

WHAT IS THE ROLE OF LINGUISTIC CAPITAL IN THE INCLUSION OR EXCLUSION OF REFUGEES AND ASYLUM SEEKERS IN CIVIL SOCIETY?

ABSTRACT

[This dissertation explored the issues in regards to whether linguistic capital plays a role in the inclusion or marginalisation of refugees and asylum seekers in civil society in the U.K. This dissertation reviews the concept of linguistic capital, particularly Gerhard's (2012) view of transnational linguistic capital, in light of the experiences of refugees and asylum seekers in civil society. In doing so, the relationship of linguistic capital to other symbolic capitals within civil society is considered, along with the conclusion that in order to be included, professionalisation is vital for migrant communities to be accepted in civil society organisations.

An exploratory approach based on Grounded theory is devised by considering elements of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) approaches. The methods were adapted in light of cultural and ethical considerations involved when conducting research with forced migrants. The approach created stressed the importance of inclusion of participants' communities within research design as well as theory for research design.

Through the research findings a scale of participation in civil society, with reference to linguistic ability, was created to understand the role that linguistic capital plays in the exclusion of forced migrants from within civil society organisations. Marginalisation occurs, it is concluded, as a result of Bourdieu's 'structuring structures'; the habitus of linguistic competency, vulnerability, charity and professionalism. This habitus is a result of but also shapes the actions of civil society organisations as well as the value associated with the linguistic capital of forced migrants. The final conclusion of this dissertation is that those excluded from dominant forms of linguistic capital are marginalized and left in silence in a state of symbolic suffering within civil society organisations]

KIRANDEEP KAUR SUMMAN

MSSc SOCIAL AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Since then, at an uncertain hour,
That agony returns;
And till my ghastly tale is told,
This heart within me burns.

I pass, like night, from land to land;
I have strange power of speech;
That moment that his face I see,
I know the man that must hear me:
To him my tale I teach.

Samuel Taylor Coleridge, the Rime of the Ancient Mariner, 1795

Language or no language, I say now is the time to have a voice

to go out, to speak, to talk, to make a challenge about difficulty or problems or requests. Before I said I can't go out to speak because my language is no good.

I said "no, I need to learn",

The big thing is to pass my message.

An asylum seeking woman from this research, 2013

Contents

Introduction.....	4-7
Literature Review.....	8-22
Habitus.....	8-10
Symbolic Capital.....	10 - 12
Linguistic Market and Transnational Linguistic Capital	12-16
Civil society and the Linguistic Other	16-22
Methodology.....	23-37
Participants of the Research	23 - 24
Importance of Preparatory Research and Including the Community.....	24 - 27
Position of the Researcher in the Research	27-28
Community and Theory at the Centre of the Methodological Processes.....	28-29
Designing Interview Guides.....	29-30
Impact of Ethical Issues on Research.....	30-32
Process of Analysis.....	32-35
Limitations and Issues in Design, Sampling and Analysis.....	35-37
Findings and Analysis.....	38-55
Integration and Civil Society.....	40-46
Motivation for Participation in Civil Society Organisations.....	46-47

Factors Influencing and Restricting Participation.....	48-53
Speakers of Other Languages: Translation and Interpretation.....	54-55
Discussion.....	56-71
Symbolic Suffering of the Multi-lingual Marginalised.....	59 -71
Conclusion.....	72-78
Bibliography.....	79-82
Appendices	
1. Information sheet, Consent form and Confidentiality form for Interpreters	83 - 84
2. Information sheet, Consent form and Confidentiality Transcription.....	85 - 86
3. Information sheet, Consent form and Confidentiality Refugees and asylum seekers form.....	87-89
4. Arabic Information sheet, Consent form and Confidentiality: Refugees and Asylum Seekers form.....	90-92
5. Somali Information sheet, Consent form and Confidentiality: Refugees and Asylum Seekers form.....	93-95
6. Information sheet, Consent form for Semi-Structured Interviews.....	96-98
7. Interview Guideline Questions for Refugees and Asylum Seekers.....	99-100
8. Interview Guideline Questions for Organisations.....	101-102
9. Explanation of Coding System for Concept Maps.....	103
10. Differentiation of the Global Codes from the Interviews.....	104
11. Concept Maps for Codes and Themes from Interviews with Refugees and Asylum Seekers.....	105-110
12. Concept maps for Codes and Themes from Interviews with Organisations.....	111-122

Introduction

“Just beyond the frontier between ‘us’ and the ‘outsider’ is the perilous territory of not belonging: this is to where in a primitive time peoples were banished, and where in the modern era immense aggregates of humanity loiter as refugees and displaced persons”

Edward Said, 2001:177 cited in Haddad, 2008:47

Every community has a boundary beyond which there are those who become labelled as *the other*. Edward Said notes that the boundary is in flux, changing who is accepted and able to take an active and influential role in society. Who is included, how and when is an important debate for civil society. Conventionally, civil society is described as a space for the active participation of citizens on topics of collective interest (Flyvbjerg, 1998), where interests are debated, and important issues are highlighted to those in power. Civil society can be seen as an active equitable sphere for transformative social change, which is capable of ‘correcting both state and market failures’ of inclusion by the marginalisation of the poor and vulnerable (Ibrahim and Hulme, 2010:4).

Whilst refugees have been given leave to remain, asylum seekers have not; those with refugee status and caught in the process of claiming asylum fall somewhere ‘between humanity and inhumanity, citizenship and its denial.’ (Ranciere, 1992:61 cited in De Tona and Moreo, 2012:28). Refugees and asylum seekers, particularly the latter, blur the lines of responsibility between citizen and state. Haddad (2008) highlights that refugee identity is due to a lack of belonging to any nation state, and so provides a direct challenge to both the concept of citizenship and states. What does this mean for their ability to participate in civil society? This research will question whether refugees and asylum seekers are excluded from taking an active role and having an influential voice in civil society. In reflection of Thomassen (2006:447), view that the “space of inclusion and equality” is constituted through exclusion this dissertation will take a more cautious view of civil society, questioning whether it is an equitable and inclusive space for vulnerable and marginalised actors and therefore truly a space of social change.

Migration is not a modern phenomenon, but one that has a long historical precedence and is embedded in the fabric of the UK. Edward Said highlights that “modern Western culture is in large

part the work of exiles, émigrés, refugees... academic, intellectual and aesthetic thought is what it is today because of refugees from fascism, communism and other regimes" (2001:173). Said implies that migrants shape the communities that they enter, as much as they adapt to them. Over time elements of the migrants' home cultures become assimilated into the host culture, demonstrating that integration is a two-way process, which requires flexibility from states, civil society and host communities (Said, 2001; Wilson and Lewis, 2006).

Forced migrants are excluded from their home countries and seek inclusion elsewhere. The problem of being a refugee, Haddad (2008) claims, is not how to define a refugee, but the definition of who is not a refugee. It is a temporary definition that could apply to any individual at a given time. Not only can any individual become a refugee, but multiple definitions, policies and interpretations exist which impact the perception of *refugeeness* (Rutledge and Roble, 2010). The issue is not with the definition, but the fact that it can be broadly or narrowly interpreted depending on the hosting states: individuals can be seen as forced migrants by some states and refugees by others (Rutledge and Roble, 2010).

"A refugee is a person who owing to [a] well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear, unwilling to return to it."

The Geneva Convention, 1951 67 protocol, Article 1, Paragraph 2, cited in Rutledge and Roble, 2010: 156.

There are difficulties as Bohmer and Shuman state, due to "the indeterminate nature of violence, [which] can make it relatively easy for the nations to deny refugee status" (2008 cited in Rutledge and Roble, 2010: 157). This often leaves individuals seeking asylum caught in a discourse of definitions. "The refugee problem is, first and foremost, one of categorisation, making distinctions" (Haddad, 2008:23). Categorisation and labelling separate refugees from other individuals on the basis of their legal status (*ibid.*). Asylum seekers or forced migrants are not refugees for the reason that they have not been given official acceptance of the threat to their life, legal status to remain nor the same rights (Rutledge and Roble, 2010): including the right to participate actively in the social life of the host community. Labels are changeable, but represent to the extent that individuals are accepted in society or differentiated from certain aspects of social life. Forced migrants are the *other*, excluded from host communities and marginalised within established migrant communities. Haddad (2008), like Said, discusses the process of marginalisation or creating distinction through

labelling, which can lead to being “consigned to the margins” (Rajaram, 2002:17 cited in Haddad, 2008:8).

Harrison (2009) discusses the process of *linguistic othering*; whereby individuals who are seen to lack the necessary linguistic skills may face social marginalisation or be denied access to social institutions, resources or national territory. Linguistic othering is also a process which prevents forced migrants from having a voice. In order to be included, it is important to be heard. Having a voice is more than the ability to decide, verbalise choice and the expression of emotions, it relates very closely to being heard, listened to and having the capacity to influence. Language limits, controls and shapes agency. The value of a voice and the influence it can have is judged against the perceived status of the individual and their relationship to others in society. The ability to be heard, influence and access resources in society shapes a notion of power.

Learning and communicating in the host country’s language is essential, allowing an individual access to physical, financial, emotional and social resources. Language can allow access to power through these capitals. Furthermore, given the importance of language, which is frequently suggested as a barrier to participation for forced migrants, this dissertation will focus on the concept of *linguistic capital*. Bourdieu’s concept of linguistic capital is closely related to issues of language, influence and power. It will seek to discover whether language will shed light on areas such as *linguistic othering* and the ability to have a voice in the context of civil society.

Civil society is the space of varied linguistic and cultural voices. Civil society organisations, which represent marginalised forced migrants are equally as diverse. This dissertation will not focus on a particular type of civil society organisation, but will take an exploratory approach and seek to discover through active civil actors the key themes related to the inclusion or marginalisation of refugees and asylum seekers within civil society. Given the contentions which arise as a result of labels, this dissertation will refer to forced migrants when discussing refugees and asylum seekers from a general perspective, though there is an awareness of the legal differences between the two labels. In addition, the term organisation will be used when referring to civil society and community organisations.

The following literature review will begin by focusing on the features of linguistic capital, considering Bourdieu’s interpretation of the concept of *habitus*, which will form an essential theoretical foundation. The concept *symbolic capital* will be discussed to understand the context of linguistic

capital, as will Gerhards' (2012) concept of transnational linguistic capital, which will subsequently be analysed at various points throughout this dissertation. Linguistic capital will be discussed in the context of civil society and conflict.

The methods section will review different approaches in conducting ethical and sensitive research with forced migrants. This review informs the methodological process and approach to data analysis. An exploratory qualitative method and an inclusive approach based on grounded theory is highlighted. The methodology also includes a section on ethical considerations and limitations of the research methods of the study.

The data is represented as concept maps to graphically show the themes and codes collected from the semi-structured interviews. Two sets of concepts maps are placed in the appendices section, but will be referred to throughout the findings sections. The first set of concept maps relate to the codes gathered from interviews with forced migrants, and the second set from interviews with members of organisations who have worked with forced migrants. These organisations are varied in size, type and location in the United Kingdom. The forced migrants interviewed were at various stages of their asylum process, and some had achieved refugee status. The findings section will analyse the concept maps in detail to uncover themes of the interviews. There were four main topics are discussed: *integration* and the experiences of established migrant communities, *motivation* for forced migrants to participate in civil society, *restrictions on participation* within organisations and finally the role of *translation and interpretation* within organisations.

The discussion section will compare the themes from the findings to the literature review, particularly in regards to considering *linguistic conduits in civil society organisations*, the lack of *English language and social capital*, *professionalisation* of migrant communities and the *process of devaluation, othering and marginalisation* faced by forced migrants within civil society. The conclusion will reemphasise the discussion in regards to the ideal versus the actual functioning of civil society. Alongside this, outline limitations and core areas for further research in understanding linguistic capital in the changing context of civil society. Finally, consider the implications for forced migrants as the multi-lingual marginalised within civil society and the need for transformative social change.

Literature Review: Contextualising Linguistic Capital

The term *capital* is not limited to physical or financial benefit. It was used by Bourdieu to refer to "a wider system of exchanges, whereby assets of different kinds are transformed in an exchange within complex networks or circuits within and across different fields" (Moore, 2008:102). These systems and exchange networks are deeply embedded according to Bourdieu in social, and psychological structures; and can also be understood in terms of "qualitative differences in forms of consciousness within different social groups" (Moore, 2008:102).

The formation of capital is the silent and unseen accumulation of power; in the sense that it can be 'exercised only with the complicity of those who do not want to know that they are subject to it, or even that they themselves exercise it' (Bourdieu, 1991: 164 cited in Hanks, 2005:77). Power is created and wielded in cultural and symbolic contexts. Harrison highlights that 'according to Bourdieu language practice cannot be understood separate to the broader sociocultural and politico-economic milieus in which they are embedded' (2009:1083). The difficulty of understanding linguistic capital lies in the comprehension of three terms; *habitus*, *symbolic capital* and the *linguistic market*.

Habitus

Habitus forms the backdrop of Bourdieu's concept of the systems and structures on which capital, in this case linguistic capital, is built. For Bourdieu habitus is a system, which is 'durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures' (Bourdieu, 1977:72 cited in Sandel, 2003:525). Bourdieu's meaning and the application of the concept of habitus has been debated. This dissertation understands habitus as addressing how individuals' interpretation of the world is shaped and regulated. That habitus is the unconscious structuring norms such as beliefs and preconceptions that guide action, or in other words, the 'modus operandi of practical action' (Hanks, 2005:69).

Habitus provides a "link between the social and the individual" (Maton, 2008:54); guiding individuals' actions through social processes. Individuals are "a unique configuration of social forces," but the impact of structuring social forces on our actions means that "even when we are being individual and different, we do so in socially regular ways" (Maton, 2008:53). Bourdieu describes social agents (whether individuals, groups or institutions) as comprised of a "structured

and structuring structures" (Bourdieu, 1994: 170 cited in Maton, 2008:51). Habitus is *structured* in the sense that it refers to an individual's past and present circumstances, such as educational or family upbringing. It is important to note habitus is *structuring* in that it "helps to shape once present and future practice" (Maton, 2008:51). Not all practice is regulated and controlled, as the social agents themselves have a stake in creating and shaping that practice. Social agency is not entirely shaped by habitus, but through an evolving interplay between free will and social forces. Habitus, therefore, is not static but "evolutionary, durable, and transposable" (Maton, 2008:53).

Habitus is also related closely to perception and appreciation (taste) (Bourdieu 1984:171 cited in Sandel, 2003) and can be described as the *habits of the mind* (Hanks, 2005). Tastes, values and lifestyle choices are closely linked to social status and social advantage; habitus can highlight how power relations in society have been defined and differentiated (Moore, 2008), explaining for example how national language maybe perceived as "high-class" and the use of strong dialect as "low-class." (Sandel, 2003:524).

Caught in a web of legal definitions, forced migrants are subject to further distinctions between those seen as deserving and invited refugees and those as undeserving or bogus asylum seekers (Lentin, 2005:5). States create laws to limit migration, and may prevent safe entry; Kenya in 2007 closed its borders with Somalia in order to keep 'dangerous' individuals out of the county. The Kenyan state then proceeded to define Somalis as dangerous based on their Islamic religion (Rutledge and Roble, 2010). The term 'dangerous' was closely associated to 'Islamic', and creating a distinct group label enabling the Kenyan state to deny the forced Somali migrants right of entry. Rutledge and Roble define this as the "fear of the Islamic other" as a means of denying "human rights and humanness in the discourse of violence and of the existence" (Rutledge and Roble, 2010: 161). Habitus also supports our understanding of how individuals themselves become labelled as undesirable, and subsequently can define their right to participate or act in a specific context.

