnaire is presented in Appendix 9.

Several of the questions were designed to enable mapping of responses and categories with those in Understanding Society (see Appendix 10). Section 3.6 indicates how the questionnaire addresses each RQ. To address RQs 2 and 4, there are two measures of language proficiency. As explained in section 2.4.5, most studies on migrants' and refugees' integration experiences are based on subjective measures of language, therefore I use both objective (ESOL class level) and subjective (participants' perceptions of how difficult they find speaking, reading and writing in various stated contexts) measures. These language difficulty items were modelled on those in the Understanding Society survey. To address RQ1, the questionnaire asks the importance of 13 factors for having a good life in Britain⁸. A number of measures representing aspects of the affective, social and structural realms of integration are used to address RQs 2, 3 and 4. There were also a number of questions eliciting background characteristics, such as gender, and religion, which aided analysis for RQ 4. However, RQ4 is predominantly addressed by the qualitative data. Full details of the questionnaire variables and their role in the analysis are presented in Chapter Four. To enable me to track participants across both waves of the questionnaire without asking for names, the participants were asked to provide their date of birth, the name of their class teacher and the institution they attend⁹.

Although the questionnaire is predominately quantitative with mainly closed questions, a constructivist viewpoint shapes the way I consider the resultant data in the analysis. For example, although there are attitudinal questions (Dörnyei, 2010) which ask about participants' perceptions of their experiences, these are not presented as objective representations of "facts"; instead they measure how participants' represent their experiences, at a particular time point. Secondly, many questions elicit information about identity or status, such as ESOL class levels, gender, ethnicity, religion and immigration status. As discussed in section 2.3.1, these categories are problematic and are socially constructed, but they can all play a part in shaping the participants' experiences, including through interactive and reflexive positioning. These identity categories may have different meanings for each participant, or multiple meanings for the same participant, dependent on time and context, yet their existence within their social contexts (e.g. an Entry 2 ESOL learner in a college, or an asylum seeker in wider society) has an external meaning created by external forces, and an element of continuity, which can impact on participants' experiences. Additionally, although the categories provided may not align with how a participant positions themselves, there is also the response option

⁸ I decided against including the term integration to keep the language simple, whilst acknowledging the limitations of conflating 'integration' with 'a good life in Britain'.

⁹ Two open ended questions were included to give participants an opportunity to express views in a way not dictated by the set questions, and in their own words (Oppenheim, 1998). However, due to the large amount of qualitative and quantitative data generated by the end of the study and time constraints, these responses were not included in the final analysis.

'other' as an (albeit limited) opportunity to express identities beyond those supplied in the questionnaire.

3.5.3 *Questionnaire format*

The mixed-mode strategy (Dörnyei, 2010) of combining online and paper-based versions of the questionnaire proved useful for the 'highly heterogeneous target audience' (Dörnyei, 2010 p.72), and widened accessibility for the diverse range of ESOL learners and ESOL class settings. The paper version was more accessible for those who did not have the necessary digital skills or equipment. On the other hand, an online version was apparently preferred where ICT facilities were available, and when the participants had digital literacy skills. The online version was designed to be completed on desktops, laptops, smartphones, or tablets. I initially considered translating the questionnaire into several languages to increase accessibility to ESOL learners with lower proficiency. However, this presented many drawbacks including: the high cost; difficulties in ensuring quality, consistency and validity; selecting languages to use; and potential difficulty for teachers in administering to multilingual classes. Thus, I decided instead to focus on making the English language version as accessible as possible and emphasised that it should only be completed by ESOL learners at Entry 2 and above.

A number of steps were taken to maximise suitability and comprehensibility for ESOL learner participants. A pilot was carried out in 2017 which involved teachers in Bristol administering the questionnaire to 35 learners in three classes: Entry 2, Entry 3 and Level 1. This generated feedback on the questionnaire from learners of a variety of language levels as well as from their teachers. After examining the completed pilot questionnaires, descriptive statistics and feedback, I made substantial modifications. The final version was developed after seeking advice from another experienced ESOL practitioner and my supervisors, and further testing by friends and colleagues whose first languages were not English (Appendix 10 gives details of the modifications made to the questionnaire). Alterations primarily concerned shortening the questionnaire by significantly reducing the amount of questions and text, increasing accessibility and comprehensibility, and maximising validity (the ability of the questions to measure what they were intended to measure as accurately as possible). For example, questions were simplified by reducing the number of response options, such as the questions on religion, immigration status and marital status. Another issue for comprehensibility and accuracy of measurement is how questions might be interpreted by participants from different contexts to the UK. For instance, questions to establish the level of previous education of participants proved particularly problematic in the pilot, as education systems vary internationally. These

questions were therefore reformulated to ascertain the age participants left school and whether they hold a university degree.

The questions were kept as simple as possible. For scale questions I used a combination of rating scales with the points named (e.g. Qs 22-34) and scales with bi-polar statements in which each point is not named (e.g. Qs 5-8) (Dörnyei, 2010), according to whether I judged that naming the points would make response options easier to understand. For the paper questionnaires, I kept the layout consistent, divided questions into headed sections, used a size 12 font size and ensured a sufficient amount of white space on the paper to promote readability and accessibility (Dörnyei, 2010). I used my knowledge and experience of teaching and designing learning materials for students with low levels of English language and literacy when devising the wording of questions and response options.

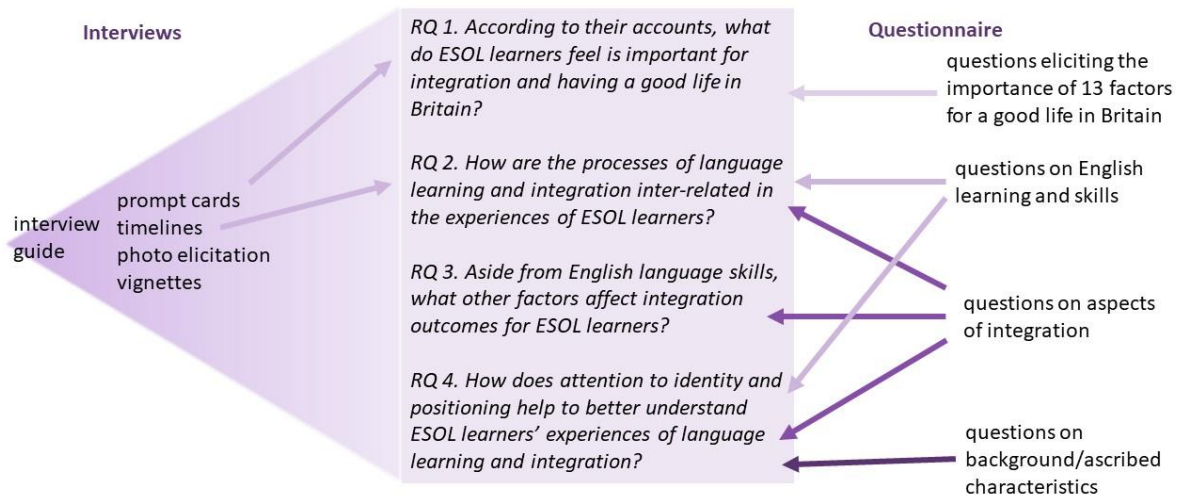
The online version of the questionnaire was created on Bristol Online Survey, an online survey tool. For mixed modes questionnaires, difference in layout may elicit different responses (Potaka, 2008). Thus, I ensured the layout of the two questionnaires and their respective questions and response options were as similar as possible within the constraints of the two modes. As with the paper version, a lot of time was invested into ensuring the layout and format of the online version was as accessible and easy to read as possible. I set the majority of questions as optional, in order to replicate the ability of respondents of the paper version to skip questions. Although this increases the likelihood of missed responses, it reduces the risk of participants giving inaccurate or false responses in order to be able to progress through the questionnaire (Dörnyei, 2010). I carried out usability tests (Potaka, 2008) of a prototype of the online questionnaire. The participants in the usability tests included postgraduate researchers (one of whom is experienced in online questionnaires), non-academics, and my 10-year-old son, in order to gain feedback from a variety of perspectives. In some cases, these participants completed the questionnaire alone and gave feedback afterwards, and in other cases I observed participants as they completed it and elicited responses to the questions and design (Potaka, 2008).

3.6 Summary of how the methods address the Research Questions

Figure 3.6 shows how the various methods were intended to address the research questions. The triangle on the left-hand side of the diagram indicates that the interviews were designed to speak to all the research questions. The interview guide structured the interview, and all the interview tools generated data of potential relevance to all the research questions. However, the arrows within the triangle show that the prompt cards more directly addressed RQ1, and the timelines facilitated a more

specific focus on RQ2. The right-hand side of Figure 3.6 shows that items in the questionnaire were designed to speak to a specific research question or questions, as described in section 3.5.2 above.

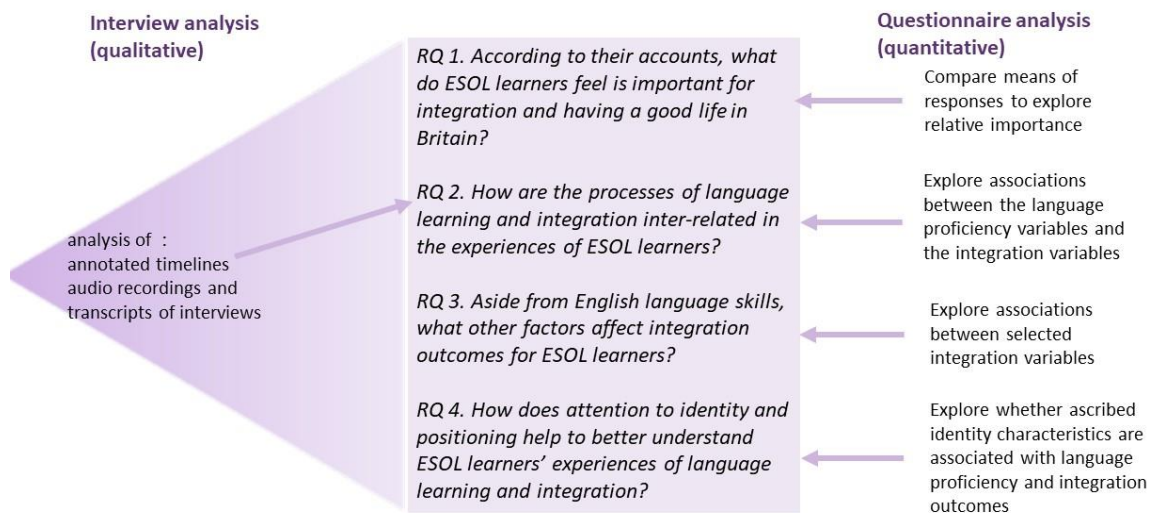
Figure 3.6 Mapping the methods to the research questions



3.7 Data analysis and interpretations

This section describes how the data from the different strands of the research design were analysed and integrated to construct the research findings. Figure 3.7 shows how the analyses addressed the research questions. Like the methods, the qualitative analysis had a wide focus, and addressed all the research questions, whereas the quantitative analysis had elements targeted at specific questions.

Figure 3.7 Mapping the analyses to the research questions



3.7.1 Analysis of interview data

Each interview was audio recorded and later transcribed. The qualitative data consisted of audio recordings of the interviews, interview transcripts, the timelines and a small number of photos. The challenge for analysing the qualitative data was that, to explore how the processes of learning English, integration and identity interacted over time in the participants' trajectories, I needed to keep sight of individual stories in order to examine how different aspects of their lives affected each other over time. However, I also needed to be able to draw interpretations with which I could make comparisons and identify connections across all the qualitative and quantitative data to make them work together to tell a coherent story.

Therefore, I consulted research methods literature on narrative approaches (which focus on interpreting stories), and thematic approaches (which focus on interpreting themes). I drew on a thematic method of narrative analysis which focuses on the content of stories, 'on "what" is said, rather than "how", "to whom" or "for what purposes"' (Riessman, 2008 pp.53-54). Drawing on

thematic narrative analysis, I have attempted to keep participants' stories intact and theorise from these rather than breaking them down into component themes across cases (Riessman, 2008). Many types of thematic analysis entail coding segments of data from across the whole dataset, and then deriving overarching themes from these (e.g. Braun and Clarke, 2006, 2012; Spencer et al., 2014). I initially embarked on this method using NVivo qualitative analysis software, however I found this method of close coding and attempting to classify and label segments of data rendered them disembodied from their context and from individual participants' experiences. Therefore, I abandoned this for a less systematic and more "intuitive" approach to generating themes across the interview data. I subsequently developed a bespoke analytical method, based on trial and error, which drew on aspects of these two types of qualitative analysis but adapted them to the specific datasets and purposes of this study. The qualitative analysis steps are outlined below:

1. Firstly, I made an enlarged copy of each participants' original timeline. Then using the interview transcripts, I **annotated the timeline**, placing events, experiences and feelings at relevant points on the timeline. Where participants were interviewed more than once, I repeated the process, using green pencil for notes from the second interview transcript, and red for the third interview transcript. This enabled me to create a chronological story constructed from my interpretations of the participants' accounts. This was a "bottom-up" approach to analysis based on the data rather than the research questions.
2. From this I created each **participants' "story"** from analysis of their interview transcript and timeline. This was my initial interpretation of their trajectory.
3. I re-read each interview transcript and **identified "raw themes"** using the comments function in Word documents. These themes constituted, for example, the topics discussed or my own observations.
4. I then created a large **raw themes matrix** which tabulated the themes for each participant against topics directly related to the RQs. This was a more "top-down" approach which would facilitate integration with the quantitative findings.
5. Subsequently, I created a **new table of "higher-level" themes and sub themes** mapped against relevant participants' stories and trajectories. At this stage I was beginning to make connections and comparisons between all the participants accounts of their experiences. This stage of the interpretations also involved explicitly attempting to make connections with existing literature and the conceptual frameworks.
6. I then **revised and refined** these higher-level themes with a series of **mind maps** constructed on mind mapping software, as well as flipcharts and Post-it notes.

7. Subsequently I started to **write and re-draft my interpretations** which constituted another stage of the analysis process as I refined my interpretations.

This process enabled an analysis which explores how the processes of language learning, integration and identity interrelate in the participants' trajectories, while enabling comparison between their experiences, and facilitating connection and integration with the statistical analysis. As illustrated in Figure 3.7, the qualitative analysis addresses all four RQs, and is the primary means through which I attend to RQ4.

3.7.2 *Analysis of ESOL learner questionnaire*

The aim of carrying out a baseline and follow-up questionnaire was to facilitate explanation of any changes in ESOL learners' situations in terms of fixed and variable characteristics and capture the complexities of their experiences (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011). Capturing data at two different time points could help to disentangle the direction of influences in a way that cross-sectional data cannot, for example whether language proficiency predicts integration variables, or whether integration variables predict language proficiency. However, due to the small longitudinal sample size and limited variation found in the longitudinal data, the resultant analysis focused on the cross-sectional data.

The analysis of the questionnaire was carried out using SPSS statistical software program. After entering the data, some manipulation was required to prepare it for analysis. Continuous variables, such as age and length of time in the UK, were converted into categorical variables. For simplification, some categorical variables were collapsed into fewer categories. For example, religion was collapsed into Muslim and non-Muslim to enable exploration of possible differences in experiences for Muslim ESOL learners. Some variables were combined to create a single one, for example those measuring school leaving age and possession of a university degree were combined to create a variable measuring highest education level. Scores were reversed where necessary to ensure higher numbers were consistent with more positive answers e.g. the variable measuring health. Treatment of the language skills variables is discussed in section 4.4.2.

The procedures for analysis of the questionnaire are detailed in full in Chapter Four, consequently, here I briefly summarise how each stage addressed the RQs, as illustrated in Figure 3.7. To address RQ1, I conducted statistical tests on the means of the responses to assess differences in the relative perceived importance of each of the factors. The analysis also tests whether the importance of each factor differs between groups of participants, for example by ESOL level or gender. Cases with missing

variables were excluded from this analysis as this still left a sizeable sample (N = 352). To address RQ2 I used regression models to explore associations between language proficiency outcome variables and integration predictor variables. Regression allowed me to separate out the role of different correlated factors in predicting outcome variables. Regarding RQ3, I examined associations between integration predictor variables and five focal integration outcome variables considered representative of the realms of integration, while holding language proficiency constant. Finally, for RQ4, I explored how ascribed characteristics were associated with language proficiency outcomes, and with integration outcomes. For the regression analyses, pairwise exclusion of cases with missing variables would have resulted in the loss of majority of cases. Therefore, for numerical variables, missing variables were replaced with median values, and missing indicators were included in the analyses, and for categorical variables, a category for ‘missing’ was included in the analyses. The drawback of these methods is that they can result in biased estimates¹⁰ (Williams, 2015), however it is a straightforward way to maintain the majority of cases and avoid bias resulting from excluding cases with non-random missing data.

In the analyses, the Likert-type items are treated as continuous variables and parametric methods (ANOVA and regression) are used. Although there are drawbacks to this approach, as the difference between response options in Likert-type items cannot be assumed to be the same and thus assumptions of normality cannot be met, it is argued that parametric analytical methods can be appropriate for Likert type items due to their robustness (Norman, 2010; Sullivan and Artino, 2013). For analysis of ‘factors for a good life in Britain’ (see Figure 3.8), ANOVA is used as it is informative to compare the means, as this is the only measure of central tendency that uses all the response options and is affected by the distribution of responses across all four categories. Thus, examining the means for the importance of each factor gives an indication of the overall strength of how important the participants viewed each item. Supplementary nonparametric analyses were also carried out to test the robustness of the ANOVA.

Figure 3.8 Example of item measuring important factors for a life in Britain

In your opinion, how important are these things for having a good life in Britain?
Please tick **one** answer for each of these things.

	Not important	Not very important	Quite important	Very important
22. A good job	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>

¹⁰ Bias is likely to be negligible where the amount of missing data on each individual predictor variable is small. In the baseline questionnaire data, 84% of predictor variables have over 95% valid responses, and 100% have over 90% valid responses.

research question. I created a fourth column to record initial thoughts and interpretations. This served as a more in-depth reference which gave an overview of the data and allowed me to compare the findings of each strand.

Taking the qualitative and quantitative findings together with the mind maps and matrix, I used the *following a thread* approach to integrating the data (Moran-Ellis et al., 2006). This involves picking a theme or question which requires further exploration and following it across datasets to 'create a constellation of findings which can be used to generate a multi-faceted picture of the phenomenon' (Moran-Ellis et al., 2006 p.56). For example, a recurrent theme in the interview data was the ways in which interviewees depicted employment as important because they felt it presented opportunities to speak in English and thus improve their skills. Following this thread into the quantitative analysis, I found that the perceived importance of employment was echoed in the ESOL questionnaire data as participants rated it as one of the most important factors for good life in Britain. However, following the thread into the results of the regression analyses, I found little evidence of an association between employment and language proficiency. I then followed this thread back into the qualitative analysis in which interviewees with jobs recounted that although they spoke English in their jobs, they did not have enough opportunities to participate in interactions at a level which would improve their English skills. Weaving these threads together with existing evidence from previous research, I concluded that this suggests that, although employment has the potential for affording opportunities to interact in English, the types of work which ESOL learners are often limited to frequently do not support further progress in English. Additionally, these threads suggested that the expectations of the benefits which ESOL learners feel employment will bring may not be borne out by the reality. Where associations were found between two factors in the questionnaire analysis, I followed the thread into the interview data to explore whether the questionnaire data could support a link between them, and whether it could shed light on any directions of influence, or uncover potential mechanisms for the link. Sometimes these threads had multiple strands which I followed back and forth through the datasets several times.

This method enabled me to investigate unusual themes, contradictions, divergence or *silence* (where an issue arises in one data set but not in others) (O'Cathain et al., 2010) and explore how these give insights into the multiple aspects of the phenomena. Therefore, the following a thread technique is a flexible and iterative approach in step with a qualitative, constructivist stance to mixed methods research. This approach is

led in the first instance by a grounded inductive approach but developed through a focused iterative process of data interrogation which aims to interweave the findings that emerge from each dataset. The value of this integrative analytic approach lies in allowing an inductive lead to the analysis, preserving the value of the open, exploratory, qualitative inquiry but incorporating the focus and specificity of the quantitative data (Moran-Ellis et al., 2006 p.56).

Finally, I brought all these threads together and organised them into topics to address each research question in Chapter Six. Writing this chapter constituted the final phase of the interpretations as it was an iterative process involving reorganising and refining the themes to construct the central findings of the study.

3.8 Reflecting on trustworthiness and validity

Evaluating validity and trustworthiness of mixed methods research is complex, as criteria normally applied to evaluate qualitative methods is usually not considered applicable for quantitative methods and vice versa. Therefore, I discuss issues pertinent to the quantitative data collection and analysis, followed by those relevant to the qualitative strand, before evaluating the overall mixed methods design.

In quantitative methods, validity usually refers to the extent to which a research instrument measures what it is designed to measure (Mertens, 2010). Therefore, it is necessary to clearly define the purpose of the instrument and align this with the aims of the research study. In the case of the questionnaire, the purpose was to measure how participants represent their experiences at particular timepoints. However, there are many factors which may have influenced the responses they selected. Firstly, questionnaire responses may be affected by bias; for example, respondents may provide the response they feel is desirable or expected (Dörnyei, 2010). These factors may be particularly relevant to ESOL learner respondents who may feel reluctant to give negative opinions of their experiences in Britain or compelled to represent themselves in particular ways. To mitigate this, I built repeated assurances of confidentiality and anonymity into the research design. Another consideration for validity is that participants may interpret the questions in different ways, due to factors such as cultural background and level of language proficiency. I attempted to address this by piloting and careful design of the questionnaire wording. Reliability tests on the language proficiency variables created by summing questionnaire items showed that they demonstrated good internal consistency (see section 4.4.2)

The relatively large ESOL learner questionnaire sample adds an aspect of generalisability to the study which would not be possible from the qualitative data alone. However, there are limitations to generalisability as the questionnaire data are not a random sample. There is the risk of selection bias

as the learners who completed the questionnaire may be systematically different from learners who did not. This latter group could include those who chose not to complete the questionnaire, or whose teachers chose not to participate, were too busy or were not aware of it (because, for example, neither they nor their managers were involved in the ESOL practitioner networks used to publicise it). Moreover, learners with low English language and literacy skills were not able to participate.

To mitigate these sampling issues, I went to considerable lengths to recruit participants and make the questionnaire as accessible to as many learners as possible (as detailed above), and I have been transparent about the data collection methods and the sample. Additionally, as previously mentioned, the questionnaire design enabled mapping of some responses and categories with the nationally representative sample of non-proficient speakers of English in the Understanding Society survey. This enabled comparison of proportions for background characteristics, perceived language difficulty and integration variables between the two samples. The ESOL learner sample was also compared with those in four previous ESOL learner surveys. Details of these comparisons and their implications for the representativeness of the sample in this study are presented in section 4.2.

Although important, consideration of validity has limitations for evaluating a qualitatively driven study in which reality is held to be multiple and subjective, therefore *trustworthiness* is often used as an alternative to validity (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). There are many elements of trustworthiness; here I describe some examples of how it was addressed in the study. To maximise *transferability*, often characterised as paralleling generalisability (Mertens, 2015), I aimed to provide sufficient detail of the research context, sample and methods to enable ESOL researchers and practitioners to assess the extent to which the findings can be applied to other ESOL contexts and learners. To maximise *credibility* of the findings, I collected substantial data and carried out extensive and intensive engagement with this data, including actively exploring instances which appeared to contradict emerging interpretations.

Mixed methods designs are often seen as a way to increase validity through triangulation of different research methods in order to corroborate the findings (Cohen et al., 2011). However, this concept of triangulation is not compatible with this qualitatively driven study as it can imply that there is a single social reality that can be verified through the different methods (Mason, 2002; 2006). Instead, the multiple methods used in this study aim to offer different perspectives from which to view the findings in relation to the research questions. Green et al. (1989) state that *complementarity mixed method* studies explore 'overlapping but also different facets of a phenomenon, yielding an enriched,

elaborated understanding of that phenomenon' (Greene et al., 1989 p.258). To achieve this, when integrating the quantitative and qualitative analyses I paid close attention to instances of the following:

- convergence: where findings were in harmony
- complementarity: where analysis yielded complementary information on the same issue
- dissonance: where findings appeared to contradict one another
- silence: where a theme or finding arose from one data set and not another (Cathain et al., 2010).

Instances of dissonance or silence were not treated as an indication that part of the analysis is 'wrong', but rather, they were viewed as inevitable outcomes of using different methods to examine the same issues, and consequently they triggered further exploration and insights.

Finally, the construct of validity has limitations for evaluating this qualitatively driven study which aims to foreground subjective experience, rather than claiming to capture an objective "truth". Instead, I have attempted to be reflexive and examine how my positionality as a researcher shapes the process and findings of this study, and I have built reflection on this into the interpretations (Richardson, 2000). This is discussed further in the following section.

3.9 Ethical issues, positionality and reflexivity

It is particularly important to acknowledge and mitigate the many ethical challenges in research in which there are potentially large power differentials, such as projects involving refugees and others with insecure immigration status (Hugman et al., 2011). This section details the key ethical considerations and measures taken before, during and after the fieldwork stage. When planning the study, I consulted the BERA Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research (BERA, 2011). I subsequently followed the University of Bristol School of Education ethics procedure, and ethical approval was obtained for the questionnaires on 3/10/2017 and interviews on 25/10/2017. The ethics applications detailing the ethical considerations for the interviews and questionnaires are included in Appendix 12 and Appendix 13.

Participant information for the questionnaires and interviews were carefully worded to maximise clarity and comprehensibility. The questionnaire included participation information and consent questions at the beginning (see Appendix 9). The teachers were requested to read the participant information with the class and ensure it was understood and consent given before students completed

the questionnaire. Despite this, I was concerned that individual learners would feel pressured to take part in a questionnaire that the rest of the class was doing as it is important to consider the 'implications of the context in which consent is being sought' (Hugman et al., 2011 p.1278). I addressed this by allowing learners to skip questions they did not wish to answer (in both online and paper versions) and stressing that the questionnaire was anonymous. Also, in my experience ESOL teachers are usually mindful of the needs of their learners, and I suggested that they could offer non-participants an alternative task to complete.

There was evidence that some participants did exercise their right not to participate or to withdraw once they had started on the questionnaire. In the online version, some participants skipped questions and others stopped before the end and did not submit the questionnaire. In the paper version, some participants missed questions, or returned blank questionnaires, and the teachers reported that some learners took the questionnaire away to finish later and then did not return it. From teacher feedback, it appeared that there were many classes in which not all the learners completed the questionnaire.

When recruiting for interviews, I stressed that participation was voluntary. I read the participant information sheet and consent form aloud with them and verbally checked understanding (see Appendix 14). I made my recruitment visit at the end of each class session, and after I had described the project, the teacher dismissed the class five minutes early and advised that any students interested in participating could stay behind to talk to me. Thus, learners who did not wish to participate could just leave the room. After explaining the project in more detail to those who remained behind, some agreed to take part and we made arrangements to meet. Even after learners had agreed to participate, I made it clear they could withdraw at any time, and indeed six out of the 14 interviewees that I recruited did not complete all three interviews.

At the start of each interview, I asked how long they wanted the meeting to last and attempted to keep to this timeframe. The participant's anonymity was maintained by use of a pseudonym which they were invited to choose, and I changed potentially identifying information in writing up this study. The use of visual methods presented particular ethical issues (Wiles et al., 2008). For example, I gained consent from each participant on my use of their timeline and any photos in my analysis and write up (see consent forms in Appendix 15), and anonymised the timelines and images used in the write up.

In terms of reciprocity, I offered to reimburse their bus fare to college for that day and gave a £20 voucher as a gratuity for taking part. Additionally, several interviewees revealed that they had

particular reasons for participating, for example: some felt that a one-to-one conversation was a good opportunity to practise their English skills (e.g. Emma); others wanted to tell ‘their story’, including Fatmira and Ali who wanted others to know the hardships they faced; Gill wished to voice her opinion that ESOL eligibility rules should be less ‘*strict*’; Ranu wanted to convey the importance of learning English and of improving ESOL provision; and Flowers was interested due to her own experience of PhD studies. In terms of feeding back the study findings, I sent a short “ESOL friendly” interim report to participating teachers to share with their classes, and I plan to disseminate further accessible reports after submission of the thesis, including to interview participants who expressed an interest.

Although consideration of ethical issues at the beginning of a research project is vital, a research design must also allow for the unpredictability of fieldwork (Giampapa, 2011). Therefore, I made sure to keep ethics in mind throughout the project, including when making interpretations and writing the thesis, and I made contingent decisions based on issues that arose (Webster, Lewis and Brown, 2014). An important aspect of this is viewing informed consent as a ‘process rather than an event’ (Hugman et al., 2011 p.1278). Consequently, in the interviews I judged participants’ level of consent not just from their initial verbal and written confirmation, but also from their behaviour and responses throughout. I was particularly aware of the fact that ESOL learner participants may have had traumatic experiences or be experiencing precarious circumstances. For example, I did not directly ask participants why they came to the UK, was tentative in asking about potentially sensitive topics and about their past lives, and was constantly gauging whether to pursue or drop particular lines of questioning. Moreover, as previously described, the timelines and other tools were designed to facilitate participants to have more control over how they wished to represent their experiences to me. Additionally, I have excluded potentially sensitive or compromising details from this thesis.

Ethical considerations include examining how the relationships between researcher and participants shape the research (Banks et al., 2013), which requires reflexivity. Constructivists view researchers as an integral part of inquiry (Cresswell, 2014; Mertens, 2015) and thus researchers must be reflexive by examining how they are part of the social world they are investigating and the ways in which their experiences, stance and subjectivities shape the research process and product (Banks et al., 2013; Henry, 2003). In research interviews, knowledge is co-constructed in the interaction between researcher and participant, and this knowledge is therefore specific to the context and actors in each interview, (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2018) and shaped by their respective positionalities. My positionality is shaped by interaction between multiple identities which include white, British, “native speaker” of English, doctoral researcher, and ESOL practitioner. This also shapes my ideological standpoint,

particularly my awareness of some of the issues that ESOL learners can experience and how these highlight the problematic nature of the media and political rhetoric regarding speaking English and integration. The participants were informed of my ESOL teaching background, and thus it is likely that teacher/student identity positions shaped the data and reinforced the unequal researcher/ participant positions of power (Burns 2010). I regularly visited the setting of the interviews and often bumped into the participants in the corridors, which may have reduced my status as a stranger at the college, but equally could have reinforced perceptions of me as an “ESOL teacher”. These issues of positionality also influence the questionnaire data, as the questionnaire content is shaped by my own positionality and worldview, and participants’ responses to this content will be shaped by their positionalities.

Consequently, during the analysis I reflected on the ways in which the participants may have positioned me and chose to present themselves and their experiences (Giampapa and Lamoureux, 2011). For example, I contemplated how participants may have modified their contributions according to their perceptions of me as a British person and ESOL teacher; perhaps downplaying negative opinions or experiences of British life. The findings of this study must be viewed in light of these issues of power and positionality.

3.10 Approach to presentation of the findings

The approach to presenting the findings is as follows. In Chapter Four, the quantitative analysis is organised around the RQs, whereas in Chapter Five, the qualitative findings are organised by themes derived via interpretation of the data. Chapter Six then integrates these analyses by drawing together the quantitative and qualitative interpretations, and exploring how they work together, or in opposition, to shed light on the RQs.

4 Findings from the ESOL learner questionnaire

4.1 Introduction to chapter

This chapter presents the findings of the ESOL learner questionnaire. The findings are drawn from cross-sectional data from the baseline questionnaire (N=409); and longitudinal data from participants who completed both baseline and the follow-up questionnaires (N = 150). Length of time between baseline and follow-up ranged from 17 to 38 weeks (M=29, SD=4.73). The longitudinal sample was small, and there was relatively little change in many of the variables, with few associations found between initial conditions and change variables. Therefore, the main focus of the analysis is the cross-sectional data with the longitudinal analysis being used where relevant in an attempt to shed light on the direction of any associations found in the cross-sectional data.

The structure of this chapter is as follows. Section 4.2 describes the characteristics of the ESOL questionnaire sample and assesses the extent to which it can be viewed as representative of ESOL learners in general. Section 4.3 presents the strategy for each part of the analysis and how they address the research questions. Section 4.4 presents the variables used in the analysis, and summary statistics of these. Sections 4.5 to 4.9 present the results for each stage of the analysis, and Section 4.10 provides a summary of the conclusions drawn.

4.2 The ESOL learner questionnaire sample

The baseline questionnaire was completed by 409 ESOL learners via 43 teachers in a range of educational settings in various geographical locations in England and Wales (40.6% were Bristol based). They represented 71 different countries of birth. Participants were aged between 19 and 71, (mean= 36.56, SD=9.55). Length of time in the UK varied between less than one year to 38 years (Mean= 6.20, SD=5.58). The left panel of Table 4.1 shows summary statistics for the key background characteristics of the cross-sectional ESOL learner sample (for descriptive statistics for all questionnaire items, see Appendix 16).

The ESOL learner questionnaire is a non-probability sample obtained via ESOL teachers and students who agreed to participate in the study (see section 3.5). To consider the degree to which this sample

Table 4.1 Characteristics of ESOL learner sample

		ESOL learner sample		Understanding society non-proficient sample with weights
		N	%	%
Age	<i>16-17¹</i>	0	0	1.4
	18-25	47	12.3	13.3
	26-35	143	37.4	31.3
	36-45	126	33.0	22.8
	46-71	66	17.3	24.4
	<i>72-93¹</i>	0	0	6.9
Total N		382		<i>1864²</i>
Mean (SD)		36.56 (9.55)		40.76 (16.04)
Time in UK	Under 2 years	56	14.2	13.4
	2-4 years	151	38.4	26.2
	5-10 years	105	26.7	22.2
	Over 10 years	81	20.6	38.2
	Total N	393		1797
Mean (SD)	6.20 (5.58)		13.11 (14.89)	
Female		294	72.4	51.5
Total N	406			
Muslim		187	47.7	32.9
Total N	392			1845
Ethnicity	White	124	31.4	38.1
	Black	90	22.8	6.5
	Asian	121	30.6	42.3
	Arab	46	11.6	2.7
	Other	14	3.5	10.5
	Total N	395		
Arrived as refugee /asylum seeker		117	31.9	-
Total N	367			
Highest education level	<i>Still at school¹</i>	-	-	.6
	None/ left before 15	60	15.7	22.8
	Left after 15 (no degree)	197	51.4	59.5
	Has degree	126	32.9	17.0
	Total N	383		
Lives with partner		253	64.4	64.8
Total N	393			1846
Has one or more children under 16 living with them		228	58.8	22.9
Total N	388			1846
Born in EU		94	23.7	-
Total N	396			
Employed			41.4	45.4
Total N	396			

Notes. ¹Categories included in Understanding Society only. ²Unweighted total N.

can be said to be representative of ESOL learners in Britain, I compared it to samples from other data sources. Firstly, a comparison was made with four other surveys of ESOL learners in Britain: two older surveys of ESOL learners from a range of geographic areas (Baynham et al., 2007; Schellekens, 2001), and two more recent surveys of ESOL learners based in single geographical areas (Hackney ESOL Advice Service, 2017; Vasey et al., 2018). None of these studies use data from randomly selected

learners and thus are not representative. Therefore, I benchmarked my sample with a sub-sample from the nationally representative Understanding Society survey (University of Essex, 2017) which involves annually administered questionnaires to residents of randomly selected UK households spread widely geographically. Understanding Society does not measure attendance in ESOL classes, so I identified a *non-proficient in English* sub-sample as a proxy. Appendix 17 provides methodological and sampling information for these other data sources and provides more detail on the comparisons made with my ESOL learner sample. The most important points are as follows.

In common with the other ESOL studies, in the ESOL learner questionnaire sample, women are in the majority, the age profile is relatively young, and there is a broad range of previous experiences of education and a wide range of length of residence in the UK, from newly arrived to very long-term. The ethnic and national diversity, and the sizeable proportion of Muslim students, are also typical of the broader ESOL learner population. However, in this sample, low educated, and unemployed individuals appear to be underrepresented and those with higher education qualifications are slightly overrepresented. In general, the ESOL sample appears to be broadly representative of ESOL learners, apart from certain deviations that are predictable due to differences in sampling and methods used in the different studies. Thus, although not a representative sample, the ESOL learner questionnaire sample can be said to be symbolically representative (Ritchie et al., 2014, p.16), as it broadly simulates the demographics and rich diversity of ESOL learners in Britain.

When comparing the ESOL learner questionnaire sample to the broader population of non-proficient migrants encapsulated by the Understanding Society survey, women, parents, Muslims, and the university educated are overrepresented, and low educated migrants are underrepresented. Although both samples possess a similar range of ages and diversity of length of stay in the UK, ESOL learners tend to be slightly younger on average, and constitute a lower proportion of very long-term residents. There are also some differences in proportions of the ethnic groups. The proportions of employed people and those with partners are similar. When comparing language proficiency, whilst the patterns bear some similarity, the ESOL learner questionnaire sample tend to be more confident in their English language ability than the general population of non-proficient speakers of English. These differences should be borne in mind when considering the findings and their applicability to ESOL learners as a whole, and to the broader population of migrants who are not proficient in English

Within the ESOL learner questionnaire sample, the proportions for the **Bristol** and **non-Bristol** sub-samples were generally very similar, with a few exceptions (see Appendix 18). In Bristol there were

proportionately more Muslim participants (59.4% compared to 40.1%) and participants who had arrived as refugees (40.8% vs. 25.9%). Additionally, the distributions of reported ethnicities differed slightly. In Bristol, Black participants constituted the largest group (28%) followed by White (26.1%), Asian (21.0%), other response (13.4%) and Arab (11.5%). In the non-Bristol sample, White was the largest reported ethnicity (32.8%), followed by Asian (29.8%), Black (18.5%), Arab (11.8%) and other (7.1%). These differences may be partially explained by the large proportions of Somali (16.1%), and Sudanese (12.4%) participants in Bristol who constituted the most commonly reported countries of birth. In comparison the non-Bristol sample contained less concentrated proportions of country of birth with the most common being Iranian (8.1%), Polish 6.0%) and Afghani (6.0%) with no Somali participants. Additionally, the Bristol sample on average lived in areas with lower proportions of non-UK born residents (17.4%), compared to the non-Bristol sample (27.6%). Notably however, despite these demographic differences, the patterns for variables measuring the important factors for life in Britain, language and integration were very similar for both samples, suggesting that overall, the experiences of Bristol participants were broadly similar to the non-Bristol participants and that the large proportion of Bristol participants in the ESOL learner sample did not bias the results.

The patterns of participant characteristics were broadly the same for the longitudinal sample (see Appendix 16) which constituted 150 learners of 33 teachers, 44% of whom are Bristol based. Therefore, although this sample is smaller it is not likely to be biased, in terms of characteristics, in relation to the cross-sectional sample. However, as discussed in section 3.5, there are many possible reasons for the high attrition rate, including that a disproportionate number of participants facing barriers to integration and language learning may have been excluded from the follow-up questionnaire as they may have stopped attending ESOL classes by the time it was administered. Therefore, there is a possibility that the language and integration outcomes at follow-up among the longitudinal sample could be biased positively compared to those who dropped out.

4.3 Analytical strategy

The quantitative analyses (in conjunction with the qualitative findings discussed in Chapter Five) speak to the **Research Questions** in the following ways:

RQ 1. *According to their accounts, what do ESOL learners feel is important for integration and having a good life in Britain?*

This question aims to address the lack of information on ESOL learners' priorities for integration. As explained in section 3.5, using the term 'integration' was not considered appropriate in an ESOL

learner questionnaire, and instead, the questionnaire asks participants to state the importance of 13 items for having a good life in Britain (see section 4.4.1). The analysis is based on the cross-sectional data, as it was envisioned that there was unlikely to be much change in opinions over the research period. Statistical tests on the means of the responses were conducted to assess differences in the relative perceived importance of each factor. Additionally, there is little existing evidence on how different experiences may shape migrants' opinions on what is important for integration, therefore the analysis explores whether opinions are similar for all ESOL learners, or whether these differ between groups of learners, such as women and men, or refugees compared to non-refugees. The analytical methods and results are presented in section 4.5. To address the remaining research questions, correlations and regression techniques were used to analyse both the cross-sectional and longitudinal data.

RQ 2. How are language learning and integration inter-related in the experiences of ESOL learners?

In discourse and much of the scholarship on integration, English proficiency is characterised as leading to improved integration outcomes, however, as argued in Chapter Two, there are many social and cultural factors which can impact on language acquisition of migrants and refugees. However, to date few studies directly examine the ways in which integration and language learning may impact on each other. To interrogate this two-way relationship between language and integration, the cross-sectional data were used to explore associations between indicators of integration and **five language proficiency outcome variables**: ESOL class level, perceived language ability, and three language skills: everyday speaking, formal speaking and literacy (see section 4.4.2).

First, the analysis tests for unadjusted associations between language and integration variables. The next stage ascertains whether these associations survive addition of controls for potentially confounding observed characteristics. Accordingly, for the language outcome variables, multivariate regression models are fitted in which all predictors with significant unadjusted associations are included simultaneously, in order to isolate the net "influence" of each associated integration variable.

The reason for this approach is that this is an exploratory study which aims to examine which aspects of integration are associated with language outcomes for the ESOL learner participants. The multivariate analysis aims to provide evidence on which of these associations may have independent predictive power when other variables are controlled for and equalised. A correlational study of this type cannot claim to identify causal effects; instead, comparison of the adjusted with the unadjusted estimates can help rule out some potential sources of confounding. If an unadjusted association of a

particular predictor variable survives the controls in the multivariate model, this evidence of independent predictive power is treated as suggestive of a potential causal interpretation and one that merits further investigation. Additionally, the relatively small sample and large number of covariates in the models reduces the degrees of freedom in the multivariate models considerably, thus a non-significant adjusted coefficient may simply reflect a lack of power. Therefore, the magnitude and sign of adjusted coefficients are considered alongside their significance when drawing conclusions regarding the evidence found for an association.

Additionally, even if we disregard the effect of extraneous variables, we are not able to establish the direction of causality using just the adjusted associations between integration and language variables (Miles and Shevlin, 2001). In other words, it is often not possible to ascertain whether better outcomes in an aspect of integration cause higher language scores, or whether having higher language scores causes better integration outcomes. The coefficients from the cross-sectional models are therefore interpreted purely as associations, with equal relevance for perspectives that view English proficiency as a facilitator of integration (e.g. Tip et al., 2019) and those that view the political, economic and sociocultural context within which ESOL learners live as shaping their language acquisition outcomes (e.g. Norton, 2013).

Next, the analysis attempts to go some way to address the issue of direction of causality via analysis of the longitudinal data. This aims to shed light on direction of influence between associated independent and dependent variables, by establishing temporal priority, i.e. that variation in the independent variable occurs before that of the dependent variable (Miles and Shevlin, 2001; Chambliss and Schutt, 2006). For example, if we can establish that better outcomes in a particular integration variable come before an increase in a language outcome, this can provide evidence on the direction of influence, pointing to a possibility of this integration variable causing an increase in language proficiency. This analysis explores if integration variables measured at baseline are associated with **changes in language measures** (see section 4.4.4) at follow up, and also if language measures at baseline are associated with **changes in selected integration** measures at follow-up (described in section 4.4.5). Significant associations in this part of the analysis may help to elucidate the direction of causation between related integration and language variables. However, there is not a large amount of variation in the change variables, so the ability of the analysis of the longitudinal data to provide evidence on direction of causation is limited.

To date there has been a lack of research which attempts to establish the direction of causation of associated aspects of integration and language proficiency. An exception is Tip et al. (2019) who found that earlier English proficiency was positively associated with later well-being with intergroup contact acting as a mediator (see Chapter Two, section 2.4.3). However, their study did not rule out other potential influences. There appears to be currently no empirical evidence on direction of causation of associations between language proficiency and integration that helps us discriminate between alternative explanations. Thus, despite the limitations, this approach to interrogating bidirectionality in the relationship between integration and language learning is novel.

RQ 3. Aside from English language skills, what other factors affect integration outcomes for ESOL learners?

The models discussed in the previous section isolate the associations between integration indicators and language proficiency but not the inter-relationships between different aspects of integration. As shown in section 0, existing studies suggest that there are many factors which can potentially affect integration outcomes, other than language proficiency. For example, migrants and refugees experience labour market disadvantage (Office for National Statistics, 2014), have less positive social integration outcomes (Kearns and Whitley, 2015), and can experience harassment (Bryers et al., 2013). However, there is a lack of existing research which explicitly attempts to identify which factors affect integration outcomes after separating out the effect of English proficiency. Given the potential complexity of the inter-relationships between the many different aspects of integration, for tractability this analysis centres on **five focal integration outcome variables** which are considered representative of the realms of integration in my model described in Chapter Two: the ***affective realm***; the ***social realm*** and the ***structural realm***. Section 4.4.3 explains how these aspects are operationalised by using focal and supplementary indicators. The analytical strategy is similar to that for RQ2 above. Using the cross-sectional data, associations are explored between the focal integration variables, and between these and supplementary integration variables. Where significant unadjusted associations are found, these are included in multivariate regression models to compare simultaneously the relative importance of the ‘influence’ of the associated variables on the outcome. In these models, language and ascribed characteristic variables are included in the multivariate specifications as controls. The analysis for RQ2 explores the relationships between language and aspects of integration; here the intention is to isolate the partial associations between different aspects of integration among those with similar language skills and background characteristics. RQ4 then focuses directly on the associations between ascribed characteristics and integration (see below).

As for RQ2 above, the longitudinal data is used to explore whether it is possible to shed light on the direction of causation of any associations between the different aspects of integration. I use **integration change outcome variables** to explore whether integration conditions at baseline can predict changes in other aspects between baseline and follow-up, interpreting this as tentative evidence in favour of a particular direction of causation. Again, this aspect of the analysis has limitations (aside from the possibility of the presence of unobserved confounders) due to the limited occurrence of change in the integration outcome variables over time.

RQ 4. How does attention to identity and positioning help to better understand ESOL learners' experiences of language learning and integration?

This question will be largely addressed by the qualitative findings, however the quantitative analysis contributes to this by exploring which **ascribed identity and background characteristics** (for example, gender or level of education) are associated with the language proficiency and integration dependent variables. Again, significant unadjusted associations are then incorporated into multivariate regression models in an attempt to shed light on which may be independent predictors of language or integration when correlated characteristics are controlled. I use the cross-sectional data only as it is anticipated that the direction of association is clearer for fixed characteristics. For example, ethnicity can potentially affect current level of English proficiency, but current language level cannot affect ethnicity. Results of the analysis of ascribed characteristics and language are presented in section 4.6 and results regarding characteristics and integration are presented in section 4.8.

4.4 Variables and summary statistics

The basic demographic characteristics of the ESOL learner sample are described in section 4.2 above. This section now describes the other measures and summary statistics in the questionnaire.

4.4.1 *Factors important for a good life*

Participants were asked to rate the importance of 13 items on a 4 point scale ranging from 1 (*not important*) to 4 (*very important*). As discussed in section 3.5, the items were selected according to factors characterised as important for integration by government policy and discourse, previous scholarship, and my exploratory master's study. The 13 factors are described and discussed in detail in results section 4.5, and supplementary sample summary statistics for these variables are presented in Appendix 16.

4.4.2 Language proficiency variables

There are five language proficiency outcome variables derived from the cross-sectional data: ESOL class level, perceived language ability score, everyday speaking, formal speaking and literacy. **ESOL class level** is a measure of participants' assessed English language level see (Table 4.2). For clarity for non-ESOL specialist readers, I use the names of the ESOL levels common to England, Wales and Northern Ireland¹², as well as commonly used descriptors in language teaching; however, these are approximate equivalent levels and may vary slightly across ESOL settings. In this study, ESOL class level represents an externally assessed, "objective" measure of the participants' English language proficiency as giving the participants standardised tests, and matching these to the anonymous questionnaires, was beyond the scope of this study, for practical as well as ethical reasons. The ESOL class level which the participants attended at the time they completed the questionnaire is a result of a progression trajectory, therefore this variable facilitates exploration of which factors might be associated with language proficiency in the longer term. The usual method of determining ESOL level is to assess learners' skills in speaking, listening, reading and writing. The participants were attending ESOL classes in a wide range of providers, which are likely to have different initial assessment methods for deciding which classes to place ESOL learners. Also, larger providers will have the full range of ESOL class levels, but others may only have the provision for one or two classes. Thus, where there is limited provision, the same learner may be placed in a higher or lower level than they would be in a setting where there is a wide range of class levels. Whilst acknowledging this, the levels are assumed to be generally consistent across the settings, and therefore assumed to give a fairly accurate and reliable measure of participants' English language levels.

Table 4.2 ESOL levels of cross-sectional sample and longitudinal sample

	Cross-sectional sample		Longitudinal sample at baseline	
	N	%	N	%
Entry 2 and below/ Elementary	80	20.1	17	11.8
Entry 3/ Pre-intermediate	111	27.9	39	27.1
Level 1/ Intermediate	141	35.4	62	43.1
Level 2/ Upper-intermediate	66	16.6	26	18.1
Total	398	100	144	100

Note. Four participants reported to be in an 'other class level'; these were treated as missing variables and excluded from the analysis.

Table 4.2 shows that the proportions in each level (as measured at baseline) are fairly similar for both samples, with the largest proportion being in Level 1, followed by Entry 3. However, in the cross-sectional sample, Level 2 learners constitute the smallest group, whereas in the longitudinal sample,

¹² Detailed in Appendix 2.

the Entry 2 learners make up the smallest group, indicating that there were higher rates of attrition amongst the lowest level learners.

Perceived language ability is a self-reported variable and thus represents how participants *felt* about their language skills at the time of completing the questionnaire. The variable was derived from measures of how difficult participants found five different English language skills. These are based on measures used in Understanding Society, with the addition of *difficulty speaking English in formal situations* which I included to facilitate examination of the importance of the more powerful types of linguistic capital. Items measuring self-reported language ability are commonly used in surveys as a measure of language proficiency and have been used widely in previous research on integration for migrants and refugees (e.g. Cheung and Phillimore, 2013, 2017; Morrice et al., 2019). Table 4.3 shows the proportions and means for the difficulty scores for each of the five skills for the cross-sectional sample and the longitudinal sample at baseline (Appendix 16 shows Ns.)

Table 4.3 Self-reported difficulty in the 5 language skills cross-sectional sample and longitudinal sample at baseline

	Difficulty speaking English for everyday activities %		Difficulty speaking English in formal situations %		Difficulty speaking English on the telephone %		Difficulty reading formal letters or documents %		Difficulty filling in official forms in English %	
	cross-sectional	longitudinal	cross-sectional	longitudinal	cross-sectional	longitudinal	cross-sectional	longitudinal	cross-sectional	longitudinal
It is not difficult	28.2	31.1	7.2	6.0	6.9	7.4	15.8	14.8	16.3	14.7
A little difficult	56.4	56.1	48.5	55.7	39.6	39.6	45.0	44.3	40.1	44.0
Fairly difficult	10.4	8.8	30.7	24.8	32.2	32.9	28.5	32.2	29.0	29.3
Very difficult	5.0	4.1	13.6	13.4	21.3	20.1	10.6	8.7	14.6	12.0
Mean	1.92	1.86	2.51	2.46	2.68	2.66	2.34	2.35	2.42	2.39
SD	.76	.74	.82	.80	.89	.88	.87	.84	.93	.88
N	404	148	404	149	404	149	404	149	404	150

Note. *Self-reported difficulty measured on scale 1 (*it is not difficult*) to 4 (*very difficult*).

For both samples, the means and proportions for each item were broadly the same, and both samples display the highest mean level of difficulty for *speaking English on the telephone*, followed by *speaking English in formal situations*, *filling in official forms*, *reading formal letters or documents* with *speaking English for everyday activities* having the lowest mean difficulty. This similarity in perceived language difficulty in the two samples is somewhat surprising, given the fact that the longitudinal sample had a lower proportion of learners in the lowest level.

For both the cross-sectional and longitudinal data, the five ‘skills difficulty’ scores were added up and reversed to create a combined **language ability** variable, with a scale of 1 to 16 where 16 is the highest perceived ability (or lowest reported difficulty) (see Table 4.4). The Cronbach alpha coefficient is .80 suggesting good internal reliability for this item (Pallent, 2010). This method of deriving a combined language ability score from self-reported data, is similar to that used by Cheung and Phillimore (2017), who combine scores based on how well participants report to perform four English skills, and Morrice et al. (2019), who use the mean score of participants’ ratings of five different aspects of language proficiency. Where my method differs is that it is derived from participants being asked to rate level of difficulty, (as opposed to level of proficiency), of different language skills. The purpose of this was to enabling matching of responses with those in Understanding Society. For both the samples the mean language ability score was just over 9.

Table 4.4 Combined language ability score for cross sectional and longitudinal samples

Language ability score	Cross-sectional sample			Longitudinal sample at baseline		
	N	%	Cumulative %	N	%	Cumulative %
1	3	.8	.8	0	0	0
2	5	1.3	2.0	2	1.4	1.4
3	11	2.8	4.8	5	3.4	4.8
4	14	3.5	8.3	7	4.8	9.5
5	24	6.0	14.3	5	3.4	12.9
6	26	6.5	20.8	9	6.1	19.0
7	37	9.3	30.0	12	8.2	27.2
8	43	10.8	40.8	13	8.8	36.1
9	38	9.5	50.3	16	10.9	46.9
10	49	12.3	62.5	20	13.6	60.5
11	64	16.0	78.5	32	21.8	82.3
12	33	8.3	86.8	7	4.8	87.1
13	16	4.0	90.8	3	2.0	89.1
14	18	4.5	95.3	7	4.8	93.9
15	14	3.5	98.8	8	5.4	99.3
16	5	1.3	100.0	1	.7	100.0
Total	400	100.0		147	100	
Mean (SD)	9.16 (3.18)			9.30 (3.13)		

Notes. Higher scores=higher ability/lower difficulty.

I explore how the language ability score compares to assessed ESOL class level. Table 4.5 shows that there is an association between higher ESOL class level and increased perceived language ability score.

However, this association is weaker than I would have expected because within the ESOL curriculum there is a notable difference in the English skill level between each consecutive level, and a substantial difference in the skill levels between learners in Entry 2 and Level 2. Thus, if the language ability score was a stronger indicator of ESOL class level, I would expect the mean language ability score for learners in Entry 2 to be closer to 1 (i.e. that this group would tend to find the five skills difficult), and that of learners in Level 2 to be closer to 16 (i.e. that this group would tend to find the skills not particularly difficult).

Table 4.5 Mean perceived language ability score by ESOL level

Total language ability (16 =highest/ least difficult)				
ESOL class	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Mean Z-score
Entry 2 and below	78	7.87	3.32	-.40
Entry 3	108	8.56	2.90	-.19
Level 1	138	9.74	3.01	.18
Level 2	66	10.50	3.13	.42
Total	390	9.17	3.19	.00

Notes. Differences in Z-scores approximate Cohen’s d, a standardised measure of effect size. At 0.82, the difference between the Entry 2 and Level 2 standard deviations would be considered a large effect size.

The language ability score is based on how easy the participants find using English – and this may not necessarily correspond with their actual skills. Therefore, the score reflects their feelings and confidence in using English at the time of completing the questionnaires. This is associated with language level, but measures other factors, such as confidence and possibly the types of situations they usually encounter or the level of sophistication of communication they engage in. The analysis examines associations between both these language proficiency outcomes and various predictors and discusses divergences in findings between the two.

The three specific ‘skills’ variables, **everyday speaking**, **formal speaking** and **literacy**, also measure participants’ perceptions. Differences in the types of linguistic capital that learners possess may shape their integration experiences, as the effectiveness of different types of language and literacy practices varies across different domains of life (Hamilton et al. 2012). Following Cheung and Phillimore, (2014) I use variables to represent aspects of English skills. Possessing stronger literacy skills has been linked with better employment opportunities (e.g. Cheung and Phillimore, 2014) and could be instrumental in raising income levels. I use a **literacy ability** variable created by reversing and averaging the *difficulty reading* and *filling in forms* variables. Being able to use more formal, ‘powerful’ forms of spoken English could improve outcomes for migrants and refugees, such as broadening employment opportunities and access to a wider variety of social networks. On the other hand, confidence in colloquial, everyday English may allow access to different types of spaces and networks and affect integration outcomes in different ways. Thus, diverging from Cheung and Phillimore’s study, I utilise

two variables for speaking skills: an **everyday speaking ability** variable was created by reversing the *difficulty speaking English for everyday activities* score; and a **formal speaking ability** score was determined by reversing and averaging the *difficulty speaking in formal situations* and *difficulty speaking on the phone* scores. The Cronbach alpha coefficients for the summed items **literacy ability** and **formal speaking ability** are both .76, suggesting internal consistency reliability for both. The analysis explores differences in associations between integration predictor variables and literacy and the two oral skills. In so doing, I explore the relationships between two types of spoken English (higher and lower status) and integration, which has hitherto been under-researched. Table 4.6 shows frequencies and mean scores indicating that the language skill perceived to be the easiest was speaking in everyday situations, followed by literacy tasks, and speaking in more formal situations was perceived to be the most difficult.

Table 4.6 Language skill scores for cross-sectional sample

	Everyday speaking ability %	Formal speaking ability %	Literacy ability %
1	5.0	7.7	7.2
1.5		14.9	6.2
2	10.4	19.4	20.3
2.5		17.9	17.9
3	56.4	30.1	27.0
3.5		6.2	12.4
4	28.2	3.7	8.9
Mean	3.08	2.40	2.62
SD	.76	.77	.80
N	404	402	403

Note. Higher scores=least difficulties.

4.4.3 Focal and supplementary integration variables

As discussed previously, this study conceptualises integration as a complex set of inter-related process with many dimensions (Ager and Strang, 2004; Spencer and Charsley, 2016; Bryers et al., 2013) located in **affective, social** and **structural** realms. In this analysis, the realms of integration are operationalised by five focal integration variables which represent key elements of each realm, as well as a number of supplementary measures. As explained in section 3.7.2, the Likert-type scales are treated as continuous variables, acknowledging the assumptions implicit in this approach. Analysis explores how these integration measures are associated with the language measures. Subsequently, the ways in which these focal variables are associated with one another, and with the supplementary variables, are explored.

4.4.3.1 Affective realm: security, wellbeing and health

The affective realm pertains to feelings of security and physical and mental wellbeing. The focal indicator for this realm is a measure of the extent to which participants **feel safe in their local area**. This is a 5-point rating scale consisting of bi-polar statements with numbered intervening points (1: very unsafe to 5: very safe). It is a focal variable because feelings of safety have been identified as particularly important for migrants, especially those with refugee backgrounds or with uncertain immigration status (e.g. Ager and Strang 2004a and 2004b). As discussed in section 4.5, feeling safe was identified as most important by the questionnaire participants, and this feeling was voiced by the interview participants too, as discussed in the following chapter. Supplementary measures for this realm include an indicator of recent experiences of *harassment*, an indicator of general psychological wellbeing in the form of a rating scale of how much they felt *calm and peaceful in the past 4 weeks (all, most, some, a little or none of the time)* and an indicator of whether they are *very sure they can stay in the UK*. Participants' health is measured using a self-reported rating scale (*excellent, very good, good, fair/OK or poor*).

4.4.3.2 The social realm: belonging, attitudes of British people and social networks

The social realm encompasses belonging and social relations. This realm is represented by two focal variables; the frequency with which learners report to **talk to people from different nationalities and cultures**, and the extent to which participants **feel part of British society**; as well as several supplementary variables. The two focal variables are representative of different sub-domains which are discussed in turn. A measure of the frequency with which participants **talk to people from different nationalities and cultures** is used as a focal variable as academic and political discussions concerning integration and English proficiency often focus on "inter-ethnic" social interactions, as illustrated in section 2.4.3. The study also uses the following supplementary variables in this sub-domain: the frequency with which learners report to *talk to people in their local area*, (scale with bi-polar statements 1: *not much* to 5: *a lot*) as well as the number of community and leisure *activities they participate in*. These variables are assumed to represent opportunities to speak English, as well as to mix with people from different backgrounds i.e., **social bridges** (Ager and Strang, 2004a). However, it must be noted that the languages spoken, and the backgrounds of the people participants interact with in these contexts are not in the data.

As discussed in section 2.4.3, migrants' use of "first" languages is often the subject of debates around the acquisition of English as well as integration. To interrogate this, variables measure the frequency with which participants *talk to people from similar nationalities and cultures* (scale with bi-polar

statements 1: *not much* to 5: *a lot*). This measure is a proxy for speaking in languages other than English, although it is acknowledged that this is an assumption and thus a rather imprecise measure of this. This variable also measures social relations with those from the same social or cultural group; **social bonds** (Ager and Strang, 2004a), and the analysis also includes a measure of the *proportion of non-UK born residents living in the local area*¹³.

