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Veröffentlichungsversion / Published Version

Zeitschriftenartikel / journal article

#### Empfohlene Zitierung / Suggested Citation:

Nyström, S., Fejes, A., & Mešić, N. (2023). Social Inclusion Beyond Education and Work: Migrants Meaning-Making Towards Social Inclusion. *Social Inclusion*, 11(4), 5-12. <https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v11i4.6984>

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Article

## Social Inclusion Beyond Education and Work: Migrants Meaning-Making Towards Social Inclusion

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Submitted: 6 April 2023 | Accepted: 6 May 2023 | Published: 24 October 2023

### Abstract

In public discourse, the social inclusion of migrants is often regarded as a challenge demanding migrants to increase their engagement in adapting to the new host country. Such imaginaries commonly declare migrants as being unwilling to acquire language skills and specific cultural values. In parallel, formal education is often proposed as the single most important remedy to inclusion, which generally solely implies labor market participation. However, there is a range of other, often neglected, practices that migrants themselves regard as important for their social inclusion in society. This article aims to analyze what practices are assigned meaning by newly arrived migrants in Sweden on their path toward social inclusion in the country. This is a longitudinal interview study with 19 newly arrived adult migrants that were interviewed on two occasions, three years apart. Drawing on a sociocultural perspective, we understand social inclusion as an ongoing process by which individuals become members of different communities. The result shows that important for social inclusion is access to valuable relationships and close social ties. These relations are important in all communities in which the migrants participate. The analysis illustrates three different communities, outside of formal education and employment, that migrants ascribe meaning to concerning language learning and social inclusion. These communities are sports, internships, and civil society engagements. Through its longitudinal design, this study also illustrates how migrants' narratives and their meanings shift with time and how migrants relate to these communities over time.

### Keywords

meaning-making; migrants; narratives; social inclusion; Sweden

### Issue

This article is part of the issue “Adult Migrants’ Language Learning, Labour Market, and Social Inclusion” edited by Andreas Fejes (Linköping University) and Magnus Dahlstedt (Linköping University).

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### 1. Introduction

In contemporary political and popular discourses, the social inclusion of migrants has commonly been framed as a concern regarding migrants’ abilities or even their willingness to adapt to host countries in terms of language acquisition as well as conformity to ethnocentric imaginaries of cultural values (see, e.g., Ålund et al., 2017; De Haas et al., 2020). Language has also been construed as the “key” to employment as well as wider inclusion in society (Dahlstedt et al., 2021). A deficit discourse emerges where migrants are seen as lacking something that needs remedy (see, e.g., Fejes, 2019; Osman, 2007;

Smith, 2016). Education is often proposed as a solution through which migrants will be able to conquer the skills imagined to be necessary to become included in society (Ahlgren & Rydell, 2020). Reaching social inclusion thus foremost becomes an issue of engagement in formal education as well as labor market participation. Such a view on social inclusion is not only construed through the public discourse but also by migrants themselves (see, e.g., Fejes & Dahlstedt, 2022; Yuval-Davis, 2006).

However, we argue that such a view on social inclusion is too limited. Rather, we view social inclusion as participation in a wide range of practices deemed meaningful and supportive on the path toward realizing one’s

dreams. Social inclusion thus becomes an issue of participation and developing a sense of belonging. There are practices other than language education and labor market engagement that might be important for migrants' social inclusion and, in this article, we turn our attention to what migrants themselves construe as meaningful on their path toward social inclusion. Our findings are based on a longitudinal interview study with newly arrived migrants—*asylum seekers at the time of the first interview—and follow-up interviews three years later.*

### *1.1. Migration, Learning, and Social Inclusion*

The deficit discourse on migrants and their inclusion has been raised by several scholars (see, e.g., Fejes, 2019; Morrice et al., 2017; Sayed & Soudien, 2003; Schreiber-Barsch, 2018). Policymakers and their inclusion strategies implicitly include a deficit discourse through which migrants are construed as lacking abilities important for social inclusion that can be remedied with education (Morrice et al., 2017). Even though education is offered by public means, today migrants themselves are made responsible for their own inclusion (Fejes, 2019; Schreiber-Barsch, 2018).