Notions of "good and bad refugees [are] culturally determined," therefore with those in power using the public's fears of "cultural difference [to] marginalise the credentials of migrants seeking asylum" (Kampmark, 2006:1 cited in Rutledge and Roble, 2010:162). Habitus through social actions, tastes and perceptions is unconsciously produced and reproduced in society, and are considered common sense or normal. There are a large number of normative and descriptive concepts associated with the terms refugee and asylum seeker, demonstrating how perceptions of their identities are shaped by prevalent social discourse (Haddad, 2008). Haddad notes that the difference between refugees

and other migrants “lies in the fact that they are caught in the transnational discourse of humanitarianism and conflict, which has been used to define their identity” (2008:8). Language and discourse are “socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned”; in that it simultaneously supports reproducing the status quo and may transform it (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997:258 cited in Blackledge, 2005:14).

What habitus highlights is the importance of understanding the evolving and changing field, or contexts, in which social agents are situated (Bourdieu 1990 cited in Maton, 2008). It sheds light on the evolving thoughts that shape practices, which as they change lose their original symbolic value (Sung Yul Park and Wee, 2008). Over time social agency and perceptions can significantly shift, leading to or representing deeper social change.

Habitus shows that language can have an impact on how the speaker is perceived, in other words, the social definition of the speaker (Ochs, 1996). Ochs (1996) states that communicative actions are more than particles of speech and constituted of gestures, perceptions and “mentally and physically routine ways of speaking” (Ochs, 1996 cited in Hanks, 2005:69). How the speaker is socially received and how the speaker understands their own engagement with the listeners, is as important as the language content of what is *said* (Hanks, 2005). Habitus is also central to understanding Bourdieu's approach in relation to understanding and uncovering power relations in the field and forms the cornerstone to understanding symbolic capital.

Symbolic Capital

Social, cultural, emotional and linguistic capitals belong under the umbrella term of symbolic capital (Moore, 2008). Symbolic capital is the resource or acknowledgement of legitimate authority made available to an individual in a particular social context. Symbolic capital is closely related to habitus. It explains how individuals can achieve social advantage, access to resources and power through the systems, which are “structuring as well as structured” (Hanks, 2005:77). This advantage and the immediate value may not be clear in physical or monetary terms. The fundamental difference between financial and symbolic capital is that in an exchange resulting in financial or physical gain “the instrumental and self-interested nature of the exchange is transparent”, which may not be the case in an exchange related to symbolic power (Moore, 2008:103). Both according to Moore are “always only a means to an end... this is also true for other forms of symbolic capital” (ibid.). Moore's

(2008) view is that there is a close link between symbolic and financial capital, and states that "symbolic capital is a transubstantiated type of economic capital" (104).

Bourdieu (1991 cited in Sandel, 2003:524) claims that language is symbolic capital and is used without conscious thought to gain advantage and "symbolic profit ... in linguistic practices". Therefore, linguistic capital is seen as a subgroup of symbolic capital (Moore, 2008). This definition of language as symbolic capital, however, rests on three main assumptions (Fang, 2011). Firstly, the definition of *capital* changes from the previous definition by Moore as a 'wider system of exchange, whereby assets of different kinds are transformed' (2008:102) to being defined in terms of a range of "scarce goods and resources, which lie at the heart of social relations" (Connelly, 1998: 106 cited in Fang, 2011:252). The social world, as Bourdieu defines it, is a "system of symbolic exchanges...and social action is an act of communication" (1977:646). Secondly, symbolic capital is acquired through and legitimised by economic, cultural and social capital (ibid.). Perception of status, for example, is attained or reinforced through the acquisition of highly paid work. Finally, "social stratification and transformation dynamically occur in the struggle to attain such capital" (ibid: 152). Fang (2011:253) highlights language as a type of capital "that is deeply embedded in complex social, cultural, economic, and political contexts and is driven by an array of competing demands".

Gerhards (2012) contrastingly suggests that symbolic linguistic capital can be seen as community building capital. Gerhards sees language as a resource, which can be used to organise society and build communities. He links the linguistic capital with the ability to be multi-lingual, use the new languages to build associational relationships and access further resources, which may have previously been unattainable. Language is a central resource for becoming a part of a society (Gerhards, 2012). While, Gerhards (2012) also notes that learning a new foreign language is important for migrants, he also highlights that homogeneous linguistic communities have little need to learn a foreign language, as there is no need to access resources or capitals from other linguistic communities.

Gerhards (2012) states that there are two central functions of language in *Vergesellschaftung* (society building) and *Vergemeinschaftung* (community building). Gerhards' (2012) view of *symbolic or community linguistic capital* seems to rest on the notion of identification within the group. This implies that the ability to be multilingual is linked to the perception of high status within a community and differentiates the individual from other 'locals', building on the notion of a new class consciousness. Gerhards (2012) posits that this new class consciousness could represent a

multilingual elite. Gerhards does differentiate between language acquisition for migrant individuals and non-migrant individuals, but does not again specifically mention forced migrants. Multi-lingual forced migrants are not accorded the same high status that Gerhards suggests for multilingual Europeans, who he describes as the new elite. The question raised is why those from a different language background, yet also multi-lingual, would be marginalised and less able to access the same benefits, as multilingual members of the host community.

Gerhards (2012) states that language learning occurs in educational institutions, which is also a space in which individuals increase their social connections and subsequently social capital. However, for forced migrants this may not be the case with language learning happening in ad hoc situations rather than in structured educational courses. The ability to access linguistic capital refers to “the elaborate knowledge of the high, official language of a country and the ability to speak this language, which is usually dependent upon class” (Bourdieu 1992 cited in Gerhards 2012:27). This does not automatically refer to second language speakers or migrants from a non-English-speaking backgrounds, and may refer to marginalised members of the host community are unable to access the same benefits and resources as those perceived, due to their use of language, to be from a high status background.

Migrant associations, therefore, play a key role for forced migrants in accessing resources in the host country. Unable to communicate through the main linguistic channels in the host country, forced migrants access support through migrant associations and organisations. Forced migrants come from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds and are “never homogenous” (De Tona and Moreo, 2012:21). Migrant organisations, therefore, can support bridging the boundaries between state and the diverse groupings that forced migrants associate with (ibid.), but also significantly for individuals allow them access to resources, which were otherwise not available to them through their first language. The divides, asymmetries and power conflicts between the different socio-groups can be invisible and normalised to the extent that those in positions of relative power are unaware of the difference, and “are imbued with great prestige is a symbolic custodians of socio-political system qualified as just, egalitarian and democratic” (Blommaert, 2001: 445).

Linguistic Market and Transnational Linguistic Capital

The discussion of Gerhard’s work highlights the issue that different languages have a different value and the credibility of the speaker is determined by their use of language, their education, social status and racial backgrounds.

There is a need to return to Fang's emphasis that linguistic capital is driven through *competition*. Linguistic capital relates to the ability to produce language appropriate to a linguistic market. Language production is given a value in a market place. Gerhards (2012) suggests that the greater the *transnational linguistic capital*, the greater the opportunity to internationalise social networks and communications. This implies that transnational linguistic capital increases social capital potentially improving business connections and employment opportunities, almost like an international linguistic stock exchange (ibid.). In this international linguistic stock exchange certain languages have a higher value in that they allow for greater access to economic and social resources.

Gerhards notes that "the usefulness of the language varies with the amount of communication partners, one can achieve through its knowledge" (2012:49). This means communication partners can be with those who speak the language as their mother tongue, or those who speak it as a second language. For this reason English has the "highest communicative value... and the highest linguistic utility" (ibid:49). The English language, apart from other languages, has its own particular valuable form of linguistic capital due to its position in the global political economy and labour markets in acting as a cross cultural common language (Crystal, 2003 cited in Harrison, 2009). For this reason the English language is often seen to be not only a "tool for social inclusion in the broad sense: a conduit for economic and social advancement" (Sung-Yul Park, 2011:443).

Gerhards views language as a tool to access resources in society and a method to increase human, social and financial capital. Resources, which can only be accessed in other languages, increase the need to become multilingual. Language competency is frequently seen by employers as a measure of professional ability (Gerhards, 2012). The linguistic market is subject to standardising and unifying effects. It can lead to a standardising effect in the use of a common language, which in turn influences social formations and class structures (Gerhards, 2012). Perception of low linguistic competence can significantly impact success and chances of failure in the labour markets and employment possibilities. Migrants, who have to travel from one country to another, learn a new language and thereby devalue their own mother tongue (Gerhards, 2012). The ability to speak another language or use language relates to a measure of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1991 cited in Harrison, 2009:1094). Acquisition of cultural linguistic capital may allow an individual to access additional resources which may be translated into financial or physical wealth, as well as increasing access to knowledge and social status (Harrison, 2009). This particular view would state that linguistic capital can facilitate socio-economic mobility. Nevertheless, knowledge of the English

language does not necessarily equate to greater access to physical, financial and social resources. Sung-Yul Park warns that the

“English language is never a transparent key, because what counts as good competence is determined by the structure of linguistic market, which is in turn controlled by institutions of power” (2011:445).

The linguistic market is not an equal nor an even playing-field, but a space subject to power dynamics. Power relations mean that not all speakers begin on an equal footing or with equal access to opportunities and resources (Blackledge, 2005).

Considering linguistic capital can reveal the struggle between competing voices. Bourdieu (1977) suggests that there is an issue of perceived legitimacy in an individual's ability to be heard (cited in Harrison, 2009). There is a danger in assuming that language is just a 'neutral means of transmitting information' (Harrison, 2009:1091). The value of the language depends not only on its position in the linguistic market but also the status of the individual speaking it. This means that there is an issue of legitimisation and authorisation in order to compete in the linguistic market. Language viewed as a social process allows more precise insight into the production and maintenance of power relations (Blommaert, 2001; Blackledge, 2005). As Fairclough (1989:1) states "language contributes domination of some people by others" (cited in Blackledge, 2005:15). Bourdieu envisions social life as “a series of multiple, overlapping and even hierarchically embedded fields or markets” (1991 cited in Sung Yul Park and Wee, 2008:246). These markets can be seen as within varying degrees from autonomous to unified, however it would be difficult to be completely one or the other (ibid.). The linguistic norms of unified markets tend to be dominated by the elite groups (Sung Yul Park and Wee, 2008). The language of the dominant group becomes the societal norm and acts as a measuring stick for all other linguistic practices (Bourdieu, 1991 cited in Sung Yul Park and Wee, 2008).

Unified markets share similar types of capitals and end goals that the participants in the market gravitate towards (ibid.). Bourdieu (1991:49) highlights that the unification of specific markets, such as education and work, 'is critical in reinforcing the status of specific languages as legitimate, official, or standard, while also leading to the devaluation of other linguistic practices (ibid.). Language is socially evaluated through processes which result in creating “hierarchies of styles and genres” (Bourdieu, 1993:331 cited in Hanks, 2005:76). The spoken and written styles of communication, which are recognised by other producers from dominant classes, gain legitimacy (ibid.) and are

reproduced. This recognition will also then extend to the individual who uses the standard variety of the accepted language (Hanks, 2005).

Legitimate accepted styles and genres of language are difficult for forced migrants to know and understand. Hanks acknowledges the social and economic position of an individual in society, may result in "unequal knowledge of legitimate language, which in turn reinforces constraints on the access to power" (2005:76), proving a further barrier for forced migrants. These individuals will be judged not only on the level of their spoken abilities, but also the linguistic genres they have knowledge of. The effect of the unified linguistic market is that it marks the *language of the other* as incompetent, disloyal, or inauthentic: though what may be seen as authentic may change over time (Sung Yul Park and Wee, 2008:254). Perception of competence in a language does not only equate to understanding grammar, syntax and lexis, but includes specific cultural knowledge of legitimate language. Linguistic transactions reflect the "structure of power relations between groups possessing corresponding competencies" (Bourdieu, 1977:647). The perception of linguistic competency, therefore, connects to the concept of linguistic capital. Competency, or lack of, strongly influences social stratification and social mobility (Fang, 2011). Linguistic capital is seen through the lens of linguistic competency, in the way that the attention given to the speaker and the recognition of the acceptable use of language is directly related to the ability to use accepted forms (Fang, 2011:252). The difference between legitimacy and authority in Bourdieu's approach, is that authority "is not invested in the language varieties, but in the agents who use them"(Hanks, 2005:76).

Perception of language abilities can have a large impact on forced migrants in terms of their legal status in a host country. During the asylum process, knowledge of particular forms of language is used to determine validity of the asylum story (Blommaert, 2001). The asylum procedure in European countries involves 'complex discursive practices...being used as a criteria for truth, coherence and consistency' (Blommaert, 2001:414). The practices of the asylum process require the individual to access Eurocentric forms of communicating, which do not fit with the manner in which African asylum seekers communicate, not only 'linguistically, but also narratively and stylistically' (ibid.). Western society has a "highly layered and hierarchical systems of literacy and communicative skills that dominate our society" (Blommaert, 2001:445). Written forms are taken as a 'socio-cultural given' in Western societies, as they are embedded in the cultural and education system (Blommaert, 2001:418). However, this may not be the case in war-torn countries where the education systems have been disrupted and individuals have not been socialised in literary forms of communication. According to Blommaert, a lack of language proficiency can distort the perception of the narrative as

untrue; "communication style has always been the source for character assessment and character attribution" (2001:421). These are strong motivators for the linguistic appropriation of the host countries language, or for forced migrants to find through their social networks to those who can also speak the legal language.

The influence of the unified linguistic market drives individuals to appropriate the dominant forms of the language. Sung Yul Park and Wee (2008) discuss the appropriation of identities through the use of the particular linguistic forms. However, there is still an issue to the extent that social actors who attempt to appropriate language are able to do so in a manner which is "relatively unconstrained of the socio-linguistic provenance" (Pennycook, 2003:529 cited in Sung Yul Park and Wee, 2008: 243). Pennycook notes that the influence of language on individuals and their social relationships is complex and not a matter of appropriating 'pre-given identities', but rather that 'identities are usually refashioned as actors draw on a range of linguistic resources, often to signal affiliations that operate simultaneously at global, regional, national and local levels" (ibid.). Forced migrants, who signal affiliations through the use of dominant linguistic forms in a particular field, does not automatically lead to inclusion by the dominant elites and facilitate socio-economic change.

Forced migrants often have links to variety of different cultural and linguistic community groups, meaning that they possess, in a similar sense to Gerhards' use of the term though with dissimilar benefits, *transnational linguistic capital*. Blackledge states that there is a multilevel society, but also implies that there is a multilevel linguistic market, where speakers are able to activate their linguistic capital, though with varying results. Some are able to access powerful social domains, while others access domains in which there are "less tangible rewards in terms of economic and social mobility" (Blackledge, 2005:217-218). The issue is not that linguistic capital is cumulative but that different linguistic capital has varying impacts in different domains (ibid.). The linguistic market is divided in to different territories, which are subject to hierarchies and wherein individuals and language practices are judged according to the practices of the dominant elites in that domain.

Civil society and the Linguistic Other

Can perception of linguistic competence and the authority to use a specific language in specific domains of the linguistic market(s) potentially go some way towards shedding light on the issues faced by refugees and asylum seekers in terms of inclusion? Is civil society also subject to the forces of the linguistic market, and does language play a role in civil participation?