The focal variable for the other sub-domain in this realm is the extent to which participants **feel part of British society** measured by a scale with bi-polar statements 1: *I do not feel part of British society* to 5: *I feel part of British society*. This broadens the focus from participants' feelings about the local area to those regarding wider society, as much scholarship on integration focuses on feelings of societal **belonging** (e.g. Gidley, 2016), and integration discourses emphasise the need to align with a British identity. The supplementary indicator of belonging is a measure of participants' *understanding of British culture* constituting a scale with bi-polar statements 1: *I don't understand British culture at all* to 5: *I understand British culture very well*. Bridging the areas of belonging and social networks is participants' perceptions of **attitudes of British people**; these are represented by supplementary measures of participants' perceptions of *friendliness of British people to migrants*, and *helpfulness of British people in listening to them when they talk* (scales with bi-polar statements 1: *usually not friendly/ helpful* to 5: *usually friendly/ helpful*). As discussed in Chapter Two, previous evidence suggests that ESOL learners' social experiences and feelings of belonging may impact their access to and quality of anglophone interactions, and affect their language learning.

4.4.3.3 The structural realm: employment, income and housing

Within the structural realm, employment and good quality housing are key indicators and facilitators of integration (Ager and Strang, 2004a). Both these factors were found to be important for the interviewees (see Chapter Five) and employment was found to be highly important to the questionnaire participants (see section 4.5). Therefore, binary indicators of being **employed** and having a **home in a good condition** are focal variables for the structural realm. Two supplementary binary indicators for housing quality are also used to measure whether participants have *enough space in their home*, and are *very sure that they can stay in their home as long as they like*.

¹³ This measure was derived by combining participants' postcode district (first part of their postcode) and data on households from the 2011 Census (see Appendix 19). It strongly correlates with the proportion of main languages other than English spoken in the area ($r=.97$, $p<.01$).

Two measures of **income** are used. As explained in section 3.5, it was considered inappropriate to ask participants directly for their income, therefore, proxy measures adapted from Understanding Society questionnaire items were used. These are a scale with bi-polar statements for *frequency of which participants have enough money to buy necessities (1: never to 5: always)*, and a categorical variable for *perception of amount of money one year from now (more, the same, or less)* to represent perceptions of future income and economic mobility. The analysis also examines whether living in a deprived local area affects participants' outcomes, and utilises a measure of the *percentage of households in local area not deprived* in any of the four dimensions of employment, education, health or housing¹⁴. Summary statistics for integration measures in the cross-sectional data, grouped by realm, are shown in Table 4.7.

On average, participants reported fairly positive experiences in some aspects of the affective realm. However, less than 60% felt very sure they could stay in the UK, and nearly a third had experienced at least one incident of harassment in the last 12 months. Average scores for the belonging variables were above the middle point, as were those for perceived attitudes of British people, and the measures for talking to people from similar and different backgrounds. However, participants reported to talk less frequently to people in their local area. On average, they participated in one leisure or community activity. The average proportion of residents in participants' postcode areas born outside the UK was nearly a quarter; higher than the average of 14% for the UK as a whole (ONS 2018). Over 40% of participants are employed. Whilst most participants had enough space in their home for themselves or their family, the majority did not have good condition or stable housing. On average, participants did not always have enough money to buy necessities, and just under a quarter felt they would have less money one year from now. On average, over 60% of households in participants' postcode area were classified as deprived in at least one of the four dimensions. The patterns for the longitudinal sample were similar (see Appendix 20).

¹⁴ This measure was derived using the participants' postcode district (first part of their postcode) and data on households from the 2011 Census (see Appendix 19).

Table 4.7 Summary statistics of integration variables, grouped by realm

Realm	Sub-group	Variable	Mean	SD	%	Total N
Affect	Security	<u>Feels safe in local area</u> †	4.00	1.04		397
		Experienced harassment in last 12 months			30.8	399
		Very sure can stay in the UK			58.3	396
	Health and mental health	Time in past 4 weeks felt calm and peaceful†	3.47	.96		397
		Health†	3.44	1.02		404
Integration: Social realm	Belonging	<u>Feels part of British society</u> †	3.37	1.08		392
		Understanding of British culture†	3.40	.94		404
	Attitudes of British people	Helpfulness of British people in listening to me†	4.02	.95		406
		Friendliness of British people to migrants†	3.87	1.00		406
	Social networks (Social bridges and social bonds)	<u>Talks to people from different nationalities or cultures</u> †	3.19	1.27		404
		<u>Talks to people in local area</u> †	2.71	1.30		402
		How much talks to people from similar nationalities or cultures†	3.62	1.25		402
		Number of activities participates in††	1.10	.89		407
		% non-UK born residents in area	23.54	14.44		353
	Integration: Structural realm	Housing	<u>Home in good condition</u>			39.0
Enough space in home					73.5	385
Very sure can stay in home					32.6	390
Employment		<u>Employed</u>			41.4	396
Income/deprivation		Frequency of money to buy necessities†	3.12	1.10		398
		Perception of amount of money one year from now				373
		More money			27.3	
		The same amount			46.4	
		Less money			26.3	
% households non-deprived in area	38.40	8.48		353		

Notes. Focal variables are underlined. † denotes Likert type rating variable treated as continuous, scale 1-5. †† denotes continuous scale 0-5. Mean and SD are provided for continuous variables, and percentages for categorical variables.

The proportions of the variables which were comparable to Understanding Society were broadly similar, particularly the proportions in the affective realm (*experiences of harassment, health and felt calm*) (see Appendix 21). The comparison for subjective measures of income is slightly more mixed: ESOL learners apparently perceived themselves to be slightly worse off financially, but were in general more optimistic that their finances would improve in the future. The generally high levels of similarities between the two samples strengthens the representativeness and credibility of the

subsequent findings as it suggests these factors do not differ greatly for the broader population of non-proficient English speakers outside the target population i.e. those who have been in the country a long time and those who do not attend ESOL classes.

4.4.4 *Language change outcome variables*

As discussed in section 4.3, the aim of the longitudinal data is to shed light on the direction of causality of associations found in the cross-sectional data. Dependent variables for language proficiency and integration outcomes are derived which measure change between baseline and follow-up. As participants were surveyed at two points within the same academic year and the questionnaire administered via their class teachers, it is unsurprising that ESOL level was almost exactly the same for participants at baseline and follow-up. Therefore, the language change variables are drawn from the perceived language difficulty scores at these two time points. Examination of the change in difficulty score between two time points revealed that in all 5 skills, small proportions had a large negative change (-2 points or more) or a large positive change (+2 points or more). However, most participants either reported the same score, one point less or one point more at follow-up than at baseline (see Appendix 22). The language change variables are: a continuous measure of *change in language ability score*, and an *indicator of language score increased*. Table 4.8 shows the change in the combined language ability score. This revealed that although 45.7% of participants had a higher score at follow-up than baseline, 32.1% had a lower score. This large proportion of participants whose score was lower after an of average 29 weeks of attending ESOL classes is somewhat surprising however, a possible explanation could be that, as explained in section 4.4.2, the scores are based on participants rating their level of difficulty of the skills, and thus their perceptions of their language skills. The data suggests that a proportion of participants felt less confident about particular skills than before. This may not necessarily be due to a reduction in those skills, and instead could be that they carried out more complex tasks in English than before, or used the help of interpreters or friends less, and so found those tasks more difficult. 22.1 % of participants reported no change, and a total of 29.3% had only a small change in their language ability score (+1 or -1 point). A change in one point in this score represents a difference in 1 point for just one of the 5 language difficulty scores from which this measure is derived. Thus, some of these 1 point changes may be not so much an indicator of real change in language ability or confidence, but caused by transitory influences, such as the mood of the participants at the time of completing the questionnaire.

Table 4.8 Change in language ability score

Language change score	N	%	Cumulative %
-7	3	2.1	2.1
-6	1	.7	2.9
-5	1	.7	3.6
-4	1	.7	4.3
-3	9	6.4	10.7
-2	9	6.4	17.1
-1	21	15.0	32.1
0	31	22.1	54.3
1	20	14.3	68.6
2	15	10.7	79.3
3	13	9.3	88.6
4	9	6.4	95.0
5	2	1.4	96.4
6	3	2.1	98.6
7	1	.7	99.3
8	1	.7	100.0
Total	140		

As these distributions show relatively little change over time, a binary *indicator of whether language score improved* is also used which will be less sensitive to small transitory differences that are not particularly meaningful and tend to bias estimated associations towards zero. Additionally, as there is little previous academic research to guide the interpretation of decrease in language ability, this measure of whether participants improved or not is more coherent for interpretation. This binary indicator distinguishes between those whose score experienced positive change n=64 (45.7%) and those whose score experienced negative or no change (n=76).

4.4.5 *Integration change outcome variables*

In addition to the language change variables described above, variables were derived from the longitudinal data to measure change in integration outcomes from baseline. The original aim was to derive change variables for each of the five focal integration variables described in section 4.4.3, however, there was little change in three of these between the two time points (see Appendix 22). N = 133 of participants (90%) experienced no change in employment status, n=6 (4.1%) moved out of employment and n=9 (6.1%) started work. For housing condition, n=104 (73.3%) saw no change in the condition of their home, n=18 (12.6%) participants saw an improvement, and n=20 (14.1%) saw a deterioration. For the variable *feels safe in local area*, 58% (n= 85) reported no change and less than 10% (n=29) reported a change of more than a single scale point in either direction, and preliminary regression models found no sensible associations between the outcome variables. Therefore, the only variables used in the longitudinal analyses were *change in feels part of British society* and *change in talks to people from different cultures or nationalities* which showed slightly more variation with 53%

(n= 76) and 62% (= 93) of participants experiencing change of at least one scale point (see Table 4.9). However, as there was still relatively little change over time for these measures, binary indicators of whether each of these scores improved were also derived, as shown in Table 4.10.

Table 4.9 Change in feels part of British society and talks to people from different backgrounds

Point change	Change in feels part of British society			Change in talks to people from different cultures or nationalities		
	N	%	Cumulative %	N	%	Cumulative %
-4	0	0	0	2	1.3	1.3
-3	2	1.4	1.4	5	3.3	4.7
-2	9	6.3	7.7	9	6.0	10.7
-1	27	19.0	26.8	32	21.3	32.0
0	66	46.5	73.2	57	38.0	70.0
1	32	22.5	95.8	29	19.3	89.3
2	5	3.5	99.3	13	8.7	98.0
3	1	.7	100.0	3	2.0	100.0
	142	100		150	100	

Table 4.10 Indicator of improvement in integration variables

Change variable	Improved		Not improved		Total N
	N	%	N	%	
Score improved for feeling part of British society	38	26.8	104	73.2	142
Score improved for talk to people from different backgrounds	45	30	105	70	150

All these variables show that some participants experienced negative change in integration outcomes. Compared to previous research on decrease in language ability, some existing scholarship acknowledges reversal of ‘progress’ in integration outcomes, and, like this present study, conceptualises integration as a dynamic process, in which the person’s situation may improve or worsen at different time points (see section 2.2). Kim et al. 2012 recorded negative change in some participants perception of wellbeing, and Charsley et al. (2016) gave examples of employed migrants becoming unemployed, or of migrants’ sense of belonging to Britain may be impaired by particular experiences. Of course, negative changes to many aspects of integration, such as employment or housing status, may be experienced by any member of society and not just migrants. This is acknowledged by my conceptualisation of integration as concerning all members of society, although migrants and refugees experience particular barriers. This study focuses on the factors which may be related to positive and negative integration experiences for ESOL learners.

4.4.6 *ESOL class attendance measures*

Finally, *measures for years attending ESOL classes*, and *hours of ESOL class per week* are used to adjust for the possible 'effect' these may have on language proficiency and integration outcomes. For example, those with more exposure to ESOL classes may feel more confident in English skills, or have absorbed more information about British systems. Length of time that participants had been attending ESOL classes ranged from a few months up to 17 years (mean = 2.34, SD = 2.90, N=370), and current hours of attendance per week ranged from 2 to 20 hours (mean = 6.80, SD=3.27, N=402).

4.4.7 *Overview of variables used in regression analyses and outline of presentation of results*

Table 4.11, below, gives an overview of the variables used in the regression analyses and indicates which are also dependent variables in the cross-sectional analysis and in the longitudinal analysis. To facilitate clarity, the following sections present the method and results for each analytical stage in turn. To address RQ1, section 4.5 tests the means of the 13 factors important for a good life in Britain for within-subject differences, and then differences between groups. Sections 4.6 and 4.7 explore associations between language proficiency outcomes and background characteristics (RQ4) and then between language and integration measures (RQ2). Section 4.8 examines associations of focal integration measures with background characteristics (RQ4), and Section 4.9 considers inter-relationships between focal and supplementary integration measures to uncover what other factors may be associated with integration, aside from language (RQ3).

Table 4.11 Overview of variables used in the regression analyses

Group	Sub-group (if applicable)	Variable	Also used as dependent variable in cross-sectional analyses?	Also used as dependent variable in longitudinal analyses?
Ascribed/ background characteristics		Age	-	-
		Time in UK	-	-
		Gender	-	-
		Religion	-	-
		Ethnicity	-	-
		Arriving as refugee/asylum seeker	-	-
		Level of education	-	-
		Living with partner	-	-
Language proficiency		ESOL level	Yes	No
		Perceived language ability	Yes	Yes
		Everyday speaking	Yes	No
		Formal speaking	Yes	No
		Literacy	Yes	No
Time factors		Years attending ESOL	-	-
		Hours ESOL per week	-	-
Integration: Self/ affect realm	Safety and stability	Feel safe in local area	Yes	No
		Experiences of harassment	-	-
		Very sure can stay in UK	-	-
	Physical and mental wellbeing	Calm	-	-
		Health	-	-
Integration: Social realm	Belonging	Feeling part of British society	Yes	Yes
		Understanding of British culture	-	-
	Attitudes of British people	Helpfulness of British people in listening to you	-	-
		Friendliness of British people to migrants	-	-
	Social networks (Social bridges and social bonds)	% non-UK born residents in area	-	-
		How much person talks to people in local area	-	-
		How much talks to people from similar nationalities or cultures	-	-
		How much talks to people from different nationalities or cultures	Yes	Yes
		Number of activities participated in	-	-
	Integration: Structural realm	employment	Employed	Yes
housing		Condition of home	Yes	No
		Enough space in home	-	-
		Very sure can stay in home	-	-
income/deprivation		Frequency of money to buy necessities	-	-
		Amount of money in future	-	-
		Proportion of non-deprived households in area	-	-

4.5 Important factors for a good life in Britain

The first part of the analysis examines the importance of 13 factors for a good life in Britain, according to the participants. The aim is to find out how important each of these factors are, and compare the relative importance of these factors, in order to increase understanding of the needs of migrant and refugee language learners, and to interrogate existing definitions of integration (as discussed in Chapter Two). The analysis explores perceptions of the importance of a variety of factors to shed light on whether participants' opinions chime with existing claims.

The analysis first tests the means of each of the thirteen items for within-subject differences to explore the overall strength of how important the participants viewed each item. Appendix 16 shows overall proportions of responses to the questions. To test for significance in the differences in means of the responses, a parametric one-way repeated measures ANOVA was performed. As discussed previously, these Likert-type rating scale variables are treated as continuous measures, so to address the issues of treating them as parametric measures, the robustness of the ANOVA is tested in two non-parametric supplementary analyses (see Appendix 23).

Additionally, the study examines whether views of what is important vary amongst groups of ESOL learners, as priorities may differ according to different experiences of migration and integration. For example experiences may differ according to gender or parental status (Cheung and Phillimore, 2017; Wonder Foundation, 2016); refugee status (Phillimore, 2011); ESOL level; whether a migrant is an EU citizen; and Muslims are often characterised in dominant discourse as having different priorities (Nandi and Platt, 2013). Thus, the analysis explores if views differ between these groups. To this end, one way independent ANOVAs were carried out to test the differences in the mean of each item between groups, with two supplementary non-parametric analyses performed to test for sensitivity of the results to the parametric assumptions.

Table 4.12 shows the results of the one-way repeated measures ANOVA, ranked from the highest to the lowest means. Based on the 352 cases with no missing variables (86% of the total sample), the means and standard deviations for most items are very similar to those for the full sample (see Appendix 16). The results show that the importance rating differed significantly among the 13 items, $F(7.93, 2782.40) = 109.32, p < .001$.

Table 4.12 Importance of factors for a good life in Britain

Group		Factor	Mean	Std. Deviation
Top	1	Feeling safe	3.89 ³⁻¹³	.36
	2	A good education	3.85 ⁶⁻¹³	.43
	3	Good English language skills	3.79 ^{1,6-13}	.46
	4	A good job	3.77 ^{1,6-13}	.52
	5	Feeling confident about yourself	3.77 ^{1,6-13}	.48
Middle	6	Doing things by yourself without help from interpreters, family or friends	3.59 ^{1-5, 9-13}	.64
	7	Being free to express your opinions	3.55 ^{1-5, 11-13}	.68
	8	Understanding British culture	3.46 ^{1-5, 11-13}	.68
	9	British people taking the time to listen when you talk	3.44 ^{1-6, 11-13}	.63
	10	Friendly neighbours	3.43 ^{1-6, 11-13}	.70
Bottom	11	Being able to express your cultural and religious traditions	3.15 ^{1-10, 13}	.86
	12	Feeling British	3.01 ^{1-10, 13}	.92
	13	Being able to talk to people in your first language or languages	2.77 ¹⁻¹²	1.03

Notes. Mauchley's Test of Sphericity rejected the null hypothesis of sphericity so the Greenhouse-Geisser estimate of sphericity was used to adjust the degrees of freedom ($\epsilon = .661$). Superscript numbers indicate items with significantly different means (Bonferroni post-hoc tests, $p < .05$). Items were rated on a scale from 1 (*not important*) to 4 (*very important*). $N=352$.

Overall, the participants tended to rate all the factors as important for having a good life in Britain, as the average rating of all but one item was above 3 (*quite important*). This supports conceptualisations of integration as multidimensional (Ager and Strang, 2004a, 2008; Spencer and Charsley, 2016). However, we can see that the items form three broad groupings according to relative importance. Ranking the factors should be viewed with a degree of caution as the differences between the means of items ranked close to one another are often small or are not significant, although there are significant differences in importance between the top group compared to the bottom group¹⁵.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the participants generally viewed acquiring *good English language skills* as among the most important factors for having a good life in Britain. However, *feeling safe* is perceived to be equally, if not more, important and there are many other factors of high importance to them. Among the factors in the 'top five', *feeling safe* and *feeling confident about yourself* are affective factors located in the affective realm in my language learning, integration and identity model, and *a good education* and *a good job* are located in the structural realm. Amongst the factors in the 'middle

¹⁵ Appendix 23 shows that this broad pattern of groupings is generally supported by the non-parametric tests although, as expected given the reduction in power, fewer pairwise significant differences were found. In particular, it is slightly less clear that the 'doing things by yourself' item belongs in the middle group rather than the top group, and less clear that the 'being able to express your cultural traditions' variable belongs in the bottom group rather than the middle group.

five' grouping, those ranked the highest (*doing things by yourself* and *being free to express your opinions*) also relate to affective factors. *Understanding British culture* is located in the social realm, as are *friendly neighbours* and *British people taking the time to listen when you talk*, the latter two being linked to social interaction with others. The items in the 'bottom' grouping: *feeling British*; *expressing your cultural traditions* and *being able to talk to people in your first language* all relate to cultural aspects of integration and so feature in the social realm in the model. I then explored whether the importance ratings of the 13 items differed systematically across the different groups of learners mentioned above. Few, and no substantively meaningful, differences were found, so I conclude that the factors that are important are remarkably stable across different groups of ESOL learners.

Thus it seems that English skills, affective and structural factors are most important, followed by social relations and then, broadly speaking, cultural factors, the exception being *understanding British culture*. The slightly higher importance given to the latter could be due to the practical and instrumental aspects of understanding British culture which can enable greater independence and advancement in society (e.g. understanding British organisations and systems) as well as those related to British norms and traditions. With the exception of the priority placed on English skills, these findings indicate that ESOL learners' perspectives diverge from the dominant narrative in political discourse which focuses on the social and cultural aspects of integration, and neglects the impact that structural and affective factors can have on an individual's ability to make a good life for themselves in Britain. In terms of addressing the debates over multiculturalism vs. allegiance to a 'British identity', from the perspectives of these ESOL learners the picture is more nuanced. In keeping with the dominant discourse, the participants place a high value on good English language skills. However, whilst they view *expressing your cultural traditions* and *being able to talk to people in your first language* as of similar importance to that of *feeling British*, they tend to view the other ten factors as generally more important than any of these. Thus, it appears that despite these three 'cultural' factors being at the forefront of the minds of policymakers, this is not necessarily the case for ESOL learners. These findings help address the lack of previous evidence on ESOL learners' priorities for having a good life in Britain. Chapter Six explores these findings further alongside the interview participants' accounts, and relates them to existing literature on the priorities of ESOL learners. The remaining stages of the analyses use regression analysis to examine associations between different variables to address RQs 2 to 4.

4.6 Relationships between language proficiency and ascribed characteristics

Section 2.3.1 reflects on existing evidence on the ways in which ESOL learners' ascribed identity characteristics may interact with the processes of language learning and integration, and highlights the need for a better understanding of the roles of these factors in the experiences of migrant and refugee language learners. The analysis now explores which **ascribed characteristics** are associated with five **language outcomes** *ESOL level, perceived language ability, everyday speaking skills, formal speaking skills and literacy skills* (associations between ascribed characteristics and integration outcomes are explored in section 4.8). Multiple linear regression is used for perceived language ability and the language skills dependent variables because, as described in section 3.7.2, these are treated as continuous variables in this analysis. ESOL level is an ordinal variable with 4 levels so ordinal regression is more appropriate than linear regression as it allows predictions for data where the linear assumption will not hold and that are not based on predicting mean change (Strand, Cadwallader and Firth, 2011).

As described in section 4.3, for each of the five language outcomes, unadjusted associations are first explored, and then predictors with significant unadjusted associations are entered simultaneously into a single multivariate model to examine whether particular groups have differing outcomes in the language proficiency dependent variables. The estimates in the model, as for all the regression models in this study, are not standardised, because many of the predictor variables are categorical for which standardised coefficients are not appropriate (Fox, 2015). As the measure for EU born overlaps with White ethnicity¹⁶ it is excluded from the analysis, as it is assumed that the effects of these two measures are largely the same. The model is shown in Table 4.13.

Older **age** was not found to be an inhibitor of language proficiency, diverging from Morrice et al. (2019). There was some evidence of a general association between **length of time in the country** and higher language proficiency. Those in the country for over 10 years had higher perceived speaking skills and overall language ability than participants who had arrived more recently (and significantly so than the reference category of under 2 years) but did not differ noticeably in either their perceived positively associated with language proficiency concurs with Cheung and Phillimore (2017) but diverges from Baynham et al. (2007).

¹⁶ 90.2% of those born in an EU country reported to be White, and 68.0% of White participants were born in the EU.

Table 4.13 Associations between language and ascribed characteristics

	Predictors of ESOL Level		Language ability score N= 400 Scale= 1-16 Mean = 9.16 SD=3.18		Everyday speaking N=404 Scale 1-4 Mean=3.08 SD=.761		Formal speaking N=402 Scale=1-4 Mean = 2.41 SD =.77		Literacy N=403 Scale 1-4 Mean 2.62 SD=.81	
	Unadjusted association	Ordinal regression R ² (Nagalkerke) = .12	Unadjusted association	Linear regression R ² = .06	Unadjusted association	Linear regression R ² = .05	Unadjusted association	Linear regression R ² = .14	Unadjusted association	Linear regression R ² = .04
	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)
Years in UK (Ref. Under 2 years)										
2-4	.59 (.29) *	.47 (.29)	.53 (.49)	.46 (.49)	.05 (.12)	.07 (.12)	.23 (.12)*	.20 (.12)	.01 (.13)	
5-10	1.05 (.31) **	.86 (.32)**	.01 (.52)	-.01 (.52)	.00 (.13)	-.01 (.13)	.18 (.12)	.13 (.13)	-.20 (.14)	
over 10	.62 (.32)	.33 (.35)	1.86 (.55) **	1.79 (.55)**	.35 (.13)**	.33 (.13)*	.70 (.13)***	.56 (.14)***	.05 (.14)	
Age (Ref: 18-25)										
26-35	-.24 (.31)		-.49 (.54)		-.10 (.13)		-.07 (.13)		-.13 (.14)	
36-45	-.51 (.31)		-.34 (.55)		-.20 (.13)		-.07 (.13)		-.04 (.14)	
46-71	-.45 (.35)				-.10 (.15)		-.25 (.15)		-.13 (.16)	
Muslim	-.07 (.19)		.58 (.32)		.12 (.08)		.27 (.08)***	.14 (.09)	-.05 (.08)	
Female	.19 (.21)		-.55 (.36)		-.06 (.09)		-.13 (.09)		-.13 (.10)	
Ethnicity (Ref. White)										
Black	-.48 (.25)	-.51 (.27)	.69 (.45)	.39 (.45)	-.04 (.11)		.44 (.11)***	.24 (.12)	-.09 (.11)	
Asian	-.75 (.24)**	-.98 (.25)***	.02 (.40)	-.19 (.40)	.06 (.10)		.13 (.10)	-.01 (.11)	-.15 (.10)	
Arab /Other	-.12 (.30)	-.26 (.30)	1.04 (.50)*	.97 (.49)	.06 (.12)		.30 (.12)*	.18 (.13)	.19 (.13)	
Arrived as refugee/ asylum seeker	-.39 (.21)		.24 (.36)		-.00 (.09)		.18 (.09)*	.02 (.090)	-.08 (.09)	
Highest education level (Ref. None/ left before 15)										
Left after 15 (no degree)	.38 (.27)		-.28 (.48)		-.05 (.11)		-.32 (.14)**	-.17 (.12)	.20 (.12)	.20 (.12)
Has degree	.45 (.29)		-.31 (.51)		-.11 (.12)		-.43 (.12)***	-.22 (.13)	.33 (.13)*	.33 (.13)*
Living with partner	.39 (.19)*	.44 (.20)*	.20 (.34)		.04 (.08)		-.07 (.08)		.16 (.09)	
Children under 16	.11 (.19)		-.02 (.33)		-.02 (.08)		.04 (.08)		-.02 (.08)	
Years attending ESOL	.10 (.03)**	.10 (.04)**	.11 (.06)		0.02 (.01)		.04 (.01)**	<.00 (.02)	.01 (.02)	
Hours ESOL per week	.014		-.07 (.05)		-.03 (.01)*	-.02 (.01)*	-.01 (.01)		-.01 (.01)	

Notes. For each dependent variable, significant unadjusted associations only are included in regression model. † scale 1-5 with 5. †† scale 0-5. ***=p<.001, **=p<.01, *=p<.05. B =unstandardised co-efficient. SE= standard error. Missing indicators used for predictor variables

Muslims, especially Muslim women, have often been the subjects of political concerns over low levels of English (e.g. BBC News, 2016). However, within the ESOL learner sample, no evidence was found that **Muslims** had worse outcomes in either assessed or perceived language skills. Regarding barriers associated with **ethnicity**, Asian students in this sample had lower assessed ESOL level, suggesting less progress in the long-term, but did not tend to have lower perceived ability. It is not clear why this might be, and perhaps this question merits further research.

The study found no evidence that gender, refugee status, or having children, was associated with lower language proficiency. These associations have been documented in previous studies (e.g. Morrice et al., 2019; Phillimore, 2011; Wonder Foundation, 2016), however it may be that these barriers are less salient among people who have been able to access ESOL classes. Another consideration for the lack of association found between parenthood and language could reflect the fact that lack of childcare can be a barrier to learning, but on the other hand, having children could potentially open more opportunities to access English speaking networks (as discussed in section 2.3.1).

Participants living with **partners** were more likely to be in a higher-level class, but this advantage was not apparent for perceived language ability. This could suggest that living with a partner may provide practical and other support for language learning, but not help with feelings of confidence in English skills. Lower levels of **previous education** have been found to have a negative effect on language learning in ESOL classes (e.g. Morrice et al., 2019), however in this study there was only evidence of an association with literacy skills; participants who had a degree felt more confident about their literacy skills than those with the lowest education levels. Previous level of education was the only ascribed characteristic found to be associated with literacy skills.

The findings show that length of time in Britain tends to have a positive effect on general language proficiency, having a partner is associated with higher assessed level but not higher confidence, Asian students are more likely to be in lower ESOL classes, and having a degree may improve confidence in literacy. Having looked at how language skills are associated with ascribed identity characteristics of participants, I now turn to explore associations with integration experiences.

4.7 Relationships between language proficiency and integration outcomes

The next stage of the analysis explores associations between **integration variables and the five language proficiency outcomes**. In the regression models, the integration predictor variables are arranged into groups according to the affective, social and structural realms in my model, as outlined in section 4.4.3, (although, as highlighted in section 2.2, these realms and groupings have aspects which overlap). The analysis precedes in two stages, first exploring unadjusted associations and then regressing significant associations (including significant participant characteristics and ESOL class attendance measures from the previous model) on each of the five language outcomes. Interpretation of associations draws on existing research which focuses on whether language proficiency improves integration outcomes, as well as scholarship which highlights how experiences in integration can impact on language learning.

Next, the **language change outcomes** and then the **integration change outcomes** are regressed with relevant predictor variables to explore whether initial aspects of integration effect later language outcomes, and whether initial language proficiency is associated with later integration change. Firstly, to explore associations with the *indicator for language improved* outcome, binary logistic regression is used, which does not rely on a linear model, and enables prediction of the odds of language improvement occurring with each unit change in the independent variables (Strand et al., 2011). As described in section 4.4.4, the binary indicator is less sensitive to transitory differences between scores at baseline and follow-up. The *change in perceived language ability* score, although assumed to be more sensitive to transitory influences, is potentially still useful to explore whether aspects of integration can predict negative change, as well as positive (or zero) change in language. Thus, linear regression is used for this continuous variable. In both cases, analysis explores associations between baseline measures of integration and controls for ESOL class attendance. Continuous scores measure change in *feeling part of British society* and *talking to people from different cultures* (see section 4.4.5). This enables multiple regression analysis of whether initial language conditions can predict *bi-directional change* in integration outcomes. For these integration change variables, associations with initial measures of language, ESOL attendance and other aspects of integration are explored. For both the language and integration change variables, unadjusted associations with predictor variables are first explored, and then significant associations are included in multivariate models. As previously mentioned, insufficient variation in both the language change and integration change data means that these analyses only offer limited additional insight to the findings, and indeed few unadjusted

associations, and even fewer adjusted associations, were found on regressing the change variables¹⁷. Therefore, in contrast to the cross-sectional models, the following discussion only presents estimates and models where **significant unadjusted** associations were found. Where associations were found, these are discussed alongside discussion of the cross-sectional analysis in an attempt to elucidate the direction of the relationships. Results of the cross-sectional analysis are presented in Table 4.14.

In the *affective realm*, better **health** is positively associated with language proficiency for the participants, confirming previous findings (e.g. Cheung and Phillimore, 2017). The evidence for this link is stronger for perceived language ability, especially formal speaking and literacy skills. There is an association between being **harassed in the last 12 months**, and being in lower ESOL classes, having lower perceived language ability score, and lower literacy skills. The main reported reasons for harassment were ethnicity or nationality, language and religion (proportions shown in Appendix 16). This finding that learners with lower levels of English experience more harassment than those who are more proficient appears to be novel and can augment the small amount of existing evidence on multilingual migrants' and refugees' experiences of linguistic xenophobia and other forms of harassment (e.g. Bryers et al., 2013). Regression of the *language change variables* found no evidence that poor health or experiences of harassment decreased progress in language at follow up, which could suggest that language level impacts on these outcomes rather than vice versa. There is little evidence in the data of further associations between indicators in the affect realm and language proficiency.

Turning to the *social realm* of integration, a common theme in dominant narratives is that English proficiency supports integration by facilitating increased feelings of belonging to Britain and identifying with British culture (e.g. Casey, 2016). On the other hand, proponents of the role of integrative motivation in second language learning view success in language learning as partially shaped by the language learner's positive attitude towards the culture of the target language group (Gardner, 2005, see section 2.3.3). For the questionnaire participants, there was no relationship between either of the baseline indicators of belonging and their ESOL level, possibly suggesting that the integrative motivation theory is not supported by the data in this study. On the other hand, there

¹⁷ Additionally, there was no association between the number of weeks between completing the baseline and follow-up questionnaires and any of the change variables.

Table 4.14 Associations between language and integration

	Predictors of ESOL Level N=398		Language ability score N=400 Scale =1-16 Mean= 9.16 SD=3.18		Everyday speaking N=404 Scale Mean=3.08 SD=.7611-4		Formal speaking N=402 Scale=1-4 Mean = 2.4 SD =.77		Literacy N=403 Scale 1-4 Mean= 2.62 SD=.81	
	Unadjusted association	Ordinal regression N R ² =.25	Unadjusted association	Linear regression R ² =.240	Unadjusted association	Linear regression R ² =.09	Unadjusted association	Linear regression R ² =.32	Unadjusted association	Linear regression R ² =.15
	B (SE)	B(SE)	B(SE)	B(SE)	B(SE)	B(SE)	B(SE)	B(SE)	B (SE)	B(SE)
How safe person feels in local area †	-.02 (.09)		.36 (.15)*	-.09 (.16)	.03 (.04)		.08 (.04)*	.01 (.04)	.07 (.04)	
Experienced harassment in last 12 months	-.53 (.01)**	-.63 (.21)**	-.92 (.34)**	-.86 (.35)*	-.16 (.08)		-.14 (.08)		-.23 (.08)*	-.17 (.09)*
Very sure can stay in the UK (Ref: Fairly / DK/ temp)	.14 (.19)		.72 (.33)*	-.19 (.35)	.10 (.08)		.19 (.08)*	.09 (.08)	.10 (.08)	
Time in past 4 weeks felt calm and peaceful†	.10 (.10)		.40 (.17)*	-.00 (.17)	.04 (.04)		.09 (.04)*	-.00 (.04)	.09 (.04)*	.00 (.04)
Health†	.21 (.09)*	.14 (.10)	.71 (.16)***	.53 (.17)**	.07 (.04)		.17 (.04)***	.13 (.04)**	.15 (.04)***	.11 (.04)*
How much person feels part of British society†	-.08 (.09)		.61 (.15)***	.25 (.17)	.04 (.04)		.19 (.04)***	.10 (.04)*	.10 (.04)*	.04 (.04)
Understanding of British culture†	.02 (.10)		.72 (.17)***	.32 (.18)	.07 (.04)		.15 (.04)***	.04 (.04)	.16 (.04)***	.11 (.04)*
Helpfulness of British people in listening to you†	.00 (.10)		.49 (.17)**	.02 (.20)	.05 (.04)		.12 (.04)**	-.02 (.05)	.10 (.04)*	.01 (.05)
Friendliness of British people to migrants†	.00 (.10)		.51 (.16)**	.23 (.12)	.05 (.04)		.12 (.04)**	.06 (.04)	.11 (.04)**	.07 (.05)
% non-UK born residents in area	-.04 (.01)***	-.04 (.01)***	.02 (.01)		-.00 (.00)		.01 (.00)		.00 (.00)	
How much person talks to people in local area†	-.13 (.07)		.17 (.13)		.04 (.03)		.10 (.03)**	-.03 (.03)	-.04 (.03)	
How much talks to similar nationalities or cultures†	.10 (.07)		.12 (.13)		-.00 (.03)		.03 (.03)		.02 (.03)	
How much talks to different nationalities or cultures†	-.12 (.07)		.43 (.12)**	.23 (.12)	.07 (.03)*	.06 (.03)*	.14 (.03)***	.10 (.03)**	.03 (.03)	
Number of activities participates in††	.19 (.10)		.489**	.27 (.18)	.09 (.04)*	.09 (.04)*	.14 (.04)**	.09 (.04)*	.06 (.05)	
Employed	.08 (.19)		.13 (.33)		.05 (.08)		.02 (.08)		.02 (.08)	
Frequency of money to buy necessities†	.19 (.08)*	-.04 (.10)	.31 (.15)*	.08 (.15)	.07 (.04)		.04 (.04)		.09 (.04)*	.00 (.04)
Perception of amount of money one year from now (Ref: I think I will have more money)										
The same amount	.46 (.23)*	.51 (.25)	.51 (.40)		.12 (.01)		.11 (.10)		.08 (.10)	
Less money	-.59 (.26)*	-.52 (.28)	-.26 (.46)		-.04 (.11)		.01 (.11)		-.14 (.12)	
Enough space in home	-.01 (.21)		.18 (.37)		.10 (.09)		.05 (.09)		.00 (.09)	
Home in good condition (ref. OK/ bad)	.23 (.19)		.90 (.33)**	.07 (.36)	.09 (.08)		.13 (.08)		.27 (.08)**	.11 (.09)
Very sure can stay in home (Ref: Fairly/ DK/ temporary)	.26 (.2)		1.3 (34)***	.48 (.39)	.17 (.08)*	.09 (.08)	.33 (.08)***	.10 (.09)	.23 (.09)**	.09 (.09)
% households not deprived in area	.04 (0.1)**	-.01 (.01)	-.01 (.02)		.01 (.01)		-.01 (.01)		-.00 (<00)	

Notes. † scale 1-5 †† scale 0-5. ***=p<.001, **=p<.01 *=p<.05. B =unstandardised co-efficient. SE= standard error. Regression models control for sig. unadjusted associations with characteristics and ESOL class attendance measures (see Table 4.13). Missing indicators used for predictor variables

is some evidence that both the indicators of **belonging** are positively associated with perceived language ability. In particular, learners who feel more part of British society tend to feel more speaking in more formal contexts on the whole, and those who report a greater **understanding of British culture generally** have higher perceived literacy skills. In the longitudinal data there is some evidence that those in the lowest ESOL class level are less likely to report a positive **change in how much they feel part of British society** over time, although this effect is only significant compared to Entry 3 learners (see Table 4.15 below), and this finding should be treated with caution as it was not found in the cross sectional data. Taken together, these findings could indicate that the dominant monolingual ideology, which associates a poor command of the English language with a lack of integration into British society, has been somewhat internalised by the participants. On the other hand, participants with better perceived language ability, particularly the more ‘powerful’ formal speaking and literacy skills, may find it easier to participate in, and understand a greater variety of aspects of society and therefore feel a greater sense of belonging.

Table 4.15 Associations with *change in feeling part of British society*

Associated baseline variables		Significant unadjusted associations		Multiple linear regression R ² =.14	
		B	SE	B	SE
Health †		-.24**	.08	-.19*	.08
Talk to people in local area †		-.18**	.07	-.15*	.07
ESOL class level (Ref: Entry 2)	Entry 3	.59*	.29	.50	.28
	Level 1	.25	.27	.25	.26
	Level 2	.09	.32	.17	.31

Notes. Associations with baseline measures of language, ESOL attendance and other aspects of integration were explored: only variables with significant unadjusted associations are shown in left-hand panel, these were then regressed in the model (right-hand panel). N=142. † scale 1-5. ***=p<.001, **=p<.01 * =p<.05. B= unstandardised co-efficient. SE= standard error. Missing indicators used for predictor variables.

To explore the relationship between English proficiency and social integration (e.g. Tip et al., 2019; Bell et al., 2017) and the role that social conditions and attitudes of anglophone interlocutors can play in this relationship (e.g. Norton, 2013; Court, 2017; Cooke, 2006), the analysis considers how the various measures of **social networks** and **attitudes of British people** are associated with the language outcomes. Firstly, the analysis explores associations with **bridging social relations**, assumed to be an indicator of opportunities to speak English (see section 4.4.3). Table 4.14 (above) shows that **talking to people from different cultural backgrounds** and **taking part in civic and leisure activities** are positively associated with *perceived* (but not assessed) language ability especially speaking skills, and appears to be non-existent for literacy skills, suggesting that increased opportunities to speak English may be related to participants’ feelings of confidence about their spoken language, or perhaps with the dynamics of the interactions themselves. The analysis examines evidence to support previous

qualitative accounts that positive or negative interlocutor attitudes can affect ESOL learners' confidence to speak and thus impact on language learning progress (Court, 2017; Norton, 2013). However, in the data there was little evidence that participants' perceptions of how **helpful British people were in listening to them when they talk** was linked to their English proficiency in itself. There was some evidence to suggest that those who view **British people as friendly to migrants** were more likely to have higher levels of perceived language, especially the more powerful language skills. This, together with the above finding that higher level, and more literate, learners were less likely to have been harassed, could suggest that British people react more positively to ESOL learners who are more confident in English, especially in the powerful English skills, and thus are judged to conform more closely with ideologies of legitimate speakers of English (see section 2.3.2). An alternative explanation is that ESOL learners who encounter friendlier British people feel more confident in their English ability in these interactions, although an association between everyday speaking ability and perceived friendliness of British people which might support this view is not in evidence. Thus, the data paints a complex picture of the relationship between participants' language proficiency and the quality of the interactions that they experience with British people. In terms of elucidating the direction of these relationships, no association was found in the longitudinal data between variables measuring **bridging social relations or attitudes of British people** at baseline and either of the **language change variables**. On the other hand, there is some evidence that participants in higher class levels, especially in Level 1, reported a positive **change in talking to people from different cultures** over time than those in Entry 2 (see Table 4.16 below). This supports the findings of Tip et al., (2019) that initial English proficiency affects later increases in contact with British born people.

Table 4.16 Associations with *change in talking to people from different cultures*

Associated baseline variables		Significant unadjusted associations		Multiple linear regression R ² =.06	
		B	SE	B	SE
	Enough space in home	.53*	.26	.50	.26
ESOL class level (<i>Ref: Entry 2</i>)	Entry 3	.51	.38	.50	.38
	Level 1	.73*	.36	.69	.35
	Level 2	.51	.41	.48	.40

Notes. Associations with baseline measures of language, ESOL attendance and other aspects of integration were explored: only variables with significant unadjusted associations are shown in the left-hand panel, which were then regressed in the model (right-hand panel). N=150. †scale 1-5. ***=p<.001, **=p<.01 *=p<.05. B =unstandardised co-efficient. SE= standard error. Missing indicators used for predictor variables.

Associations between language variables and those measuring **bonding social relations** are now discussed. It was found that a **higher percentage of non-UK born residents**¹⁸ in participants' local area is negatively associated with ESOL level, but not perceived language ability (see Table 4.14 above). This lends some support to previous findings (e.g. Akresh et al., 2014 and Dustmann and Fabbri, 2003). Explanations for this could be that the proportion of other migrants living in the locality can affect a person's opportunity to practise their English, or that people with lower levels of English may be more likely to live in areas with a higher migrant population. In the longitudinal data, regression of the **change in language score** found the only correlated factor was the **percentage of non-UK born in the area**: participants living in an area with higher proportion of migrants were less likely to have an improved language ability score in the follow-up questionnaire ($B = -.04$, $SE = .02$, $p < .05$). This could support evidence in favour of the argument that increased opportunities to speak English increases language proficiency. On the other hand, there is little evidence that opportunities to speak languages *other* than English decreases progress in English proficiency, as no evidence was found that either **talking to people in the local area** or **talking to people from similar cultural backgrounds** are associated with rates of language proficiency. Overall, the data suggests that for the sample, greater opportunity to meet and talk to people from different backgrounds is associated with better English, especially speaking skills; but there is less evidence that more frequent interactions with people from similar backgrounds is related to English proficiency.

Turning to the **structural realm**, existing literature suggests an association between English proficiency and better employment outcomes (e.g. Office for National Statistics, 2014), but evidence on the direction of this relationship is mixed and some studies highlight that the connection between language skills and experiences in the labour market can be complex (e.g. Warriner, 2007). The cross-sectional analysis found no evidence of associations between being **employed** and language outcomes (Table 4.14 above), however, in the longitudinal data, being employed was found to be the only factor associated with the binary indicator of whether **language improved** at follow-up: participants who had a job were more likely to show improvement than those who did not ($OR = 2.047$, $CI = 1.035 / 4.048$). This could provide evidence to support the argument that being employed can improve language skills, as working could increase opportunities to practise English. However, as no equivalent associations were found in the much larger cross-sectional sample (i.e. that individuals with jobs had better language skills, on average), these findings should be viewed with a degree of caution. These mixed

¹⁸ A 10 percentage point increase in the % of non-UK born is associated with an ordered logit coefficient of -0.40, about 4 times the size of the effect of an additional year of ESOL learning (see Table 4.13).

results could reflect the competing influences on the relationship between employment and English skills highlighted by the differing perspectives in the literature.

This study found some evidence to support a link between language proficiency and quality of **housing** (e.g. Cheung and Phillimore, 2017): stability and condition of housing are positively associated with perceived language ability (with the more powerful skills seemingly more important), although there were no associations with assessed ESOL level (Table 4.14 above). No associations were found between initial housing conditions and **change in language proficiency** in the longitudinal data. These findings could suggest that finding it easier to communicate, especially in literacy skills, enables ESOL learners to obtain better and more secure housing, although it cannot be ruled out that housing condition and security can impact on ability to study and improve these skills, or that an unobserved third factor may impact both housing and language.

The analysis attempts to shed further light on previous evidence for a relationship between lower English proficiency and lower income (e.g. Dustmann and Fabbri, 2003; Wonder Foundation, 2016). The analysis found little evidence that frequency of **money to buy necessities** or the level of **deprivation in participants' local area** are independent predictors of language outcomes (Table 4.14, above). However, there is some evidence in the data that perceptions of *future* income or economic mobility are associated with language proficiency; those in lower ESOL classes were more likely to feel that their financial situation would worsen **in one year's time**.

To summarise, the analyses found that higher English proficiency in general is associated with more positive encounters with other members of society, feelings of belonging, and more bridging social relations, and perceived, rather than assessed, proficiency is more likely to be associated with these outcomes. Confidence in English skills is associated with stability and condition of housing, and lower assessed ESOL level was found to be a predictor of feeling pessimistic about future finances. Overall, the more powerful, formal oral and literacy skills are more closely linked to integration than informal speaking skills, which is unsurprising as it is these skills which are privileged by society (Barton and Hamilton, 2001; Simpson and Gresswell, 2012).

The differences in the predictors of the self-reported *language ability* and the assessed language *ESOL level* outcome measures suggest that there are differences in what they are measuring. This has implications for other studies which use self-reported measures of language proficiency (e.g. Tip et al., 2019; Morrice et al., 2019; ONS Census, 2011; Understanding Society). By synthesising data on

perceived, self-reported English language ability and assessed ability, my findings highlight that, although there is a correlation between the two, there are other factors which may affect how accurately self-reported measures reflect actual English proficiency.

4.8 Relationships between integration and ascribed characteristics

The analysis now attempts to elucidate existing evidence that migrants and refugees ascribed characteristics are associated with differing integration outcomes. The **five focal integration variables** (see section 4.4.3) now constitute the dependent variables for this part of the analysis. Multiple regression is used for the continuous variables: *feels safe in local area*, *feels part of British society* and *talks to people from different backgrounds*; and binary logistic regression for the indicators for being *employed* and having a *home in good condition*. Unadjusted associations between the five focal integration outcomes and ascribed characteristics and ESOL class attendance measures are first explored, and then significant associations are included in multivariate models. The following discussion is structured around the ascribed characteristics (see Table 4.17).

There was no evidence that participants' ascribed characteristics predicted the extent to which they **felt safe** in their local area. Previous studies highlight that for women, childcare responsibilities can be a barrier (Wonder Foundation, 2016) or facilitator to different aspects of integration (Cherti and McNeil, 2012; Court, 2016). The only gender difference in the data is that **women** are much less likely to be **employed** than men, supporting findings by Cheung and Phillimore (2017). This gender difference persisted even after accounting for children, religion, and ethnicity. One explanation could be that that employed women are less likely to take ESOL classes than employed men because of multiple roles and lack of time. In addition, participants of both genders were less likely to be in work if they had **children** in their household. Similarly, those with **partners** were less likely to be employed irrespective of gender. The analysis also found some evidence to suggest that having a partner and having children are both associated with **talking to people from different cultures and nationalities** less frequently, after controlling for other associated characteristics.

The analysis found evidence to support previous findings that **Muslim** migrants are more likely to be **unemployed** compared to non-Muslims (e.g. Cheung and Phillimore, 2014). Additionally, the data supports previous findings that **refugees** are more likely to be out of work than those with a different immigration history, possibly reflecting the fact that some may still be seeking asylum and therefore unable to work, but also the disadvantage that those with refugee status face in the labour market (Sim, 2009).

Table 4.17 Associations between integration and ascribed characteristics

	Feel safe N=397 M=4.00 SD=1.04		Feel part of British society N=392 M=3.375 D=1.082		Talk to different backgrounds N=404M= 3.19SD=1.269		Home in good condition n=390 39%=yes		Employed N= 396 41.4%=yes	
	Unadjusted associations	Linear regression model R ² = .03	Unadjusted associations	Linear regression model R ² =.09	Unadjusted associations	Linear regression model R ² =.03	Unadjusted associations	Binary logistic regression model N R ² =.098	Unadjusted associations	Binary logistic regression model N R ² =.341
	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	OR (95%CI)	OR (95%CI)	OR (95%CI)	OR (95%CI)
Years in UK (Ref. Under 2 years)										
2-4 years	.03 (.17)		.11 (.17)	.14 (.17)	-.04 (.20)		.83(.43/ 1.61)	.79 (.40/ 1.54)	1.84 (.94/ 3.59)	
5-10 years	.16 (.18)		.21 (.18)	.18 (.19)	.18 (.21)		.74(.37/ 1.50)	.73 (.36/1.48)	1.65 (.81/ 3.34)	
Over 10 years	.26 (.18)		.50 (.19)**	.35 (.21)	.18 (.22)		2.23 (1.09/4 .56*)	2.66 (1.27/ 5.57*)	1.71 (.82/ 3.57)	
Age (Ref: 18-25)										
26-35	.20 (.18)		-.06 (.19)		-.39 (.21)		1.25 (.61/ 2.57)		.57 (.29/ 1.12)	
36-45	.21 (.18)		.18 (.19)		-.39 (.22)		1.65 (.80/ 3.40)		.63 (.32/ 1.25)	
46-71	.29 (.20)		-.01(.21)		-.41 (.24)		1.82 (.82/ 4.08)		.94 (.44/ 2.00)	
Muslim	.18 (.10)		.27 (.11)*	-.05 (.13)	.01 (.13)		.78 (.52/ 1.18)		.31 (.20/ .48)*	.50 (.29 / .89*)
Female	.10 (.12)		.01 (.12)		-.07 (.14)		1.22 (.76/ 1.97)		.57 (.34/ .893)*	.41 (.23/ .74)*
Ethnicity (Ref. White)										
Black	.11 (.15)		.62 (.15)***	.54 (.17)**	.12 (.18)		.65 (.37/ 1.14)	.50 (.28 / .90)*	.52 (.30 / .92)*	1.12 (.53/2.37)
Asian	-.05 (.14)		.60 (.14)***	.58 (.15)***	-.04 (.16)		.54 (.32/.91)*	.42 (.24/.73)*	.24 (.14/.42) *	.44 (.23/.84)*
Arab /Other	.10 (.17)		.51 (.17)**	.52 (.20)**	-.00 (.20)		.91 (.49/ 1.70)	.86 (.45/ 1.63)	.20 (.10/ .40)*	.34 (.14/.80)*
Arrived as refugee /asylum seeker	-.12 (.12)		.16 (.12)		-.07 (.14)		.68 (.42/ 1.09)		.26 (.16/ .43)*	.20 (.10/.39)*
Level of Education (Ref. none/under 14)										
15 and over	.06 (.16)		-.15 (.16)	-.02 (.16)	.07 (.19)		.98 (.54/ 1.80)		1.71 (.93/ 3.14)	
Has degree	.13 (.17)		-.38 (.17)*	-.18 (.18)	-.04 (.20)		1.29 (.68/ 2.46)		1.18 (.62/ 2.26)	
Living with partner	.21 (.11)		.04 (.12)		-.37 (.13)**	-.23 (.14)	1.23 (.79/ 1.90)		.54 (.35/ .82)*	.49 (.27/.87)*
Has one or more children under 16 living with them	.03 (.12)		.04 (.11)		-.34 (.13)*	-.27 (.15)	.93 (.61/ 1.42)		.45 (.29/ .68)*	.58 (.34/1.01)
Years attending ESOL	-.01 (.02)		.04 (.02)*	-.00 (.02)	.02 (.02)		1.01 (.94/ 1.09)		.94 (.87/ 1.02)	
Hours ESOL per week	-.06 (.02)***	-.06 (.02)***	-.02 (.02)		-.03 (.02)		.95 (.89/1.02)		.90 (.84/* .96)	.89 (.82/.96)*

Notes. For each dependent variable, significant unadjusted associations only are included in regression model. For linear regression models***=p<.001, **=p<.01, *=p<.05. For logistic regression models * = significant 95% confidence level. Missing indicators used for predictor variables. B=unstandardised co-efficient. SE= standard error.

BAME participants generally have worse outcomes than White participants in employment and condition of **housing**, which chimes with studies of ethnic inequalities in the population of Britain as a whole (e.g. Casey, 2016; Finney and Harris, 2013). However, it is interesting to note that the negative association of being Black and being employed is reversed after other characteristics are taken into account, suggesting that the underrepresentation of Black participants in employment may be due to interrelationship with factors such as family status, refugee status, gender or religion.

Despite integration discourses focusing on the cultural and social behaviours of Muslims and people from particular minority ethnic backgrounds, this study found no evidence of an association between **religion** or **ethnicity** and **talking to people from different backgrounds**; and in fact Black and Minority Ethnic participants are more likely to **feel part of British society** than White participants. Most of the white participants are EU citizens (89.1%), and thus this ethnic difference could reflect a destabilisation that many EU citizens experienced in their sense of belonging after the Brexit referendum (Ranta and Nancheva, 2018). Arriving in Britain as a **refugee** or asylum seeker had no effect on either the belonging or social focal integration variables. In terms of whether **length of time in the UK** could improve integration outcomes, there was only evidence that long-term residence had a positive effect; there was some evidence that those who had been here for over 10 years were more likely to **feel part of British society** and stronger evidence that they had a better prospect of residing in a **home in good condition** compared to those who have been in the UK for under two years.

There was no evidence that participants' level of **previous education** improved experiences in any of the focal integration outcomes. This contrasts with existing studies which found associations between previous levels of education and integration outcomes (e.g. Cheung and Phillimore, 2014; Kearns and Whitley, 2015), but on the other hand, chimes with research that highlights that migrants' and refugees' previous qualifications often do not improve integration outcomes (e.g. Zwysen and Demireva, 2018).

Thus, the data found associations between employment and religion and ethnicity, and between housing and ethnicity. Women, refugees, parents and people with partners were also less likely to be employed. Having children or a partner were also predictors of less intercultural interactions. White participants were less likely to feel part of British society. Participants living in Britain for over 10 years were more likely to feel a sense of belonging and have a home in good condition. The analysis now explores the other factors that may affect integration outcomes.

4.9 Inter-relationships between non-linguistic aspects of integration

As previously outlined in Chapter Two, existing studies suggest that there may be many factors which impact on integration, besides language and individual characteristics. The analysis therefore aims to establish whether it is possible to shed light on which particular aspects of all the integration realms are more strongly associated with the focal integration outcomes and compare these associations with those of the language outcomes. For example, the analysis explores whether feelings of safety, (operationalised by focal variable *feeling safe in local area*) may be impacted by experiences of harassment, insecure immigration status, the nature of social interactions with people from different backgrounds, housing conditions or experiences of deprivation. Feelings of belonging, measured by *feeling part of British society* may be differently affected by feelings of well-being or safety; bonding or bridging social networks, or structural factors. The analysis also examines associations with *talks to people from different cultures* to explore what other factors aside from English proficiency may be associated with bridging social networks. Additionally, associations with *employment*, and *condition of housing* and income are investigated. The analysis explores unadjusted associations between these five focal integration variables and supplementary integration variables, and then significant associations are included in the multivariate analyses which controls for associated ascribed characteristics and language. The model for *home in good condition* does not include the supplementary housing variables as their strong associations with the dependent variable¹⁹ are assumed not to be due to any 'effects'. Table 4.18 overleaf shows the results.

¹⁹ *Enough space in home*: OR =4.376; 95%CI= (2.468/ 7.758)

Very sure can stay in home: OR = 5.326; 95% CI = (3.368/ 8.423)

Table 4.18 Associations between focal and supplementary integration measures

	Feel safe N=397 M=4.00 SD=1.04		Part Britain N=392M=3.37SD=1.08		Talk to different backgrounds N=404 M= 3.19 SD=1.27		Home in good condition n=390 yes=39%		Employed N= 396, yes =41.4%	
	Unadjusted associations	Linear regression model R ² =.32	Unadjusted associations	Linear regression model R ² =.41	Unadjusted associations	Linear regression model R ² = .21	Unadjusted associations	Binary logistic regression model N R ² =.27	Unadjusted associations	Binary logistic regression model N R ² =.41
	B(SE)	B(SE)	B(SE)	B(SE)	B(SE)	B(SE)	OR (95%CI)	OR (95%CI)	OR (95%CI)	OR (95%CI)
Safe in local area †			.22 (.05)***	.03 (.05)	.07 (.06)		1.45(1.17/ 1.80)*	1.22 (.94/ 1.57)	1.00 (.83/1.22)	
How much person feels part of British society†	.21(.05)***	.03 (.05)			.16 (.06)**	-.09 (.07)	1.31(1.07/ 1.59)*	1.19 (.92/ 1.53)	.79 (.66/.96)	.81 (.63/1.05)
How much talks to different nationalities or cultures†	.05(.04)		.12 (.04)**	.01 (.04)			.99(.85/ 1.17)		1.21 (1.03/1.42)	1.13 (.92/1.38)
Home in good condition	.38 (.11)**	.16 (.14)	.301 (.11)**	.24 (.12)*	-.01 (.13)				1.28 (.83/1.91)	
Employed	.00 (.12)		-.27(.11)*	-.14 (.11)	.30 (.13)*	.18 (.13)	1.26(.83/ 1.91)			
Experienced harassment in last 12 months	-.55 (.11)***	-.45 (.10)***	-.10 (.12)		-.15 (.14)		.91 (.58/1.42)		1.03 (.67/1.59)	
Very sure can stay in the UK (Ref. Fairly / DK/ temp)	.14 (.11)		.48 (.11)***	.29 (.11)**	.18 (.13)		1.47 (.96/2.24)		1.05 (.70/1.59)	
Time in past 4 weeks felt calm and peaceful†	.13 (.10)*	-.03 (.06)	.13 (.06)*	.00 (.05)	-.04 (.07)		1.31 (1.05/1.64)*	1.18 (.90/ 1.53)	.88 (.72/1.09)	
Health†	.16 (.05)**	.08 (.05)	.10 (.06)		.16 (.06)**	.06 (.06)	1.40 (1.13/1.73)*	1.22 (.94/ 1.58)	1.41 (1.15/1.74)	1.18 (.90/1.54)
Understanding of British culture†	.22 (.19)***	.03 (.06)	.29 (.06)***	.15 (.06)**	.25 (.07)***	.10 (.07)	1.53 (1.21/1.92)*	1.20 (.91/ 1.59)	1.17 (.94/1.45)	
Helpfulness of British people in listening to me†	.30 (.05)**	.17 (.06)**	.38 (.05)***	.19 (.06)**	.18 (.07)**	.03 (.08)	1.11 (.89/1.38)		.87 (.70/1.07)	
Friendliness of British people to migrants†	.21 (.05)***	.06 (.06)	.32 (.05)***	.15 (.06)*	.18 (.06)**	.11 (.08)	1.12 (.91/1.38)		.89 (.73/1.10)	
% non-UK born residents in area	-.00 (.00)		.01 (.00)**	.01 (.00)	.00 (.00)		1.00 (.99/1.02)		.98 (.97/.10)	.99 (.97/1.01)
How much person talks to people in local area†	.25 (.04)***	.17 (.04)***	.24 (.04)***	.12 (.04)**	.29 (.05)***	.24 (.05)***	1.08 (.92/1.27)		.95 (.81/.11)	
How much talks to similar nationalities or cultures†	.09 (.04)*	.05 (.04)	.02 (.04)		.11 (.05)*	.04 (.05)	1.16 (.98/1.37)		1.09 (.92/1.28)	
Number of activities participates in††	.09 (.06)		.06 (.06)		.07 (.07)		1.10 (.88/1.38)		.82 (.65/1.04)	
Frequency of money to buy necessities†	.17 (.05)**	.06 (.05)	.14 (.05)**	.12 (.05)*	.07 (.06)		1.55 (1.27/1.90)*	1.30 (1.02/ 1.65)*	1.50 (1.24/1.82)	1.27(.98/1.63)
Perception of amount of money one year from now (Ref: I think I will have more money)										
The same amount	.21 (.13)	.19 (.12)	.13 (.14)		-.39 (.16)*	-.31 (.16)*	1.26 (.76/2.08)	1.12 (.63/ 2.01)	.61 (.37/1.00)	963(.49/1.75)
Less money	.32 (.15)*	.45 (.14)**	.13 (.16)		-.27 (.18)	-.22 (.18)	.51 (.27/.94)*	.65 (.31/ 1.34)	.30 (.16/.54)	.50(24/1.06)
Enough space in home	.39 (.12)**	.18 (.17)	.26 (.17)*	.13 (.12)	-.10 (.15)				.73 (.46/1.16)	
Very sure can stay in home (Ref: fairly/ DK/ temporary)	.40 (.11)***	.08(.16)	.37 (.12)**	-.09 (.13)	.203				1.08 (.70/1.66)	
% households not deprived in area	.02 (.01)**	.02 (.01)*	-.02 (.01)*	-.01 (.01)	-.005		1.03 (1.00/1.05)*	1.02 (.98/ 1.05)	1.01 (.99/1.04)	

Notes. † scale 1-5 †† scale 0-5. ***=p<.001, **=p<.01 *=p<.05. For logistic regression models *= significant at 95% confidence level. B =unstandardised co-efficient. SE= standard error. Regression models control for sig. unadjusted associations with ascribed characteristics (Table 4.17), and language (Table 4.14). Missing indicators used for predictor variables.