A deficit discourse is also prevalent in informal practices within the realm of civil society, e.g., within activities organized by popular education institutions (Fejes, 2019). Despite this, such activities have been shown to be highly valued by migrants as spaces for developing a sense of belonging (Fejes & Dahlstedt, 2022; see also Yuval-Davis, 2006). Such feelings are not least fostered through the mutual recognition and respect (Webb & Lahiri-Roy, 2019) that emerges through the mobilization of material, human, socio-organizational, cultural as well as moral resources in popular education institutions (Mešić et al., 2019). Such mobilization includes the provision of access to social networks, assistance in contact with authorities, as well as language learning opportunities organized in a more non-formal learning setting (Fejes & Dahlstedt, 2020; Mešić et al., 2019).

Other more informal practices that have been put forward for their potential for integration, learning, and belonging are different sports activities (Ekholm & Dahlstedt, 2021). Such activities have been argued to create meeting places between people as a basis for developing relationships which in turn enable the creation of a distinct community. Football is one such example that is argued to make possible the creation of a long-term connection with others, furthers *asylum seekers' sense of control, identity, and sense of belonging* (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008; Woodhouse & Conricode, 2017).

The process through which migrants develop a sense of belonging can be seen as a process of gaining access to specific communities of practice (cf. Thunborg et al., 2021). Participation in such communities may be conceptualized as "*lived citizenship*" through which migrants can create meaning and negotiate citizenship in terms of rights, belonging, and participation (Lister, 2002, 2007).

However, through newly arrived migrants' participation in non-formal settings, a duality might emerge concerning their social inclusion (see, e.g., Morrice et al., 2017; Thunborg et al., 2021). Thunborg et al. (2021), for example, point to the challenge that activities of language learning for migrants may become activities unilaterally promoting networking between migrants rather than mixed networking that also includes non-migrants. Ekholm and Dahlstedt (2019, 2021) point to analogous risks in sport-based interventions (in this case football) in adding to the further stigmatization of migrants. Activities intended for migrants in the name of inclusion may thus not necessarily generate such an outcome.

## **2. Analytical Perspective**

In this article, social inclusion is seen as participation in a wide range of practices deemed meaningful and supportive on one's path toward realizing one's dreams. Social inclusion thus becomes an issue of participation and developing a sense of belonging (see, e.g., Marshall, 1950). To conduct an analysis of migrants' paths towards social inclusion we make use of Wenger's (1998) and Wenger-Trayner and Wenger-Trayner's (2015) theorization of how individuals construct belonging to different communities.

According to Wenger (1998), there is a strong connection between learning, identity, and particular practices. As a newcomer to practice, the individual needs to develop a relationship that will render meaning and structure. In that sense, a practice is always a form of doing, related to a historical and social context. The development of a specific practice requires a community, with a particular set of traditions, activities, and boundaries, whose members engage and recognize each other as participants. Wenger further argues for the presence of movement both within and across communities of practices—a movement that has been explicated with the notion of trajectory. Trajectories are understood to form our identities along a non-fixed motion over time influenced by different sources. In that sense, a trajectory has "*coherence through time that connects the past, the present, and the future*" (p. 154).

Wenger (1998) stresses that all individuals belong to a range of communities as full or more peripheral members. All these communities contribute to the construction of identity in one way or another. Identity formation thus involves experiences of multi-membership and a work of reconciliation, i.e., the maintenance of one's identity across different communities of practice. For Wenger, identity is not a solid core but rather comprises different parts that could all be seen in the nexus of multi-membership. He further claims that, "*in a nexus, multiple trajectories become part of each other, whether they clash or reinforce each other. They are, at the same time, one and multiple*" (p. 159).

Wenger-Trayner and Wenger-Trayner (2015) further conceptualize trajectory as the motion through a social

landscape where individuals' identity begins to reflect the landscape they inhabit. Therefore, "over time it accumulates memories, competencies, key formation events, stories, and relationships to people and places. It also provides material for directions, aspirations, and projected images of ourselves that guide the shaping of our trajectory going forward" (p. 19). Not all practices have the same significance, and the individual can have a variety of relationships with different locations in the landscape. However, the landscape "is well colonized and some hills are well guarded. Some communities may welcome us, while others may reject us. The experience can be one of painful marginalization or merely the chance to move on" (p. 20).

In sum, we here understand social inclusion as ongoing processes where individuals become members of different communities and through such participation develops a sense of belonging. To capture how individuals construct meaning we need to understand "the concerns they pursue across different contextual settings and the kind of conduct of life they try to realise" (Nielsen, 2008, p. 34).