There are multiple definitions of civil society from viewing it as the connecting sphere between public and private or an arena of social transformation to Hegel's view of a "new modern social order in which individuals were free to pursue their own interest" with the state acting as a mediator (Hughes et al., 1997:28). There are common themes that are traditionally linked with the concept of civil society: democratic pluralism, state and individual relations, engagement and participation (Flyvbjerg, 1998; Persell et al 2001; Chandhoke, 2007).

Traditionally, civil society has been linked to being a space for informed citizens to participate in politics (Flyvbjerg, 1998). Participation in civil society can be narrowly described as citizen participation through voting and referendums. Power by the individual is exercised through voting, suggesting that all citizens therefore have equal power. Nonetheless, limiting the concept of individual agency to electoral participation, the vitality and potential of civil society is limited and restricted as a socially transformative force through collective action. It is the collective power of the individuals which highlight the importance of civil society. As Edwards (2009) suggests, volunteers or associations form to defend a common cause, or take part in "collective action in search of the good society" (2009:1 cited in Ibrahim and Hulme, 2010:3). There is a huge variance in the size, type and style of organisations which participate in civil society, and with the connections they form with individuals and the state. Potentially due to this diversity, civil society groups and organisations can reach the spaces to support individuals that the state is unable or unwilling to act within (Ibrahim and Hulme, 2010). Community and non-governmental organisations consequently form a crucial aspect of the definition of civil society (ibid.), and are often cited as serving to check state power or respond in areas of state failure.

Nevertheless, this glosses over issues of diversity and power, neglecting to address disempowerment and marginalisation in society. For this reason Chandhoke is critical of contemporary definitions of civil society, which only highlight the role of voluntary organisations and the third sector and stresses that "state power has to be monitored, engaged with, and rendered accountable through intentional and engaged citizen action" (2007:608). Chandhoke's (2007:609) definition of civil society stresses the need for individuals, not simply organisations, as key to create a "debate about the nature of the state and the politics that it pursued".

Pluralism is often cited as the key democratic aspect of civil society. However, pluralism does not guarantee inclusion; pluralism in "civil society guarantees only the existence of a public, not public consensus" (Alexander 1991 cited in Flyvbjerg, 1998:229). Therefore, conflict is a core aspect of civil

society, as much as resistance against the state practices and call for social justice (Flyvbjerg, 1998; Chandhoke, 2007). Civil society is space of competing voices, but as such is far from problematic and equally subject to conflict, and unjust exercise of power relations.

Foucaultwould only recommend a focus on conflict and power relations as the most effective point of departure for the fight against domination. This fight is central to civil society both internally, i.e., in the relationship between different groups within civil society - groups of different gender or ethnicity, for instance - and externally, in the relationship of civil society to the spheres of government and business where the fight against domination can be said to be constitutive of civil society

Flyvbjerg, 1998:224

Keane (1988) sees inequality and domination as historically having been an aspect of civil society; that "civil societies were established after the image of the civilised [European] male individual" (:21 cited in Flyvbjerg, 1998: 211), meaning that exclusion has been a feature of civil society as much as pluralism. For Flyvbjerg (1988) it isn't possible to discuss issues of inclusion, exclusion and civil society without understanding conflict and power dynamics; between individuals, the state and organisations. Scratching beneath the surface, civil society cannot not therefore, be seen as an idealised space free from the impact of power.

Due to the complexities and various interpretations, civil society has also long been a contested concept and according to Chandhoke (2007) has now lost its contention having been co-opted in some sense by the state. Chandhoke (2007) also asserts different definitions of civil society are now used simultaneously by a multitude of local, regional, national and international agents for varying and conflicting purposes; there appears to be a watered-down version of civil society to suit all colours, perhaps even to the extent that the concept of civil society for social transformation has been lost. Nevertheless, this brief exploration of the tensions in the interpretations of civil society has highlighted several common themes, which can guide this research, namely, the roles of the state, organisations, individuals and the importance of volunteerism. It has in addition shown the importance of the varying ability of actors to participate, engage and influence in civil society.

Forced migrants have been given the image of being *rootless*, without community support and dependant on the state (Williams, 2006). The reality is quite different, as they are 'systematically discriminated against and controlled by regulations; yet they still attempt to regain control of their lives (Williams, 2006:866). Williams (2006:865) points out that "contrary to some stereotypes, refugees endeavour to be proactive social actors" and are often involved in community

organisations. Volunteering is not uncommon among forced migrants, particularly as the latter are restricted from working (Wilson and Lewis, 2006). Most who volunteer do so within their own community groups or "refugee organisation they know and trust... [but] far fewer gone to volunteer in other non-refugee organisations, and yet such volunteering is likely to have many benefits for the volunteers, for the organisations and....the community's clients." (Wilson and Lewis, 2006:5). Dobbs (2009) in particular highlights the importance of informal barriers to participation for forced migrants in particular the information and network gap. There is a perceived lack of bridging social capital between migrants and host community organisations, and there is increased bonding social capital for the migrant communities (Dobbs, 2009). However, Dobbs generally takes a narrow view of civil society as a connection between individuals and state through voting and participation in state structures, and does not consider the use of community organisations and grassroots activism.

In any case, forced migrants are not "passive recipients of care," but actively utilise social networks as resources (Williams, 2006:866-7). Wilson and Lewis (2006) see voluntary action "as the one of the roots [on which]... rich community cohesion can be built" (Wilson and Lewis, 2006: 19). De Tona and Moreo (2012) term this participation as migrant activism. Nevertheless, it is clear that forced migrants are active in this grey space between state and social actors. Williams suggests that this help-seeking behaviour is strongly influenced by the active use of social networks "even when those networks were transnational and when individuals have little or no apparent local support" (2006:866).

Social capital then becomes another central aspect of civil society, and explains to the extent that "associations... build relationships of trust and mutual aid" (Persell et al., 2001:206). Once again, there are various interpretations of social capital, but the main aspects involve "citizenship, neighbourliness, trust and shared values, community involvement, volunteering, social networks and civic participation" (Wilson and Lewis, 2006:17). Bridging social capital, which involves people from different backgrounds is seen as more beneficial for the "production of generalised trust tolerance and other civic values" (Anderson and Paskeviciute, 2006:786). Social capital understood as trust between actors is a vital ingredient of civil society and supports the formation of civil or community associations (Persell et al, 2001). The range of who is included in civil society is wide and varied from voluntary associations from "outside of the sphere of the state and economy,...cultural associations...grassroots initiatives,..all the way up to occupational associations" (Habermas, 1992:443 cited in Flyvbjerg, 1998:210). Social agency is not therefore individual action, but can be

understood as well as “constituted within institutions, structures of power, cultural networks” (De Tona and Moreo, 2012).

Organisations mediate between individuals, collectives and state structures. Where Dobbs (2009) sees organisations as playing a mediating role between civil society and migrant individuals, De Tona and Moreo see a far more significant role for community associations. These community associations act as forms of community development, and spaces for grassroots civil participation with a core aim to empower, represent, build and sustain community networks as well as attempt to balance the areas in which service provision has been lacking (De Tona and Moreo, 2012). Notwithstanding, the fact that migrants could be linked to ethnic community organisations and participate in activities in their own community, they may not be associated with organisations from outside their community groups and therefore be excluded from mainstream participation in civil society (Dobbs 2009). Griffiths et al (2005:210) caution against the positively viewing migrant associations as they may equally be “coping strategies of the poor” (cited in De Tona and Moreo, 2012:21). Accessing social networks, they argue, occurs in crisis situations and the formation of the migrant association may not be as result of proactive collaboration but may perhaps be seen as the “product of crisis and social breakdown”(ibid.).

State policies have often been described as being designed to deliberately make the process of asylum difficult and unpleasant in order to deter applications (Williams, 2006). One of the effects of this is to threaten the bonds that social capital is built on; in other words trust between refugees, members of the migrant and host communities; “the breakdown of trusting relationships is often a causal factor in refugee movements is thus compounded by the processes and transformations of asylum seeking” (Williams, 2006:866). Alliances and connections between different migrant groups, as well as identities are subject to fluid dynamics (Baumann, 1996 cited in De Tona and Moreo, 2012). This fluid nature of the networks reflects also the “contingent nature of migrant activism, in terms of space/time locations, personal and historical circumstances, and the availability of resources” (De Tona and Lentin, 2011 cited in De Tona and Moreo, 2012:22). For this reason participation and motivation to be active in community associations fluctuates among forced migrants. Civil society is a space in which forced migrants can find support, information and gather resources. The role for migrant associations and organisations is “crucial in enhancing migrants’ civic participation in civil societies” (De Tona and Moreo, 2012:26).

Civil society rests on discursive practices. Debates and exchanges are an essential element of civil society and in the political arena are directed through the country's official language. Community associations group together around common languages. Linguistic competency can act as a barrier to accessing benefits from civil participation (Lippi-Green, 1997:64 cited in Harrison, 2009) and issues such as accent can provide a more politically acceptable means of linguistic othering.

Linguistic heterogeneity is only a superficially recognised in civil society. In the main spheres for political participation there is a need to reproduce the dominant-groups speech patterns and literacy norms (Crizet et al., 1999 cited in Harrison, 2009) of the academic and politics elites in order to be accepted as a legitimate speaker. Language competence impacts the ability to participate in citizenship and citizenship activities; citizens not only impact their government institutions through voting but also through membership of political parties, interest groups and social movement organisations (Gerhards, 2012).

English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) was implemented to address the problem of low adult literacy and basic skills in the UK (Moser, 1999 cited in Cooke, 2006). The main thrust of this curriculum was to ensure that speakers of other languages acquire English-speaking literacy skills necessary "to function as independent citizens and potential members of the workplace" (Cooke, 2006:58). This means that citizenship as a concept for migrants was linked to the work place, and fitted within the neoliberal markets rather than to participation in community organisations or civil society. Citizenship for migrants was *defined differently* through the language that was selected to be taught to them; and was not linked to concepts such as associational membership of political interest or advocacy; virtues which are commonly associated with democracy. Language therefore acts as a gatekeeper to political and civil participation (Gerhards, 2012).

Anderson and Paskeviciute (2006) defined *cognitive* and *structural* citizenship behaviour; cognitive citizenship is subjective and related to the attitudes and beliefs needed for a high quality civil society. Haddad notes that by the nature of seeking refuge in another country, "the transnational movement of refugees is not one of choice and is not linked to normal state citizenship relations" (2008:8). Due to the very nature of forced migration the individual and state relations change. Forced migrants might not perhaps share in this cognitive version of citizenship, as "not all migrants are socialised in all share Western notions of citizenship...their mode of organising maybe more or less formal and 'political'" (Danese, 2001:78 cited in De Tona and Moreo, 2012: 26). Alternatively, structural citizenship behaviour facilitates collective action through social networks and

organisations (Krishna and Uphoff, 2002 cited in Anderson and Paskeviciute, 2006). De Tona and Moreo (2012:27) have found that “migrants ...are more likely to form associations, although most of the time these end up being representative of a small, politicised elite”. What could be seen as a *coping strategy of the poor* also facilitates better interaction and transactions between different groups of forced migrants through a language, which is outside of the dominant group’s accepted language. Language competence also significantly impact social relationships with members of the host communities (Gerhards, 2012), autochthonous community organisations and simultaneously increases bonding social capital between members of the migrants’ own community. Anderson and Paskeviciute see linguistic diversity, meaning "greater efficiency in mobilising smaller groups of people who speak a common language for collective action" (2006:789) being able to lead to migrant individuals capitalising on their social networks. Forced migrants who are unable to speak, or be recognised as a legitimate speaker in the dominant language, might be excluded from higher English speaking levels within institutions and organisations that seek to represent them, but maintain the close links to the communities they work with through their use of language. In these situations the home languages of the forced migrant actors hold greater currency in the context of the refugee and asylum seeker organisations. Anderson and Paskeviciute (2006) also suggest that ethnic and linguistic heterogeneity are not synonymous, and importantly, that heterogeneity does not have a negative impact on all forms of what they term *citizenship behaviour*. This means there is potential that the other languages spoken by forced migrants have a currency. Many forced migrants possess, as previously discussed, transnational linguistic capital and global social links. In considering civil society as territorially bound, limits the potential to consider what forced migrants can offer through using their translational linguistic capital and social networks.

This literature review had raised questions of the role of language in civil society. Issues of linguistic othering, linguistic appropriation and linguistic markets raise the potential marginalisation of forced migrants within civil society organisations. This dissertation will now endeavour to discover to what extent this is the case in civil society organisations in the U.K.

Methodology: Literature Informing Approach in Research Design

Two main areas were considered in order to create the methodological design of this research: the importance of preparatory research and including the community when conducting research with forced migrants and issues of the interaction with the researcher. The literature review supported the process of creating a methodology that underlined the importance of understanding the reality of the participants' context and experience. The literature also suggests that language competence, power relations and perception of authority would likely impact interaction with the target group. In recognition of exploratory and inclusive approaches to research design, a methodological process was created and adapted for the purposes of this research, outlined in Figure 1. This is a recognition that research is not conducted isolated from external environmental, social and political contexts (Sheridan and Storch 2009; Schweitzer and Steel, 2008), meaning that it is important to consider the specific needs and contexts presented by working with forced migrants when choosing a research strategy. This necessitated a review of literature of the research methods involving forced migrants.

The Participants of the Research

There were 16 participants in total; half of whom were either refugees or asylum seekers, and the other half were members of organisations working with forced migrants. The participants working in community organisations had either extensive experience in working with forced migrants, or were key contacts within their organisations in this field. Some of the interviewees, who were organisational heads were also diaspora or migrants, and contributed different perspectives to the issues of language in civil society. Due to the types of community organisations and the communities interested in research participation the majority of the participants who were forced migrants came from an African background, specifically the Horn of Africa. A number of the participants interviewed had both experience of claiming asylum as well as the experience of community development work. Therefore, they provided a bridging point and a useful comparison.

The original location of the research was Belfast in the Northern Ireland. However, this research took the opportunity to contact groups in the rest of the UK in order to gain further access to participants and research perspective. Participants were contacted through these individuals and organisations. Recruitment for translators and interpreters happened through organisations, as they regularly worked in this field with vulnerable migrants and had received relevant training. They were not offered any incentive and were volunteers with the right linguistic capabilities. The methodological process (Figure 1) was designed to take into consideration issues of cultural sensitivity, language,

trauma, relationship with the researcher, and other variables which are present when conducting research with forced migrants.