4.9.1 *Feeling safe*

As we saw in section 4.7, for the participants, level of language proficiency was not associated with feeling safe in the local area. However, it was found that participants who had experienced **harassment** in the last 12 months were less likely to **feel safe in their local area**, supporting previous studies (e.g. Ager and Strang, 2004b). There was no evidence that participants with less secure immigration status, or worse physical or mental health were less likely to feel safe.

The extent and nature of social interactions with people from different backgrounds, as well as those within co-ethnic groups, have been cited as affecting feelings of security and wellbeing (e.g. Ager and Strang, 2008; Jayaweera and Choudhury, 2008). For the participants in this study, neither the frequency of **talking to people from different backgrounds** or from **similar backgrounds**, nor the **number of activities participated in** appeared to be related to feeling safe in the local area. However, increased frequency of **interactions with people in the local area** was related to increased feelings of safety in the neighbourhood, as were participants' perceptions of **attitudes of British people**, in particular, **helpfulness**. Thus whilst these findings provide evidence to highlight the importance of social relations with others for feelings of safety, they do not shed light on whether social bridges or social bonds are more important for this. Feelings of **belonging** to wider society did not appear to be related to participants' feeling safe in their neighbourhoods.

The analysis examines whether feelings of safety can be affected by structural factors, namely employment status, level of deprivation of an area (e.g. Kearns and Whitley, 2015), housing conditions (Ager and Strang, 2008), and level of income. Whilst being **employed** or having more positive perceptions of **current** or **future income** apparently did not increase feelings of safety in local area, there is evidence that those in better **housing**, and who lived in **less deprived areas**²⁰ were more likely to feel safe in their local area.

4.9.2 *Belonging*

Section 4.7 illustrates that participants with English language proficiency, particularly in the more powerful skills of formal speaking and literacy, were more likely to feel a greater sense of belonging, and that a higher ESOL level was the only variable associated with an *increase* in feeling part of British

²⁰ A 10 percentage point increase in the % of households not deprived in the area is associated with a coefficient of 0.20.

society at follow-up. The analysis examines what other factors are important for a sense of belonging to Britain, after English proficiency was taken into account.

The only association found with affective factors was that **participants who felt very sure of the length of their stay in the UK** were more likely to **feel part of British society**. As there was no difference in feelings of belonging between those who arrived as refugees and those who did not, it seems that a secure immigration status is important for a sense of belonging (Ager and Strang, 2010), rather than the immigration status on arrival in Britain.

The analysis interrogates claims that high levels of ‘co-ethnic’, and low levels of ‘inter-ethnic’, interactions impede people from migration backgrounds from feeling an affinity to ‘mainstream’ British society (e.g. Cameron, 2015). No evidence was found to support this viewpoint. For the participants in this study, neither **opportunities to talk to people from different cultural groups** or to interact with **people from similar cultural backgrounds** were found to predict feelings of belonging in themselves. However, those who reported to **talk to people in their local area** more frequently were more likely to feel part of British society, irrespective of the proportion of non-UK born residents in their area²¹. On the other hand, the extent to which participants felt that **British were helpful in listening to them** and **friendly to migrants** did appear to be related to feeling part of British society, suggesting that ESOL learner’ experiences of British people towards them is linked with feelings of belonging to Britain. The data also shows evidence that participants with a greater **understanding of British culture** are more likely to feel part of British society.

The analysis examines whether structural factors are associated with feelings of belonging (e.g. Kearns and Whitley, 2015). The data found some evidence to suggest that being **employed** was linked to being less likely to feel part of British society, but stronger evidence that participants’ positive perceptions of their **current housing** and **financial circumstances** were associated with higher feelings of belonging (although this was not the case for perceptions of future housing and income). There was no evidence that higher levels of **deprivation in the local area** reduced feelings of belonging.

4.9.3 *Social networks*

We have seen that the data indicates that participants with higher levels of English proficiency, especially in speaking skills, are more likely to **talk to people from different cultural backgrounds**; the

²¹ However, those who reported greater frequency of talking to people in the local area at baseline, were less likely to report an improvement in feeling part of British society (Table 4.15), although as this is inconsistent with the cross-sectional data it may reflect the lack of variation in the change data.

analysis now examines what other factors may be associated with bridging social relations for these participants.

In contrast to previous research which has found links between intergroup contact and affective factors (e.g. Tip et al., 2019), this study found no evidence that aspects in the *affective realm* were independently linked to inter-ethnic interactions. The analysis found no evidence that living in segregated “ethnic enclaves”, or possessing strong social bonds impedes social bridges (e.g. Cantle, 2001): for the ESOL learner participants, frequency of interactions with **people from similar cultural backgrounds**, or living in **areas with higher proportions of other migrants** was not associated with interactions with people from different cultural backgrounds. In fact, more frequent **interactions with people in local area** was related to increased interactions with people from different backgrounds. On the other hand, there was some evidence to suggest that talking to people from different backgrounds is related to some other social integration outcomes, namely **understanding of British culture** and **perceiving British people to be friendly** to migrants.

The study interrogates whether social networks may be associated with structural factors (e.g. Cheung and Phillimore, 2014). There was some evidence in the data to suggest that participants who **talked to people from different backgrounds** were more likely to be **employed**, which could reflect increased opportunities to interact with a wider variety of people at work, or conversely that participants with greater social capital may be at an advantage in the labour market. There was also some evidence that increased bridging social networks was associated with feeling optimistic about **future financial situation**, but no other evidence of links between this outcome and factors in the structural realm.

4.9.4 *Housing and employment*

Section 4.7 argued that better language proficiency did not increase the likelihood of being employed for the participants, therefore the analysis now examines what factors may be associated with being in paid work. Employment is generally regarded as important for many aspects of integration (Ager and Strang, 2008).

The data found no evidence of links between being **employed** and indicators of the *affective realm* of integration, except there was some evidence to suggest that those who had a job were slightly more likely to be in better **health**. The data found little evidence that employment is associated with increased feelings of belonging or other aspects of social integration, except increased frequency of talking to people from different backgrounds as noted above.

Regarding **housing**, we have seen that participants with higher perceived language ability, particularly the formal skills, were more likely to have better housing outcomes; the analysis examines what other factors are associated with having a home in good condition. As previously discussed, there was some evidence that participants who live in decent housing are more likely to **feel safe** in their local area, and have greater **feelings of belonging**. The data also suggests that participants who live in better condition housing may have better **mental** and **physical health** supporting previous research (e.g. Ager and Strang, 2008). However, there was no evidence that for these participants frequency or types of **social networks** or **experiences of British people** were associated with living in better accommodation.

Additionally, the analysis examines relationship between employment, housing and financial situation. This study found that participants in employment had a better income; in general they had **more money to buy necessities** and were less likely to feel they would have **less money in future**. More positive perceptions of current and future income were also associated with **better housing conditions**. There was also some evidence to suggest that participants living in good condition housing were less likely to live in a deprived neighbourhood. However, on the whole, those with jobs were not more likely to have better housing outcomes than those who were not employed. Thus, the data shows a link between having a job and better income, and better income and better housing, but does not suggest that being employed improves housing prospects for the participants.

The data suggests many factors are associated with integration besides English proficiency. Holding proficiency constant, feeling less safe in the local area is linked to negative encounters with other members of society, poor housing, local deprivation and fewer interactions with people in the local area. Feelings of belonging are positively associated with secure immigration status, positive perceptions of current housing and financial circumstances, positive attitudes of the local born population, and talking to local people. Bridging social relations are associated with being employed, understanding British culture, friendliness of British people, talking to locals and more positive perceptions of future finances. Being in employment is linked to health, bridging social relations, and income. Finally, condition of housing is associated with physical and mental health, feelings of safety and belonging, and income.

4.10 Chapter conclusion

This section briefly reviews the ways in which the quantitative analyses work together to address the research questions. It focuses on empirical findings and postpones deeper interpretation and discussion until the discussion in Chapter Six.

Section 4.5 showed that there were many factors which the participants viewed as important for having a good life in Britain, and that these did not tend to vary amongst groups of participants. Tests on the means found that whilst good English language skills were rated among the most important, there were several other factors which the participants viewed as of similar importance. Broadly speaking, the most important factors relate to affective and structural aspects of integration; namely safety, employment, education, confidence and independence, after these come social networks and then cultural factors. Apart from the importance of English language skills, these findings diverge from the priorities of policymakers who generally emphasise the cultural and social aspects of integration, and neglect structural and affective barriers.

The first step of the regression analyses considered the effect of participants' background characteristics on language outcomes. Participants' length of time in the country overall had a positive effect on assessed and perceived language proficiency. Those living with a partner were generally in higher ESOL classes, Asian learners were more likely to be in lower ESOL classes and participants with degrees were more confident with their literacy skills.

The analysis then explored the associations between the integration variables and the language outcomes after controlling for individual characteristics. Participants with lower assessed ability and less confidence in English skills are more likely to report recent experiences of harassment and poorer health. Lower level ESOL learners were also more likely to feel pessimistic about their future financial situation. Higher levels of English proficiency, especially in the powerful language competencies, appear to facilitate greater feelings of belonging, and engender more positive reactions from British people.

The findings could support the argument that greater opportunities to speak in English, including in the workplace, are related to improved English proficiency, but equally, they could indicate that higher proficiency, especially in formal speaking skills, may enable greater contact with people from different backgrounds. However, for these participants at least, more frequent interactions with people from similar backgrounds does not appear to impede language proficiency. There is some evidence in this

study that having stronger competence in the powerful English skills could facilitate accessing better quality and more secure housing. Overall, the evidence points to formal speaking and literacy skills being related to aspects from all the realms and subgroups of integration (except for social networks, where only formal speaking skills are associated with opportunities to speak English). There is little evidence that everyday speaking skills are associated with better outcomes in any of the integration variables, except a small association with opportunities to speak English. This suggests, that of the three skills, the more powerful, dominant language and literacy skills have more potential to improve integration outcomes.

I examined associations between participants' background characteristics and the five focal integration outcomes. It was found that Muslims, women, people from minority ethnic backgrounds, those who arrived as refugees or asylum seekers, participants with children and those with partners are all less likely to be employed. The latter two groups are also less likely to have frequent inter-ethnic interactions. BAME participants are less likely to have good quality housing. Ethnicity had no effect on inter-ethnic interactions, but BAME participants were more likely to feel part of British society.

Long-term residence in Britain improved prospects of good housing and feeling part of British society, but none of the other outcomes. Having a higher level of education did not improve any integration outcomes. There was no difference between groups on feelings of safety in the local area.

Lastly, the analysis investigated what other factors are associated with integration outcomes other than language. When considering what factors may affect feeling safe in the local area, it appears that factors other than language have potential influence; namely how participants feel they are treated by other members of society, and experiences and perceptions of their local area and housing.

Better perceived English ability, particularly in the more powerful skills, was associated with greater sense of belonging to Britain, however other factors were found to be related, even when language proficiency is held constant. These included: understanding British culture, more positive experiences of attitudes of British people, talking to people in the local area and current income and housing. Those who felt more secure about their immigration status were also more likely to feel a part of British society.

Better English proficiency is linked to more frequent interactions with people from different cultural backgrounds, but after controlling for language skills, inter- ethnic interactions also appear to be related to other opportunities for social relations such as speaking to people in the local area and being employed. The data also suggests that understanding British culture and perceiving British people to be friendly are related to increased bridging social relations. The most important predictor of positive outcomes in the focal affective and social integration variables was talking to people in the local area, and perceived attitudes of British people were also generally associated with these three integration outcomes.

In terms of enabling participants to access employment, there was little evidence in the data that better language proficiency facilitated this. Instead, talking to people from different cultural backgrounds and being in better health was associated with employment, regardless of English proficiency, although it is not possible to ascertain the direction of these relationships. Lastly, I examined factors related to improved housing outcomes, and found that besides better perceived language ability (particularly in the more powerful skills), understanding British culture is positively related to housing outcomes, independent of language. This points to the importance of cultural capital in gaining better accommodation. Increased income (but not being in paid employment) also seems to be important in obtaining quality and stability of housing.

Thus, analysis of the questionnaire data shows that ESOL learners have many priorities for their lives in Britain, the relationship between language learning and integration is complex and that there is systematic variation in integration outcomes even amongst learners with the same level of language proficiency.

5 Findings from the interviews

5.1 Introduction to chapter

In contrast to the previous chapter, this one takes a more inductive approach and explores the ESOL learner interviewees' own accounts and consequently is structured according to themes drawn from interpretation of the data. The chapter attempts to convey participants' trajectories over time as well as the ways these developed between interviews (where applicable) in order to shed light on the mechanisms behind the processes of language learning and integration, and the role of identity in these. Section 5.2 introduces the interviewees and then section 5.3 presents interpretations of their stories of the 'early days' after their arrival in Britain including grappling with the language barrier and attempting to learn in ESOL classes. The subsequent five sections focus on different challenges they faced as well as the opportunities and strategies afforded them as they endeavoured to progress in their lives in Britain. Section 5.9 homes in on ongoing challenges and issues which can shape ESOL learners' ability to maintain momentum in their trajectories and achieve their future goals and aspirations. Section 5.10 then focuses on the timelines produced in the interviews to illuminate how the meanings participants gave to particular events shaped, and were shaped by, the meanings they gave to their overall trajectories. Symbols used for transcribed interviewee quotes are presented in Appendix 24, and where participants were interviewed more than once, the interview number is indicated as follows: *I1; I2; I3*.

5.2 The interview participants

Ada

Ada is in her late 20s and has a young son. She lived in a rural part of China and graduated from high school. She came to the UK in 2010 and at first found it very difficult to communicate in English. She lived in London for 3 years where she learnt a little English. She met her partner, and her son was born just before she moved to Bristol in 2014. She started attending ESOL classes in 2015 and progressed to Level 2 by the beginning of 2017. She is seeking asylum and as such lives in shared accommodation with other asylum-seeking refugee mothers and their children. Her son's father lives elsewhere in Bristol and is unable to offer her much support. Her future plans include to continue to improve her English and then study GCSEs or A levels. Ada would also like to be allowed to work so she can find a job and improve her confidence.

Ali

Ali is a 28-year-old Kurdish man from an area of Iraq which has been badly affected by conflict. Consequently, he experienced a limited and interrupted education and left school when he was about nine or ten years old. He left Iraq aged 16 and, after a long and difficult journey, arrived in Britain in 2008. As an unaccompanied minor seeking asylum, he was given temporary permission to remain. He started ESOL classes, got a job, started weight training at a gym and doing voluntary work. However, in 2010 he was refused the right to stay in the UK and therefore was no longer allowed to work, his support was withdrawn and he had to leave college. His asylum-seeking status has meant that he has had to move home several times and has lived in several cities since arriving in Britain. His stay in the UK has been dominated by a series of refusals and subsequent appeals as he has sought to have his asylum claim accepted. As a result, he has had to leave his class several times and his ESOL learning has been sporadic.

He is single and lives in shared housing for asylum seekers. In our second conversation he told me that it was the tenth anniversary of his arrival in the UK. He became involved in the project by volunteering when I visited his class, however I knew him from when I had been his ESOL teacher at another setting a few years previously, and since then we had bumped into each other a few times at the local gym. As became clear in the first interview, Ali's overriding concern was the fact that although he had been in the country for 10 years, he still had not been granted the right to remain. In the future, if he is allowed to stay in Britain, he would like to become a qualified personal trainer.

Anna

Anna is in her early thirties and is from Albania. She left school at the age of 14 due to the civil war. She came to Bristol in 2006 to join her husband who is a British citizen. They live together with their three children. Anna arrived on a spousal visa and took the Life in the UK test in 2011, and subsequently obtained a British passport. Being the main carer for the children she has not had a job and did not start ESOL classes until 2016, when she joined an Entry 2 class. She felt she had little opportunities in which to speak English and for the most part of her time in Britain had felt very unconfident with her English skills. In our second meeting Anna reported to be feeling more confident speaking English and expressed a desire to do more things independently of her husband. One of her aspirations is to work in accountancy as she is good at maths.

Edmund

Edmund is aged 23 and was born in Ghana. He had started studying biomedical science at university, but in 2015 had to leave university and move to Italy to join his parents who were Italian citizens. In

2016 the whole family moved to the UK. He was educated in English and thus had a good command on arrival in the UK. However, he said he still felt shy speaking English on arrival. He was offered a place at university, but due to his Ghanaian passport he would have to pay the international student fees which he could not afford. He wanted to attend college and meet other young people so enrolled in ESOL class where he was placed in Level 2 in 2017. He applied for a residence card, and whilst waiting for it, felt that his lack of official documentation prevented employers from taking him on, despite having permission from the Home Office to work. He was still waiting for this card in our first interview, but had received it by our second interview. By our third interview he had found work as a care assistant. Edmund lived with his parents, brother and sister. His goals were to obtain a British passport, and save enough money to study medicine at university.

Emma

Emma, 44, was born in Belarus and raised in Latvia. She finished school at 16 and later studied interior design at college. She then worked as a furniture designer. After the global economic crisis, Emma and her husband lost their jobs and, unable to earn a steady income they moved with their two sons to Britain in 2009. On arrival in Britain, she could only speak a few words of English. She spent her days looking after her youngest son and trying to teach herself English. She joined an English conversation class in 2011, and when her son started primary school in 2013, she started working in a printer company. She started ESOL at the college in 2014 in Entry 3. A few months later she found a part time job in a coffee shop, which she does at weekends to fit around her childcare responsibilities. She progressed through the ESOL levels fairly quickly and by 2016 she had progressed to Level 2. She would like to find a job with hours that would enable her to spend more time with her family. Her long-term ambition is to work as a furniture designer again.

Fatmira

Fatmira is in her early thirties and is from Albania. She left school aged about 13. In 2006 she came with her husband to Britain where they applied for asylum. Her trajectory here has been characterised by stress and upheaval as she has had to move several times, has nearly been deported, and during this time her two children were born. Her youngest son is autistic and goes to a special school. Part of Fatmira's stress has been caused by concerns over living in accommodation unsuitable for a disabled child.

She started ESOL classes in 2014, and, in 2016, she obtained a visa. At the time of our first meeting, she was waiting for confirmation of leave to remain. She was very keen to volunteer to talk to me

because she felt it was important that people hear about her experiences. In the first interview she described at length how stressed she was and emphasised feelings of uncertainty and lack of control over her life. However, although she clearly wanted me to know how difficult her life been, she would frequently laugh when expressing this, and recounted some of her bad experiences as amusing stories. Our second interview saw some important changes in Fatmira's life. She had acquired leave to remain and, although still expressed some uncertainty about her immigration status, was a lot more positive about her life in Britain and had started looking for a job.

Flowers

Flowers is an Iraqi woman in her mid-forties. She grew up in Baghdad where she completed a PhD and worked in a university. She left Iraq to seek asylum in Sweden, where she lived for 5 years and gained a Swedish passport. She moved to the UK in 2014, to join her husband who is a British national of Iraqi heritage. Although she had studied English at school, she felt unable to communicate when she first arrived and relied on her husband for help with interpreting. She started ESOL classes in her first year of arrival. She is an EU citizen and has permanent residency status. She lives with her husband in an affluent part of Bristol. In our first meeting she stated that she wanted to study a master's at university or become a maths teacher, but by the third interview she had decided to look for voluntary work.

Gill

Gill is in her early forties and is from Taiwan where she graduated from university before working as an event coordinator. She came to the UK in 2014 with her husband who is studying for a PhD. She lives in student accommodation with her husband and their son, who has autism. She had a difficult time trying to arrange his care in a language she was not confident in. She was keen to improve her English but was unable to enrol in ESOL as, being on a spouse visa, she had to wait three years before becoming eligible. She therefore tried to learn English in informal conversation classes and study groups, including at her church. For a while she ran a business at home. She was finally able to enrol in ESOL class in January 2018, about three weeks before our first meeting. In the third conversation she told me she was planning on returning to ESOL classes the following year, and hoped that her husband would be able to find work in Britain so the family could stay. She was keen to participate in the study and get her message across that three years is too long to wait for ESOL classes.

Hanin

Hanin is from Sudan where she completed a degree and enrolled on a postgraduate course. She left the course when she moved to Britain in 2013 to join her husband who had previously settled here as

a refugee. She is in her late twenties and lives with her husband and young son. She arrived on a family reunion visa and has held a British passport since 2017. When she arrived in Britain, she could not speak English and spent a lot of time alone at home as her husband was a full-time university student. Due to issues connected with her visa, and then her son being born, she was not able to attend formal ESOL classes until 2015. In 2017 she completed an introduction to childcare course. She was working part-time as a childminder and volunteering in an Arabic school. Her was looking for a full-time career in childcare, but was finding this difficult and appeared to feel somewhat uncertain as to whether she would be able to achieve her goals and aspirations in Britain.

Muna

Muna was born in Somaliland and grew up between her country of birth and Djibouti. She is in her late forties and has 6 children aged between 11 and 18 whom she has raised alone. She had interrupted schooling, and left Somaliland in 1992 aged 16 and moved to Holland, where she eventually got a Dutch passport. She moved to the UK in 2004. In 2005 she started ESOL classes, but found it difficult to attend for various reasons including childcare responsibilities. Over the next 6 years she combined bringing up her children with voluntary work and ESOL classes. Since 2011 she has been working as a Learning Support Assistant, a position she had attained by gaining experience as a volunteer and then a School Meals Supervisory Assistant. She joined ESOL classes at the college in 2016. She is planning to achieve a higher level teaching assistant qualification and would also like to improve her literacy skills and one day to write a book.

Mustafa

Mustafa is in his forties and was born in Somalia but moved to the Netherlands when he was four years old. He started university but left to come to Britain in 2005. As described in 5.9.1 below, after being turned away from university due to his level of English skills, Mustafa has alternated between attending ESOL in order to improve his English and gain a place at university, and working to support his family. He lives with his wife, who sometimes experiences poor health, and their four children.

Pital

Pital is 44 and was born in Colombia. He started a university course in environmental engineering but after three semesters moved to the Canary Islands. He lived there for twelve years working in the construction industry. Whilst there he obtained a Spanish passport, becoming a European citizen. Due to Spain's economic problems he moved to the UK with his four children in 2012, joining his brother in Bristol. His wife stayed in Spain, and Pital struggled to care for the children and find work, relying

on his brother for support. When his wife arrived in 2013, she looked after the children and Pital engaged in part-time cleaning work until he started his current job as a caretaker and cleaner in a school.

He started attending ESOL in 2013 when he was first placed in an Entry 2 class, but found this too difficult so was moved to Entry 1. He had progressed to a Level 1 class by the time of the fieldwork. In the third interview he felt confident that he would be able to progress to ESOL level 2 next year. However, his current employer had just offered him a full-time role as caretaker, and this meant that he would be unable to continue attending ESOL as there was not a Level 2 class available that would fit with his new working hours. In the future he would like to do something involving maths such as accountancy. His dream is to go to university although he feels that his age, English skills and lack of UK qualifications make this unlikely.

Ranu

Ranu is 42 and from Iraqi Kurdistan. Due to the various conflicts in the region, his education was sporadic and limited and he left school aged about 10 or 11. He worked on the family farm until he was 20 and then he joined the Kurdish peshmerga. He arrived in the UK in 2002 as an asylum seeker. He told me that on arrival he did not know any English and had not seen a computer before. His asylum claim was accepted fairly quickly, and he has had a British passport since 2008 and has worked in several factory jobs. He started ESOL classes in 2004 in a “Pre-Entry” (absolute beginner) class, subsequently progressing slowly and steadily, joining Level 2 just prior to our first interview. As well as ESOL, he has studied Maths GCSE and Interpreting up to Level 2. Ranu got married in 2008 and now has 3 children. He was very keen to be involved in the study and was quick to volunteer. He was very forthcoming in our conversations and wanted to encourage others to learn English as he had found it essential for his life in Britain. He planned to finish ESOL Level 2 and apply for the Level 3 Interpreting course which would qualify him for his ambition of obtaining paid interpreting work.

Wicky

Wicky is from Pakistan and in his late 20s. He attended an English medium school and describes himself as being from a middle-class family. He worked for a telecommunication company. He arrived in the UK in 2008 but did not want to talk about the time period between then and 2014, as explained in section 3.5.2. He applied for asylum in 2014, and moved to Bristol in 2016 where he started ESOL classes in Entry 3. He has worked in several voluntary roles, and talked in detail about playing cricket for various local clubs, evidently being very passionate about the sport. He is still waiting for his asylum

decision and as such is living in shared accommodation. His future plans are to keep on learning English and then become a *'business man'*.

5.3 The importance of English and struggles in ESOL

This section explores accounts of the challenges faced by participants in their early days of living in Britain when they had low levels of English. It discusses their perspectives on the difficulties they faced and the benefits of learning English. The stories in this section reveal the barriers they faced to accessing and learning in ESOL classes.

5.3.1 *Barriers to accessing ESOL: 'Is gonna be impossible for me to learn'*

Many of the participants did not access formal ESOL classes for some time after arriving in Britain. They discussed various barriers to their enrolment. As noted in Chapter Two, immigration status can pose various barriers to accessing ESOL classes. Ali's attendance in ESOL classes has been frequently interrupted due to his long-term asylum-seeking status, which has meant that he has had to move to a new city and lose eligibility each time his claim was refused. Consequently, for his first few years in Britain, Ali struggled with communicating in English; for example, he went three years without registering with a GP.

Fatmira did not attend ESOL classes for eight years due to more pressing concerns dominating her daily life: her uncertain immigration status and the instability and restrictions that went with it, looking after her children's needs, and caring for a family on a low income. Moreover, the uncertainty over her future in Britain meant that she saw little point in adding extra stress by investing time in learning English:

Every time I thought what is the point to stress myself, I have enough stress, is going to be impossible for me to learn English with all these problems (I1).

What is the point to learn English? Every time we thought 'we gonna stay today [but] maybe next day [...] they gonna send us back to Albania' (I1).

Additionally, she viewed classes as unaffordable, being unaware that they would be free for her. Thus, Fatmira did not seek to enrol in ESOL classes until she experienced a hostile encounter with a woman who told her to go and learn English which spurred her to find an ESOL class (see section 5.5.1).

Being on a spousal visa meant that Gill was not entitled to access ESOL classes for three years. She describes these years in Britain as a very tough time as she struggled with the language barrier as she tried to access the help for her son from social services, medical professionals and schools. She felt

that not being able to access formal ESOL classes for such a long time impacted her ability to form social relations. In fact, her initial motivation for participating in the interviews, despite only just started attending classes and lacking confidence to speak, was to voice her opinion that ESOL policy should be changed to shorten the waiting period for spouses.

I'm so happy I can join your [study] because I really wanted to tell my opinion but I didn't know where can I talk [...] My classmates told me 'you are so brave, you just go to tell Jill, you want to join' because they know my English not quite well. [I said] 'I have something I want to say' (I1).

As section 5.3.4 explores, some participants felt that the long time it took to access ESOL classes had a detrimental effect on their progress.

Female interviewees such as Muna, Hanin and Anna found childcare could be a barrier to learning. For example, Anna's first 10 years in Britain were focused on bringing up her three daughters, and only when the youngest started nursery did she have *'the time for myself'* to start ESOL classes. Male interviewees also found being a parent to be a barrier. Ranu, whose wife has health problems, has to fit his studies around caring for her and their children, and Mustafa found it a challenge to attend ESOL classes and fulfil his role as provider for his family.

Availability of suitable classes is also a barrier for many. The structures of ESOL provision are generally focused on improving the language skills of lower-level learners, and this is partly shaped by the skills and employability models which shape ESOL policy (Simpson and Gresswell, 2012). This can result in neglecting the needs of learners when they reach higher proficiency levels. For example, Pital described the difficulties in finding a Level 1 class that was feasible for him to attend. Many ESOL classes, especially the highest levels, are oversubscribed; after waiting three years for ESOL classes, Gill had to wait a further six months for a space to open up in a Level 2 class.

5.3.2 *'Terrible days!': 'Illiterate' and incompetent identities*

Some of the participants detailed difficulties they faced when they were new to Britain and had little knowledge of English. Their accounts were characterised by feeling unhappy and negative about themselves. When Hanin first arrived in Britain, she had a very difficult time. Whenever she ventured out of the house, she could not understand anyone and felt very out of place, so she stayed at home most of the time. Her husband was at university all day and she often felt isolated and miserable. She felt very dependent on her husband who would encourage her to try to learn English.

J: How did you feel when you first arrived?

Hanin: Oh! Terrible days! <laughs>. Because I didn't know anything, everything different I didn't have any friends at that time. And [...]my husband [...] go in morning till late at night he go to study, I am by myself, lonely at home. And [...] he said 'go outside you can take fresh air you can go', but when I go I felt it's not my place, you know? I remember the first day I tried to go out by myself. I went downstairs and I go in the street, and some lady stopped me and asked me something and I said to her 'no', I didn't know anything.

[...] You know these days I just cry, every time I cry [...] I go shopping and I don't know what to say I start crying, <laughs> I go to laundry I don't know what to do or what to say, every time I start crying. But yeah, my husband help me a lot and he said 'crying doesn't do for you anything, you have to learn, and you have to do something' (11).

She joined the local library with the help of her husband, where she later joined a conversation class. However, this did not go well for Hanin.

[...]I went one day and I didn't understand anything, and the teacher said something, he need me repeat after him, and I couldn't, I felt angry and I left the class <laughs> and [went] back home (11).

Already possessing a fragile sense of self, Hanin had summoned up the courage to join the class, but was upset when she felt put on the spot by the teacher. It seems that the encounter reinforced an identity of incompetence (Cummins, Early and Stille, 2011 p.32) and thus Hanin left the class in an attempt to escape this negative identity position.

Other participants reported having negative feelings about themselves due to frustrations with their English language abilities. For example, in her first interview, when she had not long been attending ESOL classes, Gill said:

I feel frustrated, sometimes I will hate myself, I'm stupid, I feel I lack confidence. [...] at the moment I try to be stronger but it's not easy because I live here and I need to communicate with people in English, I need English 24 hours. Even I go shopping I need to use English. Sometimes people ask me 'you alright?' just greeting me but the pronunciation is just totally different and I [say] 'say again, say again?'(11).

Hanin and Gill describe the difficulties they experienced when they felt unable to communicate in English and how this negatively impacted on how they felt about themselves. These experiences can cause migrant language learners to internalise the negative identity positions assigned to those whose English is perceived to be lacking. This mechanism is illustrated by Ranu's accounts.

In his early days in Britain, Ranu struggled to deal with everyday life, experiencing feelings of helplessness, and even humiliation, due to his lack of language and literacy skills. For example, he explained that in Birmingham he and his Kurdish housemates could not read their post, so they would save it up and walk to a Kurdish restaurant to ask an acquaintance to read it for them. This man would laugh at them because it was only junk mail that they had gone to all this trouble for. Sometimes they would wait a month for somebody to fill in an application form for them, and on another occasion a flatmate was taken ill, and they didn't know how to call an ambulance. In addition, he told me that he had been unable to make medical appointments and could not get a bank card or bank account for five months after coming to Britain. Ranu appeared to blame himself when he was unable to communicate in these situations.

When I came into this country I couldn't speak English, sometimes when I have a problem, but I cannot describe my problem for a service provider, I'm feeling, sometimes I'm going to toilet and cry...because they aren't understanding, they can't help me. I'm not blaming him because I can't explain to him, he don't know about it (12).

Later, when he was at work, he also felt frustrated by his inability to explain himself to his supervisor:

some situation which happened in work: something happened [and] the supervisor said 'do that, don't do that'. I know very well but I can't explain I can't write, I cannot say anything just suffering (11).

He recounts occasions when he felt that others had taken advantage of his lack of comprehension of English. For example, he recounted two separate occasions when he was tricked into buying expensive phone services by sales assistants who took advantage of Ranu's inability to read the contracts he was signing. Ranu's experiences highlight how ESOL learners hitherto unfamiliar with "formal" literacy practices can face new challenges as they have to grapple with the particular institutional and bureaucratic literacies which were not prevalent in their previous contexts (Cooke and Simpson, 2008). Ranu apparently felt a sense of shame at his lack of literacy skills, his inability to manage his own everyday communications, and his dependence on others. Ranu was subject to, and had seemingly internalised, the dominant discourses in which non-expert speakers of English are positioned in deficit ways, as described in Chapter Two. He referred to his former self as '*illiterate*', and characterises his identity as passive, helpless and suffering. Because of his experiences, Ranu feels strongly about the importance of learning English, as illustrated in the following section.

5.3.3 *Discourses on English: 'You must speak very good English'*

Many interviewees stressed the importance of learning English, for themselves, and for others coming to live in the UK. Ranu felt that knowledge of English is the most important thing for having a good life

in Britain, and stressed this view throughout our three conversations. He highlighted the difficulties many migrants face in navigating life in Britain and emphasized how learning English could help them. His motivation for taking part in this study was to use it as a conduit through which to encourage migrants to learn English.

I don't want people coming [to Britain to be] in my position, this position was very difficult. Imagine yourself, you're going to a country nobody understands you and you can't speak English for yourself, it's very difficult emotionally. Everything is coming together, especially for us, especially Asian or African foreigners, asylum seekers, people coming to this country totally is changing style of life. For example, [...] I had never heard about the bank, but when I come to this country, you have to go to the bank. If you don't speak English, you don't know anything about English, how to manage in this life situation? This is why I'm always supporting ESOL continuing by a great way. I'd like more advertising or more encouragement to people to come in to join, after that they're made into active people, and they manage (I2).

In addition to the benefits of speaking English for practical purposes and to help achieve goals, some participants felt that improving their English proficiency would enable them to feel a greater sense of belonging to Britain. A common response to my enquiry of whether participants felt they were part of British society was to relate this to English proficiency, and its role in employment or social relations with British nationals. For example:

J: How much do you feel part of Britain, British society? Do you feel like you belong in Britain?

Anna: No, I don't feel. Because it's – I think it's always a problem about language. When I don't know to speak, I don't have any friends, Britain.

J: So, you don't feel part of Britain because of your language?

Anna: No. Language is a big thing. It's the most important thing (I1).

Fatmira said she didn't feel British because 'you must work here and speak very good English and after maybe you can feel now I am part of the [British]' (I1). And Pital, despite feeling part of British society in some respects, said as a non-proficient English speaker 'you always is foreign' (I1).

Chapter Two illustrates that in the prevailing monolingual ideology, speaking English has become associated with showing willingness to integrate and is often conflated with Britishness (Blackledge, 2009). This narrative can imply that true belonging to Britain necessitates knowledge of a specific type and level of English, and consequently can hinder ESOL learners feeling of belonging. In the excerpts above, participants are highlighting that English skills can pose a practical barrier to participation, but these opinions also appear to conform with the dominant discourse. The interviewees can all communicate reasonably effectively, however their language usage and structure is non-standard. In

their accounts they appear to be indexing that their positions as non-expert, or even non-native English speakers marks them as *'always foreign'*.

Inherent in monolingual ideology is the assumption that multilingualism is problematic for learning English and integration (Cooke, Bryers and Winstanley, 2019). Some interviewees described how they limited their exposure to their “mother tongue” as part of their efforts to learn English. Hanin told me she had decided to move away from spending time with fellow Arabic speakers and try to make friends with non-Arabic speakers, and even refused to keep socialising with a good friend if they were going to *'chat in Arabic'* and not speak English together. Additionally, Anna stopped watching Albanian TV channels. On the one hand these may be practical strategies for learning English, but these accounts can also be seen as reflecting the view that the maintenance of first languages is an impediment to learning English. Participants' accounts also highlight a tension between perceptions of what is best for learning English, and what may be the reality for many ESOL learners, as many interviewees said that they had limited access to social networks with native English speakers. Additionally, it raises the question of whether “native” English speakers would necessarily interact with participants in the way they apparently expected.

5.3.4 *Barriers to learning in ESOL class: 'They told me 'university is not for you''*

Section 5.3.1 outlined the barriers some participants faced to accessing ESOL; participants also encountered barriers to learning once they were able to join ESOL classes. Some of these challenges were related to those described above, such as stressful life circumstances and caring commitments, but they also faced other obstacles.

Both Fatmira and Ali felt that being in the country for a long time without formal English lessons had impeded their ability to study in their ESOL class. They both said they picked up their English *'on the street'* and had a reasonable level of informal spoken English which meant that when enrolling on ESOL they were not placed in the lowest level. They both felt that missing out on the basics had impacted on their progress.

It's difficult you know. When you start from the beginning I think it's easier, because you start reading, writing, speaking all at the same time. When you learn the street language, learning with people on the street and things, it's very hard to learn different ways. [...] And I didn't start from the beginning, I didn't start Entry 1, I start Entry 2, and it was difficult for me, spelling (Fatmira, 12).

Thus, the colloquial spoken language which Ali and Fatmira have learnt on the street is not so useful in the ESOL classroom, in which they also need to acquire more formal language skills such as grammar

and literacy. Ideology shapes the value afforded to different types of capital (Darvin and Norton (2015) and language ideologies determine which particular language varieties are considered to be of value in particular contexts (Collins and Slembrouk, 2005). Knowledge of the 'higher status' powerful literacies is often important for progression in education, and employment, hence their place in the ESOL curriculum (Simpson and Gresswell, 2012). Consequently, the dominant language ideology (in which certain types of language and literacy practices are valued over others), determines that Ali and Fatmira's 'street' English, which had value in the everyday context and facilitated many aspects of their lives, does not translate into linguistic cultural capital in the ESOL classroom. Their 'vernacular' literacies do not transfer straightforwardly into the domain of the ESOL classroom in which the 'dominant' model of literacy prevails (Barton and Hamilton, 2001; Hamilton et al., 2012). Perhaps aware of these ideologies, Fatmira describes her street English as not 'proper' English.

Similarly, many ESOL learners may not have sufficient levels of the type of educational capital which can facilitate learning. Ali and Fatmira also perceive that their abilities to participate in more formal, academic classroom activities are hindered by their limited formal education.

In my class, I think all the students in their country finish university or they have a good education, but unfortunately in my country, because of war I couldn't study. So they are all, they know how they do presentations, reading, writing, because they have a knowledge and background. So for me it's difficult, I going to have a problem. (Ali, 12).

Fatmira describes the difficulties she has with literacy skills in her ESOL class, characterising herself as a 'slow learner' and lamenting: 'You know I have three years in college and I can't spell'.

Ranu also feels his limited and interrupted childhood education determined his slow progress up the ESOL levels:

[...] it affected my English because [...] I spent nearly seven or eight years learning English [before progressing to] Level 2. But the person who finished university or high education in his country, [it takes] two years for him (13).

Muna shows how this disadvantage can be compounded for female ESOL learners:

The main thing for me is writing [...] because I'm very busy. I'm a lone parent looking after six children so I don't have enough time to study. [I'm] working as well, so [...] not have enough time. The other thing is I feel I have a lack of education, from my childhood [...] I never been settled anywhere. And I think also a lot of Somali women, a lot of people, are the same as me they find it difficult. [...] Because the time I have to study, be in education, in my country was horrible. There was fighting, there was problems, there was no education. So I lose big gap from my childhood to study.

If ESOL learners' capital is not bestowed symbolic value in ESOL class this can affect their relationship to their learning (Darvin and Norton, 2017), as illustrated by Ranu's experiences. Ranu wanted to share with me his opinions about why some ESOL learners are not motivated to learn. In his opinion, when some learners reveal their ambitions to go to university they can be discouraged by their teachers and in fact, this had happened to him.

I know ... why someone want to learn, or why someone don't want to learn, actually. When I was Entry 2, Entry 3, many friends when coming to [the class] say 'I like to go to university' [...] I remember most of the time the teacher has told 'No, university is not possible for you, look your age, it's very difficult'. They are quite disappointed. I know every student [...] say 'I want to do university' because he thought it's very easy. I understand that situation is very difficult. But for that situation say 'OK, you can go'. Better than [saying] 'You are right, but it's very difficult for you, it's not easy you have to be realistic'. I know the person talk realistic but [...] it's not encourage.

That is why I think don't talk the students 'something is impossible for you or is difficult for you' because [...] when I came to this college, I [was] like a child because I haven't any information about education or about the language ... or something, but I had hope which is not cost for anybody. Now I understand [...] maybe university is an impossibility for me at the moment [...]. But when they told me, when I was lower Entry, that [university] is not for you [it] quite make you disappointed(I1).

After two years, demoralised by his slow progress, he considered leaving college. He had had hopes of being able to achieve, and perhaps reach university, but was disappointed by his teacher's advice to be 'realistic'.

Darvin and Norton's (2015) conceptualisation of investment as located at the intersection of identity, ideology and capital helps to elucidate this scenario. Section 2.3 argued that identity positions are negotiated via interaction between interactive positioning (how others position us) and reflexive positioning (how we see ourselves) and this can be shaped by external structures (Davies and Harré, 1990; Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004). In this scenario, Ranu does not possess the symbolic capital of the classroom and the teacher apparently positioned him as a low educated and lower-level learner incapable of making significant progress in his language learning. In so doing, the teacher (presumably unwittingly) reinforced wider societal ideologies which position migrants and refugees as only suitable for lower-level employment. This reinforced Ranu's reflexive positioning as a 'lower entry' 'illiterate' student. These identity positions were at odds with his future imagined identity (Norton 2000; 2013) as a university student. Consequently, he struggled to remain invested in an ESOL environment in which his desired future as a university student, and his route to acquiring symbolic capital, was cut off by the teacher. The effect on Ranu was to feel demotivated to the point of considering leaving the class.

Ranu's account indexes the importance of hope in this process. As suggested Section 2.3.3, in the migration experience, hope can facilitate the ability to imagine a better future and be the impetus to seek better lives in a new context (Serrano, 2018), and that investment is influenced by migrant language learners' hopes for the future (Norton, 2016). When Ranu started at the college, despite having low English literary and language skills, his '*hope*' of improving and going to university motivated him to keep learning. Being given the impression that he would not be able to achieve this goal negated this hope and left him feeling '*disappointed*'.

Focusing on hope surfaces the emotional aspects of investment, underscoring that investment is not merely a pragmatic response to circumstances which confirm or deny language learners' imagined identity or the value of their capital. If ESOL learners do not *feel* or genuinely imagine that a positive future and imagined identity is possible then they may not feel able to invest in their learning. In his ESOL class, Ranu's hope of achieving his imagined identity is denied, along with his route to acquiring symbolic capital in the future. Thus, he finds it difficult to remain invested in his learning. Ranu asserted that it is important that teachers do not discourage this hope, even if it is not '*realistic*', as this can make ESOL learners feel '*disappointed*' in their ESOL experiences. However, he also recounted how some time later, the actions of another ESOL teacher actually rekindled his hope, as explored in section 5.7.1.

This section highlights the many barriers to attending ESOL classes, including immigration status, instability, stressful life circumstances, family responsibilities and lack of suitable provision. Participants evidently place great importance on learning English, and in some ways their perspectives are consistent with, and may even be coloured by, language ideologies which associate learning and speaking English with fitting in with British society. These accounts also illustrate that ESOL learners with low levels of English proficiency and literacy are positioned, and position themselves, in negative ways shaped by dominant language ideology. These ideologies can also influence the ecology of ESOL classrooms and negatively impact learners' ability to engage with and invest in their learning.

5.4 Marginalised identities and instability: *'It's like you are a second person'*

Participants who were seeking asylum faced particular barriers as they experienced instability and insecurity due to their immigration status, and as a consequence occupied especially marginalised and deficit identity positions.

5.4.1 *Insecurity and instability: 'Every night when I slept on my bed I just thinking 'what going to happen tomorrow?''*

Participants from refugee backgrounds (e.g. Ranu, Hanin and Flowers) highlighted the importance of feeling safe for facilitating a good life in Britain. However, asylum-seeking interviewees described many impediments to feelings of safety and stability. Fatmira describes how, before she gained a secure immigration status, she lived with a constant sense of fear, insecurity and instability.

I was very sad and scared [...], every night when I slept on my bed I just thinking 'what going to happen tomorrow?'. All the time, 'tonight I'm here, tomorrow maybe I will be in Albania'. It's not easy, I was left like that for 11 years (I2).

The main theme in my three conversations with Ali centred around how his asylum seeker status denies him control over much of his life. A major aspect of the instability and insecurity that he faces concerns his living conditions. Subject to the Home Office "dispersal" system, Ali has been moved several times and has no control over his accommodation. He currently shares an overcrowded two-bedroom house with three other people, he has no control over who his co-tenants are, and they sometimes invite their friends to stay. He described the impacts on mental well-being as he is unable to feel secure even in his own home.

J: Do you feel safe in Bristol?

Ali: If you don't have a paper... I'm living in a shared house with different people, I don't know them. Like in my house every few months change the people. Sometimes people come, they have a mental health problem or they do something you don't want them to do. For example, they don't clean and you have to tell them 'do this do this,...'. If you living with someone [who] have like, anger, always you have a problem [...] Different people come and it's very difficult when you always living with different people and different cultures and you don't know their culture (I1).

Ali's experience of living in unsatisfactory housing was shared by other participants who were seeking asylum. Ada, who lives with other asylum-seeking mothers and children, was worried that her home was an unsuitable environment in which to raise a child. In her home too, new residents come and go on a regular basis, causing the children, including her son, to feel as if this is not their home.

Ada: The [...] kids are growing up they are now start to say 'it's not my house, it's not mine'.

Wicky describes his lack of control over his environment, including his food, emphasising the precarity of many asylum-seeking refugees' existence.

Wicky: Myself I just like to live you know, neat and clean, tidy [...] but no one is same as me so that's why it's not always nice [...]. Whenever they use kitchen, toilet, or anything they never tidy anything after that, they just left their rubbish there. [...] And the other guy he always use my stuff. I don't have enough money to get all the stuff [...] sometimes what happens, I will go home thinking that I have two or three eggs that I can use, and sometimes there is nothing. That is really upsetting and I have to go out again, or sometimes maybe I don't have enough money to buy any things.

These experiences demonstrate how insecure immigration status impacts on asylum-seeking refugees' ability to feel safe and secure, and the poor housing conditions within which asylum seekers are generally housed acts to compound the negative effect on well-being.

5.4.2 *Waiting, liminality and restricted imaginings: 'You have no hope of your future'*

At the same time as seeking asylum results in experiencing a precarious and unstable existence which results in emotional turmoil and stressful conditions, there is simultaneously a feeling of stasis as lives are put on hold due to the protracted and cumbersome bureaucracy of Home Office regulations. Fatmira had had to wait for adequate support for her son, as practitioners had told her they were unable to help her family until they had 'status'. For Ali, the prolonged period of waiting which he has experienced means that his life is put on hold. He tells me: *'I want to move forward but I can't do anything. Nothing I can do'* (I2). He felt the one thing stopping him from having a good life was his lack of regularised immigration status.

J: What do you think is important for you to have a good life in the UK?

Ali: Well most important is being safe. It's like, when you don't have status it's like you always, like you [are] a second person. I'm living here without anything. It's difficult when you don't have a paper to live in this country. [...] They stop you to work, and they not allow many thing [...]. In a few years, I want to do personal trainer course, but I can't get it now because I don't have a paper so it means I can't work for myself. They just want you to stay like when you getting older you can't do anything [...].

J: You said that you feel sort of like a second-

*Ali: -person yeah. For example, if **you** go somewhere for working, they accept you, but they not accept **me**. [...] like, I have a friend and they don't have knowledge or anything and they're going to accept them, but they not accept me because of my paperwork.*

J: Do you feel like you're part of British society?

Ali: At the moment no. Some people they came here, like, first month or second month they get status. But for me, [...] I'm living here for 10 years but I couldn't do something I want to. I just live 10 years with nothing (I1).

Ali's account demonstrates how prolonged periods of seeking asylum result in a state of liminality (Khosravi, 2014; O'Reilly, 2018). Ali holds a socially and structurally ambiguous status. Although permitted (for now) to live in Britain, he is deprived of rights and freedoms such as being allowed to work. Ali feels he is not recognised as an equal member of British society, and unsurprisingly, has come to view British society as structured according to those who have been given 'status' and those who haven't. Those with a recognised right to be in Britain have control over their lives. They can get a job, even without skills or being able to speak English. In comparison, Ali is a 'second person', a *liminal persona* (Turner, 1969), he has no legitimate status, and is being prevented from being a useful member of society and from pursuing his ambitions. Ali's account suggests a state of ontological liminality (O'Reilly, 2018) in which his sense of unbelonging and lack of control has permeated his very sense of self and has become an aspect of his identity.

These findings highlight the ways in which asylum seekers' inability to imagine a future for themselves can undermine their sense of self and relationship to others in society (Anderson et al., 2009). Ada sums up how waiting in this limbo restricts her ability to imagine a future for herself, and that this impacts on her feelings of belonging.

J: Do you feel part of Britain?

Ada: Not really at the moment, because when you are asylum seeker you don't know about your future, you have no hope of your future. You have no idea how long you stay here or if you are going to be forced to go to your country. This is the main thing I am concerned, sometimes I feel, like, hopeless? Because I have no idea what should I do [I1].

Sutton et al. (2011) highlight that hope shapes experiences of waiting for a decision on immigration status, but as Ada explains, for many asylum seekers it is difficult to maintain hope for a better future. Ada suggests that the experience of seeking asylum impacts on the capacity for feeling part of British society, and this supports Ali's contention that as an asylum seeker he is a 'second person' unable to belong in British society. As he put it: 'if you don't have a paper, you can't mix with the society'.

Ali's situation also highlights that this marginalised identity position can be compounded by the separation from home cultures and countries which refugees experience. Although Ali knows quite a few Kurdish people in Bristol, his circumstances have resulted in a feeling of dislocation from his Kurdish identity. He left his community and family when he was aged just 16, and has not seen them

since he came to the UK 10 years ago; as he says, *'I grew up in England' (I3)*. Additionally, his home town has been destroyed. He explained that as a Kurdish person he does not have a properly recognised national identity, and he does not identify as Iraqi, despite this being the nationality which has been assigned to him.

So that's why I said even I can't feel I'm Kurdish, or Iraqi. I don't want to say, I never say I'm Iraqi because I'm not Iraqi, even I can't- my English is better than Arabic. And... I'm Kurdish but I have to say I'm Iraqi. And so, I don't have a country. I can't say I'm Kurdish, and here I don't have anything, how I can say I'm British? <laughs> (I3).

This stateless condition in which Ali is unable to feel a meaningful connection with his Kurdish identity reinforces his feelings of unbelonging and liminal identity. This is a particularly pertinent example of how transnational factors have a very real impact on migrants' integration experiences (Spencer and Charsley, 2016).

5.4.3 *Marginalisation and social isolation: 'You can't tell them your situation'*

This condition of unbelonging experienced by asylum-seeking refugees can affect social relations and opportunities to practise English. He has made some good friends in Bristol, especially at his gym where he has a strong training community, however, due to his status, he can never fully participate.

[...] from the gym I have many friends, it's like a big group in the UK, they all go [...] training together in different countries. Usually they tell me, but I'm not saying to them 'I can't do it'. It's not nice [...]. They not let you make connections [...] In this society you can't always be telling the truth. Because I have many friends they are asking about "When you go on holiday?" It's not nice always you say 'I can't go' and tell them your situation. Always you have to not say to them anything and avoid their questions (I1).

His status is also affecting his ability to express himself and relate to his ESOL classmates.

[In class] I don't want to talk about work, about that kind of thing because physically you are ok, nothing wrong with your body, when they talking about [work], you can't say 'I'm not working'. They don't know why you're not working, they think just you are lazy that's why you not working, you just staying at home. [...] you can't tell everyone your situation, it's not nice all the time you talk about your situation and your problems (I2).

This state of 'limbo' has gendered dimensions, as asylum-seeking men are unable to fulfil the traditional role of economically independent worker (Back and Sinha, 2018). Ali apparently feels ashamed that he cannot work, and being subjected to an imposed dependence is eroding his identity as a fit, able bodied man capable of contributing to society. In an attempt to preserve this aspect of his identity, Ali avoids explaining his situation, wanting to hide his dependent '*second person*' status,

and so he feels he cannot be totally honest with his friends. Thus, he is further distanced from his friendship group at the gym, and even from his classmates, (even though some of the latter may be able to relate to his position). Ali tries as much as possible to maintain a normal social life but feels that telling others his true situation would erode this normality. His efforts to maintain his desired identity position and avoid revealing and reinforcing his 'second person' identity have become a barrier to his ability to 'make connections' with others in society. This barrier to forging meaningful social connections may result in reduced opportunities for speaking English and therefore less opportunities for practising his skills.

A wish to conceal her true circumstances and protect her sense of self reduces Ada's opportunities to converse in English and improve her skills.

Ada: sometimes I want to [invite] the English people from my son's nursery school but the embarrassing is maybe it difficult to tell them we are living in shared house, and the house is not in very good condition and maybe there's not too much space for you to have a guest. So this why I do not ask them to come. One day I hope I will, because it's good for you to have some English friend to keep a conversation with them, to improve your English. It's really good, it's not just good for me it's good for my son as well when the children they can play together, with one kid sometimes they feel bored.

J: So it's difficult to invite friends over?

Ada: No, for Chinese friend it's OK because they do understand, but English people maybe they do not really understand.

5.4.4 Instability and language learning: 'How you can learn? How you can be happy?'

Poor well-being and unstable situations can also impact on learning within ESOL classes. Ali's interrupted trajectory in ESOL has impacted on his learning, as has the stress of his uncertain and precarious situation and worries about the conflict and devastation of his city and in Kurdistan:

Ali: Always come to college I'm not thinking about my studies [...]. Always when you have a problem, first you have to think about your problem, find a solution for your problem. You can't study and many times when I came here I don't know why I came to college because... I just come to college because of my attendance [...]

Because when you have a problem you never learn, like a serious problem. When you see your country, your city, [has] problems and always fighting it's very hard to... And sometimes I was watching the news till 3, 4 o'clock see my country and my city problem and fighting. How you can learn? How you can be happy? (12).

Fatmira described how stress can affect one's ability to focus and learn:

When you have stress is difficult to learn [...]. sometimes I think it's impossible, why I waste my time? I can't spell. I try I learn something now, after a few minutes I forget (11).

Ali's account also highlights how seeking asylum can impact on ability to invest in ESOL learning. Despite all the difficulties he experienced when he could not communicate sufficiently in English, he was doubtful that improving his English skills would offer him a better future. He points out the irony that when he first arrived in the UK, he could not speak English but was allowed to work, but now he is relatively proficient, he is not permitted to work.

Some people they not speak English but they allowed to work [...] I used to allowed to work, when I came to here, I didn't speak English, [...] But now I can speak English, I can't work. Speaking [English] of course is good, it helps you, but on the other hand I mean if you're not allowed for work it's nothing to do (13).

Because his status impacts on his ability to hope for and imagine a positive future, Ali does not feel that learning English will enable him to achieve his imagined identity as a working man. By the third interview, after the most recent setback in his claim for asylum, he had begun to think of leaving the class altogether:

Ali: Actually I want to stop college as well, [...] cos I can't study I have many problems outside the college. It's not easy, I never do homework at home because it's too much stress. I can't do anything [...] because when I go to class I can't learn anything

J: What because you can't concentrate or-

Ali: -Yeah how you can concentrate, focus on your study if you have many problems outside ESOL? I never do my homework and I don't know what I have in college (13).

Unable to engage with his learning, he felt that he had made little progress and would not pass his upcoming exams. These barriers to engaging with his learning are compounded by a perceived futility of continuing to improve his English. Ali has diminishing reasons to invest in learning English as it will not provide the 'returns' he seeks; it has not proved to be the means through which he can better his position. Despite having reached a reasonable level of English, he is barred from any situation where he could 'exchange' this for economic or symbolic capital (Norton 2000, 2013).

However, viewing Ali's experiences in terms of investment does not fully account for the fact that until recently, he had demonstrated remarkable perseverance in attending the class, despite his prolonged experiences of instability and liminality. Perhaps in the past, hope of a better future enabled Ali to sustain his investment in learning English, despite his ongoing marginalised and liminal status in society. However, more recently, and particularly with his most recent failed asylum claim, he has begun to feel demoralised and apparently has diminishing hope that his situation will change for the

better. Section 5.3.4 depicted how Ranu's hope of attending university was shut down, destabilising his investment in his ESOL class. Similarly, without the ability to hope for a better future, Ali no longer feels invested in learning English.

These accounts demonstrate the importance of safety, stability and well-being for ESOL learners. However, the restricted and precarious conditions experienced by those with insecure immigration status negatively impacts on these affective aspects of integration. Prolonged experiences of waiting for status can result in a state of ontological liminality in which their marginalised and insecure positions permeates their very sense of identity and erodes hopes for a better future. In a bid to prevent these liminal and marginalised aspects of their identities being brought to the fore, participants avoid certain social interactions. This reduces access to social networks and can impact on opportunities to practise their English skills. In addition, asylum seeker status can impact on the ability to learn English and remain invested in their ESOL classes.

5.5 Ideology, positioning and anxiety in language learning

Marginalised identity positions are not restricted to asylum seekers. As Chapter Two demonstrated, ESOL learners, as migrants, refugees and non-expert speakers of English, are often positioned negatively in political and media discourse, and this is often reflected in the behaviour of many members of the British public towards them, including incidences of hostility and harassment. This section demonstrates that the ways in which ESOL learners are positioned, and the behaviour of anglophone people they encounter, can cause anxiety to speak and impede opportunities to practise their English.

5.5.1 *Ideology, positioning and harassment: 'I don't understand why people still treat us like this'*

Interviewees' accounts contained incidences of hostility or harassment variously coloured by Islamophobia, racism, anti-migrant sentiment, or linguistic xenophobia. Hanin described how she experienced Islamophobic comments and that she had been refused entry onto buses several times. She highlighted how Muslim women who wear a hijab are especially exposed to Islamophobic harassment or discrimination in public places (Hopkins, 2016). Muna, who also wore a headscarf, recounted a period in which she was repeatedly harassed and sworn at every morning by the same man as she was taking her children to school, an experience which left her '*terrified*'.

Edmund recounted the openly racist and anti-migrant views expressed by a colleague, and Ada described an experience of repeated racist harassment by a man on the bus:

I do not remember every single experience but, one is, I was catching a bus with my kid. One old man, [...], I think he really hate the Chinese. He was shouting at us in the bus [...] and I feel really embarrassed because I do not respond to what he say. I meet the old man a few times and he still keep talking. [...] Same man on the same bus, and he keep talking 'Chinese people out of this country' [...] It's quite bad because I didn't do any harmful thing to people, I obey everything the law here [...] I don't understand why people still treat us like this.

He talked quite loudly [when there was] many people sitting there. So I was just the only Chinese person there, so you can feel how embarrassed that is. And I just keep silent, say nothing and he kept talking, talking until he get off the bus.

Chapter Two argued that in Britain the prevailing monolingual ideology positions multilingual migrants as 'audible others' (Lisiak et al., 2019) whose right to belong to Britain is questionable, and this viewpoint can manifest in linguistic xenophobic attitudes and behaviour. Anna appeared to be aware of these attitudes. After reading the fourth vignette, about a woman who is abused by a bus driver for speaking in Spanish, she says that she deliberately avoids speaking Albanian in public, and tells her children they must not speak it either.