### 3. Method

Our analysis is based on a qualitative longitudinal study grounded on interviews with newly arrived migrants enrolled in a study circle called Swedish From Day 1. The study circle was arranged by the Workers' Educational Association (ABF), the largest study association in Sweden. The initial sample included 46 participants who were spread out across study circles at three different locations in Sweden. The first set of interviews was conducted in 2018 and occurred adjacent to the interviewees' arrival in Sweden; all of them were applying for asylum. The second set of interviews was conducted in 2021 with 19 of the initial sample of participants. Six of the persons had received a resident permit, five had received a temporary resident permit, four were still waiting for a decision on their asylum application, two were awaiting deportation, one had been deported, and for one the migration status wasn't clear at the time of the interview. Among the 19 participants, there were nine females and ten males aged between 18 and 60 at the time of the first interview. Country of origin included Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Yemen, Sudan, Burundi, Lebanon, Palestine, and Gambia. Their educational background ranged from no education at all to university degrees.

The follow-up interview was met with 26 non-responses, six of which were due to incorrect or missing contact information. Possible reasons for non-response could have been an unwillingness to participate further, deportations (which explains the discarded Swedish telephone numbers), or changes in contact information (it is not uncommon that newly arrived migrants temporarily use pre-paid telephone SIM cards). Most of the follow-up interviews were conducted via a video commu-

nication platform due to the Covid-19 pandemic and lasted 25–60 minutes. All interviews were transcribed verbatim; for readability, we have edited some quotations in this text.

The initial set of interviews focused on the participants' background, their experiences arriving in Sweden, the migration process, their encounters with different educational and labor market settings, their social life in general, and their dreams for the future. We used a semi-structured interview guide with three sections: the present, the past, and the future. Open-ended questions were posed, such as: Tell us about your current situation, what are your dreams for the future? Follow-up questions were posed in order to get insight into areas of interest within each section of the interview, e.g., what educational background they had, their experience of the labor market, their current social situation, etc.

At the time of the follow-up interviews, interviewees had moved on from the initial educational setting in which they were engaged at the time of the first interview. Our focus was on their experience engaging in these other activities as well as their overall experience of the migration process in Sweden. More specifically, we were interested in what practices were "assigned meaning" in support of their social inclusion after a few years in Sweden. For this second interview, we revised our interview guide. The guide was still semi-structured and there were still three sections: the present, the past (since we last met them), and their current dreams for the future. Follow-up questions focused on asking for clarification and elaboration on those activities they engaged in that seemed meaningful in their path toward social inclusion and those that were not. Taken together, the initial and the follow-up interviews provide a thick description of participants' experiences arriving in and living in Sweden for a few years.

Following ethical research practices, participants gave their consent to participate after having been informed about the aim of the study, how the research material would be utilized, and their personal data managed. All personal data have been pseudonymized. The research project has received ethical approval from the regional ethical board at Linköping University (ref. 2017/280e31).

The empirical material was analyzed using a thematic analysis approach (Braun & Clarke, 2006), which provided a productive platform for managing our empirical material. More specifically, this involved close scrutiny of all interview transcripts to familiarise ourselves with the material as a whole before initiating the coding and thematization process. The thematization and coding processes were guided by the aim to identify meanings that migrants assigned to different practices regarding their path toward formal language education, the acquisition of employment, and social inclusion in a wider sense. The analysis resulted in the identification of meaningful community practices for social inclusion and how these communities relate to relations to insiders.

## 4. Findings

Our aim is to provide insight into what practices, besides education and work, are assigned meaning by migrants on their path toward social inclusion. The central aspect that is emphasized as important for social inclusion is access to valuable relationships and relations with insiders, i.e., individuals who have a Swedish background or had migrated to Sweden long ago. These relations are important in all communities in which the migrants participate. In the analysis, the migrants emphasize three different communities, outside of education and employment, that are ascribed meaning in their path toward formal language education, acquisition of employment, and social inclusion in a wider sense. These communities are sports, internships, and activities arranged by civil societies.