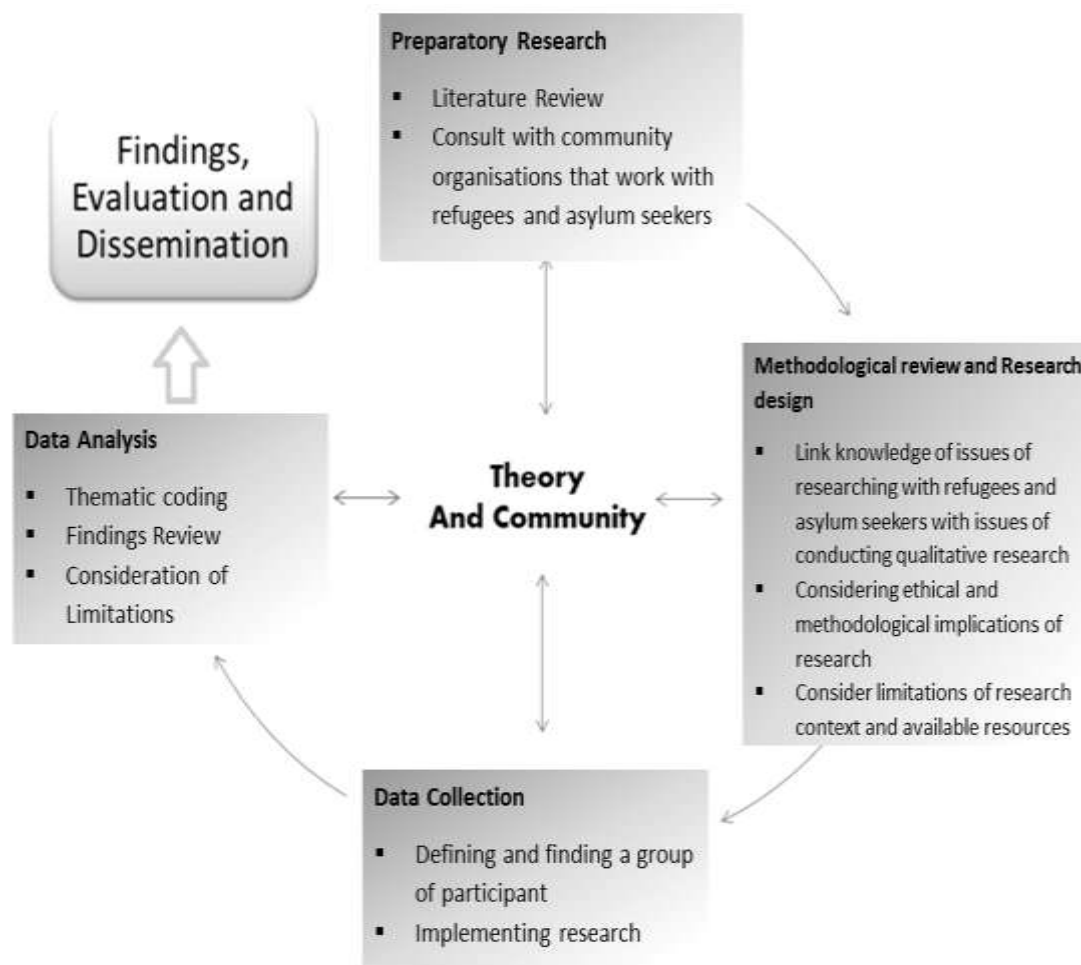


Figure 1: Issues and Process of Research design

Importance of Preparatory Research and Including the Community

It is impossible for any research to “know the boundaries of knowledge” making it important to facilitate opportunities to hear the voices of those who have been marginalised (Ropers-Huilman and Winters, 2010:41). There is a risk of excluding indigenous forms of knowledge (Schweitzer and Steel, 2008) and experience through limiting responses from participants to categories predefined by the researcher. Palmer (2008) notes that indigenous forms of knowledge and systems of values when undertaking research can be side-lined, and could be better used to improve research design, participant response as well as provide ethical considerations. Ropers-Huilman and Winters note that “marginalized people are often able to know differently than those situated at the centre, listening for different forms and outcomes of meaning-making is essential to transformative

understanding” (2010:42). This allows for increased understanding of social institutions that inform the ways that “people live and are able to name their experiences” (ibid:43).

The inclusion of participants supports overcoming issues of cultural differences (Sheridan and Storch, 2009; Palmer, 2008) as well understanding the potential limitations and impact. Including the community in research allows for the opportunity to better understand the culture before the design phase so that research can be more targeted, as well as eliminate potential issues and conflicts. This dissertation attempts at the research design stage to discuss research issues with members of the community, community organisations or “individuals to act as cultural brokers” (Williamson et al, 2011:385), to enhance the understanding of the issues that forced migrants face when participating in research. Palmer (2008) advocates that by including advice from community organisations, cultural understanding is improved alongside resolving the issue of making contact with interviewees. This proved to be the case with this dissertation. From the point of the view of data collection this approach provided opportunities to recruit participants from organisations as well as members of the community in a safe and shared space, allowing the researcher to check on any issues of cultural sensitivity.

From consultations with organisations, it became clear that forced migrants present a set of methodological issues for researcher in terms of translation, lack of familiarity with researchers and research methods, issues of informed consent and anonymity (Palmer, 2008). A lack of knowledge of research processes and commonly used jargon in research is one such barrier (ibid). This can cause issues of understanding when involving individuals from different cultural and educational backgrounds, meaning that research accessibility was an important consideration (ibid). This raises an important consideration when deciding between qualitative and quantitative methodological approach. Quantitative methods underpinned by positivism suggest that researchers quantify the observations and knowledge in order for the research to be duplicated and therefore establish “rules or patterns of social life” (Ambert, et al., 1995:881). Methods such as surveys allow for recording measureable outcomes related to a scoring system of thoughts and experiences. These methods do not provide an opportunity for the establishment of trust, and would be further hindered by the cultural understanding of the layout and question styles (Schweitzer and Steel, 2008).

Qualitative research is contextual and is focused on “discovery rather than verification” (Ambert, et al., 1995:880). This is useful as this dissertation is yet to define a theory as to what the role of linguistic capital is in this particular context. As such, qualitative methodologies are tools in

exploration, allowing for the “emergence of the unexpected” (Ambert et al. 1995:883), and the inclusion of cultural and individual differences. A core part of the respondents were expected to be predominantly from African states and non-native English speaking backgrounds, which pose a cultural issue in the interpretation of the research methodology, and reduces the likelihood of having previously taken part in any form of research. In comparison to a quantitative approach, a qualitative method would provide a clearer insight into the thoughts and experiences of the forced migrants and members of organisations, allowing for an opportunity to establish trust and the use of culturally appropriate methods of gathering data (Schweitzer and Steel, 2008).

Language competency raises another issue with quantitative methodology. The potential that there are participants who lack language and literacy competency would mean that research needs to be linguistically accessible. The use of structured questionnaires for quantitative methods are reliant on a certain level of literacy, which would be inappropriate for forced migrants with language and literacy issues. Using translated written documents may create another barrier for participants who may have had their education disrupted in their home language as a result of conflict. Palmer (2008) suggests that where language is a serious barrier to participation in research interpreters should be recruited, so that lack of language proficiency does not lead to misunderstanding of the research processes. Translators would also provide a cultural link to better understand how to interact in culturally appropriate ways.

Schweitzer and Steel (2008) propose using an Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) process when researching with forced migrants, as this approach can allow a deeper understanding of experiences shared by participants. The underlying assumption is that the experiences of the participants may be outside the sphere of experience of the researcher and that there might be a need to incorporate indigenous forms of knowledge and experience (Schweitzer and Steel, 2008). Under this framework, the researcher can utilise their own experience and as well as the experiences of others “in order to bring clarity to the researcher’s own preconceptions of the experience of people from refugee backgrounds” (Schweitzer and Steel, 2008:11), mitigating the issues of cultural understanding and inclusion of other forms of knowledge. Grounded theory can also provide a useful theoretical approach for research seeking to test or understand theories and gain further understanding of intercultural experiences and contexts (Sheridan and Storch, 2009). IPA is more focused on the experiences of individuals and socio-psychological contexts, whereas grounded theory includes the knowledge of theories emerging from data sets alongside intercultural

contexts. For this reason, this dissertation will attempt to combine elements of both approaches in the design, but focus primarily on the grounded theory approach.

The Position of the Researcher in the Research

Ganga and Scott (2006) suggest that in research involving different cultures “researchers’ positionality is very complex and multifaceted” (cited in Sheridan and Storch 2009 para 31). Researchers need to consider the extent to which their own plural identities, in terms of “ethnic, class, and gendered perspectives” influence their research contexts (Ambert et al., 1995:882). As Ropers-Huilman and Winters (2010) note that individuals can have multiple group memberships, and whilst these memberships matter, they are not definitive nor imply that individuals cannot share experiences (ibid.). Borkert and De Tona (2006) have criticised the “tendency to define a researcher as an insider or outsider according to his/her nationality” (cited in Sheridan and Storch, 2009 para 31). This is a valid criticism that the participants may not be able to see the researcher’s nationality and may assign them a different nationality based on ethnicity and potentially interact with them differently. Whilst a researcher from a particular ethnic background might be considered an outsider on the basis of nationality, they may still share or understand the issues experienced by the participants, such as being the *other* within the overall host community (ibid.). Preconceptions based on group membership can also impact research design and process. During the data collection stage, number of the participants referred to the researcher’s ethnic minority background, and stated that they engaged in the research for that reason. One participant specifically stating they only agreed to the interview after seeing the researcher’s name, recognising this and the fact the researcher is a woman. Palmer suggest that researchers from all ethnic backgrounds can benefit from self-reflection as this knowledge “can work to better inform the researcher of the importance of acknowledging and incorporating cultural realities and understandings and the design and conduct of the research can benefit from multiple perspectives” (2008:22). Palmer (2008) raises of the issue of bias and cultural viewpoint impacting research. As much as the researcher maybe interpreted through cultural lens, forced migrants nay reduced to objects of analysis. Palmer cautions viewing forced migrants as passive, and recipients of policy or care rather than human agents in research (2008). Schweitzer and Steel also stress that researchers may be received differently and that research may be accompanied with hospitality and the “reasonable expectation that the relationships are reciprocal” (2008:15).

The issues mentioned by Sheridan and Storch (2009) emphasized that researchers are not without identities. Researchers have and are perceived to have plural identities, cultural affiliations and experiences, which not only impacts their understanding of the research but also their interactions with

participants. To ensure there was no conflicts of interests or issues of authority, none of the participants recruited were former learners of the researcher, though some of those learners did participate in the consultation phase of the research. Another difficulty arose from the organisational ties, as the research was formerly a volunteer working on planning for a community development project. This project was in the planning stages at the start of the research, but it was decided that the research should be completed before resuming work on the project to avoid any conflict of interests.

Community and Theory at the Centre of Methodological Processes

One of the core issues highlighted by Palmer (2008) is the interaction between the community and researcher as much as the interaction between the participant and researcher. Consultation is vital in research with forced migrants throughout the different stages, from research design to dissemination (Palmer, 2008; Harrell-Bond and Voutira, 2007; Figure 1). A participant-led research approach contrasts from the view of a theory-led approach, which focuses on placing theory at the centre of research design and either verifying or refuting it. Using theory as Ambert et al. suggest at various stages of research is beneficial and a “useful heuristic device” (1995:884). Grounded theory would highlight data analysis as cyclical and that the initial analysis can take place during the data collection process, opposed to a linear process (Ambert, et al., 1995:884). Theory provides an important basis in ensuring that questions and dilemmas in the literature are connected to the research design (Ambert et al. 1995), meaning that the research should reflect back on the theoretical underpinning of the research during the evaluation stage.

There is benefit in consultation with participants on issues of methodological processes, in addition to considering theory at various stages of the research where possible (Figure 1.). This dissertation recognises that research methodologies are not constructed independently and should be designed from within the research context, including the underpinning theory, relevant issues and circumstances of the participants (Palmer, 2008; Ambert et al 1995).

It was important in this dissertation to carry out literature review and consultation with community organisations in relation to carrying out research. Among those consulted with forced migrants with extensive experience in the Third Sector. This contradicts aspects of grounded theory which suggest that the researcher should enter the research without any preconceptions. Nevertheless, in consideration of the methodological review prompted by the consultation, it was made clear that

sensitivity to working with forced migrants and awareness of the impact of research on the community is important. Moreover, given the media coverage and the heightened political profile of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK it would be difficult to research without any preconceptions. As Harrell-Bond and Voutira mention there is a challenge in accessing "the refugee as a persona, as a person, and as a public perception" (2007:283). Sheridan and Storch (2009) further warn that a rigid approach to grounded theory is not as useful as a more creative approach adapted to purpose. Limitations of the research additionally mean that it is difficult to follow the methodological considerations to the letter and that methodology must take into account research context.

Designing Interview Guides

In designing qualitative interviews it is important to make clear, how and where to interviews take place, how interviewees are selected and the questions were chosen (Palmer, 2008; Appendix 7 and 8).

Originally the individuals who were consulted on the research design recommended focus group, as this was closer to how the community groups were accustomed voicing their thoughts and experiences. However, out of respect of privacy, the issues of vulnerability and to allow equal opportunity for all to speak this was changed to semi-structured interviews.

There were sixteen interviews carried out; ranging from 30 minutes to 90 minutes long. They took place on an individual basis, either in person or over Skype depending on the needs of the participants.



Figure 2: Interview Guideline Topics

Palmer (2008) suggested creating a topic guide; followed by a number of prompts and probes, to ensure greater consistency in understanding between the researcher and interviewee. Due to the diversity of the participants in educational, linguistic and cultural backgrounds, the questions were adapted to create two sets of interview guidelines (Appendix 7 and 8). As this is exploratory research it was decided to ask questions around the general topics of interest which arose from the literature review and from the participants themselves. The semi-structured approach allowed ensure that the relevant topics were considered but maintained the flexibility to allow participants to present the themes they felt relevant. As the interviews progressed it became clear that a number of topics such as interpretation, education, training and employment, crossed over on the topics of language and volunteering. By including an *any other information* section the researcher was able to respond to topics in the interviews brought up by the interviewees.

Impact of Ethical Issues on Research

There are a number of ethical issues and challenges when engaging forced migrants and those who work with them in research (Liamputtong, 2007 cited in Schweitzer and Steel, 2008). Palmer suggests that research design needs to be carefully considered in order to address issues such as *confidentiality*, *cultural traditions* and values, and "avoiding re-traumatisation...as this knowledge can minimise research risks and protect the rights and welfare of research participants" (2008:20). Forced migrants face a high quantity of bureaucracy on entering the asylum process, which frequently leaves them uncomfortable with procedures which remind them of the bureaucratic processes of claiming asylum. Form filling, requesting information regarding nationality, immigration

status and past experience can be sensitive for forced migrants, and consequently may have an unintended but dehumanising impact (ibid.). An intercultural space is required, where participants can understand research aims and remind them of their previous negative experiences (Sheridan and Storch 2009).

Harrell-Bond and Voutira (2007) highlight that not all those who might be considered refugees or asylum seekers would label themselves in that manner, citing the example of white Russians who prefer the term *émigres*. This may have caused an issue in sampling as those who do not feel that either they themselves or those they work with, fit into the model 'refugee' image. Potentially this might lead them to self-exclude from the research.

This research has discovered that *trust* is an important methodological consideration, especially when working with vulnerable participants who are speakers of other languages (Schweitzer and Steel, 2008). Palmer (2008) stresses that whilst researchers need to obtain informed consent, it is important to remain aware of the impact of requests for consent, which may shape responses and participation in research. Asylum seekers in particular, but also refugees, still have the experience of uncertainty and fear of deportation (ibid.). Asylum processes in European countries require extensive bureaucracy and individuals in the system are frequently faced with being asked to sign or read official looking documents (ibid.). Being asked to "sign an 'official looking' informed consent form... [may] be viewed with suspicion,... seen as a possible official tool for tracking refused asylum seekers or undocumented migrants" (Palmer, 2008:23). It is important these risks are reduced and participants give genuine informed consent to research (Palmer, 2008). This dissertation attempted to ease some of these issues by having an interpreter to discuss the consent forms in their own language.