Anna: For me it's nothing like this, this story [the vignette] because I know people don't like listening you to speak in your language. All the time I try to, how can I say, I don't speak aloud with someone who talks my language, or with my kids [...] different people, they don't like listening you, hearing you speaking different languages. I know that, we can understand the look in her face or how they, signs or... It's not difficult to understand.

J: So you can tell by the body language?

Anna: Yes (12).

Anna senses disapproval and hostility when she speaks Albanian and thus monitors her own and her family's language to prevent negative reactions from others. At times she may be misinterpreting this body language as hostile when it is not, however she senses that speaking freely in Albanian is transgressing social norms.

Ada articulated that some people respond positively to nonexpert speakers of English, whereas others responded in a hostile way.

Ada: If you meet a nice person they won't mind you don't speak English properly, or they may understand what you say, but if you meet people, they not very kind they may be a little bit dis...dis..

J: Discrimination?

Ada: Race? I just suddenly forgot the word

J: Racist?

Ada: Racist. They maybe laugh or use different, how can we say. If you don't speak English they may not treat you in a good way, [unclear] you from a different country because you don't speak English. It means they maybe they don't treat you in an equal way.

Thus, participants grasp an implicit message that as non-native speakers of English they do not belong and thus they occupy subordinate identity positions in these scenarios. Fatmira describes an incident where these ideologies were made explicit to her.

Just once I had problem at my son's school. There was an ice cream van there and everybody was waiting in the queue, at that time I felt 'oh God I need to learn English!' and I think I start after straight away I start the college. Because one lady come before me, and my son said 'mummy she was behind us', and she knew I can't speak English and I said 'excuse me' and she said 'go and learn English and after come and talk to me' (I1).

As discussed in section 2.3.2, Lippi-Green (2012), contends that dominant language speakers hear non-standard language through language ideology filters, and as such they may reject responsibility for the communicative burden. In this scenario, on hearing Fatmira speak, the woman in the ice-cream queue evoked the prevailing monolingual ideology, not only refusing to take responsibility for the 'communicative burden' but explicitly using the ideology to silence Fatmira when she tried to challenge her. Through the language ideology filter, the woman had negatively evaluated Fatmira's social identity (Miller, 2004) and denied her position as 'worthy to speak' (Bourdieu, 1977 p.648). She was thus rendered inaudible in this interaction (Cooke and Simpson, 2009; Miller, 2004). Fatmira's son had prompted Fatmira to speak up, but she was unable to do so. However, although she is silenced during this incident, she portrays it as a turning point in her trajectory, as it motivated her to learn English, apparently to gain the resources to resist being in such a position:

and that time I felt 'oh my god, I need to learn English' because..... And that day I think, after 2 or 3 weeks, I decide you know what? It doesn't matter how long you can stay, if I stay only one day more I need to start learn English. Sometimes a bad situation push you to go [unclear] <laughs> (I1).

In this scenario, Fatmira's wish to avoid being positioned in this subordinate way in the future spurred her on to improve her English skills. On the other hand, other participants' accounts showed that their wish to avoid being positioned negatively in anglophone interactions compelled them to evade certain scenarios, as discussed in section 5.5.3 below. First, I present accounts in which participants appear to concur with the perspective that, as learners of English, it is they who bear responsibility for the communicative burden.

5.5.2 *Negotiating the communicative burden: 'It's my problem'*

Another result of the dominant language ideology is that non-native English speakers are not viewed as legitimate speakers (Bourdieu, 1977) of English. Thus, their English skills are viewed as deficient, and the onus is on them to address this deficit and ensure successful communication. This viewpoint was apparent in some of the participants' accounts. For example, Pital describes communication difficulties in interactions as his '*problem*'.

I haven't any problem with English people, they are very helpful. I'm talking about my school, all my neighbours, everything, but is my problem, yeah. Sometime I don't like to maybe interrupt them [to say] 'pardon?', or 'could you repeat?', so I have that problem, but problem is mine, yeah, my problem (11).

Gill echoed Pital's perspective that successful communication was her '*problem*' more explicitly indexing language ideologies which reinforce the responsabilisation discourses around integration (Monforte, et al 2018; Suvarierol and Kirk, 2015; Turner, 2014). Gill agreed with the first vignette (Figure 5.1 below) that British people often did not share the communicative burden. In the early days, this made her feel nervous to speak. But Gill tries to understand their point of view, conjecturing that acquiring English skills is part of migrants' responsibility to adapt and adjust to British society and, in fact a requirement to be entitled to belong here.

Figure 5.1 Vignette 1

I think some British people don't try to understand you. They think that if you are in this country you should speak English and sometimes they don't listen to you or they ignore you. Then you get nervous and it's difficult to speak to them or understand them.

Gill: Yes, I think it's quite common in this country. But at the beginning, I'm really upset about that and always getting nervous, even now, sometimes I have the situations like that. But I try to understand British people. I think maybe they are right because if you want to stay here for longer, you should have basic communication skills, you should have and that's why I realise I don't need to upset about that, the only one thing I need to do is, I improve my English ability skills, that's all. Even if it takes time but I think the point is I need to adjust my attitude.

J: In what way adjust your attitude?

G: You can't just blame people [who] don't understand you. The main point is you need to try to adapt the society, if you do not adapt here, it means you're not suitable to stay here, maybe you need to choose another place (13).

These accounts suggest that the viewpoint that migrants must speak English, and it is their responsibility to learn it and ensure successful communication in interactions, is accepted by both migrants and locally born people. The following section explores how this mindset can form a barrier to communication.

5.5.3 Anxiety to speak: 'Sometimes people put you down, you know'

Participants accounts showed that anxiety to speak in English could impede their ability to communicate and even cause them to avoid particular anglophone interactions. Ada feels embarrassed when she senses that people don't understand her.

Ada: I feel more confident than used to but the one still embarrass me is my pronunciation. [...] some people still [find it] quite difficult understand what I say [...] This embarrass me all the time.

J: Why does it embarrass you?

Ada: Because people do not understand what I say [...]. For example, when you walking on the street some people talk to you, when you start a conversation they may not understand what you are saying. I feel embarrassed that is why I don't like to keep a conversation with others I don't [want to] feel embarrassment.

Ada already feels that she has few opportunities to speak English, and thus avoiding conversations to avert potential embarrassment further reduces her chances to practise.

Anna feels embarrassed when she cannot understand people. Before she started ESOL classes her husband would help her with many situations, for example the GP, the hospital or school, often having to take time off work. In the first interview, I asked her what had happened when her husband was unable to help her.

J: What about when your husband wasn't there? Did you speak English when he was too busy?

Anna: Yes, I speak, but I feel very bad when I don't know what they say. It's very bad.

J: Why did you feel bad?

Anna: Because I don't know what, for example, doctor says: 'Your child had this one or this one,' - and I don't understand. Why I go there when I don't understand nothing? What I can do with my kids, what I can give or...[...] I feel shy and red in my face. I say, [to] my husband, 'I never go again. Just with you' (I1).

In the second interview Anna described how she had resolved to do more things by herself. She would approach a situation feeling as if she knew the appropriate language, but when it came to it, she would feel anxious, rendering her unable to communicate in situations which she felt she actually had the language for:

Anna: [...] when I am going somewhere I know everything, I can say this, and I can say that, [but] when I go I blocked and I don't know how to say, how to start [...]

J: So you feel sort of nervous or....?

Anna: nervous and when I'm nervous my mind is blocked and when someone said 'how can I help you?' and you don't know what to say [laughs]

J: Yeah it's hard

Anna: this is very hard, are things you can't never forget when you feel that <laughs> (I2).

In these scenarios, participants appeared to accept responsibility for the communicative burden and thus when communication breaks down, they feel that it is due to their failings, and this causes nervousness or embarrassment. These feelings can impede their ability to speak.

Participants also described feeling anxiety about speaking English because of how they would be judged by others. Anna explained how she did not seek closer relations with acquaintances, particularly people who knew how long she had been in Britain, because she felt they would judge her negatively for still having low English skills.

Anna: so seven years [my children have been] in that school, and [...] I thought maybe they can think, 'oh, she don't know to speak. [...] seven or eight years in here, and she don't know to speak'. It's just my problem.

J: [...]So, why don't you want to start going to meetings at the school?

Anna: Just for that. Just maybe they can say, 'oh, she don't know to speak'. All lovely people. Some families or parents [of] my daughters' friends, they come a few times to my house with their kids [...], and all the time they said, 'why are you never speak? You're no very good to speak, [but] you can speak what you know'. But when they speak, I feel red. My heart, my face, and...<Laughs> (I1).

Anna thus feels constrained by her existing relationship with these people. She also felt inhibited in this way when she started ESOL classes, as she compared herself to her classmates who had not been in the country as long as her.

[When I first started ESOL classes] I feel a bit shy because I have a big problem, because I am a shy person. When someone says 'I am here from two years', or 'three years', and I said 'wow, they are just two or three years and they come in school, and I stay at home 10 years just to grow my kids'. I feel bad for that, because it is the most important thing to know, to speak when you live in different countries (I1).

Anna appears to have internalised ideology in which migrants and refugees must learn English to demonstrate their willingness to fit in with British society. From this viewpoint, prioritising her role as caregiver over learning English was not the correct course of action, and Anna feels 'bad' about this. She fears that revealing her lack of English skills will reinforce a deficit identity position, perhaps even as someone who is "not integrated".

Wicky also experienced scenarios when he felt that his English skills were judged:

Sometimes people are judging you so that time I really feel [I come down]. [...] I know I can speak English, but sometimes people are judging you so that time I just stop, I cannot speak anything. Especially when they're looking at you 'OK let me see your English' [...] They're making faces like this: 'What? What do you mean? what you say?' [...] I'm just confused, I don't know how to speak. Sometimes people put you down, you know [...] you just lose your confidence, and you cannot speak anything. This happens many times to me even until now, even I'm speaking to anyone, and if there is anything you know judging [...] or something like this, I do not have enough English words to explain.

Wicky's perspectives further elucidate how, when dominant language speakers hear non-standard language through language ideology filters (Lippi-Green, 2012), they may negatively evaluate not just the accent, but the social identity of the speaker (Miller, 2004). Wicky's interlocutors evaluate his non-standard English as deficit and consequently assign a deficit identity to Wicky as one who is not 'worthy to speak' (Bourdieu, 1977 p.648). Sensing this, Wicky becomes unsure of his words, losing his confidence to speak and is silenced; he is rendered inaudible in these interactions. What is particularly striking about Wicky's account is that his English is very comprehensible, and this highlights how, even for higher level language learners, the attitude of some dominant language speakers when they hear a "foreign accent" can impede confidence to speak.

These accounts demonstrate the ways in which prevailing ideologies concerning integration and language percolate into public attitudes and affect ESOL learners' experiences, including incidences of discrimination or hostility. In many interactions with "native" speakers of English, ESOL learners are not recognised as legitimate speakers of English, often occupying subordinate identity positions, and both parties may assume that the language learner bears responsibility for the communicative burden. Consequently, ESOL learners may feel pressure to ensure successful negotiation of meaning, and when communication breaks down, feel nervousness and embarrassment which hinders their ability to speak. Sometimes the attitude and behaviour of the interlocutors can result in the ESOL learner feeling judged and being silenced. Anticipating these situations can provoke anxiety about speaking English in certain contexts. To prevent these excruciating situations and to resist being positioned in negative ways, ESOL learners may avoid certain anglophone interactions. This can limit their opportunities to speak English outside the classroom and reduce what they perceive to be valuable opportunities to practise and improve their language skills: many of the interviewees felt that they already had insufficient interactions with expert English speakers. These accounts also illustrate how anxiety to speak can be socially constructed and shaped by power relations and associated

identity positions (Court, 2015, 2017; Norton 2000, 2013). Similarly, confidence to speak can be socially constructed according to context, as illustrated below.

5.6 Confidence and language learning

Thus far this chapter has documented many issues which can negatively impact ESOL learners' experiences, including instability, stress, anxiety, feelings of unbelonging and deficit identity positions, and the ways in which these interact with their language learning. The analysis now explores the conditions which facilitate feelings of confidence and positive identity positions, and the ways in which these interconnect with language learning.

5.6.1 *Contextually contingent confidence and identity positions: 'They want me to help them'*

Section 5.5 shows how ESOL learners can be burdened with all the responsibility for successful communication in interactions and the negative effect this can have on their ability to speak. This can be compounded by the attitudes and behaviours of people that ESOL learners interact with. On the other hand, participants' accounts demonstrate that interlocutors can act in ways which support language learners' communication.

Interestingly although both Gill and Pital characterise the cause of breakdown in communication in anglophone interactions as their problem, they also highlight how the attitude of their interlocutor can affect their interactions. Gill feels that if people speak in simple English and adjust their language, she feels more *'comfortable and confident'* (11) to speak. Pital finds it easier to understand people who speak more slowly (for example, ESOL teachers), and that the language of other non-native speakers is easier for him to understand, thus problematising perspectives that discourse with target language speakers is necessarily better for language learning.

Fatmira pointed to the ways in which sympathetic listeners can make it easier to communicate. She described a neighbour who had a very supportive manner:

Fatmira: Every time she said to me Fatmira 'I understand'. It doesn't matter she didn't understand me most of the time [...]

J: And so did that help you when she said 'I understand you'?

Fatmira: Yeah, you know make you feel positive. [...] Every time she say 'you are brilliant...you speak very well! < laughs>. She was very lovely.

J: Do you think that made you feel more confident?

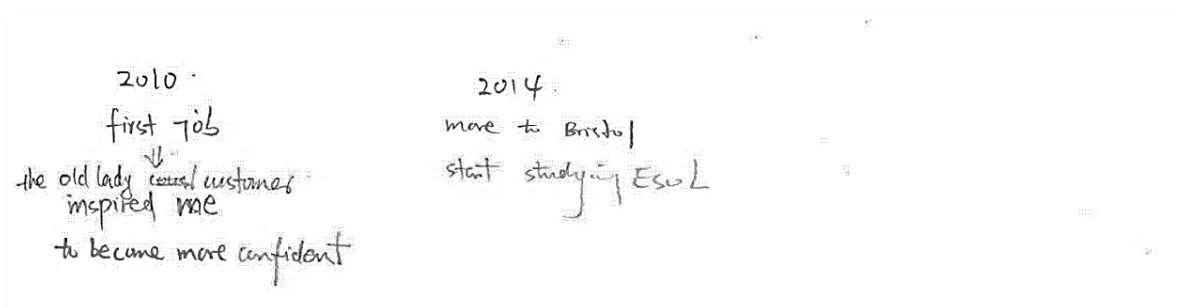
Fatmira: Yeah, when the people are nice and polite and give you encourage, encouragement.

Rather than the apparently wilful and hostile incomprehension that Wicky described encountering, the neighbour recognised Fatmira's right to speak, and helped her feel she was communicating effectively which facilitated feelings of confidence.

Ada also found that an encounter with a sympathetic listener had an important impact on her confidence. One of the first (and only) events that Ada marks on the timeline is an encounter in her first job serving in a Chinese restaurant (see Figure 5.2). She wrote that an '*old lady customer inspired me to become more confident*'. She explained that:

It's my first job, [I had] not enough confident skills, not speaking English or listening very well, but even I make a mistake she still encourage me. She said I did very well and give me a tip as well. I don't know how to say but it's a really nice experience [...] because when you make mistake some people, customers feel unhappy or they complain but she didn't [...] it really give me more confident because if you complain or if you blame me, I feel embarrassed and next time I may feel scared to serve each customer.

Figure 5.2 Ada's timeline



These experiences demonstrate that if interlocutors share responsibility for the negotiation of meaning and accommodate the non-standard language of non-expert speakers in interactions, this can boost language learners' confidence to speak. As Fatmira puts it: '*When you don't have a bad experience you feel more confident*' (I1). Communication is easier when both parties take responsibility for it.

Participants also demonstrated agency in shifting the communicative burden from themselves. For example, Pital told me that over time he had become less concerned about not being able to understand people because he felt confident enough to ask for clarification.

Now I feel more confident, if I need to go somewhere, at the moment I don't use my brother just [unclear] I try to explain what I need to say and ... And now I feel more

confident to, if I don't understand what he talking, I try to say 'can you speak a little bit more slowly please?'. It's better the situation now (12).

Participants' accounts highlighted that power relations can determine who shoulders the communicative burden. Gill feels that when she was boss of her own company, she was not pushed to communicate effectively.

If I run my business by myself, maybe I only have one or two staff [...] Because I am the boss everyone needs to understand what I am saying. But if I am an employee I need to understand what they are saying, even your colleagues or your boss. So, it's quite a different way to improve English (13).

As she was the boss, and thus in a position of power, Gill's employees were the ones obliged to try and understand her English. Emma describes how, as an employee she experienced the opposite scenario. Her team leader did not feel the need to modify her instructions and instead expected Emma to do the work of trying to understand and thus ensure the interactions were successful. This exemplifies how holding powerful identity positions enables individuals to avoid responsibility for successful negotiation of meaning.

Ali's experiences at the gym further highlight how strong identity positions can facilitate confidence to speak. Ali is a dedicated weight trainer and has established a role as a kind of informal personal trainer helping other gym goers. At the gym they recognise his talents and dedication, and he was designated "Member of the Month" several times which involves his name and achievements being displayed at the gym. He had kept a picture of one of the posters on his phone since 2016, which he showed me.

At the gym Ali can use his skills and knowledge to help others. Additionally, his high fitness level places him above those who aspire to, but do not yet have the physique. Here he feels he belongs, is valued and makes a positive contribution. This strong identity position boosts his confidence and sense of self and is reinforced by how others see him. Referring to the staff and gym customers, Ali says: *'They know me, all of them <laughs> Because I'm training there for about 4 years'*. Ali has carved a community and identity for himself outside of his marginalised 'asylum seeker' identity; he is not a 'second person' at the gym. O'Reilly (2018) points out that those experiencing ontological liminality:

do not passively accept this imposed liminality, but they negotiate it and challenge it on an everyday basis, creating various forms of attachment, engagement and belonging in the places and communities in which they live (O'Reilly, 2018 p4).

The fact that Ali has kept the *Member of the Month* picture on his phone for a year and a half indicates the importance of this community, and his place in it, to him.

Ali's more powerful identity in the gym community also enables him to overcome his concerns about speaking in English. Although he can find it difficult to express himself when he is helping others in the gym, this doesn't appear to overly concern him.

Ali: In my gym I'm training, helping, people. Sometimes I struggle when I'm training people, they are English, sometimes I'm training them, it's difficult sometimes [to] explain things to them.

J: How do you feel in those situations in the gym when you're trying to explain?

Ali: I'm ok because they're friends with me, they want me to help them so... <laughs>.

Because these people need Ali's help, it is in their interest to make the effort to understand him, so Ali holds a more powerful position, and therefore does not feel responsible for the communicative burden and feels confident to speak. Thus, like anxiety, confidence to speak is socially constructed and shaped by power relations (Norton 2000, 2013). Therefore, ESOL learners' feelings of anxiety or confidence to speak English can depend on whether they occupy subordinate or more powerful identity positions.

As previously discussed, Anna felt inhibited about speaking English with people who knew how long she had been in Britain, however this is apparently not the case with new acquaintances.

Anna: [Since starting ESOL] sometimes I feel confident because when I see different people in here, I thought 'oh, I'm not just the one who don't know to speak'. With other people, and with my neighbours I have the problem, but with people who I don't see before, or I don't know, I start to speak, and I don't worry about what she say, or he said [...].

J: So, you feel more confident [...] in class?

Anna: In class and out. [...] When I see new people, not people who met me before (Anna, I1).

She feels that these people cannot judge her level of English in terms of what she "should" have learnt, and therefore is not worried about being positioned as someone who hasn't taken responsibility to learn English. She feels more confident to speak, apparently because she is freer to take on a different, more positive, language learner identity if people do not know her history. Thus, Anna's identity position as a language learner varies according to context. In particular, being a member of the learning community in the ESOL classroom reinforces this stronger identity. In the second interview, Anna reported that since we had last met, her confidence in English had increased as a result of attending college every day and studying at home.

Fatmira also indexed how being an ESOL learner can be a strong identity from which to speak. Whilst some participants described how worries about communication difficulties could be a barrier to speaking English, Fatmira portrayed linguistic mistakes as something to be learnt from and was not overly concerned about not being able to understand people.

Fatmira: To be honest I went everywhere, I went to [children's] parties with English people. I didn't worry about my English, you know every time nobody can judge me because it's [my] second language it's not easy and... My husband said to me every time 'don't go out with them because it's going to be hard for you, they are English and you gonna [be] stuck'. And I say 'I don't care I just want to go out <laughs> and enjoy it!'

J: And you enjoyed yourself?

Fatmira: Yeah. You know I was a bit worried I couldn't understand all, but I understand because it's not my first language. And it's good to go, the more I go out with English people the more I'm going to learn.

In these social gatherings, Fatmira is asserting her right to speak, on a level with others present. If she makes mistakes, she draws on her second language learner identity to 'justify' these and does not feel that her identity of competence is threatened. Fatmira positions herself as a confident speaker of English, whereas Anna and Ali's accounts illustrate how anxiety and confidence to speak can be contextually contingent and vary according to the particular identity positions held in different contexts (Norton, 2000, 2013).

5.6.2 *Achieving confident/competent identities: 'I discovered my way'*

Several of the participants' accounts demonstrated how it is possible to negotiate stronger and more confident identities over time (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004; Norton, 2000, 2013), and Hanin's story in particular illustrates this process. Confidence was apparently very important for Hanin's progress, and she recounted several episodes which she felt improved her confidence. In the following example, she describes an important episode which occurred in hospital after she had given birth to her son. Prior to the birth, her ESOL teacher had helped Hanin to prepare for the language she would need in the maternity hospital. After the birth, Hanin wanted to go home and was able to arrange her discharge by herself.

Hanin: the midwife comes to speak to me about myself and the baby and how is it going and I said to her 'I need to go home', and she asked me [...] lots of questions, and the teacher [had told] me about them and I felt very confident. I felt very happy about it because I answered all her questions [...]. There is lots of questions at the back of the yellow book²², you have to finish them and after that you can go. And when my husband come to get us, he said he need to finish these questions and he

²² book containing maternity notes

went to reception- he didn't ask me he go to reception- he asked the midwife and he said to her 'I need to finish these questions to go home' and she said 'it's OK your wife did it and you can go home'.

And [my husband] said 'my wife?!' and she said 'yes' <laughs>. She [said] 'she's OK, I understand her and she answered all the questions'. And then he came to me very shocked 'did you answer all her questions?' I said 'yes'. [He said] 'when did you learn English? Because a few weeks ago you don't know anything and you need my help to translate anything!' and I said 'I know but I learnt now, the teacher learnt me about this, taught me a lot about.' So that's exciting.

J: So how did you feel?

Hanin: Yeah very happy, and from that time I start to try to speak to others because I thought that if the midwife can understand me maybe other people will understand me. So I tried to speak, from that I tried to speak actually.

But my speaking wasn't good until one day, I can't remember when, my husband was with me and I was talking to somebody, when I finished he said 'wow your English has improved!' [...]. he was very surprised. [He asked] 'When did you learn this English?' I said 'From the life!'

This story highlights several issues pertinent to Hanin's language learning. Hanin had prepared for the language required in this situation, and her husband's absence meant that she and the midwife had to communicate directly with each other. Thus, she had the knowledge, confidence and opportunity to find her voice. This initiated a further growth in confidence; after her successful interactions at the maternity hospital she felt that, if she was understood by the midwife, she could be understood by others. This in turn led to other interactions which provided further opportunities for her to practise her English, until one day, the reaction of her husband suggested that she **was** in fact a "competent" English speaker.

This episode also shows how the power dynamics of Hanin's relationship with her husband shifted. When Hanin first arrived in the UK, she needed assistance and encouragement from her husband. Therefore, in the hospital, he had expected that Hanin would be reliant on him to deal with the hospital discharge and was '*shocked*' that she had already done this independently. This reaction, and the surprise at her subsequent progress, suggests that he had registered this strengthening of Hanin's identity position.

In this story, the ways in which Hanin is positioned by the midwife and her husband interact with how she positions herself, facilitating her to negotiate a more confident identity. The reaction of the midwife who assumes she **is** competent, and that of her husband who implies that she **has become** competent, is intertwined with Hanin's re-positioning of herself as a (more) competent speaker of English which gives her more confidence to speak. At the same time Hanin's dependent position was

evolving into a more independent identity. It seems that to progress further in her trajectory, she needed to renegotiate this dependent relationship to one in which she is more empowered. This has apparently helped Hanin to achieve a more competent and independent identity position, which has facilitated confidence to speak in a wider variety of contexts.

This section has explored several aspects which affect ESOL learners' confidence to speak English. If ESOL learners do not occupy the subordinate status in interactions and the negotiation of meaning is shared, they may feel less concerned about communication difficulties and more confident to speak. Additionally, confidence enables participants to shift the communicative burden and claim the right to speak as well as to demand that the language of their interlocutor is comprehensible to them. This confidence can be determined by identity positions and power relations within different contexts in which ESOL learners interact. Hanin's story highlights how a stronger identity position can be achieved over time, and the process of gaining confidence to speak English is intertwined with the process of negotiating a competent independent identity.

5.7 Learner identities, motivations and investment

Having explored the circumstances which can enable ESOL learners to feel confident to speak, this section examines further factors that enable progress in English language learning over time and the role of investment in this.

5.7.1 *Hope and investment: 'I had hope which is not cost for anybody'*

In section 5.3.4 we saw that when Ranu started ESOL classes he had 'hope' of achieving his ambition of going to university, but this was shut down by his ESOL teacher, which demotivated him, causing him to consider leaving college. However, in 2006, a teacher showed Ranu's ESOL class a video which he characterised as a turning point in his trajectory which changed his mind set and in so doing, altered the direction of his life.

He show a video recording some person who come to this country and cannot speak English, illiterate person, exactly like me. But they starting to learn English and finished Level 2 and have other degrees and [have] a good job... When I sitting there, when I was very disappointed to learn, I told myself I have to do same like that. I am one of the person who is not speak English, and I have to continue and finish it. I think he same as me, why he can do it and I not learn? I tell many people that video changed my mind and changed my life to continue until now.

Now I'm Level 2 and I think I'm one of the person who nearly finish ESOL course. I speak to you at the moment, my language is not fluent but I proper understand what people say. I am one of the person like they show in the video.

His experience highlights how imagination is a route through which language learners can enfold wider possibilities and meanings into their identities (Pavlenko and Norton, 2007). Previously, Ranu had apparently been restricted by an identity position of a beginner, *'illiterate'* ESOL learner. As he identified with the man featured in the video, Ranu was able to recalibrate his identity position as he was enabled to imagine a literate future self, as someone who could *'finish'* his ESOL learning. This rekindled Ranu's hope of being able to achieve his imagined future and facilitated him to feel invested in his learning. Now, Ranu has achieved a stronger identity position as a successful ESOL learner: as he says, he is *'one of the person like they show in the video'*.

In recounting this event to me Ranu emphasised the point he made previously about the importance of ESOL teachers supporting ESOL learners' ambitions and not destroying their 'hope'. For many, learning English is a long and arduous process and so it is important to facilitate learners to sustain a hopeful outlook, not to reinforce feelings of failure. This helps to maintain their investment in learning.

5.7.2 *Parenthood, investment and confidence: 'If I be a mum, I need to be brave to do everything'*

Section 5.3.1 describes how childcare responsibility can be a barrier to accessing and studying ESOL. Being a parent shaped other aspects of their experiences. In general, their children were their main priority, and the desire to do what is best for their children's well-being, education and future shaped their own plans and aspirations. This necessity to put children's needs first meant that being a parent presented particular challenges, such as limiting the types of work participants could do. Emma had to wait until her children had started school and nursery before getting a job. In her current job she works at weekends so that she is available to look after her youngest son during the week, and this impacts on time the whole family can be together. Hanin also had to choose work that fits around childcare. Pital could not look for work until his wife arrived and took over the childcare responsibilities. Ranu and Mustafa have had to prioritise caring for their families over work when their wives were unwell. Fatmira and Gill faced specific issues as parents of children with autism. Gill explained that her son's disability means that his wellbeing impacts on that of the whole family unit: *'because if my little boy happy, everyone is happy'* (13).

Whilst caring responsibilities could impede accessing and progressing in ESOL learning, being a parent can also help maintain investment in learning. Gill said that at times she had very negative feelings about herself due to her English skills, as we saw in section 5.3.2. However, she was strongly motivated

to learn and attributed this to her responsibility to care for her son properly. This can be seen from her response to the following vignette:

Sometimes there are parent's meetings at my son's school. I have never been because I am worried about speaking English. Normally I am a very friendly person. I have lots of friends who speak my language. I am confident speaking English in my ESOL class. I want to go to parents meetings but the main problem is my English.

After reading this Gill said:

I think I have the same problem as well, but I still join in every time, I try to because [...] I can learn from them, the other parents, how to teach their boy or girls because I am from a different country, we have a different (concept) of the education. So, if I just worry about my English, I think I'm not a good mum. So, if I be a mum, I need to be brave to do everything, so even though I can't speak very well I can input a lot of information, [...]. I'm worried [about speaking English] but I still need to solve the problem, I still need to go [...], I don't want to be a useless person (12).

It is evident from Gill's account that her desire to gain the skills to care for her son enables her to override her worries about speaking English and push herself to participate in situations in which she feels uncomfortable. Additionally, she wishes to help her son understand English: '*So, that's why I think for my little boy, for my future, I need to practise. Practise every day (13).*

Like Gill, Ranu's parental role appears to feed into his continued investment in learning English. His wife has health problems and has had several operations, so Ranu is often responsible for looking after the children and running the household. Their education is very important to him, and he spends a lot of time helping them with their schoolwork.

Believe me, now I've got three children, every single week we have to fill in a form, for clothes, for trips, imagine if I'm not coming to ESOL, what am I doing? [...] It's an impossibility the life going on. Last night, I filled in, I renewed the passports for my daughters, imagine if I'm not coming to the ESOL what I'm doing until now. Just only yesterday I filled in another two application forms for my kids, renewing sport activities. If I am still like before, an illiterate person, [...] It's impossible [to] just find someone to help me, no...(13).

Ranu says he wants to '*try to be the best father*' (13). Improving his English skills, especially his literacy skills, has helped him to fulfil this role. Additionally, being a good father appears to feed into his feelings of achievement and fulfilment and help cement his identity as a literate person, in contrast to his former '*illiterate*' self. Ranu and Gill's accounts elucidate the ways in which being a parent can be a strong identity position which can increase investment in learning English and confidence to speak (Norton 2000, 2013).

5.7.3 *'It's very difficult, but I try': Interrogating discourses of motivation and responsabilisation*

This section examines the ways in which some participants described how they acquired their English skills against the odds due to hard work and motivation, thus foregrounding the “good language learner” aspect of their identity. However, this identity seemed partially defined by differentiating themselves from other migrants and refugees who they felt had not learnt English.

Many interviewees detailed how they used numerous strategies to improve their language skills. Hanin and Ranu in particular emphasised how their actions helped them achieve despite the barriers they faced. After Hanin's *'terrible'* start to life in Britain, she started seeking more opportunities to learn English. She recounted that during 2014-2016 she attended various groups and ESOL classes and tried hard to learn English and about British life.

I did a lot because I went everywhere in Bristol they have ESOL class I go <laughs> everywhere! In libraries in the community, nurseries, in the school, everywhere is free I go. [...] I go on Monday, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Thursday, Friday, everyday in the week I have somewhere I know there is (ESOL course) [...], I go here, there, here, there, to do my English classes and start learning (I1).

She studied at home as much as she could and also joined a playgroup with her son, volunteering as an assistant there. When she finally was able to attend ESOL at college she was put straight into an Entry 3 class, in contrast to when she was assessed at the very lowest level two years previously. She attributes this to her hard work in the intervening time, saying: *'Because I work very hard to understand this country, I go straightaway to Entry 3 <laughs> (I1).*

Hanin felt that the more structured and better equipped ESOL classes at the college enabled her to gain study skills and improve her literacy skills.

The college help me a lot because before the college I don't know what to study. [Before] I only go [to class] to practise my speaking and listening, but when I came to the college I understand what my level is [...] and what I need to learn, and the teacher help me, give me the name of books, and in the library has lots of books I can borrow. When I come to college I start to study, like what I need (Hanin I1).

Her comments illustrate that attending structured ESOL classes can help learners acquire the more powerful literacy and language skills that can be more difficult to address in informal and less well-resourced settings. Hanin also passed the LIUK test just after her baby was born.

Actually I feel like I did something, because it's very hard and I know lots of people from my community -Sudanese- they don't have a passport they only have leave to remain and they sit in the UK and they go by their travel document. When you ask

them they say 'oh Life in the UK [test] it's too hard, the English is too hard to learn'. So when I did that I feel very proud of myself because I did it, and in the short time, I managed to do the Life in the UK and learn some English to do these things (12).

She is understandably pleased with her achievements, which are the result of hard work and perseverance.

Ranu also emphasised that his achievement was due to hard work and determination. He studied hard to learn English, at one point he had even continued attending class when he was working long shifts in the chill room in a milk factory.

Ranu: For me it's shameful, if I lived in the UK for 10 years and I didn't speak basic English [...] if I have advice for a person who come into this country, [it would be] 'please care about English, care about your language, improve your language' [...]. I remember 10 hours I'm working in the cold place in the [factory], when I came back home, four hours I'd sleep, I'd wake up, I'm going to [college]. Someone said to me, '10 hours you working?!' I say yeah, '12 hours I'm working. When I finish I'm going to sit in the college and listen to the people'. For me it's important, for other people maybe it's different.

I am living in this country I have to struggle, to learn English, because impossible you living in this country. I know some people live in this country [since] 2003, something like that, still to make appointment or change driving licence something very simple he visit another house or call me. They're not taking responsibility because we are living here. Or in other ways if I not speaking English how helping family? They have many application forms school for trip or nursery...I understand learning language is necessary for life

J: But it's difficult-

Ranu: I told you it is very difficult, it's not easy [...] it's very difficult, but I try (13).

Just as he depicts his former 'illiterate' self as somebody who suffered and experienced humiliation and helplessness, he positions others who do not speak English as similarly dependent and unable to have full lives in Britain. Hanin and Ranu both appear to position themselves as 'deserving citizens' (Monforte et al., 2018 p.2) and "good language learners", who have done all the right things: working hard to improve their English, understand the British way of life and pass the LIUK test. This position is strengthened by comparison to others who are characterised as not 'taking responsibility'. Their views may be influenced by their own experiences of misery and helplessness when they did not speak English. However, they also echo dominant discourses in which migrants must learn English to demonstrate their willingness to integrate and need to be encouraged, or even compelled, to do so. They also evoke individualist narratives which place responsibility for the purported "problem" of integration onto migrants and refugees (Suvarierol and Kirk, 2015). In their accounts of their own achievements, Hanin and Ranu, like Norton's (2013) participant Martina, appear to believe that:

Progress and success in life are a function of an individual's own capability and courage and not a function of larger, structural possibilities. Successful people are those who take initiative and 'do things yourself'. By extension, failure must be attributed to personal inadequacy or individual failure (Norton 2013 p.138).

Interestingly, Hanin and Ranu's perspectives (and Ranu's comment that he would find it 'shameful') seem to justify Anna's concerns about being judged in negative ways due to her lack of English, the very same concerns that led her to avoid some interactions and thus limit her opportunities to practise her English, as explored in section 5.5.3.

However, Hanin and Ranu's accounts contain nuance and ambiguity, as although they echo the responsabilisation narrative, they both demonstrate awareness of the barriers faced by many trying to learn English. As previously discussed, Ranu highlights how ESOL teachers may have low expectations of their learners and he actively challenges this deficit positioning of low-level ESOL learners, explaining how this can negatively impact on ESOL learners' motivation and ability to progress. Similarly, Hanin points out that low levels of education or childcare responsibilities can pose barriers to learning English:

I have met some woman [...] her life was very difficult, even more difficult than my life, because I learnt before, like before I came here. So sometimes it's a bit easier for some people when they learn some language and they learnt something, but for people who doesn't learn anything for the life, to learn new language it was very difficult for her [...]. She had a small [baby] and she was pregnant [...] and between her girls and her son I think was only about 1 year or 11 months [...] and she give another baby (I2).

Ali also highlights that discourse which places the onus on migrants to learn and speak English does not take into account the realities of their lives:

Of course when we live in this country we should speak English, but they [don't] know your situation, some people they don't have support go to college, some people they not allowed to work, [...] so they can't improve their English so it's difficult. If you not working with other people or not going to college it's very hard to improve your English. [...] I have a friend they are living here for longer than me, they can't speak English because they didn't go to college, and they didn't work with other nationalities, they just speak Kurdish with friends (I2).

The accounts in this section emphasise that it is important to encourage hope of achieving imagined future identities to facilitate investment in ESOL. Achieving success in ESOL can consolidate a strong identity including that of a "good language learner". However, this is partially defined by positioning others as "bad language learners" who don't 'take responsibility', thus echoing dominant discourses.

On the other hand, participants highlight the barriers that many migrants and refugees face in learning English.

5.8 Social networks and belongings

I have discussed some of the factors which facilitate ESOL learners to have a strong sense of identity. This section discusses feelings of belonging in various contexts and how these relate to participants' identities.

5.8.1 'Being someone': Social networks of belonging and support

Mustafa articulately described his strong views on the importance of feelings of belonging to a group, referencing Maslow's *Hierarchy of Needs*²³ :

J: What do you think is important, then, for people who come to the UK from other countries? What's important for them to have a good life in Britain, would you say?

Mustafa: I think people need to have a couple of stage. [...] from Maslow theory [...] It's a famous theory. It's got different levels. The first level was, I think, shelter and food and heating. The second level was, I think, to feel that they are something, they are someone. They are groups. They belong them, like doctors belong doctors, teachers belong teachers. [...] they can talk them. Then, from that, grow up [...]. Any human, all, they will need this [...] Yes, people always like to belong somewhere. They don't want to be left over.

It was clear that Mustafa had previously thought about what migrants and refugees need to flourish in their new home. He argues that after essential requirements are met, people need to feel they belong to a group and have their status affirmed to be able to thrive. Participants described a variety of sources of belonging.

Family and partners proved to be a very important source of support. For example, when Pital first arrived in Britain his brother provided somewhere for him and his children to stay, and helped to communicate with their schools, shopping and visiting the doctor. When his wife joined him in Britain, she took over the childcare making it easier for him to find work. For female participants such as Emma, Hanin, Anna and Flowers, their husbands were an important source of support and help for them. However, some of them expressed that being or becoming independent from their husband was important to facilitate progress in their language learning and integration trajectories. For example, as I suggested in section 5.6.2, Hanin needed to renegotiate her position in her relationship

²³ A theory in psychology in which human needs are depicted in hierarchical levels (McLeod, 2020)

with her husband to become confident to speak. Additionally, Flowers's British husband is very supportive, but she told me that she wants branch out socially and make new friends, separate from those of her husband.

ESOL classes, including conversation clubs, community classes and more formal college provision, provided opportunities for participants to feel a sense of belonging, make social connections, increase confidence and learn about British social and cultural life. As described in Section 5.6.1, Anna gained confidence from being in a class with other ESOL learners, and Fatmira benefited from meeting other people who are facing the same challenges:

Talking with people [in class] has helped me a lot, everybody have these kinds of problems, maybe not that much <laughs> because some people less, some people more. I feel good actually. I feel good to come here (I1).

ESOL classes gave Ada a sense of purpose, helped her gain skills and knowledge, and was a place she could make friends and avoid isolation:

I don't [want to] stop learning ESOL I find it's very helpful to me. I can meet new people from the school, I keep using English to talk. The other thing is I can enhance my knowledge because [...] I don't have no work experience, I don't have no higher education, so when I attend to the class I can learn some new knowledge about anything and meet new people, talking to them, I don't feel lonely or nothing to do.

[...]I don't know how long [my claim] is going to take, I don't want to waste my time because at the moment you can't do anything. If I not continue study what can I do? When you keep study it's not only to gain your knowledge, [...] also you be prepare for future job, and it's very good for your interpersonal [unclear] relationship with others.

This demonstrates the ways in which ESOL classes can be a lifeline for refugees seeking asylum who may have little access to other resources and social networks.

Some interviewees valued social networks with people from similar backgrounds to themselves, for example Ranu had received a lot of support from other Kurdish people in the UK in terms of finding housing and employment. Gill valued her Bible group in which she felt a sense of belonging and a shared identity:

it is very special because [...] most of them are Asian, so because I'm Asian, we have a similar culture [...] similar roots, similar everything. So, they make me happier and more comfortable (I2).

Participants also supported and helped out others within their cultural networks. Ranu sometimes provides informal interpreting or translation for other Kurdish people, which led him to study interpreting:

I understand the people who come into this country who cannot speak English properly. I want to help them, I know how they're feeling when people help them, and I know how to make it easy for them. That's my hope. When I couldn't speak English, I said if I have a chance one day, I would like to become an interpreter because I want to help them, I know how they are feeling (12).

Having the language skills to help others is another element which helps cement Ranu's renegotiation of his identity position from 'illiterate' to literate. Ada also uses her English language skills to help her Chinese friends which has improved her confidence; in this context she has a strong identity position as someone who is able to help others. As discussed in section 5.6.1, Ali has found a sense of belonging at the gym where he is a valued and respected member with skills to help others.

Another important source of support and belonging for some participants was third sector and voluntary organisations. One local organisation helped Wicky file an asylum claim, funded Ali's gym membership, and helped Hanin with her visa problems. Another local organisation provided several participants with support, ESOL classes with creche facilities, social activities, and other services. This particular organisation, and others that work with refugees, recognise the skills and knowledge that service users possess and involve them as volunteers, as was the case for Ali and Wicky. Several other participants have also carried out voluntary work.

These stories show how most of the participants helped others through informal networks or voluntary work, and utilised their own skills and resources to support others. Their actions illustrate ESOL learners' important roles in their communities and social networks, and the ways in which they contribute to society and aspire to improve their own lives and those of others. Helping others is a means through which ESOL learners can reinforce their sense of self, affirm their independent identities, and resist deficit and passive identity positions (Court, 2016).

Participants also stressed the importance of good relations with neighbours. Emma and Anna said that having friendly neighbours helped them feel safe, and others highlighted the importance of neighbours for migrants who have left their families and home countries:

I think a good relationship with our neighbours is very important in our life [...] Sometimes it's more important for us, our neighbours, than your family, if they are not living close to you [...] if something happened to me, the first people who I can

knock the door is my neighbour [...] So we need to have a really good relationship with them, it's very important for our life (Pital, I3).

[my neighbours are] really nice people. In the morning [...] they will say good morning. Wow: this means lots for me. Maybe you can't feel, it but when you lose your home, these things mean lots (Flowers, I1).

Family, friends and social networks provide important support for ESOL learners, however for Ali they have their limitations:

Of course, support from other people, but friends can only advise you for something. Of course it helps you sometimes, but if you can't do anything for yourself, you not moving yourself, like working or... What can I do with advice? [They] not let me work, or not let me have a house, or car, or own a business or something. What can I do with advice? (I3).

Ultimately, friends and social networks can only do so much when one is facing powerful structural barriers such as those related to immigration policy.

5.8.2 National and transnational belongings and identities: 'I am international'

In the interviews we also discussed feelings about belonging to British society as well as wider national and transnational belongings. Flowers articulated how feeling accepted by British society was important for feelings of well-being and security for migrants, especially refugees:

J: What do you think can make it difficult for people [who come] to live here?

Flowers: [...] I think what make the life worse or bad is to find the people a little bit racist, because [...] when you leave your home you will carry all your sadness, all your memories, you will never be a normal person, never. You will be very sensitive sometimes in some way. So to live in the middle of not nice people, or not sensitive people, it's very difficult. Because if [...] and [they] make something bad towards you, that will hurt you and you will never forget it (I3).

When considering the issue of belonging, most participants expressed that they feel part of British society at least partially, or in some contexts, or gave ambiguous replies reflecting the complexity of this issue. However, when I asked Ali and Ada if they felt part of British society, they both answered emphatically that they did not, due to their asylum-seeking statuses. As previously discussed, Ali felt like a 'second person', isolated from British society. Ada felt too uncertain about her future to feel a sense of belonging to Britain, as explored in section 5.4.2. Edmund told me that before he had received his residence card, he had not felt properly part of British society, because 'Anything can happen, because they can say 'hey you don't have a residence card you should go back''. These opinions

highlight that insecure immigration status and marginalisation from society impacts on migrants' and refugees' feelings of belonging to British society.

By Fatmira's second interview she had more secure immigration status, with officially recognised rights, and her right to belong to British society is more firmly established. This had made a '*big difference*' and, along with her new house, had helped her feel a lot more secure.

I'm very happy it start now, my life, to come all together and make sense <laugh> (I2).

However, even after receiving her '*status*' Fatmira, still had somewhat ambiguous feelings about whether she felt part of Britain. As mentioned in section 5.3.3, Fatmira, along with other participants, perceived that inadequate levels of English proficiency, or even just being "non-native" English speakers, could be a barrier to truly feeling part of British society.

Some accounts highlighted that since the 2016 Brexit referendum, many European citizens in Britain experienced a new sense of unbelonging and uncertainty (Lulle et al., 2017; Nowicka, 2018). At the time of the fieldwork there was ongoing political and public debate on the future status of non-British EU citizens currently residing in the UK. Emma and Flowers expressed uncertainty about their future in Britain, and Pital mentioned Brexit frequently during his interviews. In the second interview he added Brexit as an impediment in the otherwise upward trajectory on his timeline (see Figure 5.3, below). The referendum had the effect of 'repositioning EU nationals in the UK not as (EU) citizens but as migrants' (Ranta and Nancheva, 2019 p4). Previously, Pital felt that as a European citizen his status was on a par with British citizens, but since the referendum he feels:

now there is a difference between English people and European people yeah? [...]so they are different now (I2).

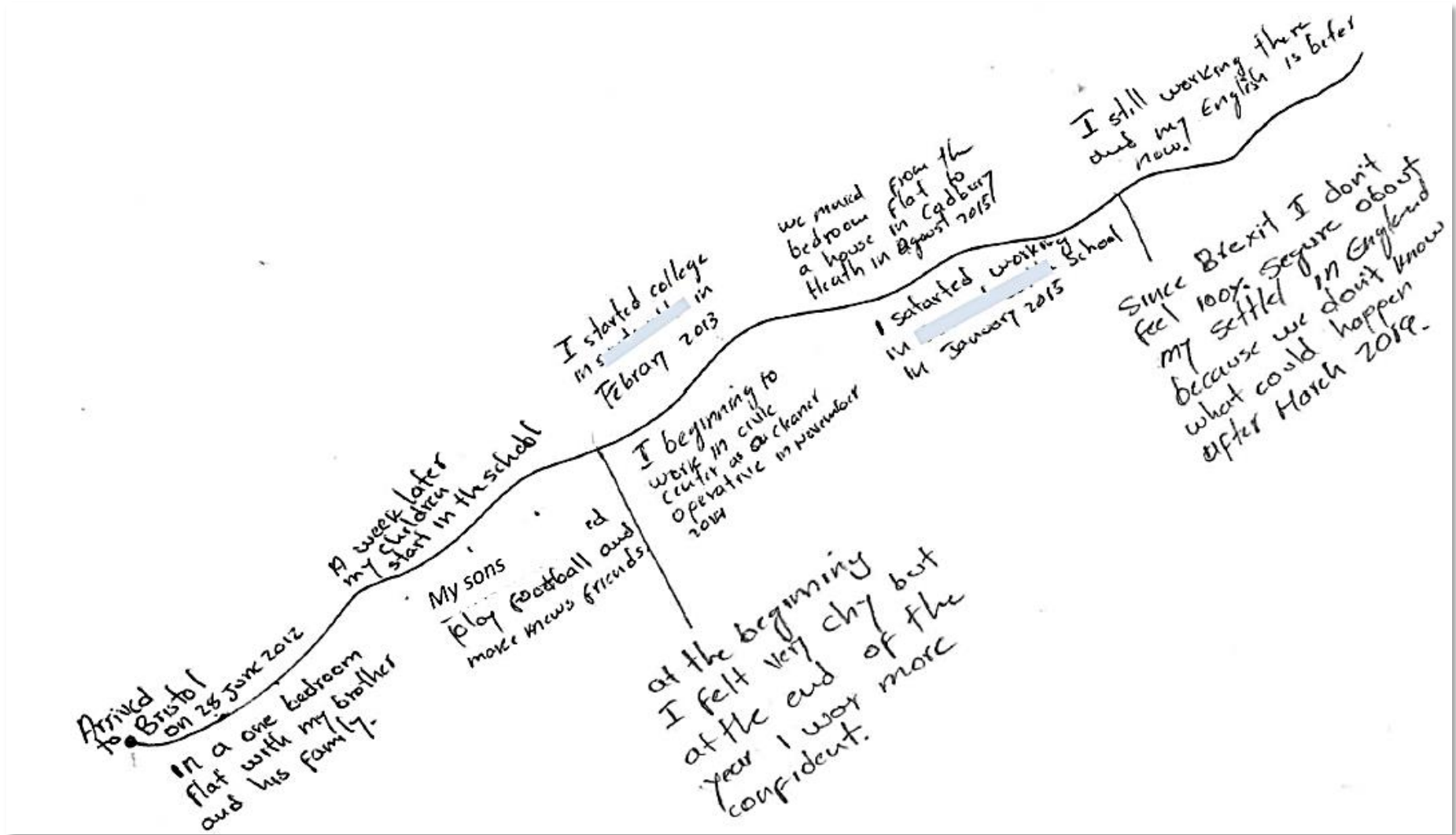
Section 5.10 presents further discussion on the way Brexit shapes the meanings Pital gives to his trajectory in Britain. Although their positions are not as precarious as those of refugees seeking asylum, ESOL learners who are EU citizens now have to adjust to a new uncertainty and a new identity in relation to British citizens.

There was also evidence of the transnational dimensions of migration and belonging. For example, when I asked participants to bring in photos representing their lives in Britain, these often were images of their lives geographically **outside** of Britain. For example, Pital showed me photos of his family back in Colombia, and told me about how difficult it was to maintain contact with them. Thoughts of his family are part of his life in Britain:

At the moment I'm always thinking about my country, my family, so it doesn't help to feel 100% settled here (12).

This underscores that national identities and belongings are multifaceted; migration does not usually involve the wholesale exchange of existing identities and affiliations for those of the new country. Anna expressed love for her country and felt it was important to maintain her cultural, religious and linguistic practices in order to preserve her connection with the place in which she grew up. Emma illustrated the complexity of national identities and belongings. She was born in Belarus, grew up in Soviet Latvia, described her first language as Russian, but does not understand 'Russian culture'. Instead of identifying as British she says she is 'international' due to her transnational upbringing. She does not identify as British but for her this does not constitute a barrier to feeling part of British society.

Figure 5.3 Pital's timeline



5.8.3 *Work, English and belonging: 'It's the door which will open your life to the UK'*

The interviewees generally portrayed employment as a prerequisite for having a good life in Britain. Work was depicted as a route to greater participation, sense of belonging and other positive outcomes. As we saw in section 5.4, for Ali, one of the worst effects of not having a secure immigration status is being prohibited from undertaking paid work which affects his sense of self, particularly in relation to his desire to be a productive working person. Additionally, he views employment as essential as it facilitates learning English, and can facilitate participation in other aspects of British life:

If you work you can do many things. If you work you can, like, come to college or do sports or travel [...] when you're working you have friends from your job, if you go to college you have some friends from your college for example, you do sport you have friends from there (11).

Work was also viewed as important because it was thought to provide access to British culture:

J: What things are important for having a good life in Britain in general, for people who come here? What's important for them to have a good life?

Pital: For me I thought find a job, speak English, try to understand the culture (12).

There was also a sense amongst participants that having a job would help cement their place in society and feel that they were contributing. Flowers was particularly vocal about this:

J: What do you think's important for you to have a good life in the UK, in Britain?

Flowers: Work. I think more important this, really. It's the door which will open your life to the UK life, really [...].

J: In what way will it open doors?

Flowers: To know, to feel, really know you are one of the resident people. You are working, mixing, understanding, getting income, paying your tax. You are just one of them, like them. You have to be like them. (11).

[...] Because, yes okay my husband pay everything now, tax everything, but what about me? I want to get my students, teach them, maybe after this they will say, 'this is our teacher', that will make me feel a part, I did something (12).

Additionally, she felt that gaining a job would enable her to become socially and financially independent from her husband.

In Sweden I was completely independent [...]. I felt I'm strong. I could do everything. Now I'm depending a little about my husband. [...]. And I'm not working. If I worked, I have to do that on myself. [...] His income it's enough for us but I don't have income and this is very important for any person in the world especially women (13).

This view of work as important for feeling independent, contributing and enabling a stronger sense of self was echoed by other participants, such as Hanin:

I need, you know, if I work, so I can depend on myself, not depend on the government, so I can pay everything for myself. So I can feel I'm free and I can feel I'm relaxed and the other thing is, if I work I can get some confidence and gain some experience speaking English (I1).

There was a general sense that being employed would necessitate speaking in English and that would build confidence in their language skills. However, accounts from the participants who had been working for some time suggested that this may not necessarily be the case. Emma, Muna and Pital felt that their jobs had provided opportunities to practise and improve their English to a certain extent, however the nature of the work limited further development of their skills. For Emma, the repetitive nature of her job in the coffee shop did not provide enough rich and varied language practice.

J: Do you speak English a lot in the job?

Emma: Yes I speak English [but] mostly I stay on the till and serve customers and ask customers and tell them similar things, the same. Sometimes I think I need something to change to improve.

J: You don't think it's helping you improve much?

Emma: Yeah, because some situations that I don't understand and maybe I make mistakes, these mistakes help me understand, but basically it's always happens similar, like a parrot always say similar (I1).

Muna also felt she had limited opportunities to practise the kind of English which would improve her skills:

Recently at work [I'm] not talking, you're not socializing [...] you need to give all your help and your support to the children. So mostly you just have a half hour at break time and that half hour you have to eat. You have to do lots of things [...]so you don't have too much time to socialise, so actually there is a time limit to talk with your colleagues.

These experiences illustrate that, whilst work can provide opportunities to practise English, this is dependent on the working environment, and ESOL learners tend to work in jobs which offer limited opportunities to practise more advanced language skills (Cooke, 2006; Morrice et al., 2019). This can be compounded by the fact that ESOL learners' ability to communicate in English can be impeded in contexts where they occupy less powerful identity positions, such as the workplace, as described in section 5.5.

Moreover, work was sometimes found to be a barrier to attending ESOL class. For example, when Muna was working as a school meals supervisory assistant, she had to give up her ESOL classes because they clashed with her working hours, despite the job only being two hours a day. In her current job, she has only been able to attend ESOL because her boss let her change her working hours. However, this boss is leaving, and she is worried that his replacement will not allow her to continue attending ESOL classes. Similarly, in his third interview Pital, said that he had been offered full-time work in his caretaker job, but the timetable clash would mean he would be unlikely to be able to continue attending ESOL. Many ESOL learners are not in the position to turn down an income, as Pital told me: *'both [ESOL and work] are important, but when you have family you have to choose the job' (13)*.

This section describes ways in which a variety of social networks can enhance ESOL learners' feelings of belonging to a group, affirm their sense of self and enable them to 'feel that they are someone'. Family and spouses are important sources of support, however gaining independence from them seems to be important for improving confidence. Social networks with people from similar cultural and national backgrounds, and good relations with neighbours provide support, security and affirmation. ESOL classes provide opportunities for learners to gain feelings of solidarity, sense of belonging, improve confidence and learn about aspects of British life. There was a strong tendency amongst the interviewees to help others out and contribute to society and doing so affirmed powerful aspects of their identities. Their accounts index that feelings of belonging to British society are often impacted by relations with others as well as immigration status. Transnational affiliations have varying effects on the participants' feelings about their ability to belong in Britain.

Having a job was described as a route to feeling part of British society, accessing social networks, fostering self-sufficiency, and achieving a stronger sense of self and position in society. Work was viewed as providing opportunities to practise and improve English language skills. However, participants' accounts show that although work can provide opportunities to improve English skills, this is dependent on the nature of the job, and sometimes working can be a barrier to progress in language learning. These findings suggest that expectations of the benefits that finding a job would bring may not necessarily be borne out by the reality.

5.9 Maintaining trajectories: Future challenges and obstacles

Despite the strategies that the participants employ to tackle the challenges of learning English, improving their lives, and maintaining strong identity positions, there are many issues which continue to affect their ability to maintain momentum in their trajectories in Britain.

5.9.1 *'Every time I start, something come in between': Conflicting desires and identities*

Mustafa has dropped in and out of ESOL classes since arriving in Britain and his story demonstrates ways in which ESOL learners can experience conflicting pressures which complicate plans and goals. When Mustafa arrived in the UK, he wanted to continue his university education so he applied for university, and was told he needed to take an IELTS test. He took the test at the college and was disappointed that he was assessed at Entry 3, which was too low to qualify for university. When he created his timeline, he started by drawing a line to signify arriving in Britain in 2005. He then sketched a step up to a higher section, showing when he applied to the university, and added a lower section depicting taking the English test (see Figure 5.4, below):

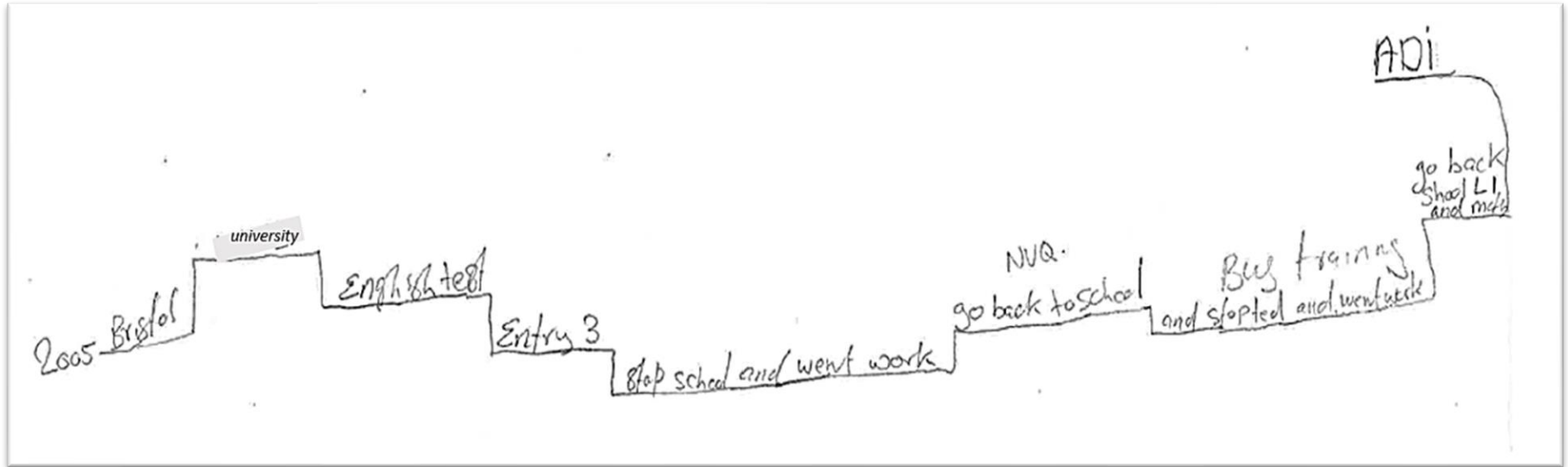
At the moment, I'm doing my feeling. My feeling was very high till I got those tests. And then they send me back [...] here again, so I'm doing (lower).

As well as causing disappointment, this seemed to affect Mustafa's sense of self. *'So from that time, I lost my motivation, I was not expecting that to happen to me'*. However, despite this setback, he resolved to attend the Entry 3 class and improve his English skills to enable him to go to university:

I didn't want to lose another time, so I say, okay, I'm going to do. I went the class with the people who just come in the country, or just come from Europe and start [...].

I thought, 'you know what, don't look down, just look forward. Don't look [at other] people who' [...] - I shouldn't be same level these people, because I was higher level before when I was in Holland. I suppose not to be level for those people who just come from Somalia, or just come from somewhere in the world. I study university 2005 in Holland. I supposed to be finished 2009, I think. [...] I would have been qualified at that time, all the students was the same level as me had already finished long time ago. I think 'don't look back, just look forward - educate, try to do your best'.