### 4.1. Relations With Insiders and Social Inclusion

Relations with insiders and other types of relationships are assigned meaning in the interviews in relation to social inclusion. Several participants have referred to partners, family, or other members in the communities they are engaged in who either have Swedish background or had migrated to Sweden long ago. These persons are described as central to the migrants' paths into Swedish society. One example is a person who explains that his sexual social identity has opened doors to a community that is inclusive on an identity basis. Such a community has, in turn, opened doors to the host country. Dating is here given a central value:

I'm saying it's the easiest way to make friends in Sweden, that's what I found, through sex. Because...yeah, I mean, they will get to know you more, and then you will meet and meet again....I'm homosexual and I'm using [an] application....We are homosexual, we are, all of us, homosexual. So we have the same kind of history, which is being not accepted. (Dov, interview 2)

Having a Swedish partner is another similar type of example where value is attached to a close tie as important for the individual's path towards social inclusion. Ruhi explains how his girlfriend inspires him to have higher ambitions. He says:

Before I met my girl, I didn't have such big plans. But she is the manager at [a food store in Sweden]....But when one hangs out with people who are well educated and have better jobs, then one too wants that. That's something they may inspire. I think it is very important to hang out with the right people, to gain more information, to plan, and to follow a goal—so I believe. One may say: "Yes, I have the potential," "I am able." She's a huge inspiration for me. (interview 2)

Here we see how Ruhi's relationship with his girlfriend and her friends provides opportunities and inspiration to see the possibilities that may be accessible to him.

Another type of social tie that has been assigned meaning in the interviews involves teachers, close friends, and family. Teachers are ascribed a central function in providing support that goes beyond their professional responsibilities. Participants describe their teachers as offering support in terms of, e.g., housing, assistance in contact with authorities, being supportive in terms of career possibilities, and by being there for them. One example is Azar who, by the time of the follow-up interview, had become a nurse. She explains how she decided to pursue such a path based on her teacher's advice:

He [a teacher] motivated me so much. I didn't have so much information about Swedish society or the shortage of health professionals....He motivated me a great lot and gave me extra books to read in order to develop my language. (interview 2)

Friends are across the interviews raised as meaningful to the participants on their path towards social inclusion. They do not only provide concrete support with gaining new contacts, assisting in finding employment, or offering societal guidance but are also ascribed importance in terms of moral and psychosocial support. Friends are thus framed as important for offering a safe space that provides opportunities to find comfort and overcome insecurities in speaking a new language. Experiencing a sense of security in one's own abilities, even though the learner may be conscious of imperfections, can be illustrated with Lal and the support he finds in his friends:

My Swedish friends have always inspired me. They give me pep talks, a lot of love, and warmth....So I dared to say something instead of being silenced or scared to say something wrong. I have always heard [things like]: "It is good, you are able to speak," "everything will be ok—not everybody is able to speak the language from the beginning," "you do not need to be scared—you have to feel secure." (interview 2)

In addition to Swedish friends, participants also refer to relatives and close family members who are already established in Sweden as meaningful others. They are described as guides who assist in the learning of the Swedish language, and as persons who provide insider tips regarding the workings of Swedish society. One example of such support is the provision of temporary accommodation. As Dov explains: "I have my sister here. She's [been] living here now, [for] seven years, with her husband, and she has two daughters....I used to live with her, as soon as I've arrived in Sweden" (interview 2).

In sum, what we have illustrated is how meaning is assigned to relationships with persons who are

construed as “insiders” in Swedish society. These persons provide migrants with support that might assist them on their path toward social inclusion.

#### 4.2. Civil Society and Social Inclusion

Communities within civil society are assigned meaning by participants on their path toward social inclusion. Such communities include the church and study associations that organize specific activities directed at migrants, not least in the form of so-called “language cafés.” These activities are described as places for learning the Swedish language and learning about Swedish society, e.g., traditions and way of life. However, focusing on the initial interviews when all participants respondents were refugees, the activities also emerged as a place to get away from the hardship of being in an asylum process, living in a vacuum, and only being surrounded by other refugees. As explained by two participants:

Yes, I can only recommend it to those who sit at home, they do not have to....They must come to ABF. Here you can find friends, learn Swedish, and get in contact with others. ABF is not a school, I believe, it’s a home. I feel at home when I’m here. (Ruhi, interview 2)

I had plenty of time....I stayed at the refugee accommodation. It was so crowded....But I came here, we had a class here, wifi. It was free. I sat there in the afternoon. It was five hours, from twelve to five, until they closed. During those five hours, I wrote and wrote and wrote. (Salah, interview 2)

As seen in both quotations, by going to the ABF or the church, these participants meet other asylum seekers, as well as Swedes who are participating in these activities. In that sense, the activities are assigned meaning as an important social community, providing meaningful activity, the chance to socialize and feel part of a community.