The right to withdrawal and dissemination have a heightened role. The right to withdrawal and the knowledge that all recordings would be destroyed is important as fear and anxiety experienced by forced migrants as a result of their uncertain lives may be intensified in an interview situation with an unknown researcher (Palmer, 2008, Harrell-Bond and Voutira, 2007). Therefore, the translators play a key role by translating the consent forms and information sheets. They also provided interpretation support to those being interviewed, explaining the issues of the consent forms as well as translating during the interview process. Another set of consent forms were created for the translators to ensure privacy, that names of organisations and real names of participants were not made public. It is important also that participants are not easily identifiable from the research reports or dissemination (Palmer, 2008). The political context around asylum cases is such that this

may be a valid concern, particularly if sensitive information is given outside the research environment and impact their ability to remain (Palmer, 2008; Harrell-Bond and Voutira, 2007). Researchers have a responsibility “to ensure that the rights and welfare of participants in their study are protected” (Palmer, 2008:22)

Research has a moral obligation to clearly represent the views of vulnerable participants fairly (Sheridan and Storch 2009; Schweitzer and Steel, 2008). Nonetheless, it was difficult to establish a set criteria to determine vulnerability or who would be adversely affected. Interviewees will be reminded before and during the interview that they can stop at any time or not answer any question. For this reason, interviewees would not be interviewed together on the same time or day, or know of other participants. In addition, locations would be kept private and with the participants using Skype, they can do so from any location they feel most comfortable in, with or without the video function with the option of an interpreter if they require it. No incentive was offered to any participant. Nevertheless, unemployed forced migrants face socio-economic barriers to participation in research, which may mean considering paying travel expenses (Palmer, 2008) or access to the internet. Asylum seekers lack access to financial resources and have limited funds. Therefore, to ensure that those with low-incomes could participate travel tickets were bought when required.

Process of Analysis

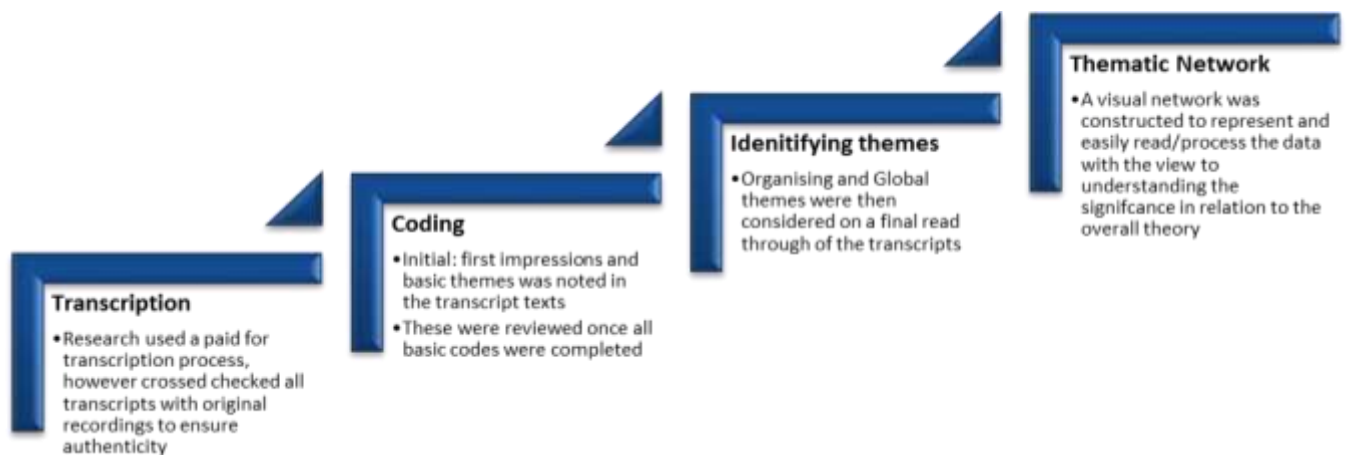


Figure 3: Process of Analysis

After the process of transcription, the interviews were read and reduced to manageable codes. The process of analysis was based on Attride-Stirling’s (2001) work on thematic networks, which is based on Toulmin's theory of argumentation. The core concept of data analysis is to understand and explore issues and the importance of ideas that emerge from the text in order to link to overarching

theories (Attride-Stirling, 2001). Breaking down or reducing the data to identify themes is an important strategy for qualitative researchers given the amount of rich data collected (Lee and Fielding, 1996 cited in Attride-Stirling, 2001).

Attride-Stirling (2001) suggests a 3 stage process of analysis: *coding*, identifying *themes* and *constructing a thematic network* (Figure 2). She further suggests that analysis should include an exploration of the text and summary of the *thematic network* to aid interpretation. Coding plays a central aspect to reducing and understanding the data, as Saldaña highlights "a theme is an outcome of coding" (2009:13). Attride-Stirling (2001) recommends that the codes can be linked to the theoretical interests of the research questions as they emerge, which links to a grounded theory approach. Coding can evolve from initial first impressions, to more rigorous and clearly defined categories, which means that coding is a cyclical process in order to filter, manage and focus on key features of the text (Saldaña, 2009). A number of the codes on the interviews were labelled as initial codes (I.C.) meaning they were written on the first reading after transcription or secondary codes (S.C.) meaning they were reviewed on a second reading. These codes were either descriptive or *in vivo*, meaning they came directly from the participants themselves (Saldaña, 2009).

Saldaña (2009) cautions that individual researchers' personal involvement in the research act as a filter influencing how data is perceived, documented and coded. Sipe and Ghiso state that coding is a "judgement call" as researchers bring "[their] subjectivities, personalities, predispositions" to the analysis (2004:482-3 cited in Saldaña, 2009:7). Coding is exploratory, heuristic and a "problem-solving technique without specific formulas to follow" (ibid:8). It was initially unclear what overall themes would arise from the interviews, and extensive re-reading and re-coding was required to ensure that the essential meaning had been noted. Nonetheless, this process led to a greater understanding of the data, and whilst "coding and analysis are not synonymous ... coding is a crucial aspect of analysis" (Bisit, 2003:145 cited in Saldaña, 2009:7), as it provided opportunities to clarify the essential details. The purpose of coding is to represent or capture the essence of the data, so later to be able to link and establish relationships between concepts to assist interpretation of the data in the discussion stage (ibid.). Cognitive, emotional or hierarchical aspects may become coded depending on the research focus (Saldaña, 2009). It was decided to stay as close to the meaning of the interviewee, and note instances that might describe *habitus* where relevant to be able link to concepts of linguistic capital.

Once coded, a number of themes became apparent. Themes were categorised as basic, organising and global, so as to understand 'explicit rationalisation and their implicit signification' in the texts (Attride-Stirling, 2001:388). Basic themes represent the lowest order theme: warrant i.e. "the statement of belief anchored around a central notion" (ibid:388). Thematic networks start from basic codes and develop upwards to organising and then global themes (ibid). The basic themes are often *in vivo* codes taken directly from the interviews representing views or beliefs around an issues. Organising themes linked and grouped basic themes together into clusters to provide a context, demonstrate links and relationships between the disparate ideas. The role of organising themes is to 'enhance meaning and significance' and link to broader themes (ibid:389). Global themes are "super-ordinate themes that encompass the principal metaphors in the data as a whole" and present a reality of the wider context or argument (ibid:389). The purpose is to summarise and collate ideas to provide a basis for analysis (ibid). The basic and organising themes may link to more than one global theme depending on the complexity of the research (ibid).

Given the complexity and number of codes and themes which arose from the interviews it was decided to represent the themes visually (Appendix 10 and 11). Attride-Stirling recommends that themes should be represented graphically "as web-like nets to remove any notion of hierarchy, giving fluidity to the themes and emphasizing the interconnectivity throughout the network" (2001:389). In addition, this network provides not only a tool for analysis but is the analysis itself as the process of constructing the concept maps aided in understanding the basic themes and their relationships to other clusters of information. Codes were often moved and reordered depending on their relationships to order codes, this task though long, provided an opportunity to re-consider the inter-relationships and importance of the codes. The network support visually representing patterns or relationships, such as similarity, sequence or causation (Hatch, 2002 cited in Saldaña, 2009:6). During the process of creating the concept map, it was decided to divide the interviews into two sets: forced migrants and organisational members. During the coding process it became clear that the interviews between represent small but important differences. To include the themes and codes in a single concept map would dilute and comprise the data when being reviewed. This is an important consideration as once the concept map is constructed it serves as "an organising principle and an illustrative tool in the interpretation of the text, facilitating disclosure for the researcher and understanding for the reader" (Attride-Stirling, 2001:389).

Through the concept maps, a theoretical map could begin to be constructed (Saldaña, 2009). Though this is not always the necessary outcome of the data, and in fact may not be justified with the

limited range of the research, but key assertions could be made to the view to predict future patterns (Saldaña, 2009).

Limitations and Issues in Design, Sampling and Analysis

Resources, time, depth and purpose of the research place practical limitations on sample size requirements (Ambert et al., 1995:885). The key difficulty occurred in establishing and maintaining relationships in the forced migrants' communities. Though of these personal connections led to a snowball effect with the researcher being able to access further potential participants (Ambert et al., 1995). Towards the end of the research there were further opportunities forced migrants, however, due to time and resource constraints it was not feasible to proceed with the interviews.

Sampling was often limited by the ability of the research to gain informed consent (Ambert et al., 1995). Harrell-Bond and Voutira raise the point that deportation, or the fear of it, has an impact on research as those who increasingly participate in research are those who are already integrated or "have been recognised by the system" (2007:285). This may explain why a number of the participants who were newly arrived forced migrants were not interviewed. Several participants reported a nervousness in being interviewed and requested meeting and familiarised themselves with the researcher beforehand. Along with this a number of promised meetings could not take place and were often cancelled without warning. This was an issue predicted by Sheridan and Storch (2009), along the suggestion that determination as well as time allow for interviews to take place when working with forced migrants.

Harrell-Bond and Voutira (2007) offer an alternative reason why it was difficult to gain research participants, arguing that as individuals, forced migrants are caught in controlling structures and the "arbitrary denial of access becomes part of the exercise and wielding of power" (Foucault, 1977:186 cited in Harrell-Bond and Voutira, 2007:283). Governments, agencies and larger organisations that are *responsible* for forced migrants rarely welcome what might be viewed as intrusion and potential to "expose their failings" thereby undermining their relationships with their clients (Harrell-Bond and Voutira, 2007). This may suggest why it was easier to gain research participants who worked in community organisations, but the same individuals were unwilling to recommend meetings with their client groups, which was true in all but two cases during the data collection. Moreover, organisations who worked with forced migrants have a large "stake in 'safeguarding' their reputation for doing good work" (ibid). Furthermore, organisations have access to sensitive and personal data,

which they might not be able to divulge for legal reasons. Harrell-Bond and Voutira (2007) demonstrate how an "intervening bureaucracy and organisational culture of defensive" can prevail and censor vital information, but also how organisations can act as barriers to researchers in accessing participants from forced migrant communities and put themselves forward instead with *their own voices* and *particular versions of events*. This highlights the difficulty of research being able to access the most marginalised. The consultations to an extent did circumvent some of these issues but in the main it was difficult to find participants from the target community without organisational support.

The difficulty in accessing participants meant that the researcher made the decision to expand the locations for the interview to include England, primarily though not exclusively the West Midlands area. Whilst this yielded a greater number of participants, it did raise questions in the comparison of data. Refugees and asylum seekers are subject to the same issues under the legal system throughout the UK, but those in Northern Ireland face different difficulties to those in Birmingham. Birmingham has had on average a larger number of asylum seekers, although is this subject to the dispersal policies, compared to Belfast (ICAR, 2009). Also, Birmingham has a higher number of ethnic minorities from African and Asian backgrounds than Belfast, which has increased from 2001 with 0.8% to 1.8% by 2011 (NISRA, 2011). It appears overall migration to Northern Ireland has increased, though places such as Birmingham have larger and more established communities. Positively, this approach provided a range of participant experiences in this research.

There was also a difficulty in consulting with the community after the interview stages (Figure 1), due to lack of channels of communication and opportunity to discuss issues of methods after the interviews were conducted. Furthermore, the variety of locations across different cities, meant that there was more than one community in the research. Nonetheless, the methods did follow the process of refer back to the literature and some of the original consultants from the initial review to clarify issues in interpretation and to act as a guideline to the analysis of the research.

It was assumed that there would be difficulties in interviewing participants who were second language speakers with limited communicative ability in English. All participants who were second language speakers were provided with copies of the consent forms and information sheets in their home language and were provided with an opportunity to speak to an interpreter to ask in regards to the consent forms and information of the research. When conducting this research, it was decided to request volunteer interpreters. Guidelines were devised using theory from Williamson et al (2007) in order to understand how to work with an interpreter in research setting to avoid

limitations in data generation and validity with interpretation. For these reasons, it was highly important to prepare the interpreter to ensure that they understood their role, the questions, ethical issues and aims of the research (ibid.).

Despite this, only one participant requested the use of an interpreter during the actual interview with other others wished to speak in English. This was firstly a limitation that despite extensive preparation only one participant agreed with low language capabilities agreed to be interviewed. This could potentially show that the previous issues mentioned meant that newly arrived asylum seekers or refugees had self-excluded due to a nervousness around language or asylum issues. It was noted those who did agree to be interviewed had been in the country either as asylum seekers or refugees for a longer period of time or were comfortable in the language prior to arriving in the UK. Still, questions did have to be reformulated occasionally during the interview to be more comprehensible. It is difficult to definitely state why there were not more participants interviewed with lower level English language skills or how this would have impacted the findings of this study if more from this group were included.

A final limitation to be highlighted was the researcher's lack of interviewing experience for the purpose of qualitative research. Whilst follow up questions and prompts were embedded in the question guides and thought of during the interviews, it was clear on subsequent re-readings of the interview transcripts there were opportunities to ask further questions and receive data which may have been useful to the aims of the research. Nonetheless, the interview guidelines were adapted according to needs, the participant and the understanding of the researcher of the salient issues. As the interviews progressed the researcher become more aware of the areas to focus on and which questions were unnecessary in the given context. Even so, during the interview process interviews were reflected on in order to assess how to proceed to next interview.

Findings and Analysis

The data has been represented visually in the form of two concept maps (Appendix 10 and 11). The concept maps were created from the 'bottom-up' i.e. starting from the basic codes from the two separate sets of interviews. Reference Appendix 9 for an explanation of the referencing system the concept maps. Figure 4 represents a simplified version of the global codes and the main organising codes for the interviews with forced migrants.



Figure 4: Representation of global and organising codes from interviews with refugees and asylum seekers

Figure 5 represents the global and the organising codes from the interviews with organisations.



Figure 5: representation of global and organising codes from interviews with organisations who work with refugees and asylum seekers

The global codes from both sets of interviews have three similar global codes. The two differences are with **service provision** and **symbolic capital** both of which refer to the specific personal issues of either organisations or forced migrants. Forced migrants frequently mentioned resources in their own or other communities along with personal skills and abilities, whilst the organisations frequently discussed issues of approach, management and financial restrictions of working alongside forced migrants. Nonetheless, both groups perceived similar issues of integration, civil society and linguistic market in their outer environment (Appendix 12).

In analysing the transcripts from the interviews it was decided to follow the process outlined in Figure 1 of the methodology and refer back to consultants during the analysis stage to clarify the

findings. This was then understood through the framework of the theory highlighted in the literature review (Figure 6).