Figure 5.4 Mustafa's timeline



In Holland Mustafa had an identity as an educated university student, and on arrival in Britain he continued to connect with an imagined community of university students (Kanno and Norton, 2003; Pavlenko and Norton, 2007). However, his level of English proficiency meant that this identity was not acknowledged within the education system in Britain. Instead, his placement in an Entry 3 ESOL class imposed upon him “migrant” and “ESOL learner” identities at odds with his expectations and his imagined identity as a university student. Consequently, he distances himself from this positioning as an ESOL learner, commenting that he should have advanced further in his educational trajectory. He reflects on the loss of his identity as an educated person that he had possessed in Holland:

I was happy there. Because I knew that I was so good, and I'm here, this I cannot believe myself.

Mustafa has a family to support and therefore has alternated between attending classes and being in work. Much of this work has been unskilled or manual labour which he has found to be incompatible with his desired identity as an educated person. He also started an accountancy course which he quit halfway through to train (unsuccessfully) as a bus driver. Apparently wishing to maintain a particular identity position to his accountancy teacher, he lied to her, telling her he was moving to an IT job, thinking that if she knew he was dropping out of class to become a bus driver she would be ‘disappointed’. More recently however, he has become a driving instructor, and now manages his brother’s shop, both of which seem more fulfilling for him. He recounted that after a while in each job he regrets that he is not in education and then enrolls on another college course. His timeline is accordingly characterised by up and down “steps” which distinguish between positive and negative developments in his unfolding trajectory. The periods when he left class and was working tend to be the lowest steps, and the periods when he was in education are shown as upper steps.

Mustafa seems to feel regret for his past educated identity that he has lost, as well as the future one which seems to be becoming more and more elusive. He also feels angry with himself for what he feels is his wasted education, and ashamed of his lack of progress compared to others. These feelings were seemingly brought to the surface by an incident that had happened a few days prior to our interview. A former classmate, who had arrived in Britain with very little English, had come into Mustafa’s shop and told him that he was now at university in Britain.

He was, [in] his country, a university teacher, but he couldn't speak any language here. English was difficult for him. [...]. Couple of days ago he come in [the] shop. [...] He said to me, 'I study university this year'. [...] So I want to focus to get what I was - what I need to get when I come here, actually. I want to be not feeling left over for other students which I was same level, when I go back in Holland, when I see them somewhere online. It's a little bit a shame for me to tell them, oh, 'I didn't finish'.

Witnessing the achievement of someone who had been in a similar situation to him apparently reignited his desire to regain his identity as an educated person and renewed his motivation to continue with ESOL. Reflecting on his interrupted educational trajectory since arriving in Britain, Mustafa expressed hopes that this time would be different: *'Every time I start, something come in between. Hopefully, this term is going to carry on'*.

However, I got the impression that Mustafa himself is not completely convinced that he will continue in his ESOL classes. In addition to his account of his experiences to date, and his repeated referral to how things always *'come in between'* himself and his goals, it is what he says at the end of the interview. When I asked him about the possibility of meeting again, he said, *'as long as I'm still here, actually'* and that I should get in touch to see if he is available *'because it could change, something'*. Of course, it could a polite way of telling me that he did not want to commit to another interview, but his choice of words, rather than saying, for example, that he might be busy, gave me the impression that he thought he might once again leave his ESOL class. In the event, Mustafa did not respond when I got in touch with him to arrange a subsequent interview.

Mustafa has moved back-and-forth between studying and working and seemingly feels that he has not progressed satisfactorily in either domain. This trajectory is shaped by conflict between his connection with his imagined community of university graduates and his identity as provider for his family. To pursue his desired identity and future as an educated person, he must improve his English skills. However, in the class his educational capital from Holland is not relevant and his identity as a learner of English and a migrant *'non-native'* speaker are brought into relief, identities which are often imbued with negative connotations and are at odds with his desired identity. Thus, he struggles to remain invested in his studies, especially when he has the ongoing responsibility to support his family.

This tension between his conflicting identities is shaped by his material realities. He cannot enrol in university until he gains the required entrance qualification, and he does not have the resources and time to properly invest in achieving the required level of English. In addition, he has a financial necessity to earn a living and support his family. All these factors interact to prevent Mustafa from progressing through ESOL and achieving his goals. Mustafa's interrupted engagement with ESOL classes has prevented him progressing as he would have liked, and this may be another impediment to remaining invested in his learning.

Mustafa has dropped in and out of ESOL classes at the same college for about 12 years. From the point of view of the ESOL teachers at the college, he may appear to be unmotivated or even a “bad learner”. However, we can see that there are many factors at play which shape his engagement with his ESOL learning, and by attending to his multiple identity positions we can see the ways in which these conflict, and impede his ability to invest in his ESOL learning. As explored earlier, Mustafa perceives that it is important for migrants to feel like they belong to a group in which they have status; to ‘*be someone*’, and this appears to be the essence of Mustafa’s struggles.

5.9.2 *‘I lost my way’: the challenge of maintaining a confident identity*

Mustafa’s timeline illustrates the fluctuating nature of his trajectory in Britain. Hanin also experienced challenges to maintaining her trajectory. I have described how, after feeling hampered by initial barriers to her language learning and integration experiences, Hanin overcame these and started to progress in ESOL and gain more confidence and independence. This is depicted on her timeline as an upward trajectory (see Figure 5.5 below). However, during her interviews, especially our final conversation, Hanin conveyed that since 2017 she has been feeling less confident and is not progressing to her satisfaction. Her timeline shows the upward trajectory stopping at 2016 and the years 2017 and 2018 are empty. Referring to this she said:

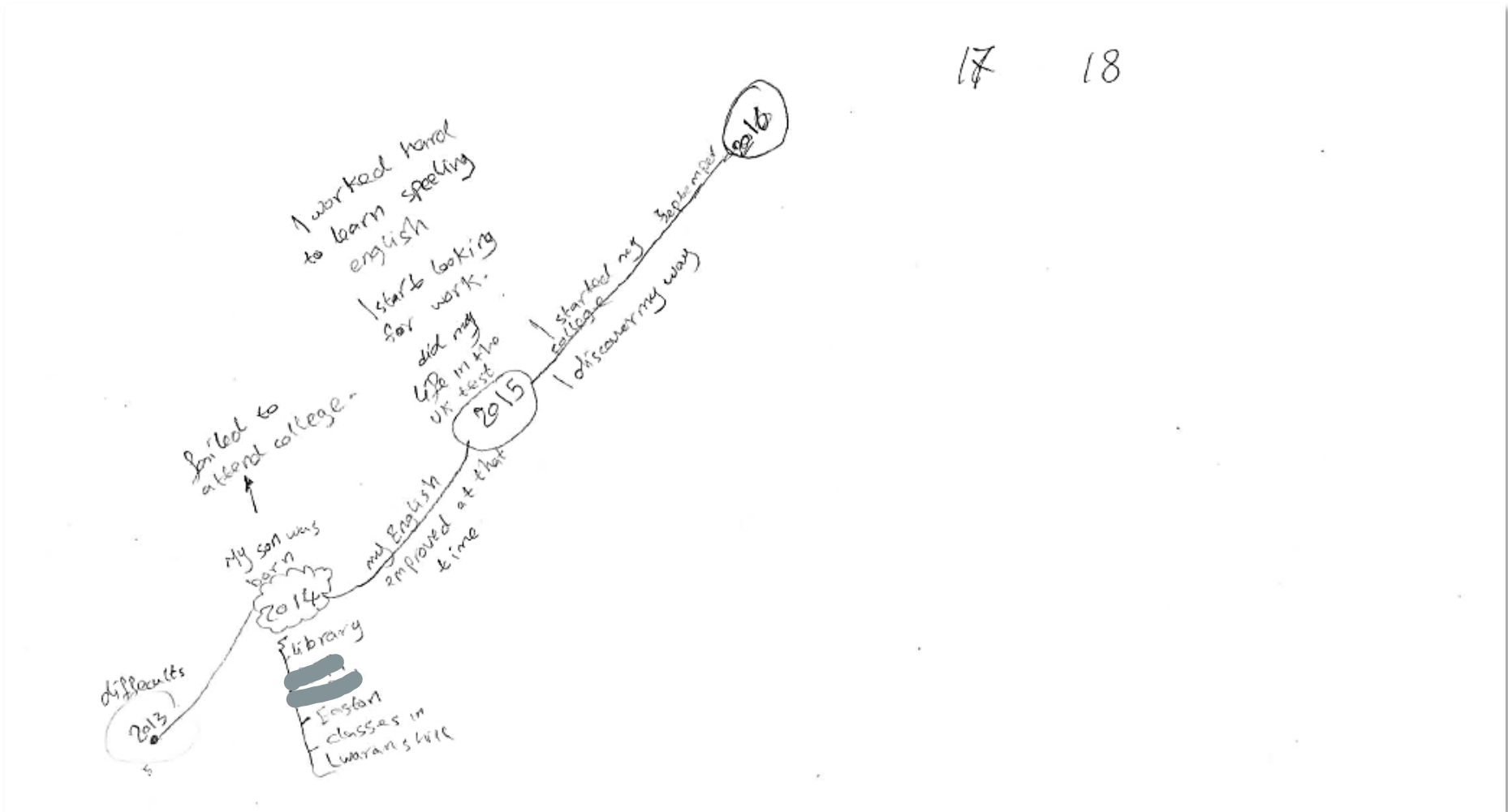
When I come to 2017 and 2018, nothing, nothing. I didn't do nothing in these two years. It's not only [about] certificates, I didn't do well in my speaking. All this time [...] I feel this month I spoke not like last month. [...] Those two years is actually not that good (13).

Hanin laments her recent lack of progress compared to previously:

I'm not happy because do you know when I come in 2013 I don't know English at all but look what I did in just two years, I did a lot. Do you understand what I mean? I did a lot in these two years. [...] But this year it goes like that (13).

She attributes this disappointing progress to several factors which have impacted on her confidence in her English language and professional skills. She feels that she has had less opportunity to practise her English recently. She visited family in Sudan for three months and felt less confident with English when she got back. She is volunteering and attending community organisations much less frequently. Moreover, she has been unable to find paid employment, and is unsure how she can progress in her career. These barriers are compounded by difficulties finding affordable childcare for her son.

Figure 5.5 Hanin's timeline



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18

Actually I lost my way to do <laughs> because I don't know how to start from, because I apply for lots of jobs, I didn't get [them], and I need to improve my English and I need to do a Level 2 course in childcare I don't know how to do it. And because my son, as I said last time, it's hard to provide childcare for him because it's so expensive [...]. I'm thinking about doing an apprenticeship [...] in childcare but I don't know (I2).

Another setback seems to have been her experiences on a childcare training course in 2017 in which classmates had higher levels of English and this made her feel less confident about her own language skills.

Actually I was very confident until 2017 I have some experience, when I did my child care [course]. Because I did it with lots of English people, some people who are born here, some people who lots of years here they are confident about their speaking they are confident about anything [...]. So when I start to speak to them some of them didn't understand me so I felt very you know? I need to improve my English and I need to do a lot (I1).

I had a classmate who I start to speak to her and she didn't understand me but she didn't say 'I didn't understand you' she start to say 'what?' When I rephrase my English she start to laugh ... that day I didn't like it and I thought about to stop that course because I didn't like (I2).

In this context, Hanin positions herself as an outsider in contrast to her classmates who she positions as expert speakers of English. This affects Hanin's confidence to speak, which is further impacted by the reactions of her classmate who apparently positions her as an "incompetent" speaker of English. Being positioned in this way makes Hanin want to leave the class, as she did in the library conversation class in the early days. However, this time she perseveres and stays in the class. Happily, Hanin subsequently forms a good relationship with another classmate. She described how she felt unable to take part in whole class discussions, however when she was talking to this classmate, she was able to talk about her experiences of working with children. This woman recognised that Hanin had experience which would be valuable to share with the class and therefore encouraged her to talk.

I have lots of experience with children. And she always try to say to me 'tell the teacher because you know a lot' [...] she was trying to push me to say something [...] she was lovely (I2).

Seemingly, her classmate did not position her as a learner or "deficit speaker" of English, but instead foregrounded and bolstered Hanin's identity as a childcare practitioner and an insider in the class. This helped Hanin to feel confident to stay in the class. Additionally, interactions with a sympathetic interlocutor can facilitate confidence to speak, as section 5.6.1 demonstrates. However, despite Hanin's positive experience with this classmate she found the language in the class difficult, and this

apparently reinforced her non-proficient English speaker identity and damaged her new confident and competent identity.

Hanin also feels demoralised by the fact that the degree she obtained in Sudan has not helped her find work here.

Sometimes [...] I feel like completely fed up for everything. I thought if I went out of this country... because in my country I did a degree so I if I [...] went to any country who speak Arabic I think I will find my way. Because all my certificates in Arabic [...] I can find job I can provide for my children, anything what they need, but here is a long way, I think it's a very, very, very long way (I2).

Hanin's experience emphasises that a language learners' confidence can decrease as well as increase. As discussed previously, confident identities can be contextually contingent, and as Hanin negotiates the multiple aspects of her life she struggles to maintain a confident and competent English speaker identity. Her account also illustrates that learning English can be a long and arduous process in which it can be difficult to maintain motivation, especially in tandem with maintaining all other aspects of life as an ESOL learner in Britain. Being invested in one's language learning is important to maintain commitment for a long period.

5.9.3 *Compromising on ambitions: 'You have to start from the beginning'*

We have seen the barriers faced by Mustafa and Hanin in maintaining progress in their language learning and integration trajectories. This section reflects further on participants' future pathways. Work, career and educational aspirations feature prominently in participants' plans and hopes for the future. Employment was characterised as an important means through which to improve English skills, forge social connections, feel more a part of British society and become more independent. Several participants described the work they would like to do once they had improved their English. However, besides their level of English, participants faced other impediments to pursuing their career ambitions, such as childcare responsibilities and immigration status. These, and other barriers, meant that participants with educational qualifications gained overseas were struggling to convert them into career opportunities in Britain. For example, as described above, Hanin feels that her educational capital from Sudan is not transferable to the British employment context. Pital is unable to use his Colombian qualifications here and tells me '*you have to start from the beginning*' (I2). Consequently, rather than aspiring to find employment related to his environmental technology qualification, he thinks his maths skills would be easier to convert into employment and thus he has apparently scaled back his expectations. Another potential stumbling block, as illustrated in section 5.8.3, is that participants' expectations that finding a job will facilitate opportunities to practise English may not

necessarily be met. Additionally, we saw how Pital and Muna expressed concerns that progressing in their work may preclude further progress in ESOL.

Interviewees appeared to be responding to these challenges by compromising their career ambitions, and accepting lower level jobs than they were qualified for. Flowers' accounts illustrate this process of compromise. In the first interview she said that she would like to utilise her qualification (a PhD in sports science) in Britain. She had looked into doing a master's degree but found that her English was not of the required standard. Consequently, she was considering becoming a maths teacher but was worried that she would only be able to teach sports, which she was not keen on. In the second interview her perspective had apparently altered. She seemed keener to find work, was reconsidering teaching sports in school, and had stopped thinking about doing a Masters. Finally, in the third interview she stated that she was *'trying to find seriously now volunteer work in a school'* as an assistant sports teacher. Thus, by the third interview she had substantially scaled back her aspirations.

Flowers, Pital and Hanin had to reconcile to themselves that they would be unable to find work commensurate to their level of education. It could be argued therefore that compromising on ambitions is a strategy that ESOL learners employ to help them adjust to their life in Britain. We have seen that Ranu had long ago cast aside his ambition to go to university. Mustafa however appears to be constantly struggling with the prospect of being forced to compromise his aspiration of returning to university, and his story projects a deep sense of dissatisfaction with his trajectory in Britain. Edmund alone still envisages continuing his higher education as a definite plan; perhaps his position as a young single person who grew up speaking English makes him best placed out of all the participants for achieving this. However, due to his immigration status, he still faces the huge barrier of having to save up for the international student fees, and by the third interview had just started working as a care assistant in a care home.

This process of compromising their ambitions is one which many ESOL learners are forced to undergo in their new lives. Whilst it can have very negative implications for many who are forced to let go of their aspirations, for some perhaps, compromise could be a strategy to manage their own expectations and keep some ability to hope.

5.9.4 'You always is foreign': Reflecting on future possibilities

Besides these hurdles to achieving desired career goals, there were other challenges for participants' future trajectories in Britain. Despite Ali's remarkable resilience and persistence in ESOL classes and at the gym, his prolonged experience of instability and insecurity has begun to impact not only on his investment in his language learning but also on his investment in his training. At the gym, Ali has found a community of belonging where he can resist his marginalised position and 'be someone' and this strong identity enables him to feel confident to speak English. However, his continued state of precarity and liminality has begun to impinge on this place of sanctuary and affected his ability to maintain his own training regime and work with others.

It's very difficult, you can't, like, keep training with a difficult life outside. [For] the training every day you have to have a good sleep, no stress, good food. So how you can- if you not working you can't everyday, have good food or no stress. You can't keep going (I3).

If you have this situation how you can help others? Sometimes when I'm there I just want to put my headphones on and training for myself, I can't train others [...]. Now I just go for like, half an hour training for myself. Just a little workout and then go home (I3).

Ali's story indexes that a prolonged "asylum seeker" status can lead to loss of hope and ability to imagine a positive future, and this can impede an individual's capacity to invest in and engage with their learning and other aspects of their life.

Other participants described continuing impediments in their language learning trajectories. Although Fatmira is relieved and pleased to now have leave to remain, a secure place to live and the right to work, she appears to be losing motivation to stay in ESOL classes. She feels that her progress has been very slow due to her struggles with literacy, feeling stressed and lack of time to study. In the second interview she told me that she was considering giving up attending ESOL altogether. Therefore, it seems that despite possessing a strong identity position as a confident speaker of English, her reflexive positioning as a 'slow learner', who struggles with the formal literacy practices of the ESOL classroom, may be affecting her investment in ESOL classes. Additionally, lack of opportunities to practise English was characterised as an ongoing problem. For example, although Anna felt that she had improved her confidence and English since starting ESOL classes, when reflecting on her ability to progress further, she commented that lack of access to English speaking social interactions remained an impediment to extending her language skills.

Thus, participants still face many barriers to improving their English skills to their desired level. Section 5.3.3 discusses how some interviewees associated feeling part of British society with English ability and there was a sense that they would feel a greater sense of belonging when they reached an envisaged proficient English speaker status. They implied that their positions as migrants who cannot speak English '*properly*', still places them on the outside of British society. For example, Pital thought that he was part of British society in some respects, but as a non-native English speaker he would always be '*foreign*'. These perspectives are apparently informed by the prevailing monolingual ideology which links speaking a specific type and level of English with belonging to Britain. During the course of this study, as I listened to and reflected on participants' perspectives on this matter, I considered the ongoing challenges they face in improving their English within this dominant ideology. I wondered whether, despite the progress and improvements they have forged in other aspects of their lives, any of the participants will ever feel that their English is "good enough" to feel a sense of belonging and claim their place in British society?

5.10 Temporality and timescales in participants' timelines and trajectories

This chapter has examined in depth the interviewees' accounts of their experiences, including the ways in which these experiences can be shaped by different context and spaces. This section briefly focuses on the interviewees' timelines themselves to consider more closely the importance of temporality and time in understanding the meaning participants give to their trajectories. My analysis of the timelines was shaped by the interviewees' accounts of them, as outlined in Chapter 3.

In Kell's (2017) analysis of meaning making trajectories she argues that rather than examining single events in isolation, it is more productive to take the trajectory itself as the unit of analysis as it enables us to retain 'the focus on situated events but also enables us to engage with mobility' (Kell, 2017: 532). Kell draws on Blommaert's reflections on mobility in sociolinguistics (Blommaert, 2014) which alert us to the ways in which communicative resources are imbued with differing meanings and value according to context (see section 2.4.1) as well as time. Thus, for Kell, a focus on trajectories enables analysis of single events within the context of their shifting temporal and spatial meanings to shed light on transformations in meaning making.

Attention to temporality is of growing importance in literacy studies and sociolinguistics, in particular Lemke's (2000) concept of *timescales* (e.g. Compton-Lilly, 2012, 2013, 2017; Blackburn and Clarke, 2014; Canagarajah and De Costa, 2016; Mortimer and Wortham, 2015; Park and Lo, 2012), which can enhance understandings of the intersection of language and identity (De Costa and Norton 2016;

Norton and De Costa 2018). Lemke (2000) examines *processes* as the unit of analysis, articulating processes which occupy vastly different timescales, from the millisecond scale of neuron processes to evolutionary and planetary changes which take millions or billions of years. In between these there are educational processes which constitute shorter timescales, such as an exchange of dialogue which can take seconds or minutes, or a lesson which can be measured in hours. Lemke invites us to examine the ways in which processes are integrated across timescales, posing the following questions:

How do moments add up to lives?... How do actions or events on one timescale come to add up to more than just a series of isolated happenings?...How do organizational units and processes on shorter timescales make possible the emergent patternings we recognize on longer timescales?' (Lemke, 2000 p.273).

Compton-Lilly (2012, 2013, 2017) utilises Lemke's timescales in her detailed and in-depth longitudinal research on African-American students' literacy learning over time. She notes how timescale problematises conceptions of time as 'linear and cumulative' (Compton-Lilly, 2017 p.14). In contrast to the linear notion of time, Lemke forwards the concept of *heterochrony* which emphasises the interdependence of processes across timescales and the link between short-term events and longer-term processes (Lemke, 2000). Therefore 'meaningful action is always a site of heterochrony' (Canagarajah and De Costa, 2016 p.6). Considering timescales and heterochrony in the participants' timelines helps us understand how individual events and actions (short timescales) shape, and are shaped by, participants' trajectories (longer timescale processes).

An examination of processes in timescales can help to understand how language learning, integration and identity operate as ongoing processes in ESOL learners' trajectories. Identity is a process which requires integration across timescales (Lemke, 2000) and people draw on multiple timescales to make sense of themselves and their worlds, constructing meaning simultaneously from past and present experiences as well as possible futures (Compton-Lilly, 2017). Therefore, literacy learning, and understandings of self (identities) are constructed and revised through time (Compton-Lilly, 2012). Timescales enable us to

'theorise and explain the ways students draw upon the past, present, and future to make sense of their literacy and schooling experiences, and define themselves as learners and literate people' (Compton-Lilly, 2012 p.23).

In this study, the interviewees' identities were constructed in relation to time, including imagined and possible futures, and their language learning and integration experiences possessed temporal (as well as spatial) characteristics.

Drawing on these constructs, I explore the ways in which the individual events and actions in the participants' accounts are not isolated, individual occurrences, but in fact shape, and are shaped by, their ongoing trajectories. In Pital's first interview, he drew his timeline by starting from the top of the page (depicting when he arrived in Britain) and then progressing downwards to the present. Subsequently, prior to our second meeting, he redrew the timeline showing the same events, but this time with an ascending line because he wanted to depict improvement in his experience since arriving in Britain (see page 191). He explained that:

the line shows something better, because it shows from the beginning, I start here when I came, everything is going up, step by step, better way, going up better way (12).

During the second interview, Pital added the 'Brexit' label to his timeline, after the label showing that he had started his (more desirable) job as a caretaker in the school. As explored in section 5.8.2, Pital characterised Brexit as the main thing that made him feel insecure about his future in Britain. In our third meeting, he returned to the subject of Brexit, expanding further on how he felt somewhat confused and uncertain about his future. Pital depicted Brexit as causing him to feel a shift in his relatively secure identity position as a European citizen in relation to British citizens, heralding a new, less secure status in Britain. This apparently coincided with a shift in the meaning he gave to his trajectory away from a process characterised by ongoing progression and '*going up step-by-step*' toward a slightly more uncertain state of being. Thus, Brexit has caused Pital to recalibrate the meaning he gives to the longer timescale of his trajectory.

Another example of the ways in which processes across different timescales are interdependent (Lemke, 2000), and how this can affect the meaning given to these processes, can be seen from Mustafa's timeline (see section 5.9.1). Whilst recounting taking the IELTS test, and his subsequent placement in an Entry 3 ESOL class, he draws this as a low point in his timeline, explaining '*at the moment, I'm doing my feeling [...] I'm doing (lower)*'. The negative meaning which Mustafa gives to this moment in his trajectory is shaped by his history and past experiences as a university student in the Netherlands; it is formed by the longer timescale of his experiences. Moreover, the shorter timescale of this moment also shapes the meaning he gives to his trajectory as one in which impediments '*come in between*' his ability to achieve his desired future. His timeline, with its up-and-down steps depicting positive and negative developments, reinforces that his trajectory is more than just a series of isolated events. It is shaped by and reflects his personal history, ongoing experiences and his future goals, and is a manifestation of his conflicting identities.

The ways in which the meanings of different timescales can influence one another is evident when we consider that Hanin gave a very different meaning to her placement in an Entry 3 ESOL class, as explored in section 5.7.3. In contrast to Mustafa, she was very pleased to be assessed at this level as she felt that it reflected how she had been working *'very hard'* to take any opportunity to learn English during that period of her trajectory. The positive meaning which Hanin gave to this moment was coloured by her personal history in which she had been struggling to learn English and claim a more independent and confident identity position. This single event also shaped the meaning she gave to the part of her trajectory between 2014 and 2016, which she characterises as a time in which she made good progress, annotating this part of the timeline with *'I discover[ed] my way'* (see timeline on page 200).

These are examples of the 'dialogic relationship' (Blackburn and Clark, 2014 p.94) between smaller and larger timescale processes. Pital, Mustafa and Hanin's timelines and accounts show how particular events can shape the meanings they give to their trajectories, and the ways in which they construct their identities over larger timescales. Simultaneously, we can see how longer timescale processes affect short timescale processes, which 'makes visible the potential weight of any moment in time in terms of constructing identities' (Blackburn and Clark, 2014 p.103). Therefore, paying attention to temporality and timescale in the participants' accounts shows us how the moments depicted on the timelines add up to more than a chronological series of events. We can see how these moments give meaning to, and are given meaning by, the process of language learning, integration and identity in the participants' trajectories.

5.11 Chapter conclusion

On the whole, the interviewees' accounts emphasise the importance of learning English for making headway in their lives in Britain. However, there are many factors affecting their ability to progress and remain invested in their ESOL studies, and their opportunities to practise their English in "naturalistic" contexts.

Dominant language and integration ideologies shape the identity positions that participants experience, and this can affect their ESOL classroom experiences and investment in their studies. Ideology also influences power relations and positioning in interactions, and this can cause participants to feel the pressure of having to shoulder the communicative burden, potentially impeding their ability to communicate in English. Conversely, when ESOL learners hold powerful

identity positions they are empowered to share, or even shed, the responsibility for negotiation of meaning.

However, participants' accounts demonstrate that identities are fluid and subject to change, and thus maintaining strong English speaker identities is an ongoing process. At times different circumstances and contexts can erode confidence and halt the progress that ESOL learners have achieved. These findings suggest that hope is an important element of investment for migrant language learners, and in many cases may be a precondition for it, as it enables individuals to envisage and direct their actions towards their desired futures.

These accounts also highlight the importance of affective factors for integration and language learning. These include well-being and stability, as well as possessing independent and confident identities and a strong sense of self. However, the asylum-seeking participants face particular challenges to their well-being and ability to lead secure and stable lives. Their accounts reveal experiences of marginalised liminal identity positions and stories of lives put on hold, but also index the possibilities for resisting these limitations and claiming strong identity positions. However, prolonged periods of insecurity and marginalisation can erode hope, impacting on engagement and investment in ESOL learning and many aspects of integration.

The analysis also illuminates the other issues and challenges ESOL learners face in maintaining motivation and progress in their trajectories including: the pervasive influence of ideologies which cast doubt on the rights of non-native speakers of English to fully belong in Britain; the struggle to achieve and maintain desired and legitimated identities; (non)recognition of their capital; and societal structures such as immigration policy, the labour market and education system. The following chapter further develops these interpretations as it interweaves these findings with those of the questionnaire.

6 Integrating the interview and questionnaire analyses

This chapter brings together the quantitative and qualitative analyses in order to address the research questions of the study. For each question I consider the ways in which the findings complement or contradict one another to illuminate ESOL learner participants' perspectives and experiences of learning English and integration.

6.1 RQ 1. According to their accounts, what do ESOL learners feel is important for integration and having a good life in Britain?

The aim of this research question was to address the fact that although migrant and refugee nonexpert speakers of English are often the subject of policy and public debates, as well as academic studies, their own perceptions of their priorities for integration and making headway in Britain are often overlooked. Accordingly, this section explores the ESOL learner participants' perceptions and priorities regarding what is important for their lives in Britain, and examines the extent to which these views are consistent with political discourse, previous integration scholarship and the conceptualisation of integration used in this study. In general participants viewed all 13 factors measured in the questionnaire to be important, although these could be ranked into three broad groupings according to relative importance. The interviewees' accounts also demonstrated that a wide range of issues were considered to be important for a good life in Britain.

6.1.1 *English language skills*

Good English language skills were rated amongst the top grouping of factors by the questionnaire participants, and the importance of English language skills resonated throughout the qualitative data. Some participants recounted unhappy and difficult stories of their early experiences in Britain when they were unable to communicate in or understand English. They experienced feelings of isolation, dependence, helplessness and being unable to manage many aspects of everyday life, which negatively impacted on their sense of self. It was felt that that improving English skills enables greater participation in British life, and could be a pathway to achieve career ambitions or gain higher levels of education, including university. Increasing one's English skills was also characterised as a means to forge social relations with local born people and feel a greater sense of belonging to Britain. Participants who were parents described gaining a good level of English as important for being able to meet their children's needs and advance their education and future prospects.

The importance of English proficiency for the participants was to be expected and is consistent with views expressed in previous studies (e.g. Bryers et al., 2013, Court 2015, 2017). At times the views expressed by some of the interviewees also appeared to align with monolingual ideologies which associate acquisition of English with integration and belonging to British society, and imply that the effort that migrants and refugees put into learning English determines whether they have positive integration experiences. However, the participants' accounts highlighted many other factors which impacted on their lives in Britain, and indicated that some of these could be of more pressing importance; these are discussed in more detail below and in section 6.3. Additionally, the findings show that learning English and integration are mutually dependent processes which impact on each other, and this relationship is shaped by complex mechanisms, as demonstrated in section 6.2.

6.1.2 Safety and stability

The findings confirmed the importance of the role of affective factors in integration, supporting my conceptual model which places greater emphasis on these than previously seen in research and discussions of integration. Feeling safe was viewed by the questionnaire participants as of equal or perhaps slightly more importance than good English skills, and the themes of safety and stability featured heavily in the interview data. Interviewees' accounts highlight how these are particularly important for refugees and people seeking asylum, who have experienced displacement and often trauma. When refugees are unable to feel secure about their present circumstances and future life, concerns and strategies to deal with this can take priority over learning English, as Ali and Fatmira's accounts revealed. Issues surrounding safety and stability were also raised by participants who did not have refugee backgrounds, underscoring their primary importance for the ESOL learner participants. Participants' housing circumstances appeared to be an important aspect of feeling safe and secure. The findings also pointed to the importance of feeling free to express political and other opinions. Previous studies have revealed the importance of safety and stability for integration experiences (e.g. Ager and Strang, 2004b, Fritz and Donat, 2017, Ndofor-Tah et al., 2019), however this study provides evidence that these factors are in fact a precondition for migrants and refugees to have a good life and carve futures for themselves in Britain.

6.1.3 Confidence and independence

Confidence and independence also feature in the affective realm of my model, and the questionnaire and interview analyses confirm the importance of these for ESOL learners (Asadullah, 2014; Court 2015, 2017; Graham-Brown, 2015). In particular, interviewees described how feeling confident was important to enable them to communicate in English, and to progress in their language learning.

Gaining greater self-confidence was interrelated with achieving greater independence, as, when participants felt more confident about their English skills, they felt more able to operate independently, and this in turn could boost feelings of confidence. The findings also indexed that feelings of confidence were intertwined with strong identity positions. Several female interviewees felt that it was important to gain greater independence from their partners, for example by learning to deal with anglophone interactions successfully on their own, and finding work and achieving financial independence. Morrice et al. (2019) found that female refugees commonly cited desire to be self-sufficient and independent as their reasons for wanting to learn English. The importance of confidence and independence for ESOL learners' integration experiences, and the interrelationship of these factors with language learning, are explored in more detail below in section 6.2.3.

6.1.4 Education and employment

Education and employment, which are located in the structural realm in my model of integration, also featured in the top priorities of the ESOL learner participants. When considering which factors were important for a good life, the questionnaire participants may have interpreted the item '*a good education*' in a number of ways, and these may be elucidated through consideration of the interviewees' accounts. These accounts highlighted the importance of educational capital for making a good life in Britain. Limited levels of previous formal education impacted on experiences in the ESOL classroom and progress in learning English. The importance of a good education was also indexed by interviewees' aspirations to pursue further or higher education. Some wished to continue the university level education that they had left behind, and re-establish their former status and identity as an educated person. Others wanted to pursue courses or training to improve their career and employment prospects, and to secure a better life for themselves and their families. There was also a sense that ESOL classes facilitated the acquisition of other, non-linguistic abilities such as academic and employability skills and knowledge of British systems and social norms.

Employment was also a top priority for the questionnaire and interview participants. It was perceived by the interviewees to be a potential means to improve English skills, provide for family, feel more part of British society, contribute and gain independence. Some of the female interviewees felt that gaining work could help achieve a greater sense of autonomy from their partners, the importance of which is described above. The benefits and importance of being in work can be felt particularly strongly by ESOL learners who are asylum seeking; Ali's accounts highlight how being prohibited to work negatively impacts on one's sense of self and purpose and place in society.

6.1.5 Social relations: 'Being someone'

Social relations, support networks and feelings of belonging to a group were also found to be important for positive experiences of integration. The qualitative data showed that these can facilitate a strong sense of self and position in society. In the questionnaire, social aspects (*British people taking the time to listen when you talk* and *friendly neighbours*) were generally rated as slightly less important than the more affective or instrumental aspects of integration, but marginally ahead of cultural factors.

The qualitative data suggests that the attitudes and behaviour of other members of British society are important to the participants. As migrants and refugees who are non-proficient in English, they may experience marginalised positions, whether it be due to lack of symbolic and material resources, or experiences of racism, religious intolerance, linguistic xenophobia or anti-migrant sentiment, and, as Flowers emphasised, these experiences of discrimination or being positioned as not belonging can exacerbate feelings of trauma and dislocation. Additionally, interviewees articulated the importance of having a sympathetic interlocutor when they were interacting in English as this bolsters their confidence and makes it easier for them to communicate, and ultimately could help them improve their language skills (this is discussed further in section 6.2). Interviewees' accounts suggest that good relationships with neighbours are particularly important for migrants and refugees who have been uprooted from their home towns and live far away from family, supporting existing evidence (e.g. Ager and Strang, 2004b).

6.1.6 Cultural factors

Understanding British culture was the only cultural aspect of integration that appeared amongst the middle group of important factors in the questionnaire data. This can constitute a form of cultural capital, although 'British culture' is a term which is open to different interpretations. In the interview data, British culture was generally characterised as understanding the norms and systems of everyday life in Britain, and was associated with getting to know British people better. As such, interviewees apparently viewed it in instrumental terms, and also in terms of facilitating social relations.

Slightly below all the other factors (according to the questionnaire analysis) were the remaining cultural factors (feeling British, maintaining cultural traditions and linguistic practices) and these possessed similar importance. This contradicts assimilationist perspectives that pit adherence to cultural and linguistic practices from country of origin in opposition to identifying with Britishness. The qualitative findings indicated that the interpretation of what constituted *feeling British* differed across

the participants but was often related to understanding British culture and feelings of belonging to Britain. Interviewees expressed varying opinions on the issue of speaking in their first languages. Some felt it gave them the opportunity to express their true selves more effectively and enabled them and their children to maintain connections with their families and countries of origin. However, speaking in one's mother tongue was also characterised as an impediment to learning English. Overall, it seems that participants felt that cultural elements were important, but viewed them as less instrumental to a good life in Britain than other factors.

6.1.7 Concluding remarks

The data shows that the participants regard many factors as important for a good life in Britain, chiming with limited existing research on ESOL learners' opinions on integration (e.g. Bryers et al., 2013; Court, 2015, 2017; Eaves, 2015; Graham-Brown, 2015), however these findings extend understandings by shedding light on which factors are considered the most important. In particular, safety and stability are viewed as a necessity for a good life in Britain, and related to this are feeling confident, being autonomous and having a strong sense of self and position in society. The importance placed on safety, stability, confidence and independence confirm that affective factors are a priority for the ESOL learner participants and may be just as important as English proficiency. Employment and education also appear to be of similar importance to good English skills. Thus, these findings support my argument that greater emphasis be given to affective and structural factors in considering the needs of migrants and refugees in Britain.

These findings indicate that ESOL learners' perspectives on what is important for integration may diverge somewhat from dominant discourses which foreground the social and cultural aspects of integration. Whilst these clearly matter to the participants in this study, the affective and structural aspects of integration appear to be crucial to facilitate a good life in Britain. The exception to this is that the importance placed on English language proficiency echoes the predominant position it occupies in both policy and scholarship on integration. However, the findings confirm that whilst important, it is not the only factor necessary for a good life in Britain, as is discussed in detail in section 6.3. Overall, the analysis supports the conceptualisation of integration proposed by this study i.e. that integration is multidimensional and encompasses many inter-related aspects of society and daily life.

6.2 RQ 2. How are language learning and integration inter-related in the experiences of ESOL learners?

This section interweaves the qualitative and quantitative findings to elucidate the ways in which learning English interrelates with various aspects of integration, and attempts to untangle the direction of these relationships. I discuss how the ways in which ESOL learners are positioned in British society affects participants' experiences via interactive and reflexive positioning. I examine the role of affective factors such as anxiety and confidence in the participants' experiences, and the ways in which these shape, and are shaped by, social relations, particularly with anglophone members of British society. I explore how having a partner or children can influence language learning and integration, and then examine the relationship between language proficiency and employment. I also discuss the role of ESOL learners' varying forms of cultural capital in their language learning and integration trajectories.

6.2.1 *Dominant ideologies, positioning of ESOL learners, and language learning*

Ideologies inherent in dominant discourses position ESOL learner in multiple ways through which they are granted inclusion or exclusion in various aspects of society (Darvin and Norton, 2015). The findings demonstrate some of the ways in which these ideologies and positionings played out in the lives and language learning experiences of the participants. Their stories revealed incidences of harassment or hostility related to racism, Islamophobia, anti-migrant feeling or linguistic xenophobia. This latter was sometimes overtly expressed, conveyed through body language or hostile looks, or manifested in the participants sensing that they are being judged in hostile or derogatory ways by people they encounter. These experiences complement the questionnaire findings in which nearly a third of participants reported to have been harassed during the 12 months before the study, and the main reasons reported were ethnicity, nationality, language, accent or religion. Participants with lower assessed *and* perceived English skills, and those with lower literacy skills were more likely to experience harassment, and those with lower levels of language skills (especially the more powerful, dominant literacy and language skills) were less likely to feel that British people were friendly to migrants. As discussed in section 4.7, these findings could indicate that ESOL learners who have higher levels of English skills, especially the powerful skills, are judged to conform more closely with ideologies of legitimate speakers of English and thus engender more positive reactions from other members of British society.

An alternative explanation is that ESOL learners who have more positive experiences of British people feel more confident in their English ability in these interactions, and, although this is not supported by

the quantitative data, the interviewees' accounts *do* support this supposition (see section 6.2.3 below). Taken together, these findings could indicate that in fact these mechanisms can operate in two directions: on the one hand participants who are perceived to be illegitimate speakers of English may be more likely to experience negative interactions, but also, experiencing positive interactions with other members of British society can facilitate feelings of confidence in speaking English. The quantitative findings also suggest that less proficient ESOL learners were less likely to feel a sense of belonging. This could indicate that the dominant ideology which associates low English skills with a lack of integration has been somewhat internalised by participants. This is possibly supported by the interviewees' statements that they did not feel part of British society because of their positions as non-proficient speakers of English; as Pital said, as a non-native speaker '*you always is foreign*'.

Like all members of society, ESOL learners' worldviews are shaped by ideologies, and as such they are not immune to internalising or reproducing dominant ideologies. Consequently, they may 'contribute to their own subjugation through the performance of hegemonic practices' (Darvin and Norton, 2015 p47). Interviewees' accounts suggest that at times they replicated and internalised individualist and responsabilisation discourses which shift responsibility for perceived societal problems' of integration onto migrant speakers of other languages and obscures the structural and other barriers to equality and integration (Monforte et al., 2018; Suvarierol and Kirk, 2015; Turner, 2015) For example Ranu and Hanin described how their hard work and perseverance helped them achieve their accomplishments, and contrasted themselves with other migrants (who they portrayed as not making the effort to learn English), thus echoing discourses of 'deserving citizens' who are positioned in opposition to 'underserving Others' (Monforte et al., 2018 p.2).

Similarly, interviewees' accounts point to how ESOL learners internalise the deficit positioning of non-proficient speakers of English which can percolate into ESOL classrooms making them 'prime sites of identity work' (Simpson and Greswell, 2012 p.193). This can shape how ESOL learners position themselves, as well as how they position other ESOL learners, particularly those with lower levels of English. This can impact learning or investment in ESOL if learners wish to resist being positioned in this deficit way. For example, Mustafa depicted his ESOL classmates as newly arrived immigrants and beginner learners of English, and distanced himself from this identity position of someone '*who just come in the country*'. The ESOL learner identity conflicts with Mustafa's connection with the imagined community (Kanno and Norton, 2003; Norton, 2000, 2013; Pavlenko and Norton, 2007) of educated university students and affected his ability to remain invested in his ESOL class.

Examination of Ranu's account highlights how these ideologies can also shape the ways in which teachers and practitioners position ESOL learners, and that learners can be aware of this, which can affect their learning and class experience and impede investment in ESOL classes. He felt that his former teacher had positioned him as incapable of attending university, and thus dashed his hopes for achieving his imagined identity as a university student. Ranu's experiences chime with Foreman's (2017) study in which some ESOL teachers felt they were managing learners' unrealistic expectations by emphasising the difficulty of acquiring a place at university. The learners interpreted this as teachers blocking their aspirations. This highlights the ways in which teachers may (albeit unconsciously) reinforce particular identity positions prevalent in wider discourses; in this case that ESOL learners are generally destined for low skilled occupations (Simpson and Greswell, 2012). For Ranu, the result was that he felt demoralised and demotivated, and almost dropped out of class. Ranu's and Mustafa's stories highlight the ways in which the ideologies and structures of ESOL provision can be at odds with learners' imagined identities and this can impact on their investment in learning (Cooke, 2006). Mustafa also apparently demonstrated an awareness of the ways in which ESOL learners can be positioned when he lied to his accountancy teacher about training to be a bus driver because he wanted to maintain a particular identity position and did not want his teacher to be 'disappointed'.

A further element of monolingual discourse, which also permeates discourses on integration, is that speaking languages other than English can hinder acquisition of English language and thus impedes social integration. Additionally the monolingual approach to language learning is prevalent throughout ESOL provision (Simpson and Cooke, 2017). Hanin's account exemplifies how ESOL learners themselves often possess this perspective, as she sought to distance herself from fellow Arabic speakers inside and outside the classroom as she felt this impeded her progress in learning English. However, the quantitative findings in this study did not on the whole support the view that more frequent interactions with people from similar national or cultural backgrounds can affect language learning.

For many migrants and refugees, their position in the immigration system can impact their language learning. For example, Gill expressed her frustration at having to wait 3 years to access ESOL classes due to being here on a spousal visa. Interviewees' accounts support previous research which highlights that asylum seekers face particular barriers to learning (e.g. Hodge, Pitt and Barton, 2004). Experiences of precarity, instability, insecurity and feelings of stress can impact on ability to concentrate on their studies and progress in their English learning. ESOL eligibility rules can delay or

interrupt their ESOL learning trajectories. Asylum-seeking ESOL learners often occupy marginalised, liminal or stigmatised positions in society, especially when forced to inhabit dependent identities. This can create feelings of shame and a desire to hide aspects of their lives from other people. Ali is forced to distance himself somewhat from his friendship groups, including his ESOL classmates, as he is reluctant to reveal how his immigration status controls and limits many aspects of his life and prevents him from earning a living for himself. Ada avoids inviting British born people into her home as she feels embarrassed by her living conditions. Avoiding these types of interactions can be seen as strategies to escape reinforcing dependent and stigmatised aspects of their identities, however it impacts on opportunities for social relations with English speakers and potentially reduces opportunities to extend their English language skills. The restrictions on daily life, inability to feel secure, and marginalised positioning that many asylum-seeking ESOL learners experience can impact on their ability to hope for and imagine a positive future and feel invested in their language learning and other aspects of their life in the UK. This is explored further in section 6.3.1 which details the many barriers asylum-seeking ESOL learners face to integration, and section 6.4 which discusses further the roles of hope and investment in ESOL learners' trajectories.

Thus, immigration policy and dominant ideologies on integration and language shape the ways in which ESOL learners are positioned in mainstream discourse, in interactions with other members of society and within the ESOL classroom. This positioning determines ESOL learners' experiences of and investment in learning English. These positionings can also affect their interaction with anglophone residents and the nature of these can affect or alternatively be affected by their proficiency in English. These mechanisms are elucidated in section 6.2.3 below which examines the ways in which language learning is interrelated with anxiety and confidence to speak.

6.2.2 Affective factors and language learning

The findings elucidate the ways in which language skills may be related to affective factors, and may suggest that affective factors can mediate the relationship between language and housing and financial security. In terms of physical health, questionnaire participants with lower English proficiency, especially in literacy and formal speaking skills, were more likely to report poorer health, a finding which is consistent with previous studies (e.g. Cheung and Phillimore, 2017; Office for National Statistics, 2013). The interviewees recounted difficulties in reading letters, making or attending appointments with a GP or other healthcare professionals, obtaining support for their children, and phoning an ambulance, which points to the ways in which limited language skills could be a barrier to obtaining proper healthcare and thus may impact on health.

However, interviewees' accounts also make clear that poor well-being and feelings of stress can impact on ability to attend ESOL classes and focus on learning. The analysis suggests that several factors affect well-being. Interviewees recounted how living in inadequate and temporary housing can cause feelings of stress and instability. The quantitative findings suggested an association between more confidence in English skills, especially literacy, and better and more stable housing situations. These findings could suggest that poor housing circumstances can impede well-being which in turn may hinder ability to progress in learning English. Participants' accounts demonstrated that being an asylum seeker profoundly impacts on well-being, causing feelings of instability, stress, and marginalisation, and these can impede the ability to concentrate on learning and investment in ESOL classes. Financial insecurity is also a potential cause of poor well-being, and the study found that questionnaire respondents in lower ESOL classes were more likely to feel pessimistic about their financial situation. The participants' accounts of the ways in which poor well-being negatively impacts their learning could suggest that poor financial and housing outcomes may be detrimental to well-being and thus impede language learning.

However, the qualitative analysis indicates that the relationship between language proficiency and outcomes in well-being, housing and financial security may concurrently flow in the other direction. As mentioned above, the interviewees' accounts highlight how communicating in more formal situations becomes easier with increased language and literacy skills, and therefore it seems likely that for some ESOL learners, English skills may also facilitate access to better housing and perhaps more financial security (via employment). Thus, the data overall points to a complex and bidirectional relationship between language learning and the integration outcomes of well-being, and security in housing and income.

This section has suggested stress and anxiety can affect ability to study and concentrate. Another important role of affect in learning a second language concerns feelings of anxiety about speaking in English, as discussed in the following section.

6.2.3 Social interactions and language learning: Opportunities to practise English?

An important route to understanding the relationship between ESOL learner's experiences of integration and their language learning progress is examining the ways in which English proficiency and involvement in anglophone social interactions interrelate and influence each other. The quantitative analysis found that greater potential opportunities to speak English (that is potential

opportunities for bridging social relations) are associated with higher English proficiency, especially speaking skills. This supports existing evidence that English proficiency is linked with bridging social relations. This section interrogates this relationship and considers how English proficiency facilitates access to more social networks, and simultaneously explores the ways in which access to, and the nature of, anglophone interactions affect opportunities for practising English and thus shape language learning progress. The interviewees placed value on interactions with anglophones as they felt these presented opportunities to practise and improve their English. However, their accounts highlighted how the quality of these interactions are important, in terms of the complexity of the language used, and the reactions and attitude of the interlocuter.

6.2.3.1 Deficit identities, anxiety and opportunities to speak English

The ways in which migrants, refugees and non-proficient speakers are positioned in ideology can affect the attitude and behaviour of members of British society towards ESOL learners. As discussed previously, participants with lower English proficiency experienced more harassment and less friendliness from British people. Some interviewees recounted how they felt unhappy, isolated, stupid or dependent on others when they were unable to communicate in or understand English and sometimes were unable to make friends, or stand up for themselves. These feelings reinforced deficit and 'incompetent' identity positions.

This interactive and reflexive positioning can shape ESOL learners' anglophone interactions. Fears of being positioned negatively, or judged as not taking responsibility to learn English (and therefore not making the effort to integrate), can pose a hindrance in social interactions as it can provoke anxiety about speaking English. Due to the ideological and social context, interactions between native speakers and ESOL learners are often characterised by unequal power relations, and often the ESOL learner bears responsibility for the communicative burden (Lippi-Green, 2012) and for ensuring successful negotiation of meaning. When misunderstandings occurred, the interviewees tended to accept responsibility, describing them as their '*problem*'. Consequently, many worried about not being comprehensible to others, or not understanding what others were saying, and thus feeling embarrassed or nervous. This affected their capacity to converse with English speakers.

Wicky's account highlights the ways in which the attitudes of some expert English speakers can affect ESOL learners' experiences of social interactions. Hearing Wicky's accent through their language ideology filters (Lippi-Green, 2012), they negatively evaluate not just his language but his social identity (Miller, 2004). Wicky perceives that they are '*judging*' him and as a result of this positioning, Wicky loses confidence to speak and becomes '*inaudible*' (Simpson and Cooke, 2009) in these

interactions. These bad experiences of speaking English can reinforce lack of confidence, and deficit or incompetent identities, and can further impede ability to communicate. Consequently, ESOL learners are silenced or become inaudible in these interactions. Anna also feels anxiety about being judged when she communicates in English. She tries to avoid speaking English with people who know how long she has been in the country as she feels they will judge her level of proficiency as inadequate for someone who has been in the country for many years. She appears worried that she would be positioned as a “bad language learner” who is “not integrated” thus suggesting that hegemonic ideologies of integration have some influence in her anxiety over speaking English. Anticipating these scenarios can provoke feelings of anxiety about interacting in English. The analysis showed that due to this anxiety, ESOL learners may avoid situations which might provoke feelings of embarrassment, cause them to be positioned as incompetent or which reinforce deficit “immigrant” identities. Thus, anxiety to speak can be constructed within social interactions (Norton, 2000, 2013; Norton and Toohey, 2011) and this anxiety can reduce ESOL learners’ opportunities to practise their English language skills outside the ESOL classroom.

The interviewees appeared to reproduce the dominant discourses that implied that they, as ESOL learners, were illegitimate speakers of English and thus responsible for the successful negotiation of meaning in interactions. However, in other ways they challenged these discourses by asserting that communication is easier when both parties take responsibility for successful communication, and thus they challenge the inevitability of this power dynamic in interactions with “native speakers”. Their accounts support Norton’s work (2000, 2013) which has spotlighted that, just as power relations in particular contexts place ESOL learners in subjugated positions and thus create anxiety to speak, shifts in this balance of power can facilitate confidence to communicate in English. The next section discusses the ways in which different circumstances can tip the balance of power in interactions and thus shift responsibility for successful communication and facilitate confidence to speak.

6.2.3.2 Confident and independent identities and opportunities to speak English

The qualitative analysis demonstrates that in contexts where ESOL learners hold strong identity positions they are not shouldered with responsibility for the communicative burden, and this can facilitate confidence to speak. Participants’ accounts highlight that in a workplace scenario, employees are often the ones who must strive to understand their employers, rather than vice versa. Ali’s experiences at the gym are particularly illustrative of how identity positions are dependent on context. Ali helps other gym goers by sharing his expertise and feels he is a valued and respected member of the gym community and as such holds a strong identity position. Here he does not feel shyness or anxiety about difficulties in communicating in English. He indexes how, as his interlocutors want his

help, the power relations in this interaction are in his favour and therefore he does not feel the weight of the communicative burden.

Ali's account highlights that when ESOL learners are not positioned as illegitimate English speakers as per dominant ideologies, they are afforded better opportunities to practise their English skills. There were other examples of interactions in which "native speakers" and ESOL learners apparently stepped outside of traditional roles of legitimate versus illegitimate speaker of English and subverted the power relations associated with these. In these scenarios, the expert English speakers took the time to listen to and encourage the participants in their conversations. When sympathetic interlocutors relieved participants of the communicative burden and the associated anxiety, this enabled them to feel more confident to speak. There were also examples of scenarios when the challenge to the subordinate positioning of ESOL learners came from the participants themselves as they embraced the ESOL learner identity as one from which they felt confident to speak. Anna and Fatmira highlighted that the identity position of a learner of English could also be one of strength from which participants felt confident to speak. ESOL classes were depicted as playing a part in facilitating feelings of confidence to speak. Thus, the data highlights how identity positionings are shaped in interactions, meaning that ESOL learners' feelings of anxiety or confidence to speak English can vary according to context and variation in power relations.

Section 6.1.3 demonstrated that participants view feelings of confidence and independence as important for having a good life in Britain and their integration trajectories. The analysis shows that in fact confidence, independence and language learning are intertwined in ESOL learners' trajectories, as exemplified by Hanin's account of her progress. Her confidence increased when she was able to move away from an identity of incompetence (Cummins et al., 2011) and reposition herself as a more competent speaker of English. This was partly facilitated by the interactions with the midwife in the hospital who assumed Hanin was a competent English speaker. Hanin recounted that help from an ESOL teacher had given her the confidence to manage her own discharge from hospital. The successful outcome of this encounter (and the reaction of her husband) bolstered her confidence to try to engage with more anglophone interactions, providing further opportunities to practise her English and thus reinforcing her confidence to speak. This also appeared to trigger a renegotiation of power relations and identity positions within Hanin's relationship with her husband. Hanin expressed satisfaction with her English learning progress, describing how it had enabled her to successfully pass the Life in the UK test, gain a British passport and embark on a career in childcare. She thus moved from an identity position she described as helpless and dependent on her husband to that of a more confident speaker

of English who is independent and has become recognised as a “legitimate” member of British society, on paper at least.

Therefore, improvement in English proficiency can facilitate improved confidence to speak English and engage in more anglophone interactions. Subsequently, being able to tackle interactions in English without help increases feelings of independence and more confident and competent identities. Feelings of confidence and independence can open up more opportunities to speak and practise their English skills and progress in their learning. This demonstrates some of the ways that ESOL learners’ identities can reshape and become more powerful over time.

These findings help understand the directionality of the relationship between the nature of interactions with anglophones and progress in language proficiency, The study reveals that the relationship between ESOL learners’ language learning and the quality and quantity of their social interactions is in fact bidirectional, and is complex and influenced by identity positions, power, anxiety and confidence. This is a pertinent example of the ways in which ESOL learners’ language learning, integration and identity experiences intertwine, as depicted in my conceptual model. It also appears that the relationship between anglophone social interactions and learning English can be a Catch-22 situation (Norton, 2013): engaging in English speaking social networks can facilitate language learning, however low English proficiency can impede access to anglophone interactions. Improving English skills may improve access to social networks with expert English speakers, but this may not always be the case; even ESOL learners with good English skills may not be able to forge these relations. If ESOL learners can only access sporadic and casual social interactions rather than sustained and frequent good quality opportunities to practise English, this is unlikely to be sufficient to enable long-term language progress and maintenance (Vasey et al., 2018).

6.2.4 Family, language learning, and integration

Besides Hanin, other female interviewees signalled the importance of gaining more independence from their partners and associated this with language learning opportunities. The quantitative analysis suggests that being in a partnership may also be pertinent to male ESOL learners’ experiences. Respondents of both genders who had a partner were slightly more likely to be in a higher level ESOL class, but were not more likely to find it easier to communicate in English. Additionally, participants with partners were less likely to be employed and less likely to talk to people from different backgrounds which could possibly mean fewer opportunities to practise English. Considering the findings as a whole, it may be that having a partner can facilitate language learning in some ways,

perhaps in terms of potential opportunities for support and practice (depending on the English skills of their partner), but doing things independently is ultimately important for improving confidence in English skills. Although the quantitative data shows these patterns for all ESOL learners with partners, regardless of gender, the female interviewees' accounts highlighted how being able to gain independent and confident English speaker identities was related to their ability to operate with greater autonomy from their partners whilst the male interviewees' accounts did not reflect this.

Interviewees' accounts highlighted how responsibility for caring for children, and lack of childcare provision, can be a barrier to language learning, impeding class attendance and time available for study, or constituting an added pressure to earn more money from employment (Baynham et al., 2007; Morrice et al., 2019). On the other hand, being a parent gave some interviewees a strong sense of purpose rooted in a desire to prioritise their children's needs and future. This identity as a parent and the wish to maximise good outcomes for their children facilitated investment in their ESOL learning (Norton 2000, 2013). Thus, being a parent can be both a barrier and a facilitator to language learning. This could be one explanation for the ESOL questionnaire findings that participants with children, regardless of gender, had neither better nor worse outcomes in any of the language proficiency outcomes than those without children (of course, people with substantial childcare responsibilities may not be in ESOL classes and thus underrepresented in the questionnaire sample). Additionally, interviewees' accounts showed that these aspects of being a parent (i.e. that it could be both a barrier *and* a motivating factor to language learning) can apply to male and female ESOL learners.

6.2.5 Employment and language learning

The findings suggest a complex relationship between employment and language learning. Interviewees often associated gaining employment (and undertaking voluntary work) with increased interactions with British born people, and as such providing potential opportunities to practise their English skills, echoing previous studies (Charsley et al., 2016; Court, 2015, 2017). At the same time, although some participants had in the past found work when they had very little English proficiency, there was a sense that improving English skills would enable participants to gain better employment, and previous studies have found that better language proficiency is linked to improved employment outcomes (e.g. Cheung and Phillimore, 2014). However, the quantitative analysis found little evidence of a relationship between being employed and level of language proficiency, which could reflect that migrants and refugees who have found work may be less likely to be able to attend ESOL classes. It may also reflect that fact that ESOL learners are more likely to be in low level jobs for which little

English proficiency is required (Charsley et al., 2016; Cooke, 2006; Kim et al., 2012), and which offer limited opportunities to interact in English (Morrice et al., 2019). It was certainly the case that interviewees with jobs recounted that they had did not have enough opportunities to participate in the type of interactions which would extend their existing English skills.

Consideration of the findings of this study alongside previous studies of language proficiency and employment suggests that although some migrants and refugees can find work with little or no command of English, in general a certain level of English proficiency can help access employment. Once in employment, individuals *may* have increased opportunities to practise and improve English. However, the type of work that ESOL learners access often offers infrequent opportunities to speak English, or may involve limited and repetitive interactions which do not support further progress. Thus, once again we can see a Catch-22 scenario in the relationship between aspects of integration and language; in this case English proficiency can be a barrier to finding work in an anglophone environment, which then reduces opportunities for practising English skills (Charsley et al., 2016). Also, as the interviewees' accounts showed, being in employment can be a barrier to learning English as working hours can impact on attendance in ESOL class and time to study, and progress in employment can mean learners have to leave class.

6.2.6 Cultural capital, language learning and integration

The analysis highlights the ways in which the varying types of cultural capital that ESOL learners possess may affect their language learning and integration experiences. The findings reflect previous studies which found that possessing low levels of previous formal education impacts progress in learning English (e.g. Baynham et al., 2007) and can negatively impact learners' sense of self, as they may feel ashamed of their lack of formal literacy skills (Morrice et al., 2019). Interviewees such as Ali and Fatmira, who had experienced interrupted schooling or relatively low levels of education, felt that this impacted on their ability to progress in their ESOL studies. In particular, this was seen as a barrier to developing more formal or academic skills such as giving presentations or literacy. This finding is strengthened by the quantitative analysis which found that respondents with a degree are more likely to have higher literacy skills (although no other advantage in any other aspects of language proficiency). Thus, the types of educational capital which many ESOL learners bring with them into the UK often cannot be converted into linguistic capital in an education system in which text based academic literacies dominate. Moreover, educational capital that holds value in ESOL learners' country of origin may not retain its value in the British system. Mustafa's educational capital did not enable him to recommence his university career on arriving in Britain; it did not even enable him to

access higher level English classes. Instead, he was directed to classes constituted of (what he considered to be) lower-level learners.