In the follow-up interviews, it becomes evident that most participants had received some form of temporary or permanent residence permit while one participant had been deported and others were still awaiting deportation. Looking back at what had occurred since the initial interviews, the participants still ascribe strong positive meaning to engagements in the above-mentioned activities organized by civil societies. These organizations remained welcoming places with open doors and places where anybody could engage and feel engaged. In many ways, these organizations are talked about as “open” and “inclusive,” with both organized and unorganized activities that give the migrants direct access to a community without any formal requirements and demands. What becomes evident is how individual participants engage across activities organized by different civil society organizations.

In sum, participants ascribe great meaning to these organizations, not solely as welcoming social communit-

ies but foremost in terms of a tool to learn the language. In the follow-up interviews, we can see how participants put a strong emphasis on how they, through these activities, have progressed in their language learning as well as in their knowledge of Swedish society. As explained by one participant: “Here I have learnt so much about the society, democracy, laws, the law about the society, migration and asylum seekers” (Lal, interview 2).

#### 4.3. Participating in Sports Communities

Sport is another type of activity organized in the realm of civil society; however, the reasons to participate in these types of activities are familiar to the participants. These trajectories are initiated among participants before they arrive in Sweden. There are several types of sports communities present in the study. These activities offer, according to the participants, opportunities to experience bodily and psychological wellness, as well as opportunities to encounter Swedish speakers and improve their Swedish language skills. As Maryam expresses: “I thought it’s better if I could find a place where I can practice in order to learn the language. As I thought, I chose this dance and theater group....I have been with them for a year” (interview 2).

Maryam engages in a dance group, not only to do sports but foremost as a way to meet Swedish speakers, socialize, and practice the language. The dance group can be seen as a social community providing means for inclusion. Here, participants are allowed to partake in physical activities as well as social ones. These activities provide opportunities for informal language learning—and, in turn, provide possibilities to establish social ties, as discussed in the former section.

Across the interviews, it becomes evident how participants encounter difficulties in establishing friendships with Swedes. Thus, there is a lack of informal social communities where one can learn about the new host country and practice the language. Physical activities, as illustrated above, might thus become one way to meet Swedes and practice the language. With a similar ambition, Navid went to the gym. At the gym, he engages with others. As he explains:

We talk to each other, but we are not real friends that hang [out]. I go to the gym five to six times a week [laugh] but I do not have a job and you have to practice, practice the language, and work out. Work out both the body and language. (interview 1)

As Navid explains, he used to go to the gym in his country of origin, a practice he now continues. As a bonus, the gym activity provides opportunities to practice the language. This is a different situation to Maryam’s, who engaged in dancing as a newcomer with the specific aim to learn the language in a social community.

In the above cases, there are no predefined requirements put on the participants for specific proficiency

levels in the Swedish language when engaging in sports activities. Rather, language practice can be identified as a byproduct of the activities. However, sports can also be identified as an incentive to practice the language. For Salah, learning the language is framed as important to communicate with colleagues with whom he practices dancing. He explains: “Well I had to learn the language if I want to have contact with people. I work out and dance and it is, well, I....You need the language to get a connection” (interview 1). In this case, the participant has engaged in sports at a level that requires certain language apprehension. Thus, the activities become an incentive to learn the language.

In sum, sports emerge as a community with assigned meaning in the migrants’ paths toward social inclusion. These sports activities provide a space to learn new things, make new friends, meet Swedes, learn the language, and continue practicing one’s sports interests.

#### 4.4. Internship as a Chance and Recognition

Gaining employment is an important ambition among migrants. One way to gain access to the labor market is through internships. In the first round of interviews, when participants had just arrived, internships were mentioned a few times. At the time of follow-up interviews, several participants had gained experience in various types of internships within civil society organizations as well as in the wider labor market. In several cases, such internships served as gateways into different jobs.

When participants refer to internships, language learning plays a secondary role. Rather, an internship is talked about as an opportunity to have one’s experiences and knowledge valued and recognized. Migrants do not simply explain that they were randomly offered opportunities to get an internship—on the contrary, they express that someone discovered and acknowledged them and their ability, thus giving them a chance to prove themselves. Ruhi and Lal talk about this duality:

One day their interpreter didn’t come, and they asked me if I could interpret. There were also midwives that came and informed women, so I started to interpret for them. They were really pleased with me....So, from there, I found different contacts, I found friends, found a job, and I received a temporary security number. It was very important for me in order to apply for positions in the elderly care. I think it was really good that I didn’t stop working voluntarily. I wasn’t paid but it didn’t matter. (Ruhi, interview 2)