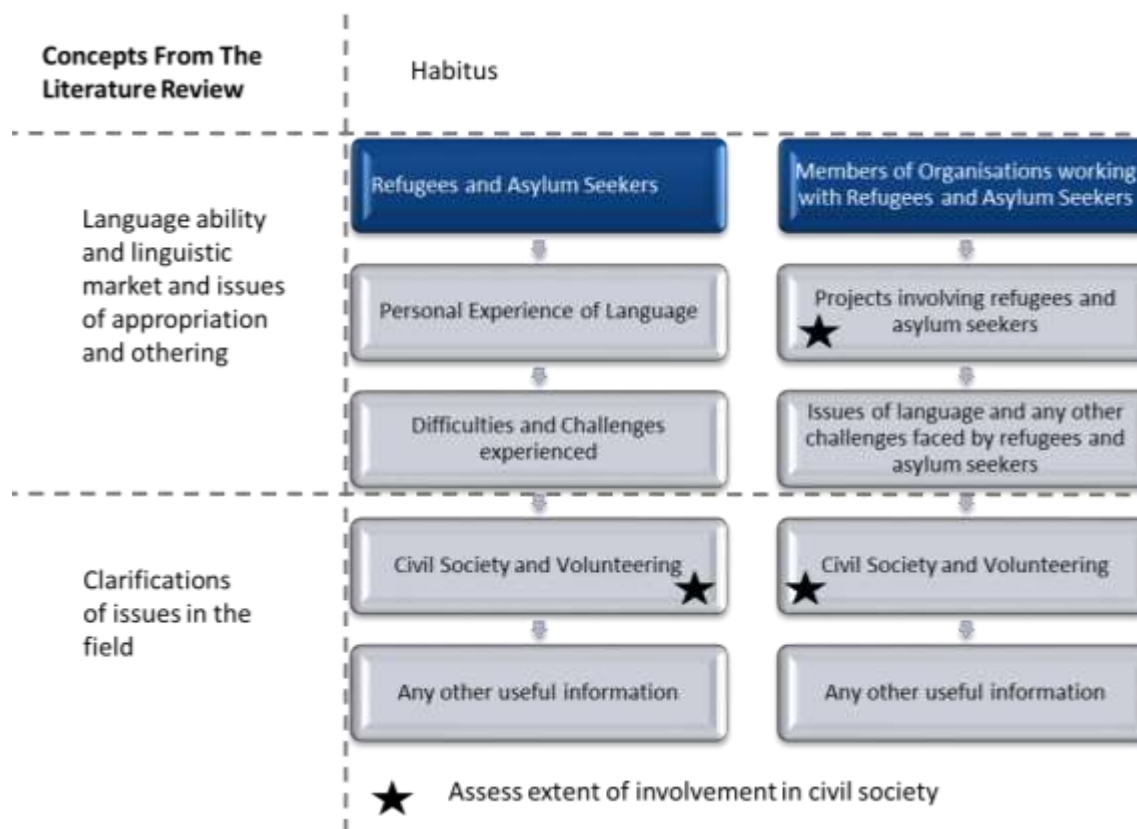


Figure 6: Relating topic guide to theory from literature review

The findings will be discussed in related to *the field* and *the market*. The field refers to the contextual issues, the wider social context highlighted by the interviewees and civil society. The market clarifies the issues of the linguistic market; multi-lingual currency, linguistic appropriation and linguistic othering. There four key topics were raised throughout the interviews. The first relates to wider issues of *integration*, where the interviewees drew on experiences of established migrant communities and relationship to civil society. Then the *motivating factors* for forced migrants to participate in civil society were discussed followed by an analysis of factors which interviewees felt *restrict* participation. Finally, the *translation and interpretation* was discussed as potential roles available to forced migrants within civil society organisations. The term habitus was codes as norms and beliefs which became apparent from the interviews and typically coded as *in vivo*. Habitus was also not given a separate global code but divided under several global codes to more directly relate to the topics and contexts the participants were describing.

Integration and Civil Society

Throughout the interviews several interesting points were raised in regards to integration in wider society as well as in civil society. In both sets of interviews comparisons were made with established migrant communities. This provided a comparative historical insight into the processes of migration and by implication the future trajectory for forced migrants integrating into wider society.

There was a recognition that established migrant communities have a greater share of resources and access to power, which in some way recognises the concept of *Vergemeinschaftung* (community building symbolic capital) (Appendix 11 O.G1Or2B4a1.2). This recognition was shared by organisations and forced

We need to be like the China People, they have their lion-share in the life of Belfast, like the others who came here before us we need to achieve like them.

Ibrahim

migrants though mentioning of the importance of imitating settled migrant community (Appendix 10 RAS.G1Or2B1.2; Appendix 11 O.G3Or2B2). It was suggested that there were layers of marginalization, with forced migrants being viewed as the most marginalized within the migrant communities (Appendix 11 O.G1Or2B4a1.3). The ability to organise their own access to power and resources was felt to be crucial to the issue of having a voice.

This was a further recognition of the share of symbolic capital that migrant communities had achieved through building and establishing their own community networks through political parties, trade unions as well as social relationships (Appendix 10 RAS.G1Or2B1.1). Migrant communities were able to establish and build strong networks in their communities through interacting with individuals in their 'home' languages in religious centres (Appendix 11 O.G1Or2B4a1.4). These community religious centres acted like *safe spaces* for the community. Using the home language provides the opportunity to access resources which would otherwise not be available to them. The home language therefore is used access resources from within linguistic community (Appendix 10 RAS.G4Or2B2.1a.1).

These safe spaces and the space for interaction in the home language played an important role in establishing the community network, it also created bonding social capital. Another organisational leader pointed out that lack of linguistic resources or ability to converse in the strengthened the bonding social

If you don't speak the language there is a tendency to become more embedded in your own community ... less likely to access main stream services and main stream provision and well,... social exclusion is the key [result].

Luke

capital to the detriment of the bridging social capital and subsequently the ability of forced migrants to access resources in wider society.

It was suggested that language ability complemented access to professional employment for the migrant communities, and as a result this created a safety net for the new communities. Specifically, it was implied that it was through the professionalisation of the community that issues such as discrimination lessened and integration and inclusion improved.

The fact if you're Punjabi [in England] these days and something happens to you, well we've got Gurdwaras, doctors, lawyers, and everything in the woodworks ... all the professional trades to back us up... far more than we had in my grandfather's generation. Racism changes.

Arjun

Arjun's comment referenced the changing stereotypes and the acceptance of the Sikh Punjabi community in England. He implied this as a potential future trajectory for forced migrants (Appendix 11 O.G1Or2B4a2.b1; O.G3Or2B2).

His view represented refugees and asylum seekers not only as migrants, but also as beneficial to the social and economic makeup of the host communities (Appendix 11 O.G3Or2B2a.1).

Forced migrants would be able in his view to support the professionalisation of the communities, through integrating their unique knowledge.

The expanding professional network supports *Vergemeinschaftung* capital as much as integration in the host community (Appendix 10 RAS.G2Or1B1.1; RAS.G2Or1B2.4).

...many of the refugees here today are the future markets of tomorrow...

Arjun (Appendix 11 O.G3Or2B2a.2)

The establishment of community through professional employment was crucial for migrant communities, and was presented as a key example and parallel to the experience of forced migrants. Professionalisation of the migrant communities leading to integration was a theme throughout the interviews. Professionalisation itself contains forms of capital; educational and intellectual capital, subsequently represents power in the wider society (Appendix 11 O.G4Or1B1; O.G4Or1B1.3; O.G2Or1B1). Professionalisation is achieved through native-like linguistic competency, gained in 'native/national' educational institutions.

However, interviews stressed the professionalisation of the second generation that was essential to the process of integration. The ability to speak in English fluently gave access to the social and

economic opportunities (Appendix 11 O.G3Or2B2b.1). Many of the forced migrants noted that the established migrant communities are able to access resources in many forms due to their competency in English (Appendix 10 RAS.G2Or1B1.1). For the interviewees this illustrated the need for children of forced migrants to be included and educated in schools alongside native English language speaking children (Appendix 10 RAS.G2Or1B2.5; RAS.G4Or3B3).

Second generation of forced migrants with high levels of English can interpret for those with lower language levels within community (Appendix 10 RAS.G4Or2B1b). Interviewees suggested that as the second generation increase their language ability they become a linguistic resource for the older non-English speaking generation, thereby increasing the linguistic capital of the community. Additionally, this also signifies an increase in the ability to access other symbolic and financial capitals. Second generation support their communities through the increase in their linguistic and subsequent educational and social capital. Linguistic appropriation provides them with a greater ability to professionalise as Arjun highlighted in the Punjabi community.

Organisational leaders who came from diaspora backgrounds were keen to stress the comparative discrimination as well as similarity in some of the experiences shared by forced migrants to previous generations of migrants. One of the interviewees strongly made the case that migration was a global human experience (Appendix 11 O.G1Or2B4a.1.1).

Me and you [referencing interviewer's diaspora background] are examples that humanity never did create absolute terms and absolute cultures

Arjun

However, the lack of English places forced migrants outside of society's norms leaving them open to discrimination (Appendix 10 RAS.G1Or1; RAS.G1Or1B1.2). Many of the forced migrants stated a strong preference for speaking in English at the expense of speaking their own home language (Appendix 10 RAS.G4Or1B1.b; RAS.G4Or1B1.b2.3; RAS.G4Or1B1.b2.5), which echoes Gerhards' (2012) theory of the devaluation of migrants' home languages.

When I come here the one language I am interested in is English. Even if they know my language or other language, I try to speak to the people in English

Ibrahim

There were socio-psychological reasons cited for this, primarily the issue of interaction with the host community and the sense of lack of personal value and ‘humiliation’ due to lower English ability (Appendix 10 RAS.G4Or1B1.b 1.6; RAS.G4Or1B1.b 1.7; RAS.G4Or1B1.b 1.8). It was felt that improving language ability would provide opportunities for interaction with host and other linguistic communities, limiting the sense of social isolation (Appendix 10 RAS.G4Or1B1.b2.4; RAS.G4Or1B1.b2.2). English was seen by forced migrants as a common language, which was an integrating force across different communities, including with other migrant communities (Appendix 10 RAS.G4Or2B2a.3; RAS.G4Or2B2a.4). The sense of disenfranchisement among asylum seekers and to a lesser extent refugees was clear throughout the interviews. Language ability for forced migrants represented social inclusion and therefore access to community, work and educational life and reciprocal relationships (Appendix 10 RAS.G1Or2B2.b).

It was strongly felt by the forced migrants that it was fear at hearing different languages and seeing the difference in cultures which prevented interaction with host communities (Appendix 10 RAS.G1Or1B1.1). Mohammed illustrated the point by suggesting that the language difficulties “are made worse by the language prejudices of this country”. Several the interviewees stressed that perceptions which resulted from a lack of financial independence strongly influence the ability of forced migrants to integrate with host communities (Appendix 10 RAS.G1Or2B2a.2; RAS.G1Or2B2a.3). Importance for these organisational leaders was that labelling was represented by those interviewed as an example of othering (Appendix 10 RAS.G4Or3B1.1; Appendix 11 O.G4Or2B2). For the leaders of organisations from diaspora backgrounds the terms refugee or asylum seeker held no other meaning than migrant.

For those from established migrant communities the terms used for forced migrants represented the same discrimination and stigma to the terms previously used to

...any migrant or refugee community or asylum community ... or aliens...

Whatever you like to call them...

Mohammed

describe the then in-coming migrant communities they were associated with. The key factor was that the process of integration and social support was the same.

Other terms were used such as beneficiary, client or service-user were frequently used by organisations to describe forced migrants (Appendix 11 O.G3Or2B3b.1). However, certain

interviewees were highly critical of these terms. Mohammed insisted the stigma associated remained the same despite the change to terms used by civil society organisations.

They looked after themselves by themselves and people in similar situations, so call them whatever you like.

Mohammed

The term service-user was seen to limit the agency of the individual forced migrants to participate in the organisation in an active manner. Forced migrants individuals are seen as passive users of services. In this point of

view services are tailored to needs highlighted in the needs analysis (Appendix 11 O.G3Or2B1b.3.5; O.G3Or2B1b.3.6). A number of the other organisations highlighted issues in this perception of forced migrants as '*pathologically vulnerable*' (in vivo) and the '*pathology of need*' (in vivo) (Appendix 11 O.G3Or2B3a).

It became clear that organisations took different approaches to working with forced migrants. This was articulated as either a broadly empowerment based approach (Appendix 11 O.G3Or2B1a) or a service delivery approach (Appendix 11 O.G3Or2B1b). This strongly impacted the relationship between the organisations and their target groups, in turn influencing the ability of forced migrants to articulate their positions (Appendix 11 O.G3Or2B1b.2.5). Those organisations who were critical of the service-led approach highlighted the importance of getting “beyond the story and find[ing] out about the person” (Ciara). The labels and terms applied to forced migrants are complex and constructed individual seeking asylum as a story. Ciara insisted that forced migrants still suffered from the same issue of labelling and through the representation of their lives as a *story*.

The findings of the wider field context has highlighted the perspective presented by established migrant communities, highlighting aspects of *community building* and *bonding social capital*, *professionalisation*, *second generation linguistic resources* and *labelling as a process of linguistic othering*.

Civil society was the main context for much of the discussion in relation to the field. The issue of participation and the roles forced migrants were able to play in civil society was frequently mentioned by all participants. Key to the discussion was the language barrier, tacit culture in organisations and professional ability, in other words, their knowledge of the field and ability of forced migrants to participate freely within civil society.

Participation of forced migrants within organisations was considered complex and depended on perceived or actual linguistic competency and professional skills. In order to access professional

internship or volunteering opportunities connected to their previous occupations, forced migrants found that a high level of linguistic competency was an essential prerequisite (Appendix 11 O.G2Or1B1.2). This participation was usually defined along the lines of volunteering. Nevertheless, organisational structures are complex, and interviewees additionally defined participation as being able to join the board, management of the organisation or professional internships. Figure 7 was created to situate the context of participation, in order to discuss in detail the issues and barriers which were raised.

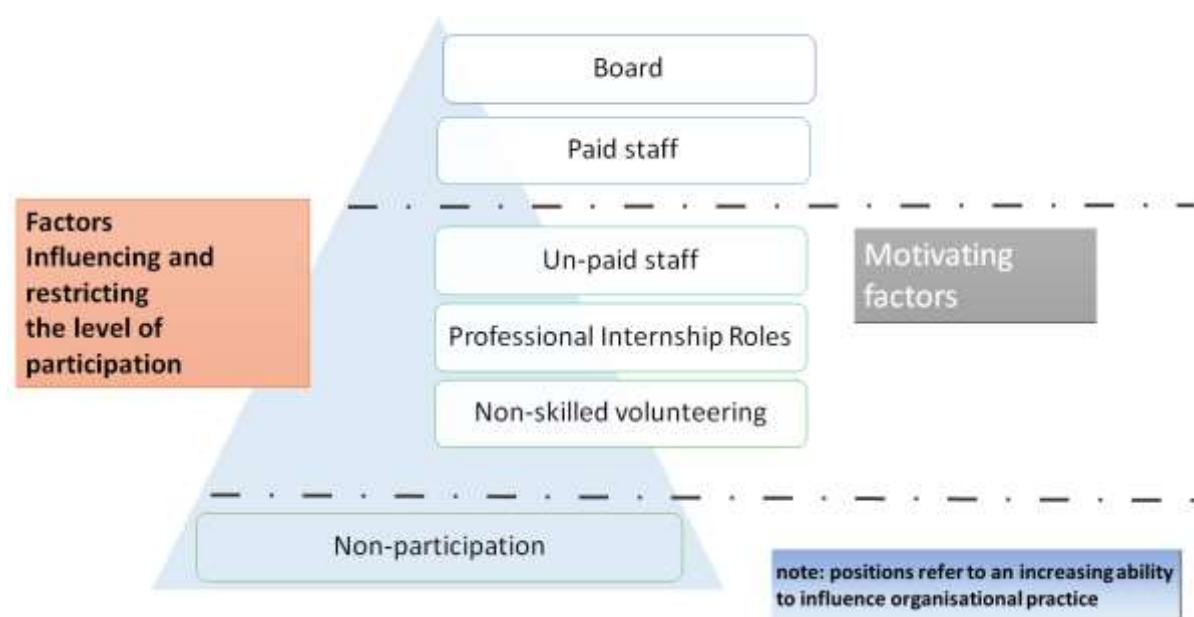


Figure 7: The Levels of Participation in Civil Society Organisations

This participation was coded in the concept maps through the lens of Anderson and Paskeviciute's (2006) definition of *cognitive* and *structural* active citizenship behaviour. It was recognised that refugeehood blurs the line between those with citizenship and those without, and does not necessarily account for the participation of asylum seekers. To compensate for this, the terms *structural* and *cognitive community action* were used in the concept maps to be more inclusive of participation in civil society by forced migrants (Appendix 11 O.G2Or2B1; O.G2Or2B3). The themes collected in regards to structural community action (O.G2Or2B3) focused on the role of organisations within varying conceptions of civil society. Certain interviewees created the image of a financially constrained sector, or presented an institutionalised view of professional interaction between public, business and government bodies, whilst others showed civil society as an idealised space of equality and social change. The importance of considering these issues relates to the field within which linguistic capital and forces of the linguistic market take place. The discussion of the

market and field will now be divided into two parts considering motivations for participation, and influencing and restricting factors (Figure 7).