As well as previous education in their countries of origin, the type of English which ESOL learners have access to before starting class can affect their progress. Ali and Fatmira found that the linguistic capital which held value in their everyday lives - their informal '*street*' English- was not bestowed symbolic value (Darvin and Norton, 2017) within the ESOL classroom; it was not helpful for the powerful literacies (Simpson and Gresswell, 2012), such as grammar, writing and spelling, which they also needed to learn in the formal domain of the ESOL classroom. Ali and Fatmira's accounts highlight the impact on ESOL learners of the ideological forces which mean that language and literacy capabilities which are highly effective in one domain may be inadequate and devalued in others (Blommaert et al., 2005; Collins and Slembrouk, 2005). Non-recognition of existing literacies can shape classroom identity positions (Simpson and Gresswell, 2012), for example, Fatmira describes herself as a confident English speaker yet in ESOL class positions herself as a '*slow learner*'. Fatmira's and Mustafa's experiences highlight that when ESOL learners' cultural capital holds no value in the ESOL classroom, this can impact on investment in learning (Darvin and Norton, 2017).

As discussed in section 2.4.1, these powerful literacies are supported by socially powerful institutions (Barton and Hamilton 2001), and thus their acquisition is often the key to progression in mainstream ESOL, and they are generally required for progressing in education and employment (Cooke and Simpson, 2008). The differing values of the types of linguistic capital are evident in analysis of the ESOL questionnaire data, which showed that the more powerful English skills (formal speaking and literacy) are more likely to be associated with better integration outcomes, suggesting that may have more of a role in improving ESOL learners' lives than everyday '*street*' English. Dominant language and literacy ideologies within ESOL and wider British society determine the extent to which ESOL learners' existing cultural capital has symbolic power i.e. whether they are able to convert it to forms of capital which hold value in their new environment (Darvin and Norton, 2015).

Even when ESOL learners are highly educated and therefore ostensibly possess "higher status" cultural capital they face barriers to converting this to symbolic capital in their lives in Britain. Questionnaire participants with higher levels of education were no more likely to have better integration outcomes than those with low levels of education. Interviewees who had a reasonable level of previous formal education, such as Emma, Hanin and Flowers, depicted their level of English as a barrier to converting their previous education and qualifications into equivalent employment or being able to advance their

careers. However, language proficiency it is not the only barrier to achieving career aspirations, as illustrated in section 6.3.5 below.

6.2.7 Concluding remarks

The dominant ideologies of language, immigration and integration can determine the ways in which ESOL learners position themselves and are positioned by other members of society. These ideologies may explain the findings that ESOL learners with lower levels of English may tend to have more negative experiences with British born people. These ideologies can permeate the ESOL classroom, shaping learners' ability to learn and the ways in which they can engage with and invest in their learning.

Ideologies also shape ESOL learners' social interactions including their access to anglophone interactions, and their ability to communicate within them, thus impacting on opportunities to practise and consolidate their language learning. Unequal power relations in interactions can mean ESOL learners bear responsibility for communication difficulties which can reinforce deficit identity positions, causing anxiety and impeding ability to speak. However, anxiety and confidence can be socially constructed in different contexts (Norton, 2013), and if power is less unequal and the communicative burden is shared, this can facilitate confidence to speak.

These findings highlight that English proficiency may facilitate feelings of confidence and independence, however this relationship is bi-directional. English proficiency can facilitate confidence to speak and interact with many aspects of anglophone life independently, on the other hand good experiences of these interactions can facilitate confidence to engage further and thus increase access to more opportunities to speak English and to practise and improve language skills.

Insecure immigration status is a barrier to language learning especially due to the negative impact on well-being and feelings of stability, and poor outcomes in these impede ability to concentrate and progress in ESOL learning. Language proficiency may improve ability to deal with the bureaucracy of health and housing services. English skills may well help ESOL learners access employment; however they often end up in jobs which do not necessarily require high levels of English skills. Being in work may offer opportunities to practise English, but the type of work ESOL learners often carry out may offer limited access to kind of interactions which would help them progress in their language skills.

Thus, the relationship between learning English and integration is complex with bidirectional aspects, as language proficiency can facilitate many aspects of life in Britain, and at the same time more positive experiences in aspects of integration are conducive to language learning. In some respects the relationship between language learning and integration could be characterised as a Catch-22 in which low levels of English restrict access to the various aspects of integration, but at the same time, poor outcomes in these aspects creates conditions which are not conducive for language learning.

On the other hand, despite participants' views which adhere to the 'master narratives that promulgate the status and importance of English' (Warriner, 2007 p355) in facilitating their integration, the analysis suggests that a good command of English does not necessarily afford ESOL learners' equity of participation and life chances, nor automatically enable them to pursue their aims or achieve their goals. As the next section illustrates, there are many other factors besides English proficiency that are important for carving a decent life in Britain and fulfilling dreams and ambitions.

6.3 RQ 3. Aside from English language skills, what other factors affect integration outcomes for ESOL learners?

This research question explores key issues which impact on ESOL learners' integration trajectories, aside from their level of language proficiency. The quantitative analyses found that many associations between aspects of integration remained after controlling for language, and interviewees' accounts show that the issues they faced were not all due to language proficiency.

6.3.1 *Immigration status*

The qualitative data highlighted how, for those seeking asylum, English skills are important for many aspects of their lives, however there are often more pressing issues at the forefront of their minds which can impede their integration outcomes. The immigration status of migrants determines access to rights, networks and resources which in turn affect outcomes in many aspects of integration (e.g. Bakker et al 2016). As Ali articulately expressed, his level of language proficiency was not the obstacle standing in his way of a better life in Britain. It was his lack of rights and entitlements, his '*status*', which prevented him from being able to earn a living, engage with and participate in society, and further improving his English skills would not make any difference to this.

The accounts of the asylum-seeking interviewees particularly highlighted the impact of insecure immigration status, supporting existing research. Their housing circumstances are a particular issue as having to live in temporary accommodation with no control over who they live with, where they live,

or how long they can stay there, impacts on mental-health, feelings of stability and ability to forge social connections (e.g. Cheung and Phillimore, 2017; Phillimore, 2011). Participants' accounts show how migrants seeking asylum are often side-lined from mainstream society, and feelings of shame, and wanting to hide their circumstances can be a barrier to forming and maintaining friendships and social networks, thus a hindering a sense of belonging (Strang and Ager, 2010) and exacerbating marginalised identity positions.

They recounted how their lives are put on hold while waiting to access employment, stable housing and support for their children and they are unable to make decisions or plan for the future. Ali's account makes visible the ways in which this liminal status permeates asylum seekers' sense of self. His description of his position as a '*second person*' signals the ontological liminality (O'Reilly, 2018) he experiences as he lives his "in between" existence. Participants' accounts illustrated this prolonged waiting in asylum seeking limbo can impede individuals' ability to imagine and hope for a positive future for themselves (Back and Sinha, 2018), and thus can impact on their ability to feel invested in British society.

These findings elucidate existing evidence that, once refugee status is achieved, the legacy of previous disadvantaged positions as asylum seekers can have lasting impacts on refugees' integration trajectories (Sim, 2009; Strang and Ager, 2010) particularly those who waited longer (Phillimore, 2011). Combining these insights may explain why analysis of the questionnaire found refugee participants are more likely to be unemployed regardless of level of education, demographic or family characteristics, which supports previous findings that refugees face disadvantage in the labour market (e.g. Sim, 2009, Phillimore, 2011). However, as the data does not distinguish between refugees who are seeking asylum and those who have obtained refugee status, this finding may reflect the fact that some of these are still seeking asylum and therefore not permitted to work. Thus, insecure immigration status, particularly for ESOL learners seeking asylum, can negatively impact well-being, feelings of security, social relations, a sense of belonging and access to housing, employment and services.

6.3.2 *Harassment, discrimination and attitudes of others*

Section 6.2.1 discussed the ways in which ESOL learners' experiences of harassment, discrimination, and the attitudes of other members of British society, can impact on their language learning. These factors also appeared to affect integration outcomes.

Several interviewees told stories of how they have been on the receiving end of racist, Islamophobic or anti-migrant harassment, and for some, this impacted on feelings of safety. The quantitative analysis suggested that feeling less safe in the local area was associated with experiences of harassment and finding British people to be less helpful. This confirms findings of other studies that the attitudes and behaviour of other members of British society can impact on migrants' and refugees' feelings of safety (Ager and Strang, 2008, Ndofor-Tah et al., 2019) and thus can potentially have a profound impact on ESOL learners' integration experiences, as feeling safe is of paramount importance to the participants (as discussed in section 6.1).

Analysis of the questionnaire data showed that less positive experiences of British people were also associated with decreased likelihood of feeling a sense of belonging to Britain, and, to a lesser extent, with decreased access to bridging social relations. This supports other findings that hostile behaviour and attitudes from other members of society impede migrants' belonging (e.g. ETHNOS, 2006; Jayaweera and Choudhury, 2008; Karlsen and Nozroo, 2013). These behaviours by long-term residents of a country towards migrants can thus delineate who does and does not belong (Flam and Beauzamy, 2011), positioning ESOL learners as "other" and as outsiders, and impeding their ability to feel a sense of belonging to Britain.

During the fieldwork I found that most interviewees tended not to dwell on negative experiences of British people, and even those who recounted experiences of harassment, most (but not all) of them shrugged them off and downplayed them. Their inclinations to fully divulge experiences of discrimination or negative opinions about British born people may have been inhibited by our respective subject positions as white British-born ESOL teacher and ESOL learner (see section 3.9). Therefore, it is difficult to draw conclusions on the real impact that these events had on the interviewees' integration experiences. Bryers et al. (2013) commented that at first their ESOL learner participants tended not to share experiences of harassment or discrimination and used platitudes to describe issues of integration²⁴. It is also important to consider that denying being on the receiving end of racism or other forms of prejudice can be a coping mechanism (Caughy et al., 2004) and can be a way of resisting being constructed as a victim or assigned a marginalised identity position (Phoenix, 2011). Thus, some participants may have avoided dwelling on negative experiences with locally born residents, or may have downplayed the effect it had on them to resist being positioned as an "outsider" or not belonging.

²⁴ However, they found that after their participatory study progressed, their participants became more vocal about the discrimination they experienced or witnessed.

However, comparing the interviewees' stories with the quantitative analysis gives an additional perspective on discrimination. Darity (2003) describes how statistical data revealed racial discrimination that had not been reported in interview data. As we have seen, analysis of the questionnaire found that negative attitudes of British born people were associated with feeling less safe and less a part of British society. Additionally, it was found that various groups of the ESOL learner participants were more likely to experience disadvantage, a finding which could not be deduced from the qualitative data alone. Muslim participants were less likely to be employed, and non-White participants were generally more likely to have worse outcomes in employment and housing, suggesting they experience disadvantages in these areas. This supports other findings that structural discrimination is detrimental to the integration experiences of Muslims and people from BAME groups (e.g. Jayaweera and Choudhury, 2008). These findings add further insights on structural barriers faced by ESOL learners which were not brought to light by the qualitative data and facilitate a wider overview on the effect that experiences of harassment and negative attitudes of other members of British society can have on ESOL learners' integration experiences. This shows the benefits of combining the qualitative data with analysis of the anonymous, larger scale questionnaire data for highlighting structural effects of discrimination, as well as understanding subjective experiences.

6.3.3 Access and belonging to social networks and groups

Another important factor which can affect ESOL learners' integration experiences is the extent to which they can access and belong to various social networks and groups. For the interviewees, these social networks took many forms.

Interviewees stated that ESOL classes can provide opportunities to meet people experiencing similar circumstances and expand social networks. They also recounted the importance of social relations with people from similar cultural and linguistic backgrounds as sources of support, security, social life, belonging and sharing and maintaining religious and cultural traditions, supporting other findings (e.g. Jayaweera and Choudhury, 2008). However, not all participants felt this way; Hanin apparently felt that socialising with other Arabic speakers would jeopardise her trajectory in Britain. However, the quantitative data found that on the whole, more bonding social relations were not associated with fewer opportunities for bridging social relations. This may perhaps lessen concerns that strong ties between people from migration backgrounds necessarily impede social relations with longer settled residents (e.g. Cattle, 2001; Casey, 2016).

ESOL learners do not engage passively in social networks merely as recipients of support; interviewees recounted how they are actively involved in their neighbourhoods, and within various other social and support networks. They helped and supported other people in various ways, often on an informal basis, although many had engaged in voluntary work or other community activities. Amongst the questionnaire respondents, 18.7 % did voluntary or unpaid work, and 21.6% attended a community group or community centre. The qualitative findings show that engaging in these types of activities facilitates ESOL learners to learn new skills, expand networks of belonging, and share their diverse skills and expertise, enabling them to forge more independent and powerful identity positions, and resist deficit stereotypes of passive migrants who are reliant on external support (Court, 2016). This can be particularly important for asylum seeking refugees who are unable to work; as exemplified by Ali's experiences at the gym. The analysis supports previous findings that migrants and refugees often participate in voluntary work, which facilitates their integration experiences and enables them to contribute to society (e.g. Collins, 2009; Court, 2016; Handy and Greenspan, 2008; Rutter et al., 2007).

Another important network of belonging for the interviewees was transnational ties with people and places. Connections with countries of origin had a continued influence on participants' lives and were important for cultural and family belonging. However, Ali highlights that worries about places and people left behind can impact on well-being and Pital implied that a sense of separation can impact on feeling settled. Thus, transnational connections can have positive effects but also can cause difficulties in being able to live in the present and move on to the future (Collyer et al., 2018, Phillimore, 2011). Belonging, therefore, must be examined through a global lens as it is not limited to local and national boundaries but is experienced across borders (Hamaz and Vasta, 2009).

Social mixing with members of the 'majority' or 'host' community is commonly purported to be an important aspect of integration by policymakers (e.g. HM Government, 2018), and researchers (e.g. Ndofor-Tah et al., 2019). Interestingly, the quantitative analysis did not reveal associations between increased interaction with people from different backgrounds and feelings of security or feelings of belonging. Although some interviewees felt it was important to have social contact with British born people in order to improve their English skills (as discussed in section 6.2.3), on the whole, interviewees described how social contact with people from both similar *and* different cultural and linguistic backgrounds supported feelings of belonging and security. These social interactions and networks were to be found in a range of places including English classes, gyms, church groups, voluntary or community organisations, local neighbourhoods or workplaces, all of which variously included British born people, long settled or more newly arrived migrants.

According to the quantitative data, the types of social interactions which had the most potential for better integration outcomes were those with people in the local area, irrespective of cultural similarities or differences. Interactions with local people were positively associated with feelings of safety, belonging and increased bridging relations. This finding chimes with interviewees' accounts of the ways in which having good neighbours helped them feel safe and were important sources of support, especially as participants were often separated from other family members by their migration to the UK. Previous studies show that interactions with people in the local area can facilitate integration outcomes; experiencing even small acts of friendliness and fleeting convivial encounters can have positive impact on feelings of security, well-being and feeling at home (Ager and Strang, 2008; Dines et al., 2006) and feeling supported locally facilitates a sense of belonging (Karlsen and Nozroo, 2013).

Making social connections and being a part of the social network can facilitate feelings of belonging, well-being, security and a sense of self, and in Mustafa's words help migrants and refugees to '*feel they are someone*'. Various types of social groups and relationships can fulfil this role, including inter- and intra- ethnic networks, transnational ties and interactions with people in the local community. The analysis elucidates that ESOL learners have differing abilities to access various social and support networks. Although English proficiency has a role in this, there are other factors at play. Section 6.3.1 outlines the particular barriers faced by asylum seeking ESOL learners to being able to forge social networks and connections and that this impacted on their feelings of well-being and sense of belonging. Additionally, having a partner or being a parent can impact on the ability to expand participants' social lives, as will be discussed below.

6.3.4 *Family status and integration*

This study found that childcare responsibilities could pose challenges, but also present opportunities for integration. Questionnaire participants with children were less likely to be employed, regardless of gender. In the interview data, whilst both male and female participants described how responsibility for children affected their availability for work and the type of jobs they could do, for the men this appeared to be more salient when their wives were either absent or unwell, whereas the women appeared to take responsibility for this regardless of their husband's availability. The qualitative data also highlights how family responsibilities, including the need to provide financially for one's family, can shape priorities and plans for the future, including employment and education aspirations.

My findings build on previous findings that in some circumstances childcare can present a barrier to a social life (e.g. Wonder Foundation, 2016), but in others can provide opportunities for forging wider social networks (Cherti and McNeil, 2012). Questionnaire participants with children reported fewer social interactions with people from different backgrounds. The implications of childcare responsibilities for bridging social relations were not explicitly explored with the interviewees, although their accounts suggested that the need to prioritise their children's education and welfare could potentially impact on time available for socialising. Also, the analyses suggest a link between being employed and talking to people from different backgrounds (see section 6.3.6 below), and as we have seen, being a parent could be an impediment to working. On the other hand, the qualitative data clearly drew attention to the ways in which being a parent facilitated socialising with other parents. In addition, interviewees conveyed that being a parent was a strong motivating factor to succeed, both in learning English, as discussed above, and in terms of forging a future for themselves and their children in Britain.

Regarding the influence of having a partner on integration experiences, questionnaire participants who lived with their partner were less likely to talk to people from different backgrounds or be employed. There appears to be little previous research which can help understand the effect that having a partner may have on integration. However, as discussed in section 6.2.4, a partner can provide a source of valuable support for ESOL learners, but this may reduce the need to act independently. This could mean that individuals with partners may have less opportunities for increasing confidence to engage in a variety of situations, which perhaps impacts on social life and the likelihood of seeking opportunities for employment. Additionally, a person with an employed partner may have less need to work.

6.3.5 *Cultural capital*

The findings highlight how the forms of cultural capital which ESOL learners possess on arrival in Britain do not necessarily improve their integration outcomes. Having higher levels of education did not appear to improve questionnaire participants' outcomes in any of the focal integration variables. Similarly, some interviewees were highly educated or had worked in skilled careers before coming to Britain but had not found work commensurate with their qualifications or skill level. Several interviewees were undergoing the process of compromising on previous ambitions and aspirations, and formulating new plans, which seemed to be a common strategy to facilitate adjusting to life in Britain (although Edmund and Mustafa had not completely given up on their original aspirations).

These findings are supported by previous studies (e.g. Zwysen and Demireva, 2018) which have found that migrants in general tend to be in jobs which do not match their level of skills or qualifications. Qualifications from countries of origin are often not recognised or convertible to the UK job market, resulting in the inability of some ESOL learners to maintain the social status and identity they held in their previous countries of residence. This exemplifies the ways in which ESOL learners are often unable to convert their existing cultural capital into symbolic capital as they try to forge new lives for themselves in Britain. On the other hand, the questionnaire findings suggest that acquiring new forms of cultural capital which *are* legitimated by mainstream society may facilitate integration, as gaining an understanding of British culture was positively associated with feeling a part of Britain, interacting with people from different backgrounds, and housing conditions.

6.3.6 Structural factors: employment, housing and income

As previously demonstrated in this chapter, participants felt that having a job was a particularly important facilitator for having a good life in Britain. Interviewees characterised gaining employment as a means to feel more part of society; meet people from different backgrounds; be independent and 'pay one's way'; belong to a group; and gain stronger identity positions and sense of self. Amongst the ESOL questionnaire participants, women are less likely to be employed, supporting previous research (Cheung and Phillimore, 2017), and female interviewees with partners articulated a need for independence, viewing employment as a way to achieve this.

However, in contrast, questionnaire participants who were employed did not tend to report feeling safer, better well-being, a better understanding of British culture or feeling more part of British society; in fact they were less likely to feel the latter. Additionally, although employed participants tended to talk more frequently to people from different backgrounds, they were not more likely to experience positive attitudes from British people. On the other hand, the questionnaire analysis found some evidence that being employed is associated with better health, and better income.

The mixed picture created by these findings could be elucidated by considering the actual employment status of the interviewees who discussed the benefits of having a job. Those participants that attributed the most benefits to having a job were describing what they perceived gaining future employment would bring. On the other hand, those who were in employment tended to be more circumspect about the benefits of having a job. Thus, reflecting on these differing perspectives and the findings as a whole, it appears that ESOL learners may tend to overestimate the benefits that finding a job can bring for their integration experiences. ESOL learners often have to work in low level

jobs with limited potential to facilitate improvements in some aspects of integration (Kim et al., 2012; Morrice et al., 2019; Warriner, 2007).

The interviewees' accounts highlighted the detrimental effects of living in insecure and inadequate housing, particularly to feelings of safety and stability. This was echoed in the questionnaire findings that suggest that housing conditions and level of local deprivation can impact on feeling safe, and that better housing conditions are associated with better physical and mental health, thus supporting previous accounts (e.g. Ager and Strang, 2008). The qualitative findings also extend previous evidence that deficient housing circumstances can impede forming social relations and networks (Gidley and Jayaweera, 2010). For instance, living in bad conditions invoked feelings of shame and a reluctance to invite guests over, thus reducing opportunity for consolidating social relationships, including with the local born population. These descriptions of how housing conditions can affect feelings of safety and social relationships may help to explain the questionnaire findings that housing outcomes are positively associated with feeling a part of British society. Further evidence that deprivation and living conditions may affect feelings of belonging can be seen in the association between perceptions of current income and feeling part of British society. In addition, it was found that income variables were correlated with housing conditions. Thus, perceptions of housing circumstances and income may impact on feelings of well-being and belonging, suggesting that it is important to acknowledge and tackle structural inequalities in order to facilitate better integration experiences for migrants and refugees.

6.3.7 Concluding remarks

There are myriad factors other than English proficiency which affect ESOL learners' integration trajectories. Insecure immigration status, in particular seeking asylum, negatively impacts all the realms of integration creating marginalised and liminal identities which impacts on integration outcomes, even after leave to remain as granted. Experiences of harassment, and attitudes and behaviours of other members of British society impact on feelings of safety and belonging. ESOL learners who are Muslim or from minority ethnic backgrounds more likely to face structural barriers to integration.

A wide variety of social contacts and networks with people of similar and different backgrounds is important, including networks where ESOL learners can receive and give support. Social relations with people in the local neighbourhood are particularly important. Family status and caring responsibilities potentially facilitate some aspects of integration, but at other times can pose challenges. Deprivation

and poor housing conditions can negatively impact on affective factors and feelings of belonging. Employment can facilitate some aspects of integration, however it appears that the many benefits that ESOL learners anticipate will come with getting a job may not materialise.

When considering all these aspects which shape integration experiences, the particularly important role of affective factors such as stability, safety and well-being is evident. These are shaped by the attitudes and behaviour of other members of society, the security of living conditions, and participation in and belonging to social groups. Feelings of confidence and independence also play a role in determining integration outcomes, and this seems to be particularly pertinent for female ESOL learners.

These findings challenge the narrative implicit in dominant discourses that it is migrants' purported lack of English that is the only substantial barrier to participation in education, employment, social and civil life, and therefore the acquisition of and speaking English is the pathway to integration. Thus, despite ESOL learners' efforts to learn English, find a job and enact other aspects of being a "good immigrant", there are many barriers which stand in their way.

6.4 RQ 4. How does attention to identity and positioning help to better understand ESOL learners' experiences of language learning and integration?

In this study, I have used the conceptual lenses of identity and positioning to draw my interpretations of the findings. This has facilitated understanding of the ways in which dominant ideologies shape how ESOL learners are positioned and position themselves in interactions, and the impact this has on their experiences. The conceptual lens has also enabled me to elucidate the ways in which these positionings interact with societal contexts and other external forces to shape the ways in which ESOL learners construct, negotiate and reconstruct their identities, and how these identities shape their language learning and integration trajectories.

6.4.1 *Identity and positioning in society and interactions*

Although identities are fluid and the result of continual negotiation, aspects of identity which are constantly reinforced can take on a sense of permanency which feeds into interactions and discourses (Simpson, 2013). ESOL learners are a heterogeneous demographic with differing ascribed identities. By exploring experiences and outcomes related to participants' ascribed identities this study highlights some of the ways in which these identities, and the ways they intersect, can affect ESOL learners' interactions and experiences. We saw how ESOL learners may face harassment or discrimination as a

result of being positioned as 'other' due to their various identities as religious or ethnic minorities, "immigrants" or "non-native" speakers of English. Thus, ESOL learners' experiences of disadvantage and discrimination can vary according to differing ascribed characteristics.

Paying attention to the ways in which non-proficient English speakers are positioned as not integrated, problematic or low skilled, helps to understand the findings that ESOL learners with lower language ability are more likely to experience negative interactions with British born people and less likely to feel a sense of belonging. Awareness of the ways in which identity positions are shaped in interactions with others can help explain how negative experiences of other members of British society have potential to affect participants feelings' of belonging to Britain as well as their feelings of safety.

This study shows that asylum seeking ESOL learners experience particular challenges to learning English and integration. Interpreting their experiences through an identity lens highlights that they often occupy marginalised and stigmatised identity positions, which can be compounded by poor living conditions and restricted access to rights and entitlements. By examining the ways in which asylum-seeking participants sought to avoid reinforcing these dependent and stigmatised aspects of their identities by restricting and censoring their social relations with others, this study elucidates some of the ways in which asylum-seeking ESOL learners can have reduced access to social interactions with others in society, or feel excluded within their ESOL class. Additionally, the findings suggest the state of ontological liminality (O'Reilly, 2018) experienced by many asylum-seeking ESOL learners is one of the mechanisms through which instability, poor housing and lack of rights negatively impact well-being and other affective aspects of integration, as well as feelings of belonging to British society. Attention to the ways that asylum seekers are positioned and how they may try to resist this positioning highlights that the barriers they face in their integration experiences impact on their language learning.

Using identity as a conceptual lens elucidates some of the challenges ESOL learners face in accessing opportunities to practise their English skills outside the classroom. The deficit identity positions they occupy can impede their ability to speak in these interactions and thus limit how useful these are for extending and consolidating their skills. Furthermore, this helps us to understand why some may not take advantage of opportunities to practise their English. Anxiety over being positioned in negative ways and desire to resist these negative identity positions can result in ESOL learners avoiding some anglophone interactions.

This study also emphasises that ESOL learners have multiple identities which can be salient at different times, and these can be powerful or subjugated in different contexts. In situations where the traditional power imbalances are subdued or where they hold strong identity positions, they can feel more confident to speak. Additionally, the identity of ESOL learner is not necessarily a deficit position and can be one from which learners feel confident to speak.

Considering the role of identity and positioning helps to understand that opportunities to speak English are associated with level of proficiency, but this is a two-way relationship. A certain level of English proficiency can facilitate access to anglophone social networks for some, but identity positions can shape this access. Simultaneously, opportunities to speak English can facilitate practice and progress in ESOL learning, however, identity positions can determine the success of these interactions. In other words, the ways in which ESOL learners are positioned and position themselves shape opportunities to practise English. This helps us to understand the different mechanisms at play when ESOL learners are interacting in English which can affect their ability to communicate. Thus, we can better understand the factors which enable learners to feel confident to practise their English skills and why in some contexts learners may feel unable to speak in English and can become silenced or inaudible. Identity helps us to understand the complex relationship between social relations and opportunities to practise and progress in English language learning.

The analysis showed the role identity plays in growth of confidence in English over time and how this is intertwined with independence. Progress in language learning can facilitate the shedding of dependent identities and negotiating more independent, stronger and competent identities but in turn, gaining stronger and more competent identities and status in society can bolster confidence to speak. The processes of achieving stronger identities and gaining confidence and those of becoming independent and being able to help others are intertwined and mutually reinforcing. Achieving a more independent identity is important for a sense of self, and this appears to be especially the case for women ESOL learners. Identity helps elucidate the ways in which language learning, confidence and feelings of independence are intertwined.

These findings have implications for the relationship between language learning and integration outcomes; if ESOL learners occupy a higher status position, for example in employment, leisure or community activities, this can enable them to resist their subordinate position within society which in turn places them at a stronger position from which to speak English and thus create better opportunities to practise and improve. Using identity as a conceptual lens brings new understandings

to ESOL learners' experiences of and interactions with other members of British society, in particular with long settled residents and native speakers of English, and ways in which these shape their language learning and integration trajectories.

6.4.2 *Identity, investment and maintaining momentum in language learning and integration*

Examining the role of identity in ESOL learners' trajectories helps us understand that language learning and integration are interrelated dynamic processes which are not fixed or linear. ESOL learners face many barriers to progressing in language learning and integration and in maintaining the gains they have made. Throughout ESOL learners' trajectories these processes can fluctuate, stagnate, or reverse. This was reflected in the quantitative findings that greater length of time in UK was not consistently associated with better outcomes in language ability or integration, and that some questionnaire participants felt less confident in their language proficiency, or experienced negative change in integration outcomes at follow-up. Additionally, identity is itself a dynamic process which interrelates with those of language learning and integration. Characterising identity in this way sheds light on the difficulties ESOL learners face in maintaining momentum in their language learning and integration trajectories and the reasons these can stall or reverse.

Interviewees' accounts showed that ESOL classes can improve learners' confidence and help them learn valuable skills. However, participants faced barriers to their learning within the classroom. By considering the ways in which identities are negated, compromised or affirmed within the ESOL classroom, this study helps to better understand the differing ways that ESOL learners may engage in their learning (Norton 2000, 2013; Darvin and Norton 2015, 2016). This study highlights that if learners do not have the types of cultural capital which hold symbolic value in the ESOL classroom, this can reinforce deficit identity positions (Darvin and Norton, 2017). Lack of formal education or possessing only everyday '*street*' English are not conducive to the more powerful literacies which play a significant role in ESOL, and this can impact on the formation of strong learner identities. Previously accumulated educational capital which contributes to strong identity positions in ESOL learners' previous contexts may not be valid currency in the UK education system where they may be positioned as 'low level' learners. This can impact on learners' investment in their classes and their motivation to continue to study. Additionally, Mustafa's and Fatmira's accounts highlight that ESOL learners may have confident identities in their everyday lives, but these may be threatened by feeling positioned in negative ways in their ESOL class. Thus, if ESOL learners' capital is not afforded symbolic value in their ESOL class, and the ways in which they are positioned in their ESOL classes conflict with their imagined or desired identity, they may be unable to invest in their learning (Darvin and Norton, 2015).

Mustafa's accounts highlight that ESOL learners can have conflicting goals and identities. His desire to resist what he felt was an undesirable identity position as a 'low level' ESOL learner who 'had just come in the country', was in direct conflict with his desired identity as a member of his imagined community of university students, and this apparently impeded his investment in his class and shaped his erratic engagement with ESOL classes. On top of this, his imagined identity as a university student appeared to conflict with his identity as a working man and provider for his family. Therefore, conflicting aspects of identities and goals can impact on an individual's ability to invest in ESOL learning as well as other aspects of their integration experiences, thus making it difficult to achieve their potential.

ESOL teachers can also (unconsciously) position ESOL learners in ways that stifle their desires to aspire for higher level jobs or higher education. We saw how this reinforced Ranu's '*illiterate*' identity and smothered his hope of achieving his imagined future identity as a university student, which demotivated him and almost led him to leave his ESOL class. However, sometime later, the video depicting the successful ESOL learner offered him an alternative identity position. It enabled him to imagine a future self as a proficient speaker of English and rekindled his hope for his desired future.

By examining the role of hope and its interaction with identity, the findings of this study enrich Darwin and Norton's concept of investment by bringing greater emphasis on affective factors; hope can enable ESOL learners to *feel* that a positive future identity is possible, and thus invest in their language learning. Thus, ESOL learners should be encouraged to imagine a future other than that of working in low skilled jobs and remaining in the position of an uneducated person.

For asylum-seeking ESOL learners who must wait a long time in limbo for an asylum decision, this waiting is partially sustained by hope (Sutton et al., 2011) of achieving a desired future and an identity as a bona fide citizen. However, Ada feels that her position impedes her ability to hope for the future, and Ali's story reveals how hope can be eroded over time, and along with it the will to continue studying and investing in his language learning and future in the UK.

This study highlights the other challenges that ESOL learners, regardless of immigration status, can face in maintaining progress and motivation over a protracted timescale. Hanin, after gaining confidence and making headway in her trajectory, faced new challenges to the competent identity she had accomplished. Being unable to find the job she wanted, feeling her degree is valueless, and joining a class in mainstream education which emphasised her position as a non-expert English

speaker, all apparently combined to threaten her achieved competent identity as a confident English speaker and successful immigrant. Reflecting on the barriers she faces to achieving her aspirations, Hanin told me, *'here is a long way, I think it's a very, very, very long way'*. Examination of the ways in which Hanin's fluid and multiple identities interact with her experiences highlights the difficulties ESOL learners face in maintaining competent, confident identities in the long and often arduous processes of learning English and integration. This can negatively impact on motivation to persevere with one's aspirations for life in the UK. These findings can help to elucidate those of the quantitative analysis that confidence in language ability, and some integration outcomes, deteriorated over time.

The ESOL learner participants faced barriers to obtaining their desired capital and identity positions outside the ESOL class. Their experiences highlight the ways in which ESOL learners' ability to obtain valued capital is restricted by patterns of control (Darvin and Norton, 2016) such as university entrance requirements, nonrecognition of qualifications, immigration rules, and ESOL policy. It has been noted that the structures of ESOL provision can be a barrier to ESOL learners progressing onto higher-level qualifications or university (Cooke, 2006; Foreman, 2017), and that ESOL learners often face challenges in proceeding beyond low-level jobs which offer little opportunity for social or economic mobility (Morrice et al., 2019; Warriner, 2007). All these factors can impede learners' motivation to persevere and remain invested in their integration trajectory. On a more positive note, the findings show that being a parent can be a powerful identity position which stimulates investment in language learning and in persevering in advancing their trajectory in Britain. Parents' motivations are shaped by a strong desire to support their children's education and give them a good future in Britain. Being a parent was variously found to be a barrier or facilitator to both language learning and integration outcomes.

Compromising on one's ambitions is apparently a strategy that some ESOL learners are compelled to employ as part of their integration. The barriers they face to realising their education or employment aspirations mean that many may have to accept roles below their level of expertise and aspirations. Therefore, integration may involve a process of compromising on hoped-for/desired futures and imagined identities.

By examining the role of identity, and how its intersection with ideology and capital shapes investment (Darvin and Norton, 2015), this study has enabled a better understanding of why some ESOL learners may appear to be unmotivated or disengaged with their learning, or have low attendance or drop out of their courses. In addition, this conceptual lens illuminates the ways in which ESOL learners'

integration trajectories can slow down or come to a standstill due to the challenges they face as they try to make headway and remain invested in their life in Britain.

6.4.3 Concluding remarks

Paying attention to identity and positioning helps to better understand how language and integration ideologies shape the ways in which ESOL learners are positioned, and the impact this can have on their language learning and integration trajectories. The study highlights the various ways in which ESOL learners may react in response to the ways they are positioned, and the strategies they employ in order to resist being positioned in ways undesirable to them. The findings also demonstrate that the (often deficit) identity positions which are assigned to ESOL learners can conflict with their desired identities, imagined communities and hoped-for futures, and impact negatively on investment in learning and aspects of integration.

6.5 Chapter conclusion

This study has found that ESOL learners view many factors as important for integration and a good life in Britain. English proficiency is no doubt one of the most important, however affective factors, having a good job and being able to access further education and training are also top priorities. The findings are consistent with my conceptualisation of integration as multidimensional, encompassing many aspects which inter-relate and can be differently salient depending on time, context and individual experience.

I have also shown that language learning and integration are dynamic interrelated processes which intertwine with processes of identity negotiation. Hence, for ESOL learners in Britain, the relationship between learning English and integration is complex. Improving English proficiency can support many aspects of integration, however at the same time, better outcomes and experiences in many aspects of British life facilitate the ability to learn English. This relationship can be a Catch-22 in which lack of English can restrict ability to improve one's life in Britain, but at the same time, poor circumstances and negative experiences in everyday life can impede acquisition of English.

There are many other factors, besides English proficiency, which need to be attended to in order for ESOL learners to have a good life and positive future in Britain. These include the ways in which ESOL learners are positioned in societal discourses, the attitudes and behaviour of other members of British society, ability to feel safe and secure, access to a variety of social networks, local neighbourhood, and being supported to achieve career and educational goals and aspirations. As Warriner (2007)

highlights, there appears to be a contradiction between the dominant ideologies of language and integration, and the reality in which, despite their best efforts to study English, obtain employment and contribute to society, many ESOL learners are unable to access decent education, economic opportunities, or meaningful participation in mainstream communities and social networks.

Finally, the ways in which ESOL learners are positioned in society and in interactions, and the ways in which they claim, negotiate and resist various identities, affects their experiences of learning English and integration, as well as their investment and ability to progress in their language learning and integration trajectories.

7 Conclusion

7.1 Main findings and contributions

7.1.1 *Overview of main contributions*

A central impetus for this study was to address the lack of research (with a few exceptions) which explores ESOL learners' views and experiences of learning English and living in Britain. In so doing, I employed a novel combination of conceptual and methodological approaches to provide new understandings of ESOL learners' language learning and integration trajectories. I applied an identity conceptual lens to a conceptual model which characterises integration as situated in *affective, social* and *structural* realms.

My findings in relation to **RQ1** show that integration is multidimensional, and ESOL learners view many factors as important for a good life in Britain. Whilst good English language skills are extremely valuable, affective and structural factors are also a priority. Participants also viewed social and cultural factors as important, however these were less of a priority, a finding somewhat at odds with the dominant discourses which foreground social and cultural aspects of integration. Consequently, this study brings a stronger understanding of ESOL learners' priorities for integration and having a good life in Britain.

In addressing **RQ2**, this thesis produces new insight into the ways in which language learning and integration are interrelated in the experiences of ESOL learners. Debates and research on the integration experiences of migrants and refugees commonly focus on the ways in which English proficiency impacts on integration outcomes. In this study, I bring fresh emphasis to the fact that language learning and integration are in fact bidirectional and interdependent processes in which experiences of integration can impact on progress in language learning, as well as English proficiency facilitating progress in integration. The findings also contribute to new understandings of some of the mechanisms behind this interrelationship.

In attending to **RQ3** I looked beyond the ubiquitous focus on language learning as the key to positive integration experiences for migrants and refugees who are non-expert speakers of English, and generated a greater understanding of other key factors which shape their ability to settle and make headway in Britain. This study addresses the lack of research which explicitly and systematically

explores the issues migrants and refugees face in settling and making headway in Britain, regardless of their level of English proficiency.

This thesis uses the conceptual lenses of identity and positioning to better understand ESOL learners' experiences of language learning and integration, as articulated by *RQ4*. I draw on existing understandings of the effect of social context on migrants' second language acquisition to shed new light on the experiences of ESOL learners. Employing Norton's conceptualisations of identity as 'multiple, changing and a site struggle' (Darvin and Norton, 2015 p.36), I explored how the ESOL learner participants could hold multiple identities which could be differently salient depending on time and context (Block 2007; Norton 2013). I combined this with the concept of positioning (Davies and Harré, 1990) to explore the mechanism through which ESOL learners' identities are 'shaped, produced and negotiated' (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004 p.21) via interaction between interactive and reflective positioning, and influenced by external individuals and structures as well as individual agency (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004). By applying these frameworks to the exploration of ESOL learners' experiences, this study shows that ESOL learners' experiences of both language learning **and** integration can be shaped by the ways in which they are positioned and their ability to claim, negotiate and resist identity positions.

In addition to this combination of conceptual angles, these contributions to knowledge were facilitated through the novel combination of longitudinal timeline interviews with larger scale questionnaire data. The interview methods facilitated the powerful and articulate accounts provided by the interview participants which enabled me to construct these in-depth representations of their experiences. In particular, the range of interview tools used (timelines, photo elicitation, vignettes and prompt cards), enhanced the verbal questions by supporting communication, and facilitating interviewees to respond in a wider variety of ways. The timelines afforded greater ownership and agency over the interview topics, and facilitated understanding of the interviewees' trajectories in language learning and integration (see section 7.1.6 below). The in-depth qualitative interpretations were combined with statistical analysis of the questionnaire which elicited opinions and experiences of a wider population of ESOL learners. Integrating the quantitative and qualitative findings provided an additional perspective through which to examine the phenomena, and enabled me to contextualise and interrogate my interpretations of the interviewees' experiences.

Moreover, as the ESOL questionnaire sample was found to be broadly representative (as documented in Chapter Four), the quantitative element allows the findings to be applied more generally to the

experiences of the wider population of ESOL learners as well as that of migrants and refugee non-expert speakers of English. I believe that the combination of these various methodological strengths increases the potential for this study to have impact on ESOL practice, as well as policy and funding regarding ESOL provision and integration strategies. The following sections detail more specifically the main contributions this thesis makes.

7.1.2 Reflecting on English proficiency as key to integration

This study confirms existing evidence that English language proficiency can facilitate integration in the right circumstances, however it brings a new emphasis on the fact that good English skills do not automatically constitute a pathway to having a good life in Britain and achieving goals and aspirations. Additionally, this study sheds new light on the ways in which the more powerful language skills (written literacy and formal speaking skills) may be more important than everyday speaking skills for experiences of integration. With a few exceptions, examination of associations between different English language skills and integration has not been previously attempted, especially the systematic exploration of associations with different aspects of integration. There is scope for future research to focus on the differing roles of the types of language skills.

7.1.3 The significance of affective factors for integration and language learning

My conceptual model of integration places a stronger emphasis on affective factors than has been evident in previous integration research. Also, I have extended Norton's work on the ways in which affective factors, in particular anxiety and confidence, can affect learners' progress in language learning. Like Norton, my study highlights how these affective factors have socially constructed elements, shifting the focus from learners' individual differences. Combining these two conceptual framings of affective factors has facilitated new understandings of the ways in which aspects such as feelings of safety, well-being and confidence are equally, if not more, important than English proficiency for positive integration experiences for ESOL learners.

The findings highlight the connection between the affective aspects of integration and language learning; namely that stability, good well-being, confidence, and independence are crucial for progress in English. This relationship is characterised by some elements of bidirectionality insofar as English proficiency can improve well-being and confidence, however, good English skills are not enough on their own to secure stable and safe lives for many ESOL learners. Besides language proficiency, there are many other factors which influence affective outcomes of integration, such as belonging to social networks, experiences of the local area, housing conditions and immigration status. Additionally, the

ways in which ESOL learners are positioned and treated by other members of British society (which can be influenced by dominant language and integration discourses) can shape feelings of well-being, confidence and belonging. A fuller picture of differing experiences of discrimination was facilitated by the combination of methods employed in the study. The quantitative findings indexed that ESOL learners' employment or housing prospects can be partially shaped by their religion, ethnicity, gender or whether they are refugees, and that learners with lower-level English proficiency are more likely to experience harassment. The use of anonymously obtained statistical data complemented the in-depth interview accounts by unearthing different dimensions of the discrimination faced by participants.

7.1.4 The impact of insecure immigration status on ESOL learners' trajectories

The findings suggest that for ESOL learners with insecure immigration status, especially those seeking asylum, this is the main barrier to progress in their integration trajectories and impedes their language learning. By applying the conceptual lens of identity and positioning, this study builds on existing evidence which documents the barriers faced by asylum-seeking ESOL learners (Hodge, Pitt and Barton, 2004). These learners experience precarious and unstable circumstances, and the findings suggest that restricted access to employment, housing, rights and services perpetuates and reinforces liminal and marginalised identities. These conditions negatively impact on feelings of well-being, safety, belonging, and social relations. All these factors can restrict access to ESOL class and impede progress in language learning. Prolonged experiences of marginalisation and ontological liminality can impact on asylum-seeking ESOL learners' hopes for the future and ability to invest in their language learning and lives in Britain, impacting on their trajectories even after they are granted leave to remain. The analysis of the accounts of the asylum-seeking interviewees further emphasises that integration experiences can impact the acquisition of English, one of the central arguments in this thesis.

7.1.5 The Catch-22 of social interactions and language practice

The relationship between ESOL learners' language learning and the quality and quantity of their social interactions with expert speakers of English is bidirectional, complex and shaped by ideology, social conditions, and power relations which determine feelings of anxiety or confidence to speak. The study examines the Catch-22 situation (Norton, 2013) in which English proficiency potentially facilitates social interactions with the British born population, but to improve proficiency, naturalistic language practice with expert English speakers is needed. I built on Norton's (2000, 2013) description of the roles of identity and power in migrant language learners' interactions with target language speakers by homing in on the roles of anxiety and confidence, and combining insights from Lippi-Green (2012)

to further elucidate the role of language ideology in these interactions. Combining these insights enhanced understanding of the ESOL learner participants' accounts of anglophone interactions.

The study confirms that improving English language proficiency can enable ESOL learners to feel empowered and confident to communicate in more situations, thus creating more opportunities to practise and improve their English language skills. However, the findings show that power, positioning and language ideology can shape ESOL learners' anxiety about communicating in English, and that these can constitute barriers to accessing opportunities to speak in English. Additionally, when opportunities to speak English do arise, the circumstances may limit their usefulness for consolidating and extending English language skills. Therefore, being proficient in English does not automatically enable participation in anglophone social networks and, when ESOL learners do have opportunities to speak with expert English speakers they may in fact be silenced. Additionally, speaking English outside the classroom may not facilitate progress in the powerful language skills which are important for many aspects of integration.

We have also seen that ESOL learners can hold multiple identities and, although they might feel positioned negatively in some contexts, in others they can possess strong identity positions which can give them confidence to speak and therefore practise their language skills. This helps to understand the circumstances in which ESOL learners may feel confident to speak.

7.1.6 Language learning and integration as interrelated and fluctuating processes

This thesis provides new evidence on the ways in which, for ESOL learners, language learning and integration are interrelated and constitute dynamic and fluctuating processes, in which the rate of progress can vary and may slow down, stall or even be felt to reverse. The longitudinal timeline interviews illuminated how these processes interacted in the participants' trajectories. The participants and I reflected together on events that had happened and changes which had taken place in the intervening time between interviews. Although the duration of the fieldwork constituted a short time period in interviewees' trajectories (and some took part in only one meeting), a central element of the interviews was describing their experiences in Britain prior to the interview. This facilitated and strengthened our ability to reflect on changes over time since they arrived in the country. The timelines played an important role in enabling these reflections during the interview, and in addition, they greatly enhanced my ability to notice, understand, and interpret the interacting processes of language learning and integration, and the ways in which identity was entwined within these. My analytical method of annotating the timelines and subsequently creating participants' stories

enhanced this longitudinal exploration. In addition, the combination of a narrative-based method with a thematic approach enabled the interpretation of individuals' trajectories whilst also allowing for connections and interpretations to be drawn across the data.

Applying Lemke's (2000) concepts of timescales in the analysis of the timelines facilitated insights into the ways in which particular events in ESOL learners' lives have the ability to shape the meanings they give to their overall trajectories, and how they construct and negotiate their identities over time. It also illuminates how learners' perceptions of their previous experiences and histories can influence the meanings they give to individual events. I have showed how individual moments depicted on the timelines added up to more than a chronological series of events. By paying attention to timescale, I have shed light on the dialogic interaction between smaller and larger timescale processes in ESOL learners' experiences, and the ways in which this can shape the processes of language learning, integration and identity in their trajectories.

These methodological tools provided a scaffold to apply conceptual insights into the ways in which ESOL learners' identities are processes and continually negotiated (Darvin and Norton, 2015; Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004). This revealed ways in which language learning is interwoven with the development of independent and confident identities. If ESOL learners feel equipped to engage in interactions autonomously, this can facilitate the development of strong identities and confidence to speak in English, and conversely confident language learner identities can facilitate feelings of independence and empowerment. However, ESOL learners may struggle to maintain confident and strong identity positions over a prolonged period, and when faced with new situations and challenges. Confidence may strengthen or wane at different time points in their trajectories. By conceptualising identities as fluid, this study has elucidated the ways in which identity is a process which intertwines and interacts with those of language learning and integration.

7.1.7 Maintaining motivation and hope for the future

This study furthers understanding of the differing levels of engagement that ESOL learners may have with their language learning, and also the ways in which they may struggle to maintain motivation in pursuing their aspirations for life in Britain. By applying the concept of investment to the exploration of ESOL learners' trajectories I have shown that there are many factors which affect the ability to maintain motivation and progress over extended periods of time.

Darvin and Norton (2015) locate investment at the intersection of ideology, capital and identity. Ideologies shape the symbolic value afforded to the capital that ESOL learners possess, and the identity positions that ESOL learners are assigned in wider society as well as in the ESOL classroom. Through this conceptual perspective I highlighted how participants' engagement with their learning can be negatively impacted when their cultural capital is not valued within the ESOL classroom, the learning environment does not speak to their imagined identities, or they feel positioned in deficit ways. The nature of ESOL provision, including the funding, structural and ideological forces that shape it, can preclude some learners, particularly those who do not possess valued forms of cultural capital, from achieving their aspirations of higher education and higher-level employment. This can stifle their ambitions for the future, impacting on their motivation and ability to invest in their ESOL learning. The findings build on the concept of investment by highlighting the role of hope in enabling ESOL learners to continue to feel invested in their learning over the protracted length of time it can take to learn English. If ESOL learners are afforded hope of achieving their imagined identities and desired futures, they are more able to maintain investment and motivation in their language learning and integration trajectories.

Employment and career goals often play a strong role in ESOL learners' aspirations. The findings contribute to understandings of the issues ESOL learners face in gaining employment by shedding new light on the complexities of the Catch-22 relationship between increasing English proficiency and improving employment outcomes (Charsley et al., 2016). English proficiency can facilitate access to employment and career progression, however there are other obstacles to employment. Some types of jobs may afford opportunities for varied and challenging anglophone interactions which can facilitate practice and consolidation of language learning, if only ESOL learners can access these. This study also highlights that ESOL learners' expectations of the benefits that employment could bring for language learning and integration are not always borne out by the reality of the kind of work they may have to settle for. In fact, many learners may be compelled to compromise on aspirations and imagined identities which can prevent them from realising their potential and achieving economic and social mobility, meaning that society is unable to benefit from their existing skills and knowledge.

7.2 Implications for ESOL practice and policy

The findings highlight a tension to be attended to in ESOL pedagogy in order to maximise learners' potential to progress through and beyond ESOL provision. Teaching and learning activities which recognise and value ESOL learners' existing linguistic capital could improve confidence and support learners to resist and challenge deficit identity positions. On the other hand, it is important to enable

learners to acquire the powerful language skills which can aid better experiences in all aspects of integration. To support learners' investment in their classroom literacy and language practices, learning activities must validate and harness the full range of ESOL learners' existing linguistic skills, including non-standard, colloquial '*street*' English, vernacular literacies (Barton and Hamilton, 2001), and multilingual repertoires. It is important to challenge deficit models of literacy and language which emphasise what learners lack (Hamilton et al., 2012). This can promote identities of competence (Cummins et al., 2011; Manyak, 2004) and enable learners to resist deficit identities and align with those more in keeping with their imagined and desired identities (Simpson and Gresswell, 2012). There exist several pedagogical methods and approaches which have the potential to facilitate this. These include: participatory ESOL pedagogy (e.g. Auerbach, 1992; Bryers et al., 2013; English for Action, 2021; Winstanley & Cooke, 2016; Moon & Sunderland, 2008); practices in New Literacy Studies (e.g. Pahl and Rowsell, 2012); Multiliteracies pedagogy (Cope and Kalantzis, 2000); digital practices (e.g. Simpson and Gresswell, 2012); identity texts (Cummins et al., 2011) and pedagogical approaches which draw on learners' multilingual communicative and linguistic repertoires (e.g. Our Languages, 2021). It is important that these are utilised in such a way as to forge a pathway from learners' existing language and literacy practices towards acquisition of the more 'powerful' language skills (i.e. formal speaking and literacy skills) to maximise their potential to improve their experiences of integration, progress on from ESOL and achieve their goals and aspirations.

Funding for ESOL often centres on less formal provision, for example conversation classes and projects which aim to increase learners' confidence and social integration. Where possible this provision should also pay due attention to improving confidence in the powerful language and literacy skills, however, it is acknowledged that this may be outside of their funding remit. Therefore, it is important that adequate funding is also allotted to ESOL provision which supports low educated ESOL learners to acquire, consolidate and extend the forms of powerful language skills which can help them progress beyond ESOL and achieve their aspirations.

This study sheds light on why some ESOL learners may appear disengaged or unmotivated, and why some drop out of class, or repeatedly leave and return. Learners' engagement and investment in their ESOL learning can be shaped by the ways they are positioned within the classroom. Continuing professional development for ESOL teachers and managers should include opportunities to reflect on and interrogate unconscious bias regarding the ways in which ESOL learners can be labelled and positioned, for example as motivated/unmotivated, educated/uneducated, literate/illiterate, etc. Raising awareness of this amongst ESOL practitioners may enable them to resist such labelling and

support and engage wider range of learners. Furthermore, the findings show that many ESOL learners' engagement with formal ESOL can be difficult to maintain over prolonged periods during which experiences and circumstances frequently change. Therefore, it is important that ESOL can be accessed via a range of modes and methods which may suit individuals at different stages of the life course.

ESOL structures may conflict with learners' needs, goals and aspirations (Khan, 2019) Morrice et al., 2019) and can channel learners into low skilled work. For example, there is a lack of courses for learners with higher language levels and professional aspirations, which can impact on motivation (Vasey et al., 2018) and impede progression routes into higher education or higher-level employment (Foreman, 2017; Cooke, 2006). Therefore, it is necessary to increase availability of courses which support progress to vocational courses and higher education, for example by providing funded places on IELTS courses, and promoting partnerships between ESOL providers and universities to support learners along these routes. Moreover, funding should be made available to support more employed ESOL learners to improve their English skills to enable them to continue to progress their careers (Morrice et al., 2019; Tip et al., 2019. In addition, learning materials and activities must speak to identities beyond the limiting options of "employee in entry-level job" or "immigrant who must learn to integrate" (Simpson and Gresswell, 2012). ESOL classes and curricula should reflect the diverse and multifaceted identities of learners and take into account the hopes, aspirations and ambitions of learners in order to support them to maintain motivation and investment. For example, materials and activities should depict former ESOL learners and "non-native speakers of English" in educated and skilled roles. It is also important that, when classroom activities focus on employability skills, teachers should be aware of the potential emotional impact on asylum-seeking students who are not permitted to work.

This study confirms the importance of ESOL classrooms as a place in which students can practise and prepare for real-world anglophone interactions in a variety of contexts. However, classroom language practice must move beyond rehearsing scenarios in a manner which ignores imbalances in power and does not take into account how issues of power and identity can impact learners' ability to communicate outside the classroom. Norton (2013) suggests 'classroom-based social research' as a tool to facilitate students to understand how their social interactions with locally born residents are socially structured and this can provide a foundation to develop activities and strategies to facilitate learners to claim the 'right to speak in the wider community' (Norton 2013, p.190). The participatory

approaches to ESOL pedagogy mentioned above also lend themselves well to the aims of enabling learners to critically reflect on and resist disempowering positioning and discourses.

In addition to the funding increases recommended above, the findings of this study indicate the need for funded childcare for learners, widened eligibility criteria to include newly arrived asylum-seeking refugees and those on dependent's visas, and for improved overall funding for the ESOL sector (NATECLA, 2016; Refugee Action, 2019).

7.3 Implications for integration policy

To properly address the needs of migrants and refugees for settlement and making lives for themselves it is important to have a better understanding of their own conceptualisations of what integration means to them and what their priorities are (Pace and Simsek, 2019). This study points to a need for a greater focus on improving the affective aspects of integration which are often overlooked by policymakers (Rutter, 2013). Feelings of safety, stability and mental and physical well-being can be impacted by housing, employment and financial hardship; thus, integration measures should properly address disadvantage in these areas. This includes enabling migrants and refugees to achieve their full potential in their careers and therefore it is important they can access suitable education to gain appropriate skills and qualifications (Ager and Strang 2004a, 2004b).

Migrants' and refugees' integration outcomes are also shaped by the attitudes and behaviour of other members of society towards them, as experiences of harassment, discrimination and being Othered impact on feelings of well-being and belonging. The predominant focus in integration discourse and policy on scrutinising the social, linguistic and cultural practices of migrants and refugees reinforces negative attitudes towards them, and therefore is counter-productive to achieving positive integration experiences. Addressing negative public perceptions and discrimination towards migrants and refugees is an important aspect of addressing barriers to integration (Court, 2017; Jayaweera and Choudhury, 2008) and this must be led by a change in attitude and rhetoric in the media as well as in the very heart of government.

This study supports existing evidence of the detrimental effects of being an asylum seeker on refugees' integration outcomes, even after they have acquired settled status in Britain. In addition to being able to access funded ESOL as mentioned above, asylum seekers should be entitled to equal access to rights and services and be able to find paid employment. Being unable to work is not only extremely

detrimental to well-being, but it also deprives society of benefiting from the variety of skills and knowledge that refugees have.

7.4 Limitations and directions for future research

The longitudinal methodology of this study enabled me to explore how the processes of language learning, integration and identity interacted over time in the ESOL learners' trajectories. However, due to the time limitations of a doctoral study, the duration of the fieldwork was relatively short. Future qualitative studies which follow participants over a longer period may give rise to different insights, in particular they may shed further light on the ways in which ESOL learners can tackle and overcome challenges to their motivation and progress and 'restart' stalled trajectories.

With regards to the questionnaire findings, the relatively short period between baseline and follow-up, and the limited data at follow-up restricted the ability of the longitudinal statistical data to untangle the direction of associations found in the cross-sectional analysis. Larger scale studies with the capacity to recruit a larger number of learners and a longer duration between baseline and follow-up are needed. This could complement the findings of this study by furthering understanding of the direction of causation of relationships between language learning and integration. Another feature of the quantitative strand of the study was its exploratory aim which necessitated inclusion of a large number of variables thus impacting on the power of associations found. Further research could focus on particular aspects arising from this study in more detail, for example examining associations between English proficiency and characteristics of social interactions, or English skills and quality of employment, may give deeper insights into these complex and nuanced relationships.

The scope of this study was limited by my own linguistic repertoire. Data collection being carried out in English will inevitably impact on the data in a study involving ESOL learners. This was at the forefront of my mind and shaped the way I designed and administered the questionnaires, designed the interview tools, interacted with participants, transcribed and interpreted interviews and wrote about the findings. Throughout I paid attention to the way I communicated with the participants both verbally and in writing and attempted to shoulder the responsibility for the communicative burden. However, although participants shared with me their previous experiences of having low levels of English skills, a limitation of this study was the absence of the perspective of ESOL learners who have not progressed beyond basic language and literacy skills. Studies in which researcher and participant share expert languages, or which involve the support of interpreters, would enhance understandings of the experiences and perspectives of a wider variety of ESOL learners.

One of the motivations for the study was to address the absence of the perspectives of ESOL learners from debates on language and integration. However, my (powerful) positionality as a white British “native” English speaker and ESOL practitioner has inevitably determined the ways in which the participants have voiced their opinions and told their stories, and these have been moulded and shaped through my particular worldview. Research carried out from a “insider” perspective would complement the findings of this study by presenting interpretations from a different viewpoint which could then be compared with this study.

Drawing as it did on concepts in sociolinguistics, this study focused on the ways in which ESOL learners’ trajectories were influenced by their interaction with their social contexts, and the data was interpreted through a sociological perspective. Future studies which incorporate understandings from the fields of psychology and psycholinguistics, especially on the ways in which identity, anxiety and confidence interact with language learners’ experiences, would greatly enhance the findings from this study.

7.5 Final reflections

In this thesis I have taken the novel approach of applying the conceptual lens of identity and positioning to a framework which systematically explores language learning and integration and the ways in which they interact, and utilised a new combination of methodologies to achieve this end. In so doing, this study has addressed some of the gaps in understanding of ESOL learners’ experiences of learning English and making lives for themselves in Britain. I have illustrated that the relationship between language learning and integration can be characterised as a Catch-22, in which English proficiency can improve integration outcomes, but also, positive integration experiences are needed to maximise progress in language learning. Attending to ESOL learners’ multiple identities, (including imagined identities) and positionings, and the ways in which these may come into conflict, elucidates this complex interrelationship between language learning and integration, as well as helping to understand ESOL learners’ investment in their ESOL learning and integration trajectories.

At the beginning of this thesis, I explained how it was motivated by a desire to gain a greater understanding of language learning and integration from the points of view of ESOL learners themselves. The participants’ ability to express their perspectives “in their own terms” was inevitably shaped and constrained by our respective positionalities and by speaking in their non-expert languages. Nevertheless, they conveyed strong opinions and reflected on their experiences in voices

which were considered and articulate, and I was often struck by a strong sense of the agendas and perspectives which the interviewees wanted to forward. There were many times that these insights moved me further along in my interpretations. For example, Ali's in-depth articulation of his '*second person*' status underscored how matters of identity and positioning can be at the very core of how individuals perceive their relationship to others and to society, and therefore ESOL learners' experiences in Britain are infused by issues of identity. Mustafa's assertion that people need to '*feel that they are someone*' underlined that the struggle to attend to one's multiple identities and desired future can be an ongoing tension in ESOL learners' integration and language learning trajectories. In describing how his feelings of hope had given way to disappointment when he was told university was not '*for him*', Ranu signalled the importance of fostering learners' hopes and imagined identities to help maintain motivation. And Hanin's description of how she had '*lost her way*' helped to cement my understanding of language learning and integration as processes which can stall or reverse as ESOL learners navigate the challenge of maintaining motivation and strong identity positions in the long journey of trying to learn English and make a life for oneself in Britain. Therefore, the contributions that this thesis makes to understandings of language learning and integration are shaped by the knowledge, worldviews and insight of the ESOL learner participants.