And then, she told her manager at RFSU [a non-profit NGO working in the field of sexual and reproductive health and rights] about me, about me being interested in their organization....After a year I got an email from their manager asking me if I was interested in becoming a moderator at RFSU. I was really happy, it was just fantastic when I heard that....The

thought was that I shall inform those who are new in Sweden about their rights when it comes to their body and sexuality. I think that I want to continue working for RFSU and I do not know what will happen after that. I like working with refugee matters....Yes, I want to use my experiences [at RFSU] in some way. (Lal, interview 2)

Ruhi explains that he gained the internship by first stepping in for a missing interpreter in a study circle in which he participated. Lal gained her internship after showing her interest in a specific organization. In both cases, participants’ knowledge and competencies were acknowledged as highly relevant for the specific communities they mention.

Yet, there were also participants who, based on their previous work experience, were offered internships. During these, the migrants had the possibility to have their previous experience and knowledge displayed and acknowledged. As explained by Soheila and Ruhi:

I had my own hair salon in Iran and worked as a hairdresser. When I arrived here, I succeeded at one of my friend’s [salons], and I even got paid. I got paid by the hour. (Soheila, interview 2)

And then our manager saw that I [was] quite able with the computer, and she felt that I could work with alarms and locks. (Ruhi, interview 2)

Both Soheila and Ruhi had opportunities to make their knowledge and aptitudes visible, assessed, and acknowledged as relevant for specific communities. Again, language learning is constructed as a secondary effect—or as Adalla says: “Yes. The most important thing was my internship at the library. It was fun and I could practice my Swedish. It went well” (interview 2).

## 5. Discussion

The importance of formal education and experiences of labor market participation for the social inclusion of migrants are recurring themes in research and popular discourses on migrants’ integration (see, e.g., Fejes, 2019; Morrice et al., 2017; Sayed & Soudien, 2003; Schreiber-Barsch, 2018). We claim that such accounts of social inclusion, when viewed in isolation, are narrow and implicitly may risk obscuring other important engagements in practices among newly arrived migrants. We further argue that this is especially problematic as many other activities are regarded by migrants as prerequisites precisely in succeeding in formal education and the labor market. In this article, we have sought to unveil these engagements in practices vis-à-vis migrants’ meaning-making accounts in their paths toward social inclusion. In line with this aim, we have illustrated that many other practices are construed as important and that many of them are regarded as vital for the possibility

of becoming economically self-reliant. Thus, participants' accounts illustrate that social inclusion is not solely aligned with labor market participation.

In line with Wenger-Trayner and Wenger-Trayner (2015), our analysis shows how communities are assigned a variety of meanings in migrants' paths toward social inclusion. Further, migrants can have a diverse set of relationships with different locations in the landscape. The communities this article focuses on—relations with insiders, civil society organizations, sports, and internships—were emphasized in participants' accounts as relational places where migrants become acknowledged and are given a voice. These communities are openly organized and are often explicitly welcoming to migrants as newcomers. The threshold for active participation in these communities is low, for example in partaking in a dance group or hanging out in the gym, thus making it possible to participate in many different communities depending on what is offered and what is found meaningful (e.g., Nielsen, 2008). These communities include both migrant newcomers and people who are regarded as "insiders" in Swedish society and role models that may guide newcomers towards becoming insiders themselves—and thus, included (see, e.g., Morrice et al., 2017; Thunborg et al., 2021).

Language learning is recurrently framed as crucial for inclusion but is not exclusively articulated as the principal aim; rather, in many instances, language proficiency becomes a consequence of migrants' participation. Language learning is thus regarded as a salient byproduct of participation in the focused landscapes. Furthermore, the analysis shows that these practices are significant for providing access to resources (e.g., Mešić et al., 2019) and experiences where newly arrived migrants can gain new knowledge and access specific insights that may be utilized in other practices. These different experiences and the specific knowledge acquired within the landscapes can be traded in and transferred from one community to another. By extension, we argue that engagement and participation in landscapes other than those of traditional and formal forms of education may generate possibilities for future labor market participation as well as wider inclusion in society (Dahlstedt et al., 2021). This could be especially important for newly arrived migrants since they often endure a lengthy asylum process during which they, in many regards, are not granted access to society. Engaging in other meaningful practices, therefore, becomes important for learning and social inclusion.

### Conflict of Interests

In this article, editorial decisions were undertaken by Ulf Hedetoft (University of Copenhagen, Denmark). The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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