Motivation for Participation in Civil Society Organisations

Many of the organisations felt that cultural background shaped motivation to volunteer (Appendix 11 O.G2Or2B1.1; O.G2Or2B1.1a.1). Some argued that the culture of volunteering was a particularly Western concept with many not recognising the value of 'working for free' (Appendix 11 O.G2Or2B1.1a.2). This referred to themes related to public or *civic mindedness*, *cultural competency* and awareness, *personality traits* that shaped the ability to participate within civil society (Appendix 11 O.G2Or2B1.1b; O.G2Or2B1.1b.1; O.G2Or2B1.1b.2). The concept maps with the organisations reveal that there are varying notions of civil values, beliefs of interdependence and interpersonal benefits, which shape the motivation to participate in organisations (Appendix 11 O.G2Or2B1). It was also stated psychological reasons played a role, with many forced migrants dissuaded from volunteering to due fear of deportation or not wishing 'to set down too many roots' (in vivo) (Appendix 11 O.G2Or2B1.1a.5; O.G2Or2B1.1a.6; O.G2Or2B1.1a.7).

Certain organisations implied that motivations to volunteer may relate to practical realities rather than civic ideals. One organisational member implied that forced migrants potentially viewed their volunteering as a 'way back into services' or that they were 'pushed into volunteering' through difficult circumstances or the inability to or restrictions on finding employment (in vivo) (Appendix 11 O.G2Or1B2.2; O.G2Or1B2.3). Furthermore, issues with volunteering with other forced migrants who could potentially be from different sides of the conflicts in their home countries, were highlighted potentially influencing their motivation to volunteer (Appendix 11 O.G2Or1B1.7). Several interviewees mentioned that conflict had shaped the perceptions of forced migrants in regards to volunteering (Appendix 11 O.G2Or2B1.1a.4; O.G2Or2B1.1a.3).

Nonetheless, other interviewees, including forced migrants did strongly suggest that there was a desire to participate. A desire to learn and engage with different communities, including the host community was highlighted thereby increasing their social networks (Appendix 10 RAS.G3Or2B2a.1; RAS.G3Or2B2a; RAS.G3Or2B2a.2). Positive motivations for forced migrants to participate related to

advocating for people in similar situations, to represent and empower themselves to be able to work (Appendix 11 O.G2Or1B2.1; O.G2Or2B1.1c). Along with the strong sense of migrant activism, they stated the added benefits of raised confidence, creating a sense of belonging and contribution through professional activities (Appendix 11 O.G2Or2B1.1c.2; O.G2Or2B1.1c.3). Thereby, volunteering was considered overall to have a positive psychological impact (Appendix 10 RAS.G3Or2B2a.4b.3).

English language learning was the most cited reason by forced migrants to volunteer (Appendix 10 RAS.G3Or2B2a.4). It was thought interaction with host communities and organisational members would support English language learning (Appendix 10 RAS.G3Or2B2a.4b.1; RAS.G3Or2B2b.4). It was

Language or no language, I say now is the time to have a voice to go out, to speak, to talk, to make a challenge about difficulty or problems or requests.

Before I said I can't go out to speak because my language is no good. I said "no, I need to learn",...but the big thing is to pass my message

Alice

also stated that through volunteering they could utilise their improved English language skills to act as translators for members of their own community who were in similar situations to what they had once been in themselves (Appendix 10 RAS.G3Or2B2a.4b.2). The importance was to have a contribution and actively advocate.

It was also suggested that migrant action was in response to a lack of professional or governmental support as much as having built up a community or civic minded set of values (Appendix 11 O.G2Or2B1.1c.1). The term civil society therefore was redundant as the key aspect was the mobilising came from communities responding to need. The key issue was that members of the refugee and asylum seeker community were already highly involved in civil society within their own communities.

I don't think a voluntary organisation does any more than that. They're [referring to refugees and asylum seekers who are volunteers] not professionals. I don't know if people think they are a part of civil society or not...and I don't think I care about it. They are doing what they need to do, for themselves.

Mohammed

Factors Influencing and Restricting Participation

Participation in civil society was often identified with volunteering and as such was labelled as an organising code in both concept maps (Appendix 10 RAS.G3Or2; Appendix 11 O.G2Or1). Volunteering, and the shape and ability to affect change or influence the organisation through volunteering, became central to the discussion (Figure 7).

...for asylum seeker life is difficult because you can't work and you can't do anything, you are just waiting ... but for refugees to define civil society it's your contribution, to pay tax, to go to work, that's one of the contributions...

Alice

The issues of contribution to society was envisioned as an important part of volunteering in a civil society organisation, with some forced migrants suggesting it had the same importance as paying taxes (Appendix 10 RAS.G3Or3B2; RAS.G3Or3B2a.1). On a

structural community action level the opportunity to volunteer in organisations, meant that there was an opportunity to learn the tacit culture of civil society organisations, and organisational skills required to manage and lead their own projects (Appendix 10 RAS.G3Or3B1.1; RAS.G3Or3B1.2; RAS.G3Or3B1.3).

Nevertheless, for many forced migrants interviewed volunteering was seen as an opportunity to prove work experience and gain professional skills through informal training (Appendix 10 RAS.G3Or2B2b.1; RAS.G3Or2B2b.2). Though this was filtered with the acknowledgement that not all volunteering opportunities would be professional or lead to further employment (Appendix 10 RAS.G3Or2B2b.6).

A number of the codes in Appendix 10 (RAS.G3Or1) related to organisations gate-keeping access to decision making processes, opportunities to design, manage or lead projects and directly speak to bodies involving in lobbying or influencing policy.

In terms of organisations the views of the inclusion of forced migrants was more cautious in some cases and deeply divided in others. Isaac suggested that there was an industry of dependence with organisations wishing to retain control of beneficiaries in order to self-perpetuate their services.

I think the biggest challenge is corruption and the corruption in the system.these are organisations who represent refugees...

...without the language skills, you have a client for a life time

Isaac

One interviewee clarified one position as stating that forced migrants, particularly those who faced issues of destitution, were often in a vulnerable state and therefore not advised to join in on advocacy campaigning.

In addition this particular view point heavily focused on a service-led approach, where a structured approach would then highlight issues for consultation on problems forced migrants face.

We do a needs assessment and to be better and be beneficiary-led...

Importantly is to articulate this to government and others

Anthony

So I can speak on his behalf or he might give a bit of a story, but his face will need to be covered. We try and tease their story out subtly and present it, and more often than not,

I see myself as **their spokesperson**

Anthony

The organisation felt it was important to take control, and actively present the story of their clients.

The key concern that was felt was that organisations were not effectively representing the view of forced migrants. Migrant associations it was felt would resolve these concerns and be better able to articulate the needs of the community, and were therefore preferable to organisations without community representation in the management levels.

Many interviewed felt that migrant-led associations, or organisations with greater representation of forced migrants would resolve these issues. A frequent theme in the interviews with forced migrants echoed the issue of a lack of access to organisational

We need be in the head of the organization. Why not to put one refugee? Why? One refugee can manage the organization as well.

Alice

decision-making and ability to lobby directly to bodies concerned with making policy decisions. The issue it appeared was that organisations were not voicing 'all our requests' (Alice).

The issue it appeared was being allowed to collaborate on a more equal par with organisational members. Organisational leaders from migrant backgrounds were especially critical of the functions of larger organisations, which were not migrant led. Frequently highlighted themes of lack of voice within organisations and as the ability to self-represent were closely linked to the discussions of power and influence.

It's no justice for they own people to go to represent us, because sometimes they speak they talk about us ... they talk half about our situation and difficulties but if one refugee go to represent us he will talk about all of the request all of the difficulty we meet on the way

Alice

A key concern for many organisations focused mainly on issues of funding that prevented being able to provide the services needed to create a structured approach to allow forced migrants to participate actively (Appendix 11 O.G2Or3B2). Furthermore, the need to find funding had created issues of competition and two organisational members felt this had resulted in forced migrants being perceived as liabilities as opposed to assets to the organisation.

Several themes raised by organisations suggested that volunteering could help address power inequalities between organisations and forced migrants (Appendix 11 O.G2Or1B3b.1b). Experience

What they want is what we wanted; they want access to power

Arjun

gained from voluntary positions was thought to be a useful stepping stone to employment, in a sense that volunteering provided a useful opportunity evidence of employment skills

already gained and access training to learn new skills (Appendix 11 O.G2Or1B3b.2.1b.3; O.G2Or1B3b.2). Throughout the interviews it was thought that volunteering provided a useful basis to improve language and communication skills as well as reduce social isolation (Appendix 11 O.G2Or1B3b.1a).

Nevertheless, several organisations questioned the true value of volunteering for forced migrants in relation to gaining experience for the job market, particularly in their former fields (Appendix 11 O.G2Or1B3b.2.1 (b).2). Several organisations were cynical when discussing organisations who include forced migrants in wider consultations, stating they do so for the ‘Kudos’ factor (Appendix 11 O.G2Or2B3.2b.2). This referred to the use of forced migrants to gain more support for organisational activities. There seemed to be an inflexibility in the attitude of including forced migrants in higher levels of management or volunteering or in fact non-service user role.

No... I don't think we can learn from them than we can learn from any other particular group

Anthony

Other organisations also voiced similar issues and opinions on wider social issues as well as allowing forced migrants to have greater access to decision making processes within organisations.

The views of the organisations were varied, but were embedded within the wider context of different perceptions of civil society and approaches to working with forced migrants. Under the section of *structural community action* (Appendix 11:O.G2Or2B2) the codes reflected the issues of involving forced migrants in consultations with larger umbrella organisations and lobbying policy makers. Most organisations reflected the difficulty in doing this and the barrier this presented to forced migrants having a greater voice.

It's all very well saying you want people to come in but first you have to let people share power,

I guess.... its letting people come into organisations

Sarah

There were a few subtle differences between reasons cited for barriers to forced migrants participating in civil society between the interviewees. Organisations frequently noted issues such as trauma, lack of knowledge,

experience, awareness of workplace culture and general cultural competency (Appendix 11 O.G2Or1B1.4; O.G2Or2B1). A key lack of knowledge which was noted by some organisations related to funding, government processes and project management (Appendix 11 O.G2Or1B1.8). There were strong perceptions of the individual as vulnerable, and issues such as the lack of financial support to dress professionally were mentioned (Appendix 11 O.G2Or2B3.1).

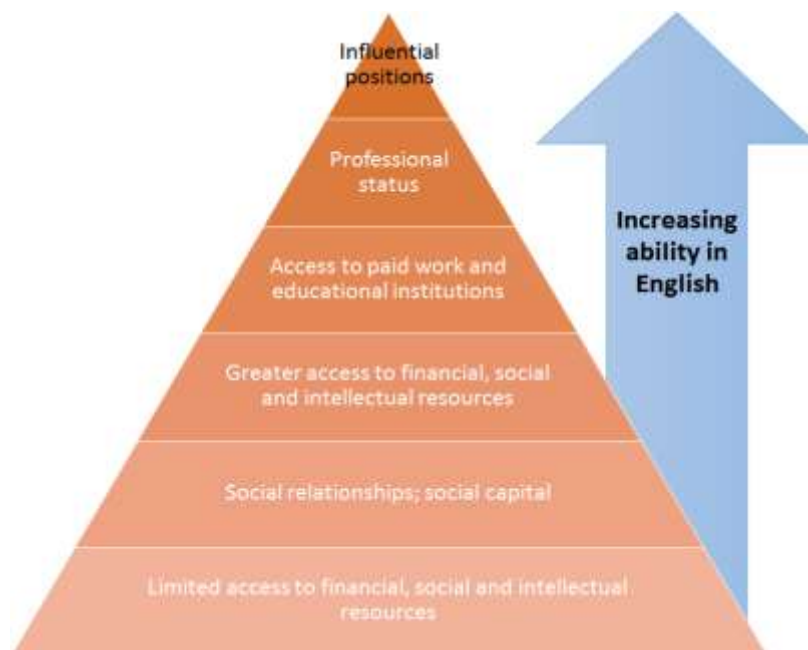


Figure 8: Perceptions of the value of English: Language ability providing access to financial, intellectual and social resources

The perception rested on the view of refugees as simultaneously vulnerable and lacking in linguistic or professional ability (Appendix 11 O.G3Or2B1b; O.G3Or2B3a-b) or more specifically that individuals with low-level English from outside Europe were less professional (Appendix 11 O.G3Or2B3a.2).

The core issues that were highlighted by organisations was the lack of language ability of forced migrants, which created perceptions regarding the ability, knowledge and

The first difficulty is the language.

Language, is the first difficulty, because if you don't have the language you can't speak so people they can't listen to you

Alice

professionalism to discuss and participate with dominant members of society on an equal level. Language, particularly knowledge of the English language, therefore related very closely to the perception of the ability of forced migrants to participate in the field. Forced migrants stated that once their language skills and the knowledge of the Third Sector improved they could lead in organisations (Appendix 10 RAS.G3Or1B1b.3).

Many of the forced migrants interviewed stated that they felt a strong need to gain qualifications in the UK in order to have a voice through organisations (Appendix 10 RAS.G4Or1B1.a1.b.6) and that their previous qualifications would be disregarded. Lack of access to educational and employment

opportunities were cornerstones of the discussions across the interviews and were closely related to issues of participation in civil society. One organisational member perceived the difficulty of including forced migrants in organisations due to differences in work ethic and lack of employable skills.

Volunteering was measured in the same terms as professional activities in larger scale organisations, potentially due to high demand to volunteer in the organisation and recognition by employers of volunteering experience. There was a written application processes and continual training that volunteers needed to do. Despite, many forced migrants stating they were from professional backgrounds, the further barrier of attaining an accepted form of education and ability to speak in the linguistic forms of the dominant sections of society prevents accessing employment and therefore a professional status (Appendix 10 RAS.G1Or2B2a.3; RAS.G2Or2B1.a; RAS.G4Or1B1.a1.a; Appendix 11 O.G1Or2B1.a1.1 - 3; O.G1Or2B3.a).