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**Appendix 1 Immigration, ethnicity and language: Bristol and National pictures from
2011 census data**

	Bristol *	England and Wales
Total residents in 2011	428,234	56.1 million (ONS 2012b**)
Immigration		
People born outside UK	14.7% (63,126)	13% (7.5 million) (ONS 2013b)
Top ten countries of birth for non-UK born residents	Poland, Somalia, India, Jamaica, 'Other EU accession countries', Ireland, Pakistan, 'Other EU member countries' and Germany	India, Poland, Pakistan, Ireland, Germany, Bangladesh, Nigeria, South Africa, US, and Jamaica (ONS 2013b)
Ethnicity		
Black and minority ethnic	16%	14%
Non- British white	6%	5.5%
Total not identifying as 'white British'	22%	19.5% (ONS 2012a)
Language		
Ten most common main languages after English	Polish, Somali, Chinese, Spanish, French, Arabic, Panjabi, Urdu, Bengali and Italian.	Polish, Panjabi, Urdu, Bengali (with Sylheti and Chatgaya), Gujarati, Arabic, French, Chinese, Portuguese, Spanish (ONS 2013a)
Main language is not English	8.5% (34,989)	7.7% (4.2m)
Of which:		
Speak English very well	3.7% (15,013)	3.2% (1.7m)
Speak English well	3.4% (13,887)	2.9% (1.6m)
Not Speak English well	1.3% (5,283)	1.3% (726,000)
Not Speak English at all	0.2% (806)	0.3% (138,000) (ONS 2013c)

Notes. * All Bristol data from Bristol City Council (2016). ** ONS =Office of National Statistics. Scotland holds a separate census. Bristol has a relatively large Somali population compared to English and Wales as a whole. The number of people with Somali heritage in Bristol is estimated to be between 8,300 and 10,000, (Bristol City Council 2016).

Appendix 2 ESOL levels and equivalents

ESOL Skills for Life (and National Literacy Standards in England, Wales and Northern Ireland)	Commonly used level descriptors in English language teaching	Common European Framework of Reference for Languages	SQA (Scotland)
Entry 1	Beginner	A1	Access 2 (National 2)
Entry 2	Elementary	A2	Access 3 (National 3)
Entry 3	Pre-Intermediate	B1	Intermediate 1 (National 4)
Level 1	Intermediate	B2	Intermediate 2 (National 5)
Level 2	Upper intermediate	C1	Higher
	Advanced	C2	

British Council (2015)

Appendix 3 Guide for interview 1 (all interviewees)

1. Introduction

- Participant information and consent form – check completed
- explain procedure – audio recorded,
- will take about 1 hour – what time do you want to finish?
- check if they have any questions

2. Background/ ice breakers

- **Would you like to tell me a bit about yourself?**
- Where born and length of time in Britain.
- Have you lived in any other countries?
- What languages do you speak?
- Age
- Family / children – ages?/ who live with
- Did you go to school/ college /university? How old when finished school?
- Employment, current and past

3. Timeline – introduce, describe purpose

- On this paper, I would like you to show me what has happened in your life in Britain. It can be a timeline or time map.
- For example, you could mark when you arrived in the UK. I would like you to put other important things that have happened in your life on this line.
- You can show these things any way you like. It doesn't have to be a straight line. You can use colour, pictures, writing....
- Here are some examples of how other people have done it.
- When we talk, you can use the timeline to show when things happened
- It doesn't matter what it looks like, it is just to help you think about and talk about things.
- If you want, I can write on it too, as I listen to you.
- As we talk, you can add some more to the timeline.

4. Life since coming to Britain

- Tell me about your life since you came to Britain. You can use the time-map to show when things happened.
- **How did you feel when you first came to Britain?**
- When did that happen?
- Can you remember the date?
- Was it before or after...?
- **When did you come to Bristol?**
- Tell me more about when you first came to Bristol.
- **What other events have been important?** Maybe political, national or international events
- How did you feel when...?
- Now, do you have a **visa, leave to remain, citizenship.....?**
- **Have you had a job?** Tell me about it....

5. Learning English

- Did you **know any English before coming to Britain?** How /where did you learn it?

- Tell me about **how you have been learning English since you came to Britain.**
- When did you **start English classes**? Where was that? What was it like?
- What other things have you been doing to help you learn English?
- **How do you feel when you speak English?**
- **How easy / difficult has it been to learn English?**
- What has made it difficult? What has helped?
- **How does learning English help your life in Britain?** Can you explain / give examples....
- **How do you feel when you speak English to British people?**
- **Can you give me an example of conversations you have had** with British people? At work/ with other parents....
- Can you give me examples of when you have felt confident about speaking English? Why did you feel like that....?
- Can you give me examples of when you *haven't* felt confident about speaking English? Why did you feel like that....?
- How do you feel about **reading and writing in English?**
- What other things would help you to improve your English?

6. Belonging/ Integration

- **You said that when you first came to Britain you felt.... How do you feel now?**
- Why do you feel....?
- **What is important for you to settle and have a good life in the UK?**
- **How much do you feel part of British society / Britain?** Why / why not?
- Can you give me examples of when you feel *more* like you are a part of British society? Tell me about it....
- Can you give me examples when you feel *less* like you are a part of British society? Tell me about it....
- How different do you feel now from when you first came to Britain?
- **How safe do you feel in Bristol?**
- How **safe** do you feel in your **local area**?
- Can you tell me about any **problems you have had in Britain?**
- Do you feel you understand **British culture/ British way of life?**

7. Other People

- **What do you think about British people?**
- Can you tell me about any **problems** you have had with British people?
- **What do British people think about people who come from other countries?** How do they act towards people who come.... Can you give me an example...?
- **What do British people think about people who speak other languages?** How do they act towards people who speak Can you give me an example...?
- **How much time do you spend with people of the same nationality to you?** Can you give me an example of someone you know....?
- **How much time do you spend with people of different nationalities?** Can you give me an example of someone you know.....?
- **How much time do you spend with British people?** Can you give me an example of someone you know.....?
- **Tell me more about the people** at work, other parents, your neighbour...

This is nearly the end for today.

For next time we meet, I would like you to bring some photos that show some things about your life in Britain. You can bring photos that you have at home, or photos on your phone. If you want to take some photos on your phone to bring in that would be great. You don't have to do this. If you don't there are lots of other things we can talk about next time.

Just a couple of things to remember about using photos:

Please DO NOT bring in photos of other people's children.

If you are going to take new photos of people to bring in, please think about whether you need to ask them first.

8. Closing

- Next time, you can also add some more to the timeline. Do you want to take a photo of it so you can think about it before then? Or take it with you and bring it next time?
- **Contact details?**
- **Bus fare**
- Interpreter next time? – do you know anyone? Or I can try and find one.
- Reiterate confidentiality
- Any questions?
- Arrange when to meet next
- Thanks!

Useful prompts:

- *Can you say more about that?*
- *What do you mean by...?*
- *Can you explain...?*
- *Do you mean that....?*
- *When do you thinkhappened?*
- *Before..?*
- *Have you experienced other.....?*
- *Do you have specific experiences in mind, or is this a general opinion? Can you tell me about one experience of this?*
- *you said that..... I wonder how you felt...*
- *so what happened after...?*

Appendix 4 Guide for interview 2 (Hanin)

Introduction

- **Bus fare**
- Review participant information and consent
- Remind procedure – audio recorded
- Check time participant wants to finish interview
- Check if they have any questions

Review last conversation and time-line

- Here is the timeline we did last time. Can I just check these things you told me? You can add some more to the timeline.
- Arrived Bristol 2013 – how old?
- You finished a university degree in Sudan and then started a postgraduate degree before coming to UK?
- Couldn't speak English, difficult times
- Tried to attend college in 2014, but son was born
- went to lots of places to learn English and meet people e.g. library, <xxx>, <xxx> community centre
- husband helped you a lot by going to places and interpreting
- started college 2015
- Applied for childcare course in ? but didn't get place due to English skills
- Jan 2017 childcare course
- Looking for apprenticeship in childcare
- working as childminder on Saturdays, and volunteer teaching Arabic
- Got British passport in 2017
- Where do you live?

Photos brought in by participant

- Tell me about this photo.
- Why did you take it?
- Why did you choose to show it to me/ why is it important to you?
- *(If appropriate)* Can I take a photo of this to use in my study?

Vignettes

Here are some things that other people have said about their experiences of living in Britain. I am interested in what you think about their experiences.

Show first card and read it aloud. Give them time to read it themselves. Then prompt if necessary.

Changes

- What has happened since we last met?
- What have you been doing?
- Can you show it on the timeline?

Speaking English

- **What has helped your progress** / confidence in English language skills?
- **What things have stopped your progress** / confidence in English language skills?
- **Check the following:**
- Some things made you feel more confident about your English, for example after you had your baby you answered all the questions from the midwife and when your husband came he was very surprised. After that you tried speaking English in more situations.
- But attending the childcare course in 2017, the language was hard and so you felt less confident and thought you needed to learn more.
- Then going back to Sudan, after coming back you felt less confident about speaking
- Less opportunities to practise –at work don't get much chance, not doing the voluntary work .
- Thinking of starting going back to < xxx voluntary organisation > again
- **How friendly are British people** to people from other countries?
- What do you think Britain or British people could do to help people learn and speak English?

Culture/ identity/ belonging

- When do you feel part of British society? When don't you feel part of British society?
- What things are important for a person coming to Britain to settle and have a good life?
- How important is it for you to express your cultural / religious traditions?
- How do you think your culture/ religion has affected your experiences in Britain?
- How important is it for you to speak [your language]? And your children?
- What do you like about living in Britain? What don't you like?
- Do you think it is important to feel British?

Social Life

- What do you do in your free time? With your friends?
- Have you got friends from Sudan? Other countries? Britain?
- **Where do you live? Do you like living in.....?**
- How much do you feel part of your local community/ neighbourhood? How important is this to you?
- Do you feel safe in your area?
- Do you feel safe in Bristol?
- What makes you feel safe / not safe in your local area/ Bristol?

Back to timeline – any other important events, maybe political, national or international events, in Britain, or your country that have affected your experiences?

Finish

- Meet again? Bring photos?

Appendix 5 Guide for Interview 3 (Hanin)

Introduction

- Bus fare
- Review participant information and consent
- Remind procedure – audio recorded
- Check time participant wants to finish interview
- Check if they have any questions

Review last conversation

Here is the timeline we did last time. Can I just check these things you told me? Do you want to add to the timeline?

- In Sudan, did you study Sharia Law and civil law? did you start a postgraduate course after your degree?
- You said in 2015 you were in the jobcentre and you applied for a job, is that correct? What was the job?
- Last time you said you felt fed up about things earlier this year? Can you say a little bit more about this? About your English, and wanting to find work.
- How do you feel now?
- You've been looking for jobs, but finding it a bit difficult at the moment?

English Language

- I'm interested in how your English skills have been affected by things in your life.
- Can you show on the timeline things that helped your English improve?
- Or when your English progress slowed down or stopped for a bit?
- How did you feel about your English at this time? How about here? etc

Changes

- What has happened since we last met?
- What have you been doing?
- Can you show it on the timeline?
- How is your childminding job?
- How about your job teaching Arabic?

More photos brought in by participant?

Important things

These are things that different people have said are important to have a good life in Britain. What do you think about these things?

- How important do you think they are?
- (Choose the three most important to you)
- (Choose the three least important to you.)

Cover any points not covered in last conversation

- How important is it for you to express your cultural and religious traditions?
- How important is it for you to speak Arabic? And your son?
- What do you like about living in Britain?
- What don't you like?
- What do you like doing in your free time?
- How much do you feel part of your local neighbourhood? How important is this to you?
- Do you feel safe living in <xxx> ? What makes you feel safe/unsafe?
- Some people experienced problems during the Brexit referendum did you notice anything?

Thinking about the future

- What do you want to do in the future?
- How do you think your life will change?

Discuss use of timeline and photos in write up/ dissemination – how to anonymise etc

Discuss and sign permission form for timeline/photos

Opinions of the conversations – how have you felt about participating?

Is there anything else you want to say about learning English, or living in Britain?

Thanks and give voucher

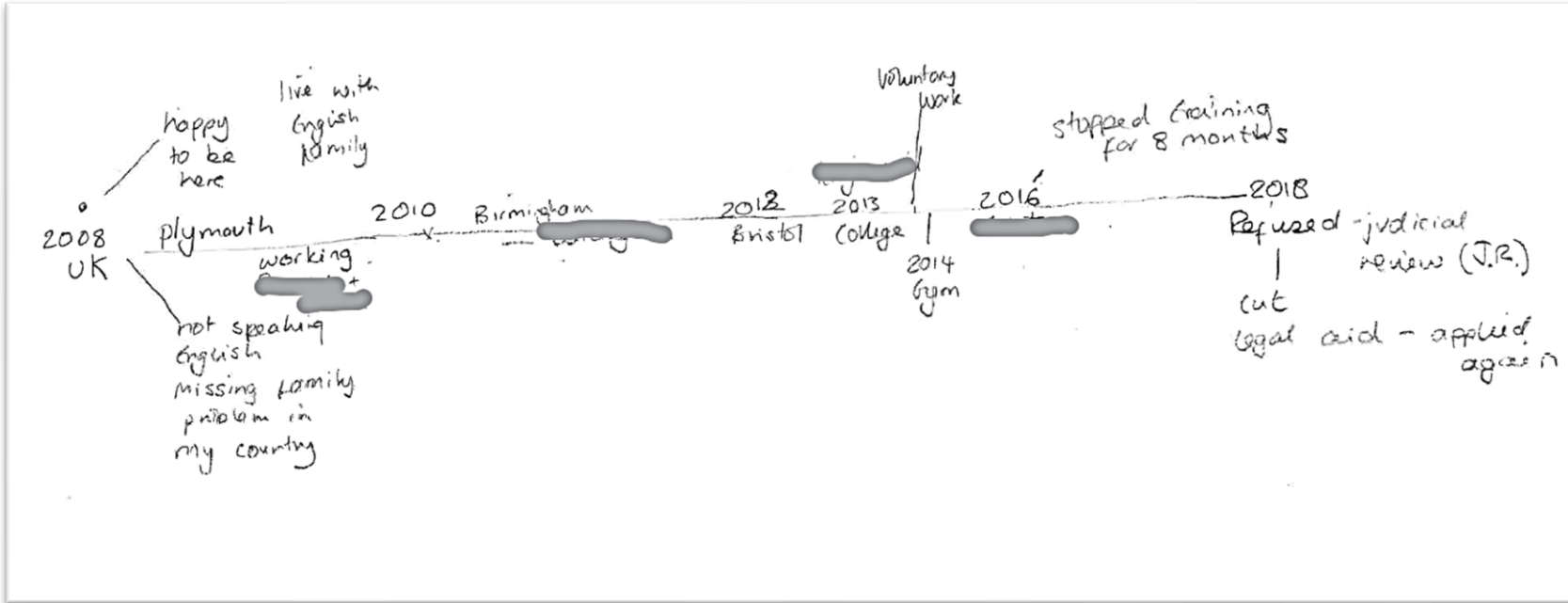
Any questions or comments? Get in touch if you have any questions.

Would you like a short report on the results of my project?

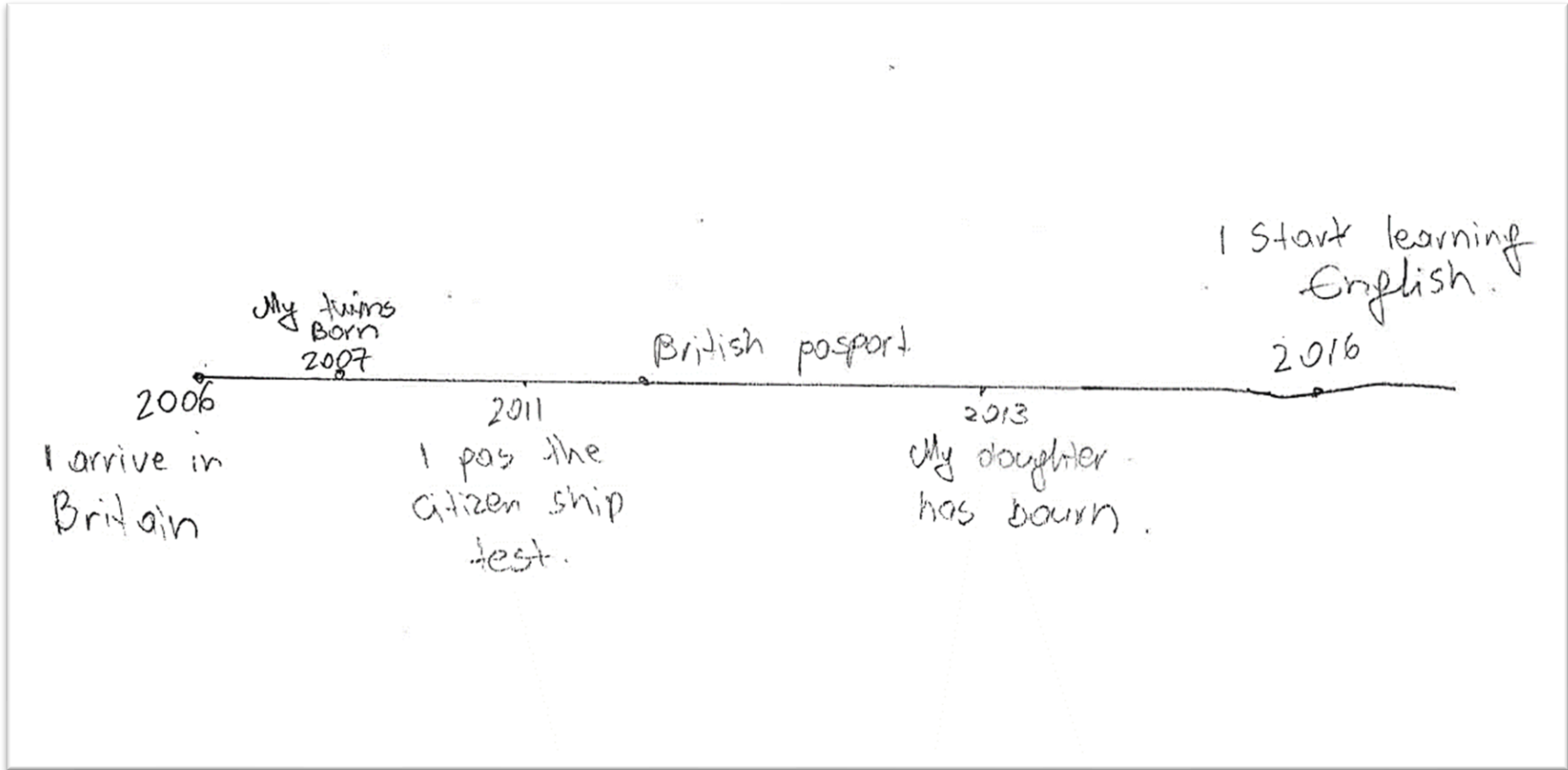
Good luck for the future!

Appendix 6 Interviewee timelines

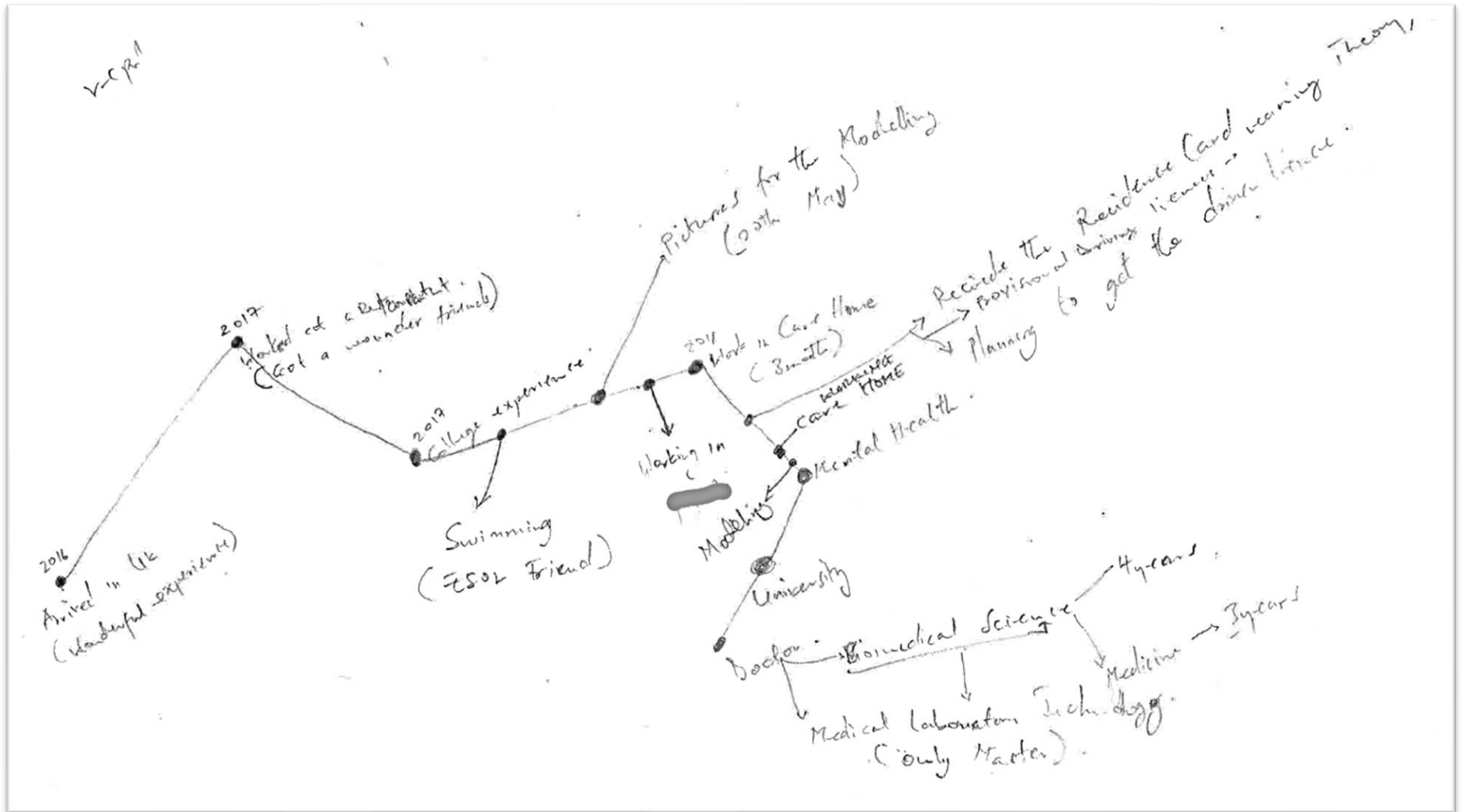
Ali



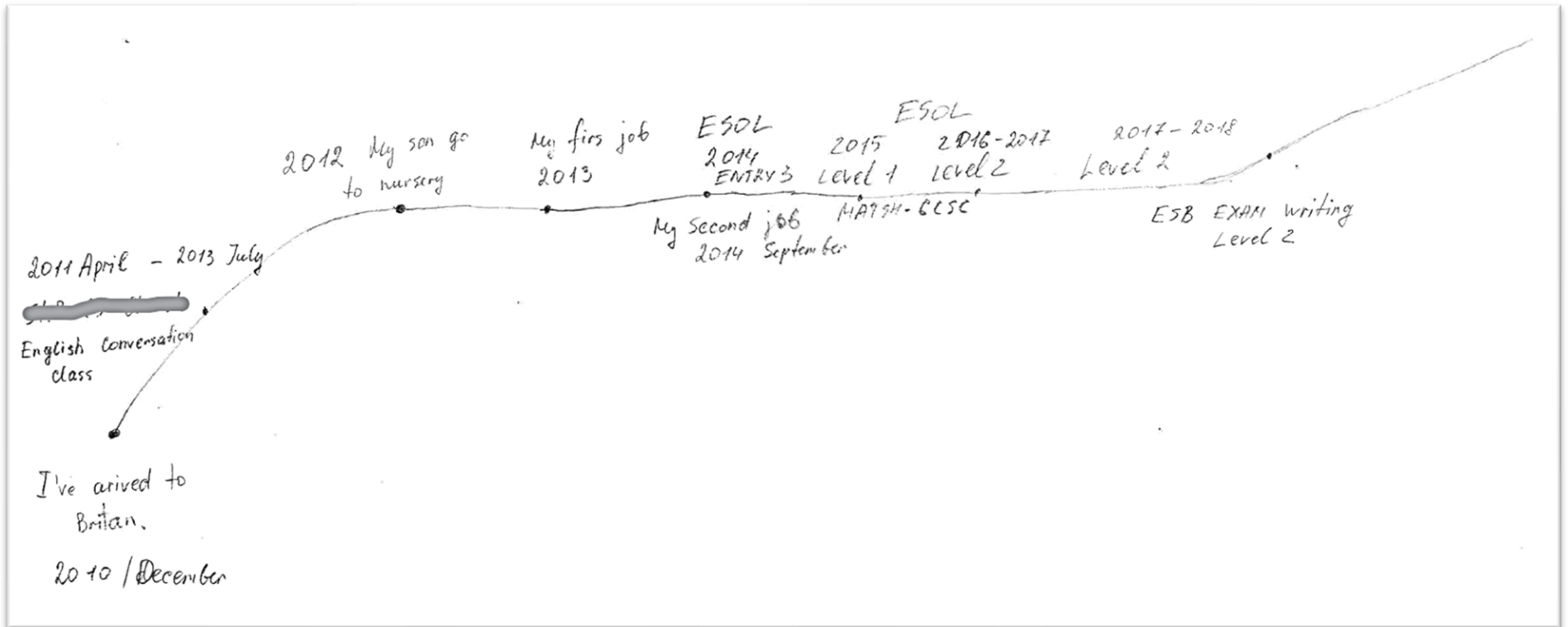
Anna



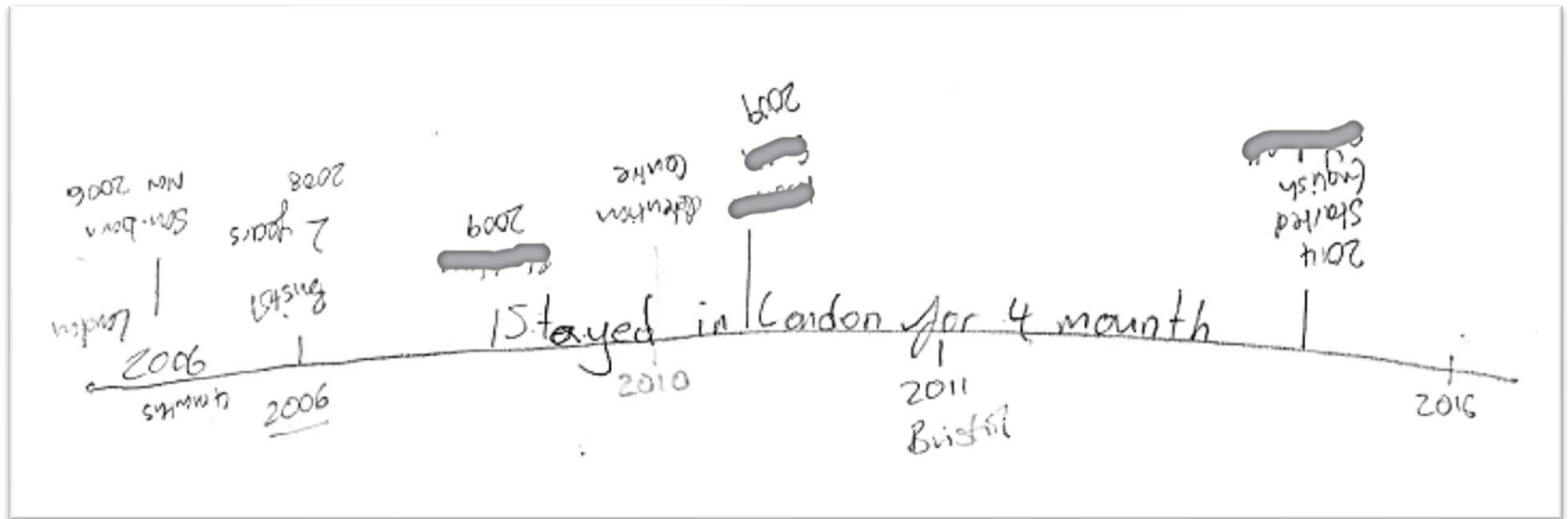
Edmund



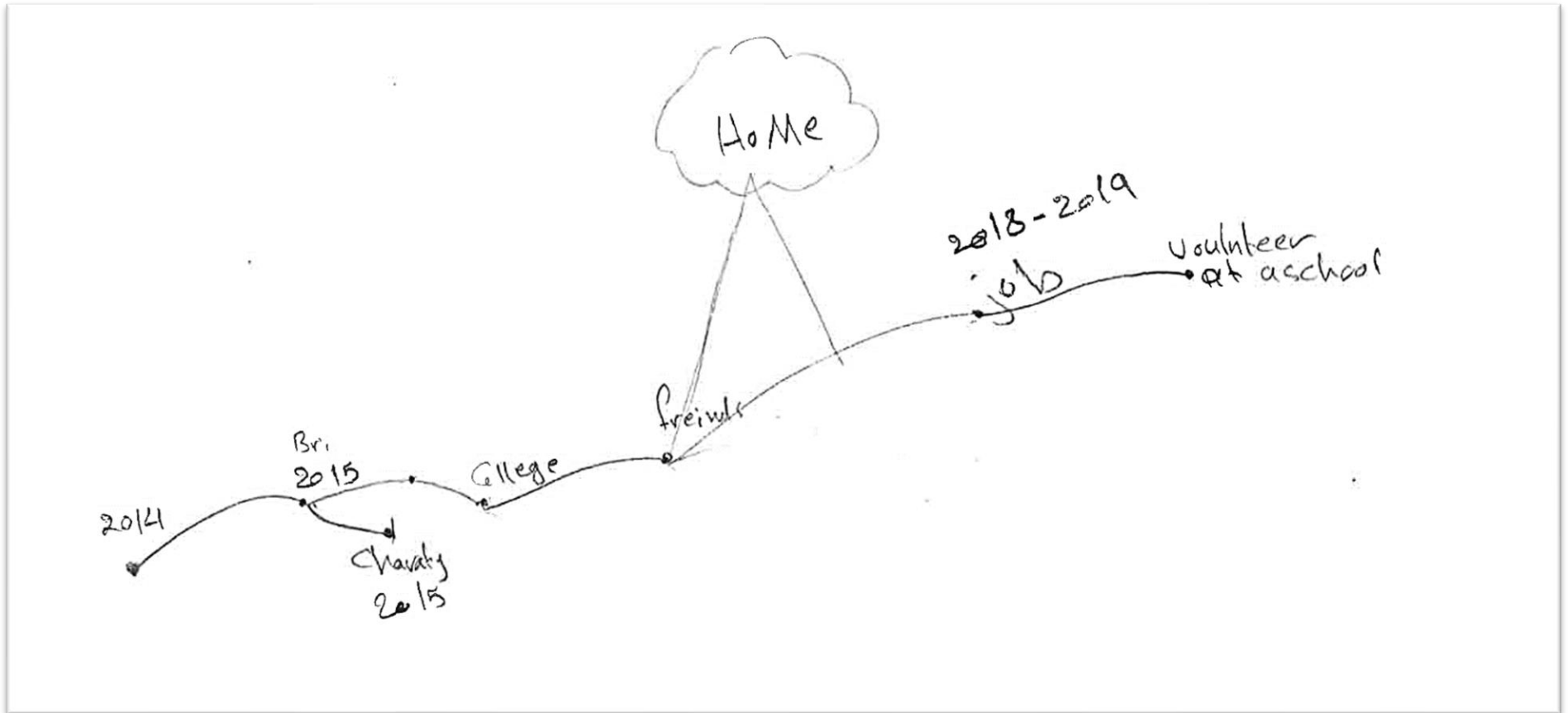
Emma



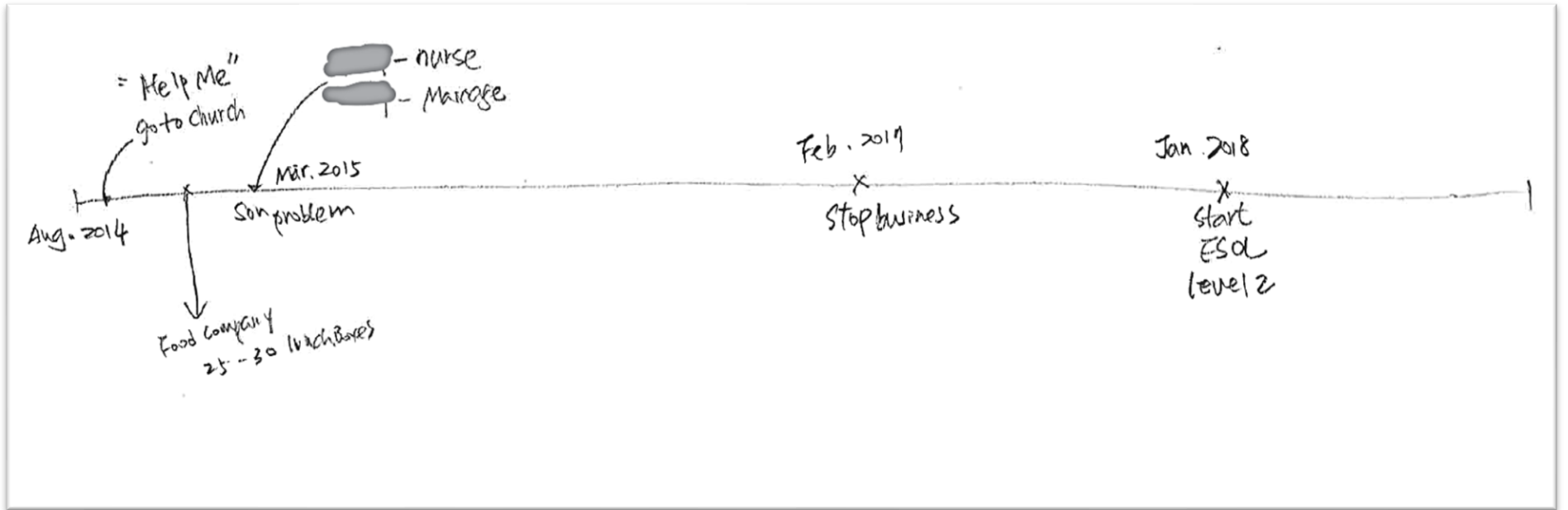
Fatmira



Flowers



Gill



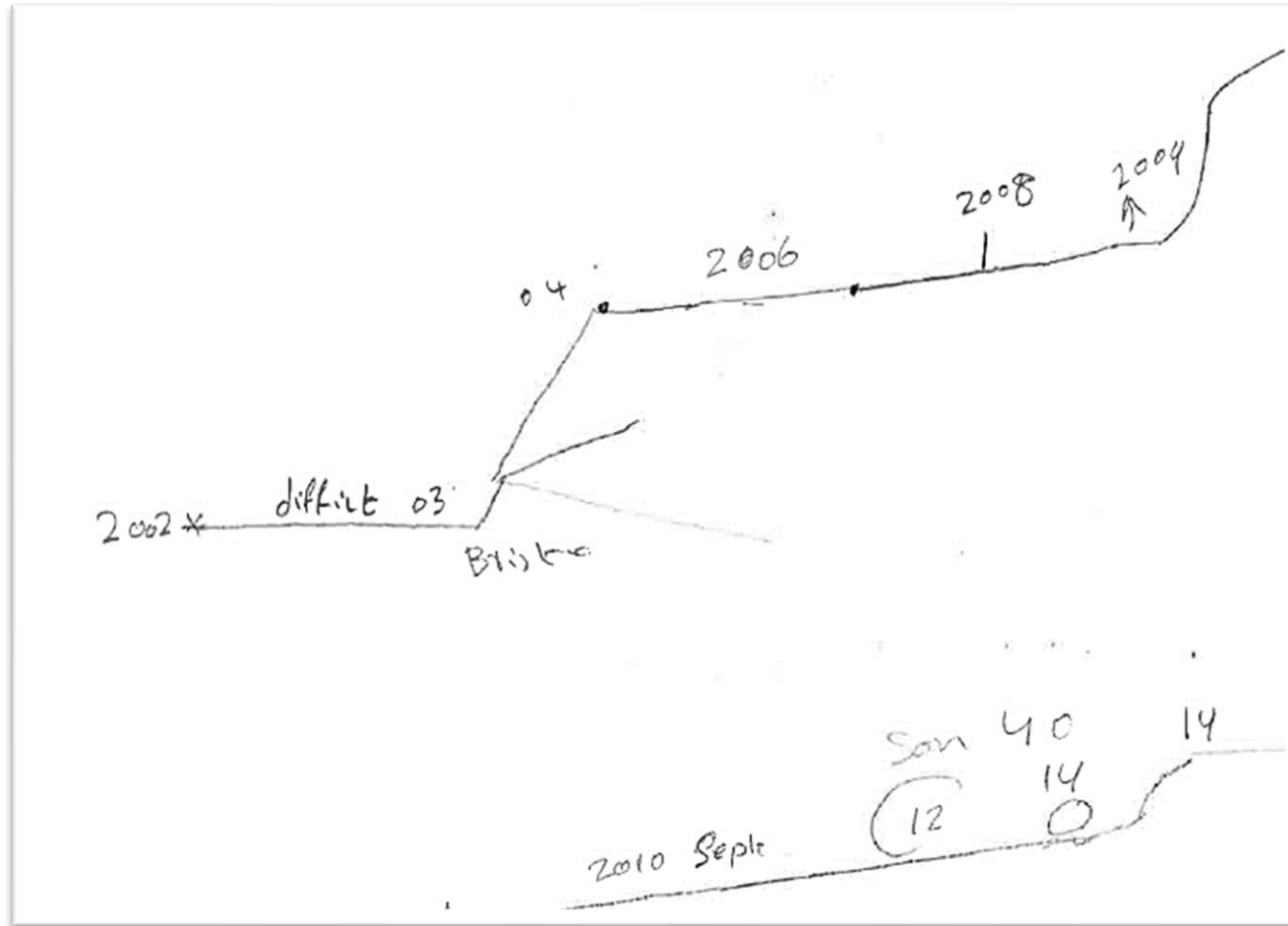
Muna

2004 Ph. S. S. /
starts in hostel
Children started school

May/June 2005
Moved to [redacted] - started ESL [redacted]
2005
2006 youngest son born
2007 [redacted]
2008 [redacted]
2016 bigger house
2009-10 [redacted]
2010 Volunteering

2016 [redacted]

Ranu



Appendix 7 **Teacher's Notes: Online questionnaire**

Thank you for agreeing to ask the students in your class to fill in this questionnaire. Here are some guidance notes.

For students to access the questionnaire you can either send them the link:

<https://gsoe.onlinesurveys.ac.uk/esol-learners>

or they can type the following address into their browser: gsoe.onlinesurveys.ac.uk/esol-learners

1. Learner information and consent

Please remind the learners that their answers are confidential and anonymous and cannot be matched to them.

It is important that the learners know the purpose of the questionnaire and that taking part is completely voluntary, and is not a requirement for their course. After they have read the information on the first page of the questionnaire, please ask the following questions:

1. Do you understand what this questionnaire is for? (Elicit some answers to check they understand the purpose).
2. Do you agree to fill in the questionnaire?

If they understand and agree, they should tick the boxes on the consent page. If they do not tick these boxes, they will not be able to continue with the questionnaire

Also on the consent page, they need to **confirm that they are currently attending ESOL /English classes.**

If anyone becomes upset because the questionnaire raises uncomfortable issues for them, please give them the option to stop filling it in. If they wish to stop, they can just close their browser without clicking 'finish', and the information will not be saved.

2. Guidance for completing the questionnaire

Please make sure the learners click 'Finish' at the end or all their answers will be lost!

Please ensure learners understand that they must put **their own views and opinions.**

Questions with option of 'other', please ask the learners to write in what the other is.

Questions with a scale of 1 to 5: Please clarify the answer format with the whole class. They should tick a number on a scale of 1 to 5 to reflect their experience or opinion.

For these questions that are in table format, they have the option of viewing them as separate questions. If they choose this, the 1 to 5 scale may be less easy to understand. It is probably best if they keep the questions in table format. If they choose to view as separate questions, please ensure they understand how to select their answer between 1 and 5.

Part 4: Please check that they know which questions to answer, depending on whether they have a job or not. If they have a job they will be routed to more questions about their job. If they do not have a job, they will be routed to Part 5.

Question 60: Please make sure participants only write the **first** part of postcode.

Questions 61 and 62: These questions are optional.

If learners want to go back to a previous page, they need to click the 'Previous' button at the bottom of the page, and *not* the back icon on their browser.

Finish later option: It is easier for the students if they finish the questionnaire in class. If this is not possible, they can click the 'finish later' option at the bottom of the page they are on. They will then be asked to supply their email address, to which a link will be sent. When they receive this email and click on the link, they will go straight to the questionnaire page they were on. The email is sent automatically by the questionnaire service and therefore I will not be able to see or find out their email address.

3. When the questionnaire is completed

Please remind learners that I will be asking them to complete a second questionnaire in about 6 months to see if things have changed for them whilst they have been attending ESOL classes.

If you or line manager have any questions please email me at jill.court@bristol.ac.uk

Many thanks for taking the time to help; your learners' answers are really important for this study!

Appendix 8 Teacher's Notes: Paper questionnaire

Thank you for agreeing to ask the students in your class to fill in this questionnaire. Here are some brief notes.

4. Learner information and consent

Please remind the learners that their answers are confidential and anonymous and cannot be matched to them.

It is important that the learners know the purpose of the questionnaire and that taking part is completely voluntary. After they have read the information on the front page of the questionnaire, please ask the following questions:

3. Do you understand what this questionnaire is for? (Elicit some answers to check they understand the purpose).
4. Do you agree to fill in the questionnaire?

If they understand and agree, they should tick the boxes at the top of page 2. If they fill in the questionnaire, please check that these boxes are ticked on the completed questionnaires. I cannot use their information if the boxes are not ticked.

If anyone becomes upset because the questionnaire raises uncomfortable issues for them, please give them the option to stop filling it in.

5. Guidance for completing the questionnaire

Please ensure learners understand that they must put **their own views and opinions**.

Questions with option of 'other', please ask the learners to write in what the other is.

Questions with a scale of 1 to 5: Please clarify the answer format with the whole class. They should tick a number on a scale of 1 to 5 to reflect their experience or opinion.

Part 4: Please check that they know which questions to answer, depending on whether they have a job or not.

Question 69: Please make sure participants only write the **first** part of postcode.

Questions 70 and 71: These questions are optional.

6. When the questionnaire is completed

Please place all the completed questions in the envelope provided. Please seal the envelope and return it to me.

Please remind learners that I will be asking them to complete a second questionnaire in about 6 months to see if things have changed for them whilst they have been attending ESOL classes.

If you or line manager have any questions please email me at jill.court@bristol.ac.uk

Many thanks for your help; your learners' answers are really important!

Appendix 9 ESOL questionnaire

Questionnaire: ESOL learners' opinions and experiences

What is the questionnaire for?

My name is Jill Court and I am doing a PhD in Education at the University of Bristol. Before that I was an ESOL teacher for over 14 years. I am doing research on ESOL learners' opinions and experiences of living in Britain and learning English.

This questionnaire is to find out more about the issues and problems for people who are learning English, and what is important for having a good life in Britain. This information can help improve services for ESOL learners.

Your opinions and experiences are very important and will be very useful for this research.

Filling in the questionnaire

Please do not write your name on this questionnaire. This questionnaire is anonymous and the information you give will not be matched to you. I will not use your answers to identify you or find your name. You do not need to show your answers to the teacher or any other students.

This questionnaire is confidential – no-one will read it except the research team. The questionnaires will be kept in a secure place. I will use the anonymous information to write about what I have found out about the experiences of ESOL learners. I may share what I have found out with other researchers, but no one will know who gave the information.

The questionnaire should take around 30 to 45 minutes.

Please answer all the questions in the questionnaire. After you have finished, please put it in the envelope your teacher has.

I will ask you **to fill in another questionnaire in about 6 months** to see if people's lives have changed.

It is your choice to fill in the questionnaire

You do not have to do the questionnaire – it is your choice. If you want to withdraw after completing the questionnaire, please email me or tell your ESOL teacher within two weeks from today. This will give me time to take your information out of the research.

Further questions or complaints

If you would like to ask me about the research my email is jill.court@bristol.ac.uk.

If you have any complaints, you can email me or my PhD supervisors at the University of Bristol. They are Dr. Frances Giampapa and Dr. Liz Washbrook. Their emails are frances.giampapa@bristol.ac.uk and liz.washbrook@bristol.ac.uk.

Important: Please answer these two questions:

I have read and understood the above information Yes No

I agree to fill in the questionnaire Yes No

These 3 questions will help me match this questionnaire with the second questionnaire that I will send your teacher in about 6 months.

I will not use these questions to find out your name.

<p>1. What is the name of your ESOL teacher?</p> <p>2. Where do you attend ESOL classes? Please write the name of the college or centre.</p> <p>3. What is your date of birth?</p>
<p>4. Please write today's date</p>

Part 1: Experiences of British People and Society

<p>5. In your opinion, how friendly are British people towards people from other countries? Please tick one number between 1 for usually not friendly and 5 for usually friendly. British people are....</p> <p style="text-align: center;"> Usually not friendly Usually friendly </p> <p style="text-align: center;"> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5 <input type="checkbox"/> </p>

<p>6. Think about when you speak English to British people. Usually, how helpful are people in trying to understand and talk to you? Please tick one number between 1 for usually not helpful and 5 for usually helpful. When I speak English, British people are...</p> <p style="text-align: center;"> Usually not helpful Usually helpful </p> <p style="text-align: center;"> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5 <input type="checkbox"/> </p>
<p>7. When you are not in ESOL class, how much do you talk to people from different nationalities/ cultures to you? Please tick one number between 1 for 'not much' and 5 for 'a lot'.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"> Not much A lot </p> <p style="text-align: center;"> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5 <input type="checkbox"/> </p>

<p>8. When you are not in ESOL class, how much do you talk to people who are from a similar nationality /culture to you? Please tick one number between 1 for 'not much' and 5 for 'a lot'.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"> Not much A lot </p> <p style="text-align: center;"> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5 <input type="checkbox"/> </p>
--

9. In the **last 12 months**, have you been insulted, called names, threatened or shouted at, in any of these places? You can tick more than one.
1. At college or work
 2. In a public place, for example on public transport, shops, in the street or park
 3. At home
 4. Other Please write other place.....
 5. **Or:** I have not been insulted, called names, threatened or shouted at
10. If you have been insulted, called names, threatened or shouted at, was it for any of these reasons? You can tick more than one.
1. Your sex or gender
 2. Your ethnicity or nationality
 3. Your religion
 4. Your language or accent
 5. Other reason Please write other reason.....
 6. **Or:** I have not been insulted, called names, threatened or shouted at

Now think about your neighbourhood, the area where you live.

11. How much do you talk to people in your local area? Please tick **one** number between 1 for not much and 5 for a lot.
- | | | | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Not much | | | | A lot |
| 1 <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 <input type="checkbox"/> |
12. How safe do you feel in your local area? Please tick **one** number between 1 for very unsafe and 5 for very safe.
- | | | | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Very unsafe | | | | very safe |
| 1 <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 <input type="checkbox"/> |

Part 2: Your English skills

13. How many **hours** of ESOL (English) class do you have a week?.....hours

14. What level ESOL class are you in? Please tick **one** answer.

Pre-entry E1 E2 E3 L1 L2 Other (please write level).....

15. What year did you **first start** ESOL classes in the UK?

16. How difficult do you find **speaking English for everyday activities** such as shopping or taking the bus? Please tick **one** answer.

1. It is not difficult

2. A little difficult

3. Fairly difficult

4. Very difficult

17. How difficult do you find **speaking English in more formal situations?** For example, in a job interview, at the hospital or GP, at work, or with your child's teacher. Please tick **one** answer.

1. It is not difficult

2. A little difficult

3. Fairly difficult

4. Very difficult

18. How difficult do you find **speaking English on the telephone?** Please tick **one** answer.

1. It is not difficult

2. A little difficult

3. Fairly difficult

4. Very difficult

19. How difficult do you find **reading formal letters or documents** in English? For example letters from the Home Office, solicitor or the bank. Please tick **one** answer.

1. It is not difficult

2. A little difficult

3. Fairly difficult

4. Very difficult

20. How difficult do you find **filling in official forms in English?** For example for a job, for housing or for the bank. Please tick **one** answer.

1. It is not difficult

2. A little difficult

3. Fairly difficult

4. Very difficult

Please go to page 5

Part 3: Your opinions about British life.

<p>21. Think about your life in Britain. How much do you feel part of British society? Please tick one number between 1 and 5.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"> I do not feel part of British society I feel part of British society </p> <p style="text-align: center;"> 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5 <input type="checkbox"/> </p>				
<p>In your opinion, how important are these things for having a good life in Britain? Please tick one answer for each of these things.</p>				
	Not important	Not very important	Quite important	Very important
22. A good job	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>
23. Friendly neighbours	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>
24. British people taking the time to listen when you talk	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>
25. Feeling confident about yourself	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>
26. Good English language skills	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>
27. Doing things by yourself without help from interpreters, family or friends	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>
28. Feeling British	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>
29. Being able to talk to people in your first language or languages	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>
30. Understanding British culture	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>
31. Being able to express your cultural and religious traditions	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>
32. Being free to express your opinions	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>
33. Feeling safe	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>
34. A good education	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>

35. How well do you understand British culture? Please tick **one** answer.

I don't understand
British culture at all

I understand British
culture very well

1

2

3

4

5

Part 4: Work experience

36. Do you have a paid job? Yes No

37. **If you do not have a paid job**, what is your plan for the future? Choose the **one** most important thing for you now.

1. Find **any** job
2. Find a job that is right for me
3. Study to get a new qualification
4. Other Please write other
5. I have a paid job

If you have a paid job, please answer questions **38-46**

If you do not have a paid job please go to question **47**

If you have a paid job

38. How many hours do you usually work per week?.....

39. What is your job?

If you have more than one job, write the job you spend the **most hours** doing.

40. Please tick the answer that best describes your job:

Permanent

Temporary / For a fixed time only

Agency / casual work

Other (If other, please write answer here).....

Thinking about **your job**, tick the best answer for each of these things. Please tick **one** answer for each question:

41. **Money:**

The money is good The money is OK The money is not good

42. **Hours:**

I work too many hours

I work the right amount of hours

I don't work enough hours

43. **People:**

The people are friendly

The people are OK

The people are not friendly

44. Is your job **interesting**?

My job is interesting

My job is OK

My job is not interesting

45. Is there another reason that you are happy or unhappy with your job?

.....
.....

46. What is your plan for the future? Choose the **one** most important thing for you now.

1. Find a job that is **better** than the job that I am doing now

2. Stay in the **same** job

3. **Study** to get a new qualification

4. Other Please write other.....

Part 5: About You. These questions are for everyone.

47. Do you do any of these things in your spare time? **You can tick more than one.**

1. Voluntary or unpaid job

2. Go to a leisure centre or fitness class

3. Play sport

4. Help out at child's school

5. Go to a community group or community centre

6. Other Please write other.....

48. This question is about your **health**. In general, is your health.....

1. Excellent

2. Very good

3. Good

4. Fair / OK

5. Poor

49. How much of the time during the **past 4 weeks** have you felt calm and peaceful?

1. All of the time

2. Most of the time

3. Some of the time

4. A little of the time

5. None of the time

50. What is your gender? man woman other

51. Which country were you **born** in?

52. Which **year** did you come to the UK?

If you don't know, write the year you think it is.

53. How long do you feel you can stay **in the UK**? Please tick **one** answer.

I am very sure I can stay as long as I want

I am fairly sure I can stay as long as I want

I don't know how long I can stay

I know that my stay here is temporary

54. Did you come to the UK as a refugee or asylum seeker? Yes No Don't know

55. Do you have a husband / wife / life partner? Yes no

56. If you have a husband / wife / life partner, do they live with you? Yes no

57. Do you have any children? Yes No

58. If you have children, how many children live with you now?

59. Please write your children's ages

60. What age did you **finish school**?

1. I did not go to school

2. younger than 10

3. between 10 and 14

4. between 15 and 18

5. I was over 18

61. Have you got a university degree? Yes No

These questions are about how you feel about the amount of **money** you have.

62. How often do you have enough money to buy the things you need?

Never

Always

1

2

3

4

5

63. Do you think you will have more money or less money to buy things **one year from now**?

Tick **one** answer.

1. I think I will have **more money**

2. I think I will have **about the same amount of money**

3. I think I will have **less money**

4. Other Please write other.....

These questions are about **your home**, where you live now.

64. In my home, I have enough space for me/ my family. Yes No

65. What condition is your home in? Please tick **one** answer.

My home is in a good condition

My home is OK

My home is in a bad condition

66. How sure are you that you can stay in your home as long as you want to? Please tick **one** answer.

1. I am very sure that I can stay as long as I want

2. I am fairly sure that I can stay as long as I want

3. I don't know how long I can stay

4. I know that this is a temporary home

67. What is your ethnicity?

Black

White

Asian

Arab

Other ethnicity (please write).....

68. What is your religion?

Christian

Muslim

Other (please write).....

None

69. What is the **first part** of your postcode? For example, if your postcode is SD1 1AL, the first part is SD1.

--	--	--	--

70. Is there anything else you want to say about learning English?

Please turn the page

71. Is there anything else you want to say about living in Britain?

Thank you for filling in this questionnaire. Your answers are really important.

I will send your teacher another questionnaire in about 6 months. I would be really grateful if you can fill in that one too because I want to see if people's situations have changed while learning English.

All your answers are confidential and anonymous – they will not be used to find your name.

I would also like to talk to some ESOL students to find out more about their opinions and experiences. If you live in Bristol, and think you would like to do this, please tell your teacher or email me and I can give you some more information about this.

Appendix 10 Modifications to questionnaire and mapping to Understanding Society

* Modelled on or adapted from Understanding Society

Question number			
Pilot	Main questionnaire	Modified/ removed/added/ same after pilot?	Explanation
n/a	1	added	to enable matching of first and second questionnaires
n/a	2	added	
	4	added	
1	5	modified	modified for clarity
2	n/a	removed	quite complex question, difficult to answer
3	6	modified	modified for clarity
4	7	same	Re-worded slightly for clarity
5	8	same	Re-worded slightly for clarity
6 *	n/a	removed	To reduce length; Q12 asks about feelings of safety
7*	n/a	removed	
8*	9*	modified	removed school from response option
9*	10*	modified	Religion now separate category to ethnicity and nationality to enable detection of this as a factor, especially for Muslim participants.
10	n/a	removed	To reduce length
11	11	same	
12	12	same	
13	n/a	removed	To reduce length; long, fairly complex questions; and can use postcode to get information about ethnic diversity in area from ONS
14	n/a	removed	
15	n/a	removed	
16	13	same	
17	14	same	
18	n/a	removed	learners may not know this information;
19	n/a	removed	
20	n/a	removed	
21	15	modified	Simplified question
22*	16*	same	
23	17	same	
24*	18*	same	
25*	19*	same	
26*	20*	same	
27	n/a	removed	potentially ambiguous; they may have needed one but not had anyone, difficult to remember accurately
28	21	same	Re-worded slightly for clarity
29*	n/a	removed	too long and complex, 'Britishness' addressed in Q28
30-41	22-34	modified	response options amended to increase clarity
n/a	30	Added	Also relevant to RQs
42	35	modified	reformulated as a semantic differential scale in order to reduce the amount of text to read
43*	36*	modified	Simplified
n/a	37	added	

Question number			
Pilot	Main questionnaire	Modified/ removed/added/ same after pilot?	Explanation
44	n/a	removed	Many missing responses, too sensitive, and participants may not know
45	n/a	removed	to reduce length
n/a	38*	added	to distinguish part time and full time work
46	39*	modified	Pilot did not clearly ask participant to state job
47*	40*	same	
48*	n/a	removed	to reduce length; job satisfaction can be measured from other questions
49	47	modified	moved to end of section and re-worded to make it optional
50	41	same	
51	42	same	
52	43	same	
53	44	modified	changed to 'Is your job interesting?' as original question too long and complicated. Can get a proxy for this information from other questions on job, previous education and there is also a chance to state this in the open ended question.
54	n/a	removed	to reduce length
55	n/a	removed	to reduce length
56 & 57	37 & 46	modified	to improve clarity
58	47	modified	Response options reduced to simplify
59*	48*	same	
60*	49*	same	
61*	3*	same	Moved to beginning of questionnaire so can clarify purpose to match the two questionnaires
62*	50*	modified	Re-worded to simplify
63	51	same	
64* & 65*	52*	modified	Now one question, to simplify
66*	55 & 56*	modified	to simplify
67 & 68*	57*, 58* & 59*	modified	to simplify
69	n/a	removed	to reduce length
70*	n/a	removed	to reduce length
71* & 72*	60* & 61	modified	to simplify and reduce ambiguity
73	62	modified	changed response options – In pilot no-one stated they had more than enough money.
74*	63	modified	Added 'other' response option (some participants annotated their answers)
75*	n/a	removed	to reduce length
76*	n/a	removed	to reduce length
77	n/a	removed	to reduce length; other questions can indicate level of satisfaction with home
78	n/a	removed	To reduce length
79	64	same	
80*	n/a	removed	To reduce length
81, 82	65 & 66	same	
83	53	same	moved to go with section on coming to UK
84-91	54	modified	linguistically and conceptually complicated, difficult to get accurate information
92*	67*	same	
93*	68*	modified	reduced response options to shorten and simplify

Question number			
Pilot	Main questionnaire	Modified/ removed/added/ same after pilot?	Explanation
94	69	same	
95&96	70&71	modified	re-worded and made optional
97		removed	to simplify, able to translate all the languages? Also not supported by online version

Appendix 11 Tests of linear regression model assumptions

For the multiple linear regression models, tests were carried out for linearity, homoscedasticity, normality, absence of multicollinearity, independence of residuals and to rule out influential outliers. All the VIF values fell below 10, tolerance values above .1 and Cook's distance values were below 1, and visual inspection did not reveal any systematic patterns or deviation from normality in the residuals, indicating that the assumptions were broadly met, apart from the following models which showed non-normal histograms and P-P plots: *Literacy skills* and ascribed characteristics (in Table 4.13); *Everyday speaking skills* and integration measures (in Table 4.14); and *talking to people from different backgrounds* and ascribed characteristics (in Table 4.17). This slight deviation from normality should be born in mind when evaluating the extent to which the findings from these models can be generalized beyond the sample. However, as the sample size is over 100 it is unlikely that this non-normality will have a severe effect on the results of these models (de Vaus, 2002).

Appendix 12 SoE research ethics form and approval for questionnaires

Name(s): **Jill Court**

Proposed research project: **PhD research. Adult ESOL learners' views on the barriers and facilitators to learning English and integration: Part 1.**

Proposed funder(s): **ESRC funded scholarship.**

Discussant for the ethics meeting: **<xxx>**

Name of supervisor: **Dr. Frances Giampapa and Dr. Liz Washbrook**

Has your supervisor seen this submitted draft of your ethics application? Y/N

Phd Project Outline

The study seeks to gain the perspectives of adult migrant and refugee ESOL learners (English for Speakers of Other Languages) on their experiences of learning English and making a life for themselves in Britain.

The working research questions are as follows:

1. A) How do ESOL learners conceptualise integration? B) What do ESOL learners feel is important for integration and having a good life in Britain?
2. A) What factors facilitate or impede language learning? B) What factors facilitate or impede integration?
3. How are language learning and integration inter-related in the experiences of ESOL learners?
4. What role do identity positionings play in the language learning and integration experiences of ESOL learners?

The study will use mixed methods and will be longitudinal in nature. **This ethics application concerns the quantitative part of the research project which involves questionnaires for ESOL learners of ESOL level Entry 2 and above.**

I will conduct a questionnaire of ESOL learners in Bristol, to be administered at two time points; the beginning (late September /October) and at the end (May/June) of the 2017/18 academic year. This is to explore the views of a wide range of ESOL learners and help me to consider what factors are associated with their experiences. I will ask ESOL teachers to administer the questionnaires with their learners in the classroom.

To address issues of representativeness in the Bristol sample, I will also recruit a national sample of ESOL learners for the questionnaire, to capture views of ESOL learners in different contexts and locations.

The questionnaire will be available in online and paper based versions.

Ethical issues discussed and decisions taken:

1. Researcher access/ exit

Participants for the Bristol questionnaire:

I have already obtained the permission of the ESOL manager at <xxx> in Bristol, to contact teachers by email to ask them to administer the questionnaire in class. I also have permission from the Course Organiser at <xxx> to contact the ESOL teachers there to ask them to administer the questionnaire with their learners.

I will also approach other providers of ESOL in Bristol to ask if they can administer the questionnaire in their classes. I have made contacts through attending a meeting of the <xxx>.

The questionnaire will be available online and in a paper version so the teachers can choose which is more suitable for their learners.

I intend to visit these providers to deliver and collect the paper questionnaires, and introduce the online questionnaire to classes if appropriate. I already have permission from <xxx> to do this, and will obtain permission from other providers before visiting them.

Participants for national questionnaire:

I will recruit participants from other parts of Britain by contacting ESOL teachers nationally through online forums and social media platforms aimed at ESOL teachers, and through contacts I have already made. For the teachers who agree to take part, they will have the option of the online questionnaire, paper versions (which I will post to them with an SAE in which to return them), or a pdf copy to print and use if they prefer. In my email messages to the teachers I will invite them and their line managers to email me if they have any queries or concerns about the project.

2. Information given to participants

The paper and online versions of the questionnaires will have a Participant Information section on the first page, which will explain the purpose of the questionnaire, what I am asking them to do and what I will do with the data. I have specifically focused on using accessible language in wording this, to make it comprehensible to ESOL learners. To ensure this, I have drawn on my extensive experience of teaching and designing materials for adults with low levels of English language and literacy. I have also had this information checked by another ESOL teacher who has extensive knowledge of ESOL learners' needs.

As the intention is for the questionnaires to be administered in class by the teachers, I will provide the teacher with further information on the purpose of the research by email which they can use to answer any questions and give explanations to their students.

I will also supply teachers with Teachers Notes for guidance when they administer the questionnaire.

3. Informed consent

I will ask the teachers to read the participant information section with their learners before the questionnaire is completed. If they are using the online version of the questionnaire, the teachers will have a pdf copy to use in class. I will ask them to check that the learners understand the information – as ESOL teachers this will be part of normal teaching practice, and I anticipate that they will have the skills for this.

As the questionnaire will be administered by teachers I will take several precautions to reinforce to participants that taking part is optional.

The participant information page stresses that it is the learners' choice whether they participate or not.

In the Teacher's Notes, I will stress that the learners must be fully aware that participation is entirely voluntary, and the questionnaire is optional and not a coursework or other requirement for their course.

After reading the information, the participants will be required to answer two questions, confirming that they have read and understood the participant information and that they agree to fill in the questionnaire. For the online version, they cannot continue if they do not confirm these two items. For the paper version, I will stress the importance to the teachers that the learners confirm these before they complete the questionnaire. If the learners do not want to participate, I will ask teachers to ensure they have another activity for the learners to do.

On the online questionnaire, I will not make any questions required, except for the consent screening questions, and the questions required for matching the first and second questionnaires. This is so that if they are uncomfortable about any other questions they are not obliged to answer them.

4. Participants' right of withdrawal

The participant information page states that participants can withdraw by ceasing to fill in the questionnaire at any time, and the instructions that I provide to teachers will ask them to make this clear to students verbally.

For the online questionnaire, the Teacher's Notes explain that if students want to stop at any time and not continue, they can just close their browser without clicking 'finish' and their questionnaire answers will not be saved.

The participant information page states that they will also be able to withdraw after they have completed the questionnaire. If they wish to do so, they can either email me or tell their teacher of their wish to withdraw. If they do so, as the questionnaire is anonymous, I will need to have a few details such as ESOL class details and date of birth and then I can find and destroy or delete their responses.

I will ask them to do this within two weeks, so that I can take out their responses before I start to analyse the data.

5. Complaints procedure

The participant information sheet states that if participants wish to make a complaint, they can email my supervisors – their email addresses are provided. They will also be able to email me.

6. Safety and well-being of participants/ researchers

It is not anticipated that there will be any particular safety/ well-being issues. However, I will state in the teacher's notes that if a participant wishes to stop filling in the questionnaire because the questions raise any uncomfortable issues, that they must be allowed to do so.

7. Anonymity/ confidentiality

The questionnaires will be anonymous and the participants will be informed of this in the information sheet, and instructed not to write their names on the questionnaire, or show their answer to their teacher or other students.

In order to match the first questionnaire with the second, I will ask for certain details so that I can do this without requiring participant names. These will be: their ESOL class teacher, the name of the organisation where they attend ESOL classes, and their DOB. They will be assured that these will not be used to find their names or identify them.

All data reporting and any dissemination of the research will be anonymous and participants will not be identifiable.

8. Data collection

I have endeavoured to make the paper and online questionnaires as accessible as possible to learners of the ESOL level Entry 2 and above, in an attempt to ensure everyone in the ESOL classes involved can take part and express their views.

9. Data analysis

I will seek guidance from my supervisors to ensure that I undertake appropriate analysis and interpretation of the data.

10. Data storage and data protection act

I will collect and store data in compliance with the Data Protection Act.

I will keep the questionnaires in a safe place and destroy them when I have completed the PhD. The digital data from the questionnaires will be stored on the password protected secure University of Bristol network. I shall only use the data for the purposes of my research.

Participants will be informed of the purpose of the data collection and research. I will do my best to ensure that I only collect data relevant to my study.

11. Feedback

ESOL teachers will be able access a report of my findings after the PhD study has been completed. This will be made available on the ESOL Research forum, through NATECLA (the professional association for ESOL teachers), and by email on request.

12. Responsibilities to colleagues/ academic community

I will endeavour to ensure that the research is of a high quality and meets the standards of my institution: the School of Education at the University of Bristol.

Whilst carrying out the fieldwork and writing up the research I will endeavour to behave in a professional and appropriate manner, ensuring that I act respectfully and sensitively towards the participants and being transparent and truthful about my methods and interpretations

13. Reporting of research

The participant information page states that I may share the results of my research with other researchers – but all data will be anonymous.

Signed: *Jill Court* (Researcher) Signed: <xxx> (Discussant)
Date: 20/9/17



Jill Court <jc12366@my.bristol.ac.uk>

Ethics Online Tool: application signed off

1 message

Research Governance and Ethics Officer [REDACTED]@bristol.ac.uk
To: jc12366@my.bristol.ac.uk

Tue, Oct 3, 2017 at 2:25 PM

Your online ethics application for your research project "Adult ESOL learners' views on the barriers and facilitators to learning English and integration: Part 1." has been granted ethical approval. Please ensure that any additional required approvals are in place before you undertake data collection, for example NHS R&D Trust approval, Research Governance Registration or Site Approval.

For your reference, details of your online ethics application can be found online here:

<http://www.bristol.ac.uk/red/ethics-online-tool/applications/58244>

Appendix 13 SoE research ethics form and approval for interviews

Name(s): **Jill Court**

Proposed research project: **PhD research. Adult ESOL learners' experiences of learning English and integration. Part 2.**

Proposed funder(s): **ESRC funded scholarship.**

Discussant for the ethics meeting: **<xxx>**

Name of supervisor: **Dr. Frances Giampapa and Dr. Liz Washbrook**

Has your supervisor seen this submitted draft of your ethics application? Y/N

Outline of the project

The study seeks to gain the perspectives of adult migrant and refugee ESOL learners (English for Speakers of Other Languages) on their experiences of learning English and making a life for themselves in the UK.

The guiding research questions are as follows:

1. A) How do ESOL learners conceptualise integration? B) What do ESOL learners feel is important for integration and having a good life in Britain?
2. A) What factors facilitate or impede language learning? B) What factors facilitate or impede integration?
3. How are language learning and integration inter-related in the experiences of ESOL learners?
4. What role do identity positionings play in the language learning and integration experiences of ESOL learners?

The study will use mixed methods and will be longitudinal in nature. The main focus will be on ESOL learners in Bristol which has significant ESOL provision.

This ethics application is for the qualitative, one to one interviews, or 'conversations', which I intend to carry out with approximately 10 ESOL learners in Bristol.

The aim is to have three conversations with each participant over the academic year 2017/18 in order to explore with them their experiences of the processes of learning English and integration. I will visit ESOL classes in Bristol to recruit participants.

I aim to find three ESOL teachers to help me recruit participants. I plan to visit their classes regularly to recruit and retain participants. I will negotiate with the ESOL teacher and manager what role I will play in the classroom e.g. just drop in to say 'hello' regularly, or help out with some learning activities.

The conversations will last approximately 1 – 1½ hours and will take place in a private room at the settings if available.

The conversations will include graphic and visual elicitation methods, such as photo elicitation and drawing timelines.

If I recruit any participants with lower levels of English proficiency, I may use an interpreter if available.

Ethical issues discussed and decisions taken

1. Researcher access/ exit

I already have obtained the permission of the ESOL manager at <xxx>, to ask teachers if I can visit their class to recruit participants.

I will also approach other providers of ESOL in Bristol to ask to visit to recruit participants. I will seek permission from the manager or other appropriate staff member before visiting any settings to recruit participants.

After the conversations, I will thank everyone involved.

2. Information given to participants

The participant will read an information sheet before the conversation which will explain the purpose of the research, what I am asking them to do and what I will do with the data. I have specifically focused on using accessible language in wording this, to make it comprehensible to ESOL learners. To ensure this, I have drawn on my extensive experience of teaching and designing materials for adults with low levels of English language and literacy. I will also read the information to them, and check verbally that they understand the information, using my experience of teaching learners with low levels of English.

If an interpreter is being used, I will ask them to explain the participant information in the participant's first language.

I have prepared two separate participant information and consent forms to use depending on whether an interpreter will be present in the conversations.

3. Participants right of withdrawal

The participant information sheet states that they have the right to withdraw at any stage of the research. If they want to withdraw, they can talk to me or email me, or tell their ESOL teacher.

If the participants say something in the conversations that they do not want used in the study, they can tell me and I will not use it in my analysis.

4. Informed consent

Before carrying out the research I will ensure participants have understood the participant information, which will be given to them in writing and verbally, and had the opportunity to ask questions, before signing the consent form. If for any reason they do not wish to give their signature, I will ask them to verbally give their consent on an audio recording.

I will also verbally confirm the consent at the beginning of each conversation.

5. Complaints procedure

If a participant has a complaint they can talk to me or email me. They will also be able to email my supervisors.

6. Safety and well-being of participants/ researchers

I am not anticipating any safety issues, although there is the potential for sensitive issues to arise that may cause distress or upset.

If participants become distressed during the conversations they will have the chance to pause or terminate the session.

If particularly sensitive information is revealed during the conversations, I will check with the relevant participants whether they want it discounted from the transcription and analysis.

I will take note of the fire exits in the building where the conversation is taking place, so that if the alarm sounds, I can ensure the participant, myself and the interpreter, if applicable, can exit the building.

7. Anonymity/ confidentiality

The conversations will take place in a private room if available.

I will not use the participants' real names in the analysis and write up of the findings and the participants will be offered the chance to choose their own pseudonym.

I will discuss with the participant the fact that I will use any graphics produced by them in the write up and possibly dissemination of the findings. I will anonymise these by removing names and other identifying features. However, as this may change the meaning of the graphic, I will involve the participants in decisions about how to do this, and to what extent they want the graphics to be anonymised for use in the study only, as well as for wider dissemination. I will obtain signed, written confirmation of this negotiated use of the graphics.

If an interpreter is going to be present during the conversations, I will initiate a discussion of issues of confidentiality between the participant, the interpreter and myself. I will ensure that the interpreter signs a simple statement confirming that they will maintain confidentiality.

In addition, the participant information will tell the participant that they should not say anything in the conversations that they do not want me or the interpreter to know.

If appropriate, participants will be able to request that specific information they have disclosed in the conversations is not used in the study.

If participants disclose harm or danger to themselves or others, I am obliged to disclose this to appropriate authorities.

8. Data collection

I plan to audio record the conversations. I will obtain written consent before doing so.

If participants have to make a special journey to take part in the conversation, I will reimburse their travel expenses if appropriate.

In the conversations I will use photos that I have taken myself of various scenarios. If photos that I take of public places include people, I will ensure that their faces are obscured.

I may also use photos and images that are online under Creative Commons licenses. If I do so I will comply with the particular licence for each image.

If participants produce a timeline/ time map or other graphic I will seek written permission to use it for my study and in dissemination of my findings.

9. Data analysis

I will seek guidance from my supervisors to ensure that I undertake appropriate analysis and interpretation of the data.

The audio data will be transcribed for analysis. Pseudonyms will be used in the transcription, analysis and write up of the research.

10. Data storage and Data Protection Act

I will collect and store data in compliance with the Data Protection Act. I will transfer the audio data directly from the recording device to the secure University of Bristol network. The data will then be wiped from the recording devices. I shall only use the data for the purposes of my research. The audio data will not be listened to by anyone apart from myself. Participants will be informed of this on the consent form.

Participants will be informed of the purpose of the data collection and research. I will do my best to ensure that I only collect data relevant to my study.

11. Feedback

ESOL teachers will be able access a report of my findings after the PhD study has been completed. This will be made available on the ESOL Research forum, through NATECLA (the professional association for ESOL teachers), and by email on request.

12. Responsibilities to colleagues/ academic community

I will endeavour to ensure that the research is of a high quality and meets the standards of my institution: the School of Education at the University of Bristol.

Whilst carrying out the fieldwork and writing up the research I will endeavour to behave in a professional and appropriate manner, ensuring that I act respectfully and sensitively towards the participants and being transparent and truthful about my methods and interpretations.

14. Reporting of research

The participant information sheet states that I may share the results of my research with other researchers – but all data will be anonymous.

Signed: Jill Court (Researcher) Signed: <xxx> (Discussant)
Date: 29/9/17



Jill Court <jc12366@my.bristol.ac.uk>

Ethics Online Tool: application signed off

1 message

Research Governance and Ethics Officer [REDACTED]@bristol.ac.uk>
To: jc12366@my.bristol.ac.uk

Wed, Oct 25, 2017 at 4:21 PM

Your online ethics application for your research project "Adult ESOL learners' experiences of learning English and integration. Part 2." has been granted ethical approval. Please ensure that any additional required approvals are in place before you undertake data collection, for example NHS R&D Trust approval, Research Governance Registration or Site Approval.

For your reference, details of your online ethics application can be found online here:

<http://www.bristol.ac.uk/red/ethics-online-tool/applications/58922>

Appendix 14 Participant information and consent form for interviews

Research Project: ESOL Learners' Opinions and Experiences

Participant Information

- **What is the research?**

My name is Jill Court and I am doing a PhD in Education at the University of Bristol. Before that I was an ESOL teacher for over 14 years. I am doing research on ESOL learners' experiences of learning English and living in Britain. This information may help improve services for ESOL learners.

Your opinions and experiences are very important and will be very useful for this research.

- **What will we do?**

I would like to have some conversations with you (talk to you) about your opinions and experiences.

I would like to have three conversations with you, for example in November, February and in April.

The conversations should take about 1 hour.

The conversations will take place at [*name of ESOL site*].

We can arrange times that are good for you.

I would like to audio record these conversations. I will use these audio recordings to write about what you have said for my research.

I would like to use some things to help us talk to each other, for example photographs and paper and pens. If you do not want to use these things, that is OK.

- **Do I have to have the conversations?**

You do not have to have the conversations, it is your choice.

You can stop at any time during the conversations. If you want to stop you can tell me, or email me.

If you do not want to continue with the conversations, please tell me.

If you say something in the conversations that you don't want me to use, tell me and I will not use it in the study.

- **What will happen to the information from the conversations?**

I am the only person who will listen to the audio.

I will use the information from the conversations for my research.

When writing about what you have said, I will not use your real name. You can choose a pseudonym (false name).

I may share what I have found out with other researchers, but I will not use your name.

You do not have to tell me anything that you do not want me to know.

I will keep the audio data in a secure place on the University computer network.

If you have any questions you can talk to me or email me at jill.court@bristol.ac.uk

If you have any complaints, you can email me or my PhD supervisors at the University of Bristol. They are Dr. Frances Giampapa and Dr. Liz Washbrook. Their emails are frances.giampapa@bristol.ac.uk and liz.washbrook@bristol.ac.uk.

Research Project: ESOL Learners' Opinions and Experiences

Consent Form

Please answer the following questions:

I have read and understood the information about the research on pages 1&2	Yes/No
I agree to take part in the conversations	Yes /No
I agree for the conversations to be audio recorded	Yes/No
I agree that the information from the conversations can be used in the study, but my real name will not be used.	Yes/No
I understand that I can withdraw (stop having the conversations) at any time	Yes /No

I would like my pseudonym to be:.....

Signature.....

Name (printed).....

Date.....

Appendix 15 **Consent forms for timelines and photos**

Research Project: ESOL Learners' Opinions and Experiences

Permission to use timeline

These questions are about how I would like to use the timeline from the conversations

I understand that my real name, or other people's names on the timeline, will not be used – they will be blanked out.	Yes /No
I agree that photographs of the timeline can be used in writing up the research project	Yes /No
I agree that photographs of the timeline can be used in sharing the research results with other researchers for example in a presentation, or a report or article in a journal.	Yes/ No

Signature.....

Name (printed).....

Date.....

Research Project: ESOL Learners' Opinions and Experiences

Permission to use photographs

These questions are about how I would like to use the photographs from the conversations

I understand that my real name will not be used with the photographs	Yes /No
I agree that the photographs can be used in writing up the research project	Yes /No
I agree that the photographs can be used in sharing the research results with other researchers, for example in a presentation, a report or article in a journal.	Yes/ No

Signature.....

Name (printed).....

Date.....

Appendix 16 Descriptive statistics for all questionnaire items

NB. All measures for longitudinal samples taken at baseline.

Ascribed characteristics		Cross-sectional sample		Longitudinal sample	
		N	%	N	%
Gender	Male	110	27.1	43	28.7
	Female	294	72.4	107	71.3
	Other	2	.5	0	0
	Total N	406		150	
Age	18-25	47	12.3	21	14.8
	26-35	143	37.4	47	33.1
	36-45	126	33.0	47	33.1
	46-71	66	17.3	27	19.0
	Total N	382		142	
	Mean (SD)	36.56 (9.55)		36.94 (10.01)	
Time in UK	Under 2 years	56	14.2	15	10.1
	2-4 years	151	38.4	64	43.2
	5-10 years	105	26.7	36	24.3
	Over 10 years	81	20.6	33	22.3
	Total N	393		148	
	Mean (SD)	6.2 (5.58)		6.47 (5.92)	
Religion	Christian	134	34.2	53	36.6
	Muslim	187	47.7	66	45.5
	Other	35	8.9	8	5.5
	None	36	9.2	18	12.4
	Total N	392		145	
Ethnicity	Black	90	22.8	26	17.7
	White	124	31.4	44	29.9
	Asian	121	30.6	55	37.4
	Arab	46	11.6	15	10.2
	Other	14	3.5	7	4.8
	Total N	395		147	
Arrived as refugee/asylum seeker	Yes	117	30.8	47	32.6
	No	250	65.8	92	63.9
	Don't know	13	-	5	
	Total N	380		144	-
Highest education level	None/left before 15	60	15.7	24	16.3
	15 or over (no degree)	197	51.4	74	50.3
	Has degree	126	32.9	49	33.3
	Total N	383		147	
	No school/ 14 or under	60	15.7	24	16.3
Lives with partner/spouse	Yes	253	64.4	96	65.3
	No	140	35.6	51	34.7
	Total N	393		47	
Has 1 or more children under 16 living with them	Yes	228	58.8	91	61.5
	No	160	41.2	57	38.5
	Total N	388		148	
Born in EU country	Yes	94	23.7	35	24.3
	No	302	76.3	109	75.7
	Total N	396		144	
Country of birth (grouped)	Europe	115	29	43	29.9
	Africa	97	24.5	25	17.4
	Asia	154	38.9	63	43.8
	Americas	30	7.6	13	9.0
	Total N	396		144	

Reported countries of birth for cross-sectional sample (total countries =76)					
Country	N	%	Country	N	%
Afghanistan	15	3.8	Italy	3	.8
Africa	1	.3	Jamaica	1	.3
Albania	10	2.5	Jordan	1	.3
Algeria	6	1.5	Kosovo	3	.8
Angola	3	.8	Kurdistan	2	.5
Arab	1	.3	Kurdistan Iraq	5	1.3
Bangladesh	13	3.3	Kuwait	1	.3
Belarus	1	.3	Latvia	4	1.0
Bolivia	1	.3	Lebanon	1	.3
Brazil	9	2.3	Libya	2	.5
Brazil /Italy	1	.3	Lithuania	5	1.3
Bulgaria	15	3.8	Moldova	2	.5
Cameroon	1	.3	Morocco	8	2.0
Cape Verde	1	.3	Nepal	2	.5
Chad	1	.3	Pakistan	13	3.3
China	9	2.3	Palestine	1	.3
Colombia	6	1.5	Poland	29	7.3
Croatia	1	.3	Portugal	3	.8
Czech Republic	2	.5	Republic of Moldova	1	.3
Dominican Republic	1	.3	Romania	6	1.5
DR Congo	1	.3	Russia	2	.5
East Timor	2	.5	Senegal	1	.3
Ecuador	4	1.0	Slovakia	1	.3
Egypt	2	.5	Somalia	32	8.1
England	1	.3	Somalia (Djibouti)	1	.3
Equatorial Guinea	1	.3	South Korea	1	.3
Eritrea	13	3.3	Spain	9	2.3
Ethiopia	3	.8	Sri Lanka	11	2.8
European country	1	.3	Sudan	23	5.8
France	2	.5	Syria	12	3.0
Germany	4	1.0	Thailand	6	1.5
Greece	1	.3	Turkey	7	1.8
Guinea	1	.3	UK	2	.5
Guinea-Bissau	1	.3	Ukraine	1	.3
Hungary	6	1.5	Venezuela	2	.5
India	4	1.0	Vietnam	2	.5
Iran	27	6.8	Yemen	3	.8
Iraq	14	3.5	Zimbabwe	1	.3
			Total	396	100.0

Language difficulty items	Difficulty speaking English for everyday activities %				Difficulty speaking English in formal situations %				Difficulty speaking English on the telephone %				Difficulty reading formal letters or documents %				Difficulty filling in official forms in English %			
	cross-sectional		longitudinal		cross-sectional		longitudinal		cross-sectional		longitudinal		cross-sectional		longitudinal		cross-sectional		longitudinal	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
It is not difficult	114	28.2	46	31.1	29	7.2	9	6.0	28	6.9	11	7.4	64	15.8	22	14.8	66	16.3	22	14.7
A little difficult	228	56.4	83	56.1	196	48.5	83	55.7	160	39.6	59	39.6	182	45.0	66	44.3	162	40.1	66	44.0
Fairly difficult	42	10.4	13	8.8	124	30.7	37	24.8	130	32.2	49	32.9	115	28.5	48	32.2	117	29.0	44	29.3
Very difficult	20	5.0	6	4.1	55	13.6	20	13.4	86	21.3	30	20.1	43	10.6	13	8.7	59	14.6	18	12.0
Mean		1.92		1.86		2.51		2.46		2.68		2.66		2.34		2.35		2.42		2.39
SD		.76		.74		.82		.80		.89		.88		.87		.84		.93		.88
N	404		148		404		149		404		149				404				150	

Factors important for good life in Britain	Cross-sectional N=409								Longitudinal N=150							
	N	Mean	SD	Not important %	Not very important %	Quite important %	Very important %	N	Mean	SD	Not important %	Not very important %	Quite important %	Very important %		
Feeling safe	394	3.88	.39	0.3	1.5	8.4	89.8	143	3.92	.28	0	0	8.4	91.6		
A good education	397	3.83	.44	0.0	2.5	11.8	85.6	144	3.82	.40	0	.7	16.7	82.6		
Good English language skills	391	3.79	.46	0.3	1.5	17.6	80.6	144	3.78	.44	0	1.4	18.8	79.9		
Feeling confident about yourself	396	3.76	.49	0.3	2.0	19.7	78.0	144	3.75	.50	0	2.7	19.9	77.4		
A good job	395	3.75	.55	1.0	2.5	16.7	79.7	146	3.74	.53	.7	2.1	19.9	77.4		
Doing things by yourself without help from interpreters, family or friends	397	3.59	.66	1.5	5.0	26.2	67.3	145	3.61	.68	1.4	6.9	21.4	70.3		
Being free to express your opinions	393	3.53	.69	1.8	6.1	29.0	63.1	143	3.57	.66	1.4	4.9	29.4	64.3		
British people taking the time to listen when you talk	392	3.44	.64	1.3	4.3	43.6	50.8	144	3.39	.60	.7	4.2	50.7	44.4		
Understanding British culture	399	3.43	.71	1.5	8.5	35.3	54.6	148	3.51	.63	.7	5.4	36.5	57.4		
Friendly neighbours	394	3.42	.71	2.0	6.9	38.6	52.5	144	3.42	.73	2.1	7.6	36.1	54.2		
Being able to express your cultural and religious traditions	395	3.17	.85	3.8	17.5	36.5	42.3	146	3.14	.83	3.4	17.8	40.4	38.4		
Feeling British	392	3.01	.91	6.4	21.2	37.5	34.9	145	2.92	.91	6.2	26.9	35.2	31.7		
Being able to talk to people in your first language or languages	390	2.78	1.03	13.8	24.4	31.5	30.3	145	2.76	.96	12.4	26.9	33.1	27.6		
Average over 13 items	352	3.50	.32					132	3.49	.29						

Affective integration variables		Cross-sectional sample		Longitudinal sample	
		N	%	N	%
How safe person feels in local area	1. Very unsafe	9	2.3	3	2.0
	2.	31	7.8	12	8.1
	3.	69	17.4	25	16.9
	4.	131	33.0	52	35.1
	5. Very safe	157	39.5	56	37.8
Total N		397		148	
Mean (SD)		4.00 (1.03)		3.99(1.03)	
Experienced harassment in last 12 months*	Yes	123	30.8	45	30.4
	Total N	399		148	
Perceived reason for harassment (more than one option could be selected; %age = total sample)	sex or gender	4	1.0	1	0.7
	Ethnicity or nationality	46	11.5	18	12.2
	Religion	30	7.5	7	4.7
	Language or accent	41	10.3	16	10.8
	Other	11	2.8	5	3.4
Total N		399		148	
Certainty of stay in UK	I am very sure I can stay as long as I want	231	58.3	80	54.4
	I am fairly sure I can stay as long as I want	79	19.9	32	21.8
	I don't know how long I can stay	74	18.7	32	21.8
	I know that my stay here is temporary	12	3.0	3	2.0
	Total N		396		147
Time in past 4 weeks felt calm and peaceful†	1. All the time	50	12.6	14	9.5
	2. Most of the time	154	38.8	62	42.2
	3. Some of the time	139	35.0	49	33.3
	4. A little of the time	40	10.1	15	10.2
	5. None of the time	14	3.5	7	4.8
	Total N		397		147
Mean (SD)		2.53 (.96)		3.41 (1.05)	
Health† N = 404	1. Excellent	64	15.8	19	12.8
	2. Very good	125	30.9	43	28.9
	3. Good	156	38.6	57	38.3
	4. Fair/okay	41	10.1	21	14.1
	5. Poor	18	4.5	9	6.0
Total N		404		149	
Mean (SD)		2.56 (1.02)		3.28 (1.05)	

Notes. † denotes Likert type rating variable treated as continuous, scale 1-5. †† denotes continuous scale 0-5.

Social integration variables		Cross-sectional sample		Longitudinal sample	
		N	%	N	%
How much person feels part of British society	1. I do not feel part of British society	21	5.4	7	4.9
	2.	55	14.0	19	13.4
	3.	139	35.5	52	36.6
	4.	112	28.6	45	31.7
	5. I feel part of British society	65	16.6	19	13.4
Total N		392		142	
Mean (SD)		3.37 (1.08)		3.35	
Understanding of British culture	1. I do not understand British culture at all	12	3.0	4	2.7
	2.	42	10.4	19	12.7
	3.	173	42.8	63	42.0
	4.	127	31.4	54	36.0
	5. I understand British culture very well	50	12.4	10	6.7
Total N		404		150	
Mean (SD)		3.40 (.94)		3.31 (.88)	
Perceived helpfulness of British people in trying to understand and talk to person	1. Usually not helpful	7	1.7	1	.7
	2.	18	4.4	8	5.4
	3.	83	20.4	28	18.8
	4.	151	37.2	58	38.9
	5. Usually helpful	147	36.2	54	36.2
Total N		406		149	
Mean (SD)		4.20(.95)		4.05 (.91)	
Perceived friendliness of British people towards migrants	1 Usually not friendly	11	2.7	2	1.3
	2	24	5.9	7	4.7
	3	94	23.2	30	20.0
	4	155	38.2	69	46.0
	5 Usually friendly	122	30.0	42	28.0
Total N		406		150	
Mean (SD)		3.87 (.10)		3.95 (.89)	
Percent non-UK born residents in area?	Mean (SD)	23.54 (14.44)		21.34 (13.96)	
Total N		353		130	
How much person talks to people in local area	1 not much	94	23.4	33	22.1
	2	83	20.6	29	19.5
	3	116	28.9	47	31.5
	4	63	15.7	24	16.1
	5 a lot	46	11.4	16	10.7
Total N		402		149	
Mean (SD)		2.71 (1.30)		2.74 (1.27)	
How much person talks to similar nationalities or cultures	1. not much	33	8.2	14	9.3
	2.	43	10.7	17	11.3
	3.	93	23.1	30	20.0
	4.	107	26.6	40	26.7
	5. a lot	126	31.3	49	32.7
Total N		402		150	
Mean (SD)		3.62 (1.25)		3.62 (1.3)	

How much person talks to different nationalities or cultures	1. not much	49	12.1	16	10.7
	2.	67	16.6	27	18.0
	3.	128	31.7	45	30.0
	4.	80	19.8	32	21.3
	5. a lot	80	19.8	30	20.0
Total N		404		150	
Mean (SD)		3.19 (1.27)		3.22 (1.26)	
Activities participated in (more than one option could be selected):	Voluntary/unpaid job	76	18.7	34	22.7
	Leisure centre/fitness class	110	27.0	42	28.0
	Play sport	85	20.9	30	20.0
	Help out at child's school	90	22.1	33	22.0
	Go to a community group or community centre	88	21.6	29	19.3
	Other	56	13.8	26	17.3
Total N		407		150	
Total number of activities participated in	0	90	22.1	34	22.7
	1	225	55.3	81	54.0
	2	63	15.5	24	16.0
	3	19	4.7	6	4.0
	4	9	2.2	4	2.7
	5	1	.2	1	.7
Total N		407		150	
Mean (SD)		1.10 (.89)		1.12 (.94)	

Structural integration variables		Cross-sectional sample		Longitudinal sample	
		N	%	N	%
Employed in paid work	Yes	164	41.4	60	40
Total N		396		150	
Frequency of money to buy necessities¹	5. Always	53	13.3	20	13.6
	4	79	19.8	31	21.1
	3	158	39.7	56	38.1
	2	79	19.8	28	19.0
	1. Never	29	7.3	12	8.2
Total N		398		147	
Mean (SD)		3.12 (1.10)		3.13 (1.12)	
Perception of amount of money one year from now²	More money	102	26.2	40	27.8
	The same amount	173	44.4	63	43.8
	Less money	98	25.1	36	25.0
	Other	17	4.4	5	3.5
Total N		390		144	
Enough space in home for self/family	Yes	283	73.5	114	77.6
Total N		385		147	
Condition of home	My home is in good condition	152	39.0	57	39.3
	My home is okay	204	52.3	75	51.7
	My home is in a bad condition	34	8.7	13	9.0
Total N		390		145	
Certainty of stay in home	Very sure I can stay as long as I want	127	32.6	49	34.0
	Fairly sure I can stay as long as I one	74	19.0	29	20.1
	Don't know how long I can stay	131	33.6	47	32.6
	I know that this is a temporary home	58	14.9	19	13.2
Total N		390		144	
%age households non-deprived in area? Mean (SD)		38.40 (8.48)		38.91 (8.37)	
Total N		353		137	

ESOL class attendance measures	Cross-sectional sample	Longitudinal sample
Hours ESOL class/week		
Min	2	2.5
Max	20	17
Mean (SD)	6.80 (3.27)	7.24 (3.38)
Total N	402	146
Years attending ESOL		
Min	0	0
Max	17	15
Mean (SD)	2.34 (2.90)	2.53(3.07)
Total N	370	138

Sample details	Cross-sectional sample		Longitudinal sample	
	N	%	N	%
National	243	59.4	84	56
Bristol	166	40.6	66	44
Total N	409	-	150	-
online	122	29.8	46	30.7
paper	287	70.2	104	69.3
Total N	409		150	

Appendix 17 Evaluating representativeness of ESOL learner questionnaire sample

A) Comparison with other ESOL studies

	Baynham et al (2007)	Schellekens (2001)	Hackney ESOL advice service (2017)	Vasey et al. (2018)	ESOL learner questionnaire
Survey period	2003-2005	1999-2000	2017	2018	2017-18
Sample size	509	178	1175	340	409
Geographical coverage	20 classes in Greater London 20 in the Yorkshire, Humberside and Lancashire	East and South London, Birmingham, Cardiff and Manchester	Hackney in London	Manchester	England and Wales
Other relevant sampling details Interviews interpreters ESOL level	Entry 1 and Entry 2 classes	Interviewed in small groups, data collected by researcher	Individuals who attended ESOL advice sessions to be placed in an ESOL class, data collected on form during session by advisers	Participants from Entry 3 and Level 1 classes in 7 ESOL venues Participants completed questionnaire in class time	See Chapter 3
% aged under 40	79	*	60	*	65
% aged under 45	*	*	*	81	80
% in UK for over 5 years	22	30	28	*	47
% in UK for over 10 years	*	13	*	19.8	20
% female	63	60	85	81	72
% with children	*	*	60	*	59
Lowest levels of education	31.5% less than 8 years schooling	27% no qualifications	21% primary level or below	10 % less than 10 years schooling	16% no schooling or left before age of 14
Highest levels of education	12% University level	25% HE/professional qualification	19 % higher education	48% with degree or post 18 qualification	33% with degree
% Employed	20	5	27	30	41
Total countries of origin	58	53	*	57	71

Notes. *Data not available in published report.

The table above compares the ESOL learner questionnaire sample with other surveys. Some of the measures reported in these studies are not comparable 'like for like' with each other but they can all be compared with my ESOL learner questionnaire sample. In common with the other surveys, participants in this study show a broad range of different previous experiences of education, with a

sizeable minority being low educated and a sizeable number being highly educated. However, the other samples tend to have lower levels of education than the current sample, with the exception of the Manchester survey in which participants tend to have higher levels of education. These educational differences could reflect the respective sampling and data collection methods. This ESOL learner sample only included respondents able to fill in a written questionnaire and excluded learners from lower level classes. Aside from Vasey et al. which only included Entry 3 and Level 1 learners, the other questionnaires either only included respondents from lower ESOL levels, or were completed on behalf of the respondent.

The previous surveys do not contain data for religion or ethnicity, however their figures on countries of origin show similar patterns and diversity to those in the ESOL learner questionnaire sample. This is despite the disproportionate number of participants recruited in Bristol with its particular ethno-linguistic profile (see Chapter One). Proportions of countries of origin differ between surveys, in part reflecting local and regional settlement patterns, and in the current sample the proportions are less clustered compared to some of the other surveys. However, the most common countries in the ESOL learner questionnaire sample are represented in the most common countries in the other surveys, for example, Somalia, Pakistan, Iran and Poland (although the increase in EU citizens living in Britain since the mid-2000's is reflected in the more recent surveys) The previous ESOL surveys do not contain data on the number of Muslim students, however the most common countries of birth are mainly from countries where Islam is the majority religion suggesting Muslims constitute a sizeable proportion of the samples.

B) Comparison with Understanding Society

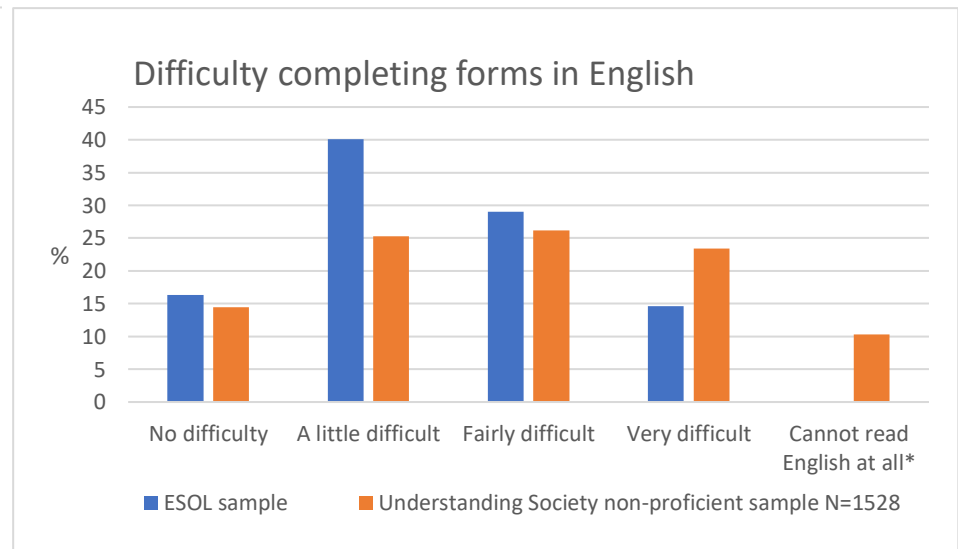
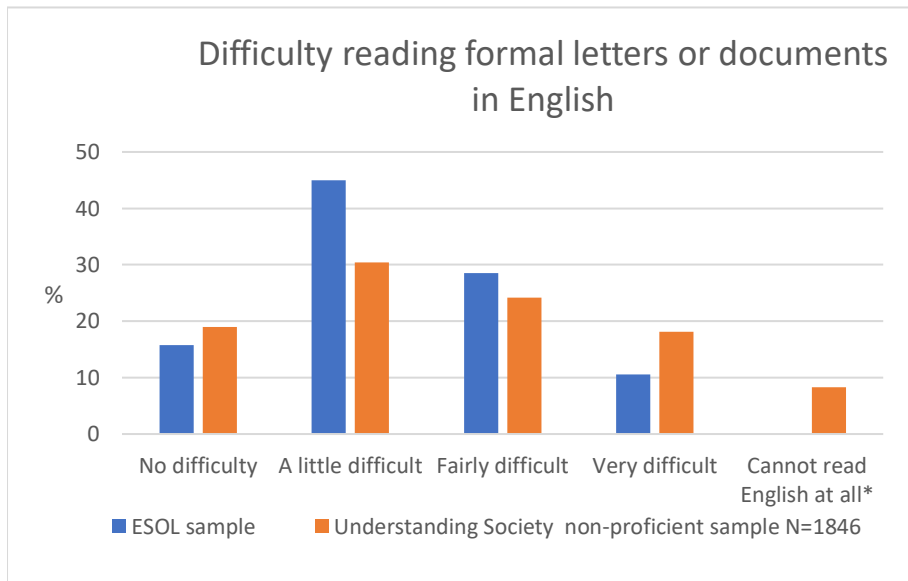
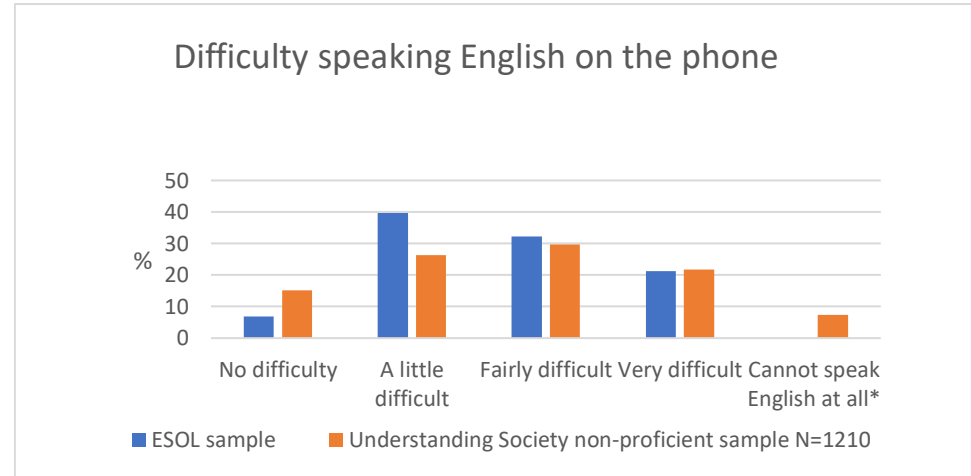
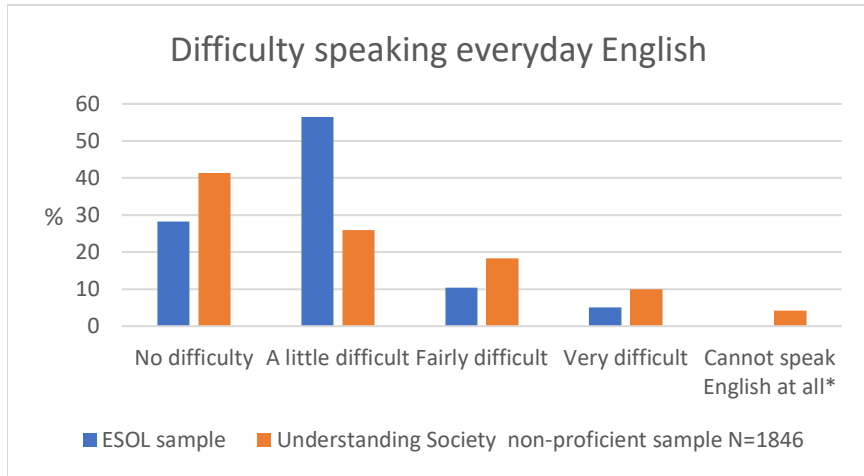
Wave 1 of Understanding Society, conducted in 2009-2010, is used because this is the only wave which asks all participants language proficiency questions. It consists of a General Population sample (N=43,674) and an Ethnic Minority Boost sample (N=7320). Translators and interpreters were used where appropriate to administer the questionnaire (Boreham, Boldyevaite and Killpack, 2012). The *non-proficient in English* sub-sample consisted of respondents who are resident in Britain, do not have English as a main language and reported to have difficulty speaking day-to-day English and/or have difficulty reading in English (n=1846). This sub sample constitute 24.7% (weighted proportion) of participants who spoke English as an additional language (n=6546). I excluded respondents who have English as an additional language but who do **not** have any difficulties in speaking or reading, as it is assumed that they are proficient in English, and thus a different population to ESOL learners. The

Understanding Society survey oversamples certain groups in order to include desired portions of particular target groups (see Knies 2015). Accordingly, I applied weights provided by Understanding Society to adjust for unequal selection probabilities, differential nonresponse and potential sampling error to recover nationally representative proportions (Knies 2015). Background characteristic variables in the Understanding Society data were transformed and grouped to make them comparable to the ESOL learner sample.

ESOL learners tend to be slightly younger on average, and constitute a lower proportion of very long-term residents. This may be due to older non-proficient migrants and refugees being less likely to access ESOL classes, and longer-term residents being more likely to be in the older age categories. The much larger proportion of participants living with children under 16 in the ESOL learner sample possibly reflects the younger demographic of ESOL learners. The ESOL questionnaire sample is in general educated to a higher level than the Understanding Society survey. This could reflect the fact that the Understanding Society surveys were completed by an interviewer and there were interpreters available, thus being more inclusive of people with low literacy levels. On the other hand, it could suggest that low educated migrants and refugees are less likely to access ESOL classes. It is not possible to compare proportions for EU born as this data is only available via Special License release so was not accessed for this study.

I also compared language proficiency of the ESOL learner questionnaire and Understanding Society samples. In the latter, if English was not respondents' main language, they were asked their level of difficulty in four language skills areas. As explained in section 3.5 the ESOL learner questionnaire language difficulty questions were designed to map with Understanding Society, however there were some differences, the most relevant being as follows. Firstly, response options for *cannot speak/read English* at all were omitted in the ESOL questionnaire. Secondly, Understanding Society does not ask those who have *no difficulty speaking day to day English* whether they have *difficulty speaking English on the phone*, or those with *no difficulty reading* whether they had *difficulty completing forms*, whereas the ESOL questionnaire asked these questions of all respondents. The figure below presents charts showing the proportions for both samples (the proportions for Understanding Society are after application of weights).

Comparison of proportions for language difficulty items



Notes. *Not asked of ESOL sample

For everyday speaking skills, the majority of both the ESOL learner and the Understanding Society samples reported no or only a little difficulty (84% and 67%). Both samples generally found speaking English on the phone more difficult than using everyday English, with those reporting it to be not or a little difficult at 46% and 41% respectively. However, as those reporting no difficulty speaking English in Understanding Society, (i.e. the more proficient participants), were omitting from subsequent questioning on phone skills, this likely deflates this proportion for that measure. The majority of the ESOL sample reported reading skills as not or a little difficult (60%), whereas half (49%) the Understanding Society sample responded this way. Similarly, the ESOL sample was slightly more likely to find little or no difficulty completing forms in English (56%) than Understanding Society sample (40%). Again, this lower figure for the Understanding Society sample may be influenced by omitting those reporting no difficulty in reading from questioning on difficulty in writing skills. Thus, notwithstanding the differences in how the measures are derived, the ESOL learner sample appear to be more confident in their English skills, which is unsurprising as all were attending ESOL classes, were above beginner level and were able to fill in the questionnaire in English. However, there are also considerable proportions in the ESOL learner sample who are not confident in these skills so there is overlap with the broader population of non-proficient English speakers.

Appendix 18 Descriptive statistics for Bristol and non-Bristol questionnaire samples

	Bristol N = 166 (40.6% of ESOL learner sample)			Non-Bristol N=243		
	%	Mean (SD)	Total N	%	Mean (SD)	Total N
Age		36.04 (8.85)	155		36.90 (10.01)	227
18-25	12.9			11.9		
26-35	38.1			37.0		
36-45	36.1			30.8		
46-71	12.9			20.3		
Time in UK		6.25 (5.13)	161		6.16 (5.88)	232
Under 2 years	8.1			18.5		
2-4 years	44.7			34.1		
5-10 years	25.5			27.6		
Over 10 years	21.7			19.8		
Female	70.3		165		73.9	241
Muslim	59.4		155		40.1	237
Ethnicity						
White	26.1		157	32.8		238
Black	28.0			18.5		
Asian	21.0			29.9		
Arab	11.5			11.8		
Other	13.4			7.1		
Arrived as refugee /asylum seeker	40.8		147	25.9		220
Highest education level						
None/ left before 15	20.8			12.4		
Left after 15 (no degree)	49.0			53.0		
Has degree	30.2			34.6		
Lives with partner	61.1		157	66.5		236
Has one or more children under 16 living with them	60.5		157	57.6		231
Born in EU	19.9		161	26.4		235
Hours ESOL per week		6.93 (2.50)	166		6.64 (3.72)	236
Years attending ESOL		2.68 (3.15)	146		2.12 (2.64)	224
Difficulty speaking English for everyday activities		2.00 (.81)	164		1.87 (.73)	240
Difficulty speaking English in formal situations		2.55 (.84)	165		2.48 (.80)	239
Difficulty speaking English on the telephone		2.70 (.93)	165		2.66 (.85)	239
Difficulty reading formal letters or documents		2.34 (.87)	164		2.34 (.87)	240
Difficulty filling in official forms in English		2.48 (.92)	165		2.38 (.94)	239
Importance of:						
Feeling safe		3.90 (.40)	162		3.87 (.39)	232
A good education		3.82 (.46)	165		3.84 (.42)	232
Good English language skills		3.75 (.52)	159		3.81 (.43)	232
A good job		3.76(.55)	164		3.74 (.54)	231
Feeling confident about yourself		3.77(.49)	162		3.75 (.49)	234
Doing things by yourself without help from interpreters, family or friends		3.59(.65)	164		3.60 (.66)	233
Being free to express your opinions		3.52(.67)	162		3.55 (.71)	231
Understanding British culture		3.37(.72)	162		3.47 (.70)	237
British people taking the time to listen when you talk		3.42(.69)	161		3.45 (.61)	231
Friendly neighbours		3.49(.70)	162		3.37 (.71)	232
Being able to express your cultural and religious traditions		3.15 (.89)	163		3.19 (.82)	232
Feeling British		2.92(.94)	160		3.07 (.88)	232

	Bristol N = 166 (40.6% of ESOL learner sample)			Non-Bristol N=243		
	%	Mean (SD)	Total N	%	Mean (SD)	Total N
Being able to talk to people in your first language or languages		2.77(.96)	159		2.79 (1.07)	231
Feels safe in local area†		4.01 (.98)	161		3.99 (1.08)	236
Experienced harassment in last 12 months	32.9		161	29.4		238
Very sure can stay in the UK	55.3		159	60.3		237
Time in past 4 weeks felt calm and peaceful†		3.45 (1.00)	161		3.48 (.93)	236
Health†		3.42 (1.04)	163		3.45 (1.00)	241
Feels part of British society†		3.28 (1.05)	158		3.43 (1.10)	234
Understands British culture†		3.40 (.91)	163		3.39 (.95)	241
Helpfulness of British people in listening to me†		4.07 (.94)	166		3.98 (.96)	240
Friendliness of British people to migrants†		3.79 (.97)	165		3.93 (1.02)	241
How much person talks to people from different nationalities or cultures†		3.12 (1.30)	165		3.23 (1.25)	239
How much person talks to people in local area†		2.57 (1.30)	162		2.81 (1.29)	240
How much person talks to people from similar nationalities or cultures†		3.71 (1.17)	162		3.56 (1.31)	240
Number of activities participates in††		1.18 (.96)	165		1.05 (.84)	242
% non-UK born residents in area		17.44 (9.13)	142		27.64 (15.85)	211
Home in good condition	39.1		156		38.9	234
Enough space in home	76.5		149	71.6		236
Very sure can stay in home	32.5		157	32.6		233
Employed	42.8		159	40.5		237
Frequency of money to buy necessities†		3.05 (1.00)	160		3.17 (1.16)	238
Perception of amount of money one year from now			147			
More money		29.3		26.1		226
The same amount		44.2		47.8		
Less money		26.5		26.1		
% households non-deprived in area		41.26 (8.17)	142		36.47 (8.16)	211

Appendix 19 Measures derived from 2011 Census data

The proportion of non-UK born residents living in the local area was derived by combining the first part of the participants' postcodes and data from the country of birth question in the 2011 Census of England and Wales. The Census question included six tick box responses - one for each of the four parts of the UK, one for the Republic of Ireland, and one for 'Elsewhere'. Where a person ticked 'Elsewhere', they were asked to write in the current name of the country in which they were born.

The proportion of residents whose main language is not English living in the local area was derived by combining the first part of the participants' postcodes and data capturing all usual residents aged three or over who spoke a main language other than English (or Welsh in Wales) in the 2011 Census of England and Wales.

The proportion of non-deprived households in the local area measure was derived by combining the first part of the participants' postcodes and household data from the Census. Non deprived households were households not deprived in any of the dimensions. ONS classifies households as deprived in a dimension if they meet one or more of the following conditions:

- Employment: any member of a household not a full-time student is either unemployed or long-term sick,
- Education: no person in the household has at least level 2 education (see highest level of qualification), and no person aged 16-18 is a fulltime student,
- Health and disability: any person in the household has general health 'bad or very bad' or has a long term health problem, and
- Housing: Household's accommodation is ether overcrowded, with an occupancy rating -1 or less, or is in a shared dwelling, or has no central heating.

Nomis Official Labour Market Statistics (2013).

Appendix 20 Summary statistics of integration variables for longitudinal sample

Realm	Sub group	Variable	Mean	SD	%	Total N
Affect	Security	<u>Feels safe in local area</u> [†]	3.99	1.03		148
		Experienced harassment in last 12 months			30.4	148
		Very sure can stay in the UK			54.4	147
	Health and mental health	Time in past 4 weeks felt calm and peaceful [†]	3.41	.96		147
		Health [†]	3.28	1.05		149
Integration: Social realm	Belonging	<u>Feels part of British society</u> [†]	3.35	1.03		142
		Understanding of British culture [†]	3.31	.88		150
	Attitudes of British people	Helpfulness of British people in listening to me [†]	4.05	.91		149
		Friendliness of British people to migrants [†]	3.95	.89		150
	Social networks (bonding and bridging social networks)	<u>Talks to people from different nationalities or cultures</u> [†]	3.22	1.26		150
		Talks to people in local area [†]	2.74	1.27		149
		How much talks to people from similar nationalities or cultures [†]	3.62	1.3		150
		Number of activities participates in ^{††}	1.12	.941		150
		% non-UK born residents in area	21.34	13.96		130
	Integration: Structural realm	Housing	<u>Home in good condition</u>			39.3
Enough space in home					77.6	147
Very sure can stay in home					34	144
Employment		<u>Employed</u>			40	150
Income/ deprivation		Frequency of money to buy necessities [†]	3.13	1.12		147
		Perception of amount of money one year from now				
		More money			27.8	144
		The same amount			43.8	
		Less money			25	
% households non-deprived in area		38.91	8.37		130	

Notes. Focal variables are underlined. † denotes Likert type rating variable treated as continuous, scale 1-5. †† denotes continuous scale 0-5. Mean and SD are provided for continuous variables, and percentages for categorical variables.

Appendix 21 Comparison of integration measures with Understanding Society sample

		ESOL learner sample			Understanding Society non-proficient sample (with weights)			
		N	%	Cumulative %			%	Cumulative %
Experienced harassment in last 12 months*			30.8				24.9	
N							1168 ³	
Time in past 4 weeks felt calm and peaceful†	1. All the time	50	12.6	12.6			16.5	16.5
	2. Most of the time	154	38.8	51.4			33.1	49.6
	3. Some of the time	139	35.0	86.4			31.0	80.6
	4. A little of the time	40	10.1	95.5			11.3	91.9
	5. None of the time	14	3.5	100			8.1	100.0
N							1831 ³	
Health† N = 404	1. Excellent	64	15.8	15.8			16.7	16.7
	2. Very good	125	30.9	46.8			27.6	44.2
	3. Good	156	38.6	85.4			31.9	76.2
	4. Fair/okay	41	10.1	95.5			13.6	89.7
	5. Poor	18	4.5	100			10.3	100.0
N							1841 ³	
Frequency of money to buy necessities¹	5. Always	53	13.3	13.3	Current subjective financial situation	Living comfortably	9.0	9.0
	4	79	19.8	33.1		Doing all right	32.3	41.4
	3	158	39.7	72.8		Just about getting by	30.3	71.6
	2	79	19.8	92.6		Finding it quite difficult	19.3	90.9
	1. Never	29	7.3	100		Finding it very difficult	9.1	100.0
N							1830 ³	
Perception of amount of money one year from now²	More money	102	27.3	27.3	Future subjective financial situation	Better off	32.7	32.7
	The same amount	173	46.4	73.7		About the same	13.8	46.5
	Less money	98	26.3	100		Worse off	53.5	100
N							1723 ³	

Notes. * Questions regarding whether participants had been insulted in the last 12 months was only asked of a subsection of the main sample (those in the EMB sample, those in a general population comparison sample, and ethnic minority individuals living in particular areas from which the EMB sample had not been selected). ¹For perceptions of current income, the measures used are slightly different, as the wordings of the questions in Understanding Society questionnaire were felt to be too idiomatic to be easily understood by ESOL learners without translation, so comparison of these measures between the two surveys should be viewed with caution. ² For perceptions of future income, the wording was also adapted for the ESOL learner questionnaire, however it is argued that they can be directly compared. ³ Unweighted total N.

Appendix 22 Change in language and integration variables between baseline and follow-up

Point change	Change in difficulty speaking English for everyday activities %	Change in difficulty speaking English in formal situations %	Change in difficulty speaking English on the telephone %	Change in difficulty reading formal letters or documents %	Change in difficulty filling in official forms in English %
-3	0	.7	.7	.7	0
-2	2.7	1.4	3.4	2.7	4.0
-1	23.3	20.0	27.9	27.2	23.5
0	55.5	58.6	49.0	48.3	55.0
1	15.8	14.5	16.3	17.0	15.4
2	2.7	4.8	2.7	4.1	2.0
3	0	0	0	0	0
N	146	145	147	147	149

Change in feels safe in local area			
	N	%	Cumulative %
-3	2	1.4	1.4
-2	6	4.1	5.4
-1	33	22.4	27.9
0	85	57.8	85.7
1	15	10.2	95.9
2	5	3.4	99.3
3	1	.7	100.0
Total	147	100	

Change in employment status		
	N	%
Stayed without paid work	80	54.1
Lost paid work	6	4.1
Stayed in paid work	53	35.8
Gained paid work	9	6.1
Total	148	148

Change in condition of home					
		N	%	sub-total N	sub-total %
negative change	change from good to bad	1	.7	20	14.1
	change from OK to bad	3	2.1		
	change from good to OK	16	11.3		
no change	bad at both time points	5	3.5	104	73.3
	OK at both time points	61	43.0		
	good at both time points	38	26.8		
positive change	change from bad to OK	7	4.9	18	12.6
	change from OK to good	10	7.0		
	change from bad to good	1	.7		
Total		142	100		

**Appendix 23 Comparison of tests of difference for alternative specifications of factors
important for a good life in Britain**

		Items significantly different at the 5% level		
		[1] Means of 4-point scales	[2] Ordinal 4-point categorical variables	[3] Binary indicator for 'Very important' vs the rest
	Omnibus test	F (7.93, 2782.40) = 109.32, p<.001	$\chi^2(12)= 959.727$, p<.001	$\chi^2(12)=851.213$, p<.001.
1	Feeling safe	3-13	6-13	5-13
2	A good education	6-13	6-13	6-13
3	Good English language skills	1, 6-13	7-13	6-13
4	A good job	1, 6-13	7-13	6-13
5	Feeling confident about yourself	1, 6-13	7-13	1, 6-13
6	Doing things by yourself without help from interpreters, family or friends	1-5, 9-13	1-2, 11-13	1-5, 9-13
7	Being free to express your opinions	1-5, 11-13	1-5, 11-13	1-5, 9, 11-13
8	Understanding British culture	1-5, 11-13	1-5, 11-13	1-5, 11-13
9	British people taking the time to listen when you talk	1-6, 11-13	1-5, 12-13	1-7, 12-13
10	Friendly neighbours	1-6, 11-13	1-5, 11-13	1-6, 12-13
11	Being able to express your cultural and religious traditions	1-10, 13	1-8, 10, 13	1-8
12	Feeling British	1-10, 13	1-10	1-10
13	Being able to talk to people in your first language or languages	1-12	1-11	1-10

Notes. The robustness of this finding to the underlying statistical assumptions was tested with two alternative non-parametric formulations. First, the assumption of “equal intervals” between points on the scale was relaxed using Friedman’s non-parametric test, which treats the items as ordinal rather than continuous variables. Second, it was noted that the distributions were negatively skewed with a high proportion of all responses falling in the ‘Very important’ category. This ranged from 30.3% to 89.8% with a mean of 62.3% over the 13 items (see Appendix 16) Therefore, binary variables were created which isolated the responses for ‘Very important’, from the other 3 possible responses, for all 13 factors. Cochran’s Q was used to test for differences in the ‘Very important’ response between items.

Test results using the means of the scale items (column 1) use a repeated-measures ANOVA adjusted for non-sphericity with follow-up Bonferroni post-hoc tests. Results for tests treating the items as ordinal (column 2) use Friedman’s non-parametric test with follow-up Dunn-Bonferroni post hoc tests. Results for tests distinguishing the response of ‘Very important’ from all other responses (column 3) used Cochran’s Q with follow-up Dunn-Bonferroni tests. N=352.

Appendix 24 Transcription symbols

(word)	words that are partially unclear, but were deduced from the context
[unclear]	unclear speech
...	unfinished, speaker trails off
-	interrupted by other speaker
[...]	words omitted in transcription to improve clarity or shorten long quotations
[word]	word added to improve clarity
<laughs>	non-verbal sound made by speaker

some occurrences of fillers such as 'yeah' and 'like' have been omitted