Language and literacy provides refugees the opportunity to be able to showcase employable skills (Appendix 10 RAS.G2Or2B1.a.1; RAS.G4Or1B1a.2), however those able to converse in the accepted language are not always able to access employment in similar fields to their previous experience (Appendix 10 RAS.G4Or1B1.b.1; RAS.G4Or1B1.a1.a.3). A further barrier related to work experience: difficulty in proving work experience took place (Appendix 10 RAS.G4Or1B1.a1.b.1 and Appendix 11 O.G1Or2B3.b.2). There was also a lack of evidence to show that the experience is of European standards, the assumption that employment and education standards outside of Europe is significantly lower and therefore individual requires significant training (Appendix 10 RAS.G4Or1B1.a1.b; RAS.G4Or1B1.a1.b.3 and Appendix 11 O.G4Or1B2.2). Finally, that migrants had a lack of awareness of tacit work culture in the UK and immigration policy (Appendix 10 RAS.G4Or1B1.a1.c and Appendix 11 O.G1Or2B1.a; O.G1Or2B1.b1). Organisations stated there was a lack of acceptance or awareness of alternative forms of knowledge or work practices on behalf of employers in the UK (Appendix 11 O.G1Or2B3.b2.1; O.G4Or1B2.1). Many of the refugees they had 'returned to square one' without any acceptable form of work experience to support them (Appendix 10 RAS.G4Or1B1.a1.b.2).

Speakers of Other Languages: Translation and Interpretation

...Certain level of empathy, and cultural awareness [are the benefits from working with refugees and asylum seekers], but if we are being realistic, it's the ability to access to free interpretation services they provide across 22 languages...

Luke

All migrants interviewed identified themselves and many in their communities as bi-lingual or multi-lingual (Appendix 10 RAS.G4Or2B2.1; Appendix 11 O.G4Or3B1.1). There was also the strongly stated preference by forced migrants in the interviews for speaking in English instead of in their own language (Appendix 10

RAS.G4Or1B1.b; RAS.G4Or1B1.b2.3; RAS.G4Or1B1.b2.5). Educated elites speak the language of the former colonial states, along with a fair level of English or French, in addition to indigenous community languages (Appendix 10 RAS.G4Or2B2a.1). One of the interviewees stated they she was able to communicate in French with people when she first arrived, however, those who spoke other languages were less able to communicate with people outside their own community immediately after arrival unless they spoke English.

It was also stated that organisational staff were not often multi-lingual (Appendix 11 O.G4Or3B2b.1). For this reason the role of interpreter and translator was frequently defined for forced migrants who wished to volunteer. In this sense the forced migrants were being used as linguistic resource by organisations (Appendix 11 O.G2Or3B2a.3). Organisational members stated that they preferred to work with forced migrants who were interpreters due to their enhanced cultural knowledge, and personal experience of the issues, and the comparative costs of professional services (Appendix 11 O.G2Or3B1b.4b; O.G2Or3B2a.1; O.G4Or3B2b.9; O.G4Or3B2b.10). Furthermore, they could gain in-group knowledge and have a better understanding of needs in the community (Appendix 11 O.G4Or3B2b.11; O.G4Or3B2b.12).

Despite, reacting positively to supporting members of their own communities, many of the refugees felt strongly that interpretation should be paid work, though it was often voluntary (Appendix 10 RAS.G4Or2B1b.1; RAS.G4Or2B1b.2; RAS.G4Or2B2.1b.2). The strongest critics of the practice of utilising forced migrants as interpreters were members of organisations. Some stated that using unpaid interpretation services was not good practice, and felt that "it's exploitation" (Appendix 11 O.G4Or3B2b.5; O.G4Or3B2b.6). Isaac, a leader of a refugee organisation and an interpreter in legal courts, felt that short-term volunteering opportunities as translators were useful for forced migrants

if it supplemented full-time work, but not if it replaced professional work (Appendix 11 O.G4Or3B2b.7).

These findings have sought to identify and clarify the key themes raised in the interviews. Nonetheless, further analysis could have been done to detail further sub-themes which could contribute to the discussion. The concept mapping strategy provided a unique and detailed method to understand and analyse the codes drawn from the interviews and therefore produced rich data beyond the scope and remit of this dissertation.

Discussion

Through the course of this research linguistic capital was understood as a tool or the ability to access social, financial, intellectual and educational resources, which are available across a number of different linguistic communities (Figure 9). There appeared to be a general belief throughout the interviews that as the English language competency of the forced migrants increased so did their opportunity to access different capitals, attain paid work for refugees and access further education, potentially leading to higher social status (Figure 8). This suggests that migrant communities build up reserve of symbolic capital through linguistic competence.

As seen in the literature review, Gerhards' (2012) theories appear to support this view that symbolic linguistic capital can be seen as having the ability to increase access to the higher levels of Figure 8. Gerhards also states that language is used for community building and that linguistic capital with the ability to be multi-lingual and use the new languages to build associational relationships and access further resources which may previously been unattainable (2012).

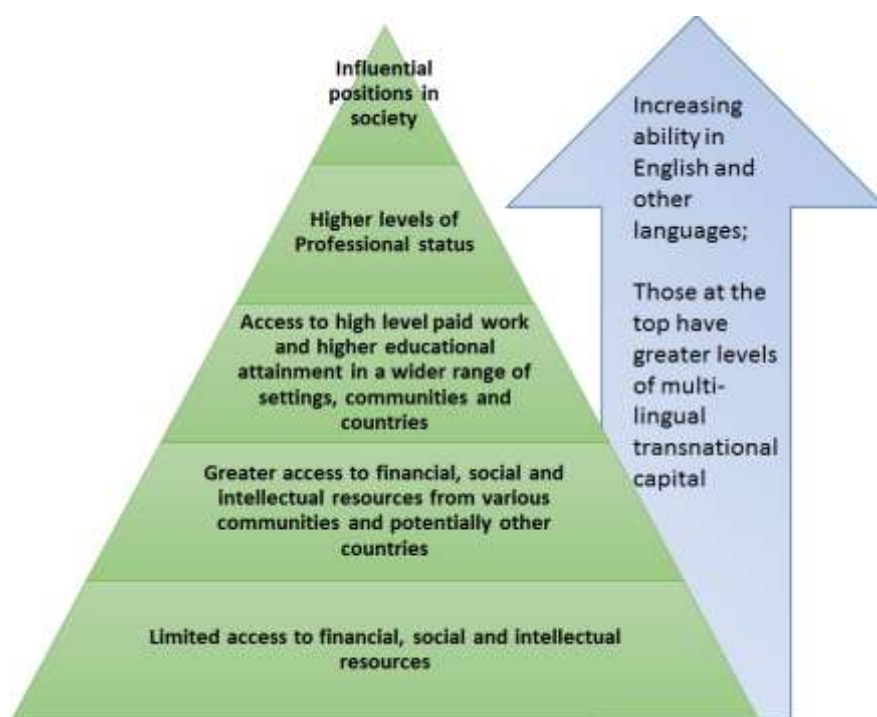


Figure 9: adaption of Gerhard's (2012) theories related to notions of linguistic capital represented by the interviewees

As Figure 9 demonstrates, Gerhards' theories suggest that a competency in various languages leads to greater access to social, educational and financial resources. The implicit suggestion is that those

at the lower tier of the pyramid have lower levels of linguistic capital, or are less able to draw on the resources of different linguistic communities in a given context.

Drawing on the findings, comparing with concepts of linguistic capital represented by the interviewees and Gerhards' theories (Figure 9), Figure 10 was created to give a basis of this discussion. Gerhards (2012) saw multilingualism as transnational linguistic capital. Whilst this highlights the importance of language within diverse communities, Gerhards does not position multilingualism or in his view transnational linguistic capital within the structures of the linguistic market. This dissertation did not consider the linguistic abilities of those in higher levels in organisations from native speaker background. Gerhards' theory, nevertheless, did not take into account the types of languages spoken or whether marginalised groups in society were multi-lingual. Furthermore, the perception of professional status linked to increasing ability in the dominant language and skills and qualifications earned in the UK and European settings.



Figure 10: Scale of participation in civil society organisations and linguistic capital

The five sections outlined in Figure 10 demonstrate the following concepts;

- i. **Non-participation** was characterised by a limited or no access to financial, social and intellectual resources outside their linguistic communities. This implied higher bonding social capital within their own linguistic communities. Those in this category were normally given a

beneficiary status or labelled as a *service user* and had limited or no ability to influence organisational practice. No value placed on previous knowledge and skills learnt in non-European setting.

- ii. **Unskilled volunteering;** Forced migrants in this section had an increasing ability to build social relationships and potentially a greater degree of bridging social capital. The importance of *bridging social capital* was noted by Anderson and Paskeviciute, as it is seen as more beneficial for the 'production of generalised trust tolerance and other civic values' (2006:786).
- iii. **Unpaid staff** were also better able to use their *volunteer positions to improve linguistic competence* in dominant language. Yet, little value is placed in skills attained in non-European settings, leaving the forced migrants unable to articulate the knowledge and skills they possess within organisational settings.

Professional internship roles: those with higher degree of linguistic competence were able to access *translation and interpretation* roles. This gave them the ability to use linguistic capital to support members of community and organisations. This was equally the utilisation of the linguistic capital of forced migrants by organisations, to support service delivery objectives. Forced migrants received greater access to social and intellectual resources within organisations; i.e. basic trainings and travel costs. There remains a difficulty of gaining other professional internship roles, for those without qualifications gained in the UK or equivalent qualifications being recognised.

- iv. **Paid staff** have a greater role in influencing management and decision-making processes. However, they are not necessarily multi-lingual but have a native [-like] linguistic ability. It was suggested that it would be difficult for forced migrants to enter into these positions.
- v. **Board:** There was the frequent implication was that the organisational governance and management were far removed from the service delivery aspects of the organisations. Forced migrants rarely referred to meeting with board or management members or clearly stated they were unable to influence them. Boards were not referred to in the interviews with organisational members beyond issues related to funding. Only fraction of the interviewees mentioned to any forced migrants being members of boards themselves. Literature on the subject confirms that often board members in general are chosen for educational attainment or previous work history, have knowledge and skills related to strategizing within specific models (Werther and Berman, 2001; Charity Financials, 2013) and often have a perceived high professional status.

Symbolic Suffering of the Multi-lingual Marginalised

The findings highlighted issues of limited access to other capitals due to the lack of linguistic specifically English language capital. In this there were four key areas highlighted: *migrant associations*, *the lack of English language capital*, limited access to *social capital*, and forced migrants being placed in *process of devaluation*, *othering* and *marginalisation*. The following discussion will focus on these areas and conclude by demonstrating the symbolic suffering face by forced migrants as multi-lingual marginalised groups within civil society.

A number of the forced migrants and migrant leaders in organisations expressed a preference to work within their own or other migrant community organisations, rather than with the mainstream organisations. One interviewee from an organisation stressed that despite a number of beneficiaries and volunteers being forced migrants, they did not connect with the larger organisational networks and campaign groups involved in lobbying policymakers. Associations where forced migrants had strong influence were seen as separate from the other main stream organisations.

There was quite an active Kurdish group involved a few years ago and some of our volunteers were certainly involved in that but that was very much a separate organization from ours.

Luke

Furthermore, this interviewee highlighted the gap between the migrant associations and his own organisation. This points to the extent of participation between migrant associations and mainstream service providers to forced migrants. Moreo questioned the reason for the growth of migrant associations and stated that

“while refugees’ reliance to ethnic networks and associations may be interpreted as a response to bureaucratic, intimidating faceless character of state-led agencies, it is also indicative of serious gaps in mainstream service provision” (2012:174).

Moreo proposes, as many of the organisational leaders did in the interviews, that service provision and migrant activism is a response to lack of governmental support. In essence this advocates that migrant associations are best seen in the form of *coping mechanisms* (ibid.). Nevertheless, for the forced migrants interviewed and organisational leaders from migrant backgrounds, it was felt that migrant associations symbolised the power and the ability to influence wider society. Many noted that the established migrant communities have a built up reserve of symbolic capital through linguistic competency (Appendix 10 RAS.G2Or1B1.1). This tied into to the ability to have a voice or as

an interviewee stated the *lion share* of the power. The interviewees related the importance of language to the ability to organise and build community associations, which reflected their community's needs. This also reflects Dobbs (2009) position that there is a lack bridging social capital between migrant and host community-led organisations. There was a concern that given diversity of migrant communities as well as host communities, the importance of gaining a voice through community solidarity was significant, increasing bonding social capital among migrant-led organisation (ibid). The concept of solidarity and forming community groups is potentially motivated by the desire to guard and extract material benefits for the community in heterogeneous communities (Anderson and Paskeviciute, 2006) by being more socially organised. Though these findings potentially appear to further stress that social heterogeneity is effective to produce a strong civil society (ibid.), the issues of linguistic competency caused some doubts. It was strongly felt that the dominant language was required in order to have an influential voice. Having a voice for those interviewed represented not only the ability to participate, but the ability to influence through recognised participation the distribution of resources, and the formation of capitals.

Those proficient in dominant linguistic patterns of the social networks are better able to access the benefits. Ability to mimic dominant forms of knowledge increases the opportunities to access the benefits of linguistic capital (Bourdieu 1992 cited in Gerhards 2012). Organisations provided, for many forced migrants interviewed, opportunities to interact within diverse social networks.

“social networks are not only providers of basic services, they are also conduits for the circulation of information...settings for developing more formally structured associations.”

De Tona and Moreo, 2012:25

In the literature review it was highlighted that stratification occurs over struggles to attain capital (Bourdieu, 1977), which is potentially occurring in civil society organisations interviewed.

A large number of the interviewees considered linguistic competence as a primary indicator in the ability to assess resources in the host community. The discourse related to linguistic competence was a backdrop to many of the discussions throughout the interviews. This directly links to Fang's (2011) assertion that linguistic capital is frequently viewed through the lens of an individual's linguistic competence in the accepted linguistic forms of a particular social network. Unless the individual possesses the linguistic competence in the dominant social network, navigating and benefitting from the network becomes difficult. Perception of linguistic competence formed an aspect of the habitus, the *structuring structures*, which meant that languages other than the

dominant language of the context, are devalued and not accepted by the dominant elite of the context. According to Bourdieu (1977) linguistic practices of dominant groups can therefore regulate the value ascribed to any other form of linguistic practice. The individual therefore who is unable to participate through the dominant language remains in a marginalised position. The habitus of linguistic competence creates the need for linguistic appropriation by those in a marginalised position.

One of the participants mentioned that a lack of required linguistic ability lead to many forced migrants becoming more embedded in their communities. He further suggested that this resulted in forced migrants being less likely access services provided by organisations, or be active in organisational social networks. The key reason for the lack of participation within organisations was their lack of English language skills (Appendix 11 O.G2Or1B1.2). In other words, participation was decided by the linguistic ability to access the conduits of information and the settings for developing associations, which would provide the community group with the desired *lion share* of available resources (De Tona and Moreo, 2012; Ibrahim, 2013). This supports the concept that English language is often seen to be not only a “tool for social inclusion in the broad sense: a conduit for economic and social advancement” (Sung-Yul Park, 2011: 443). In this sense *English language capital* is often required of forced migrants in order to meaningfully participate in organisations.

In the context of civil society, this could further mean that forced migrants are less likely participate actively in organisations that are pre-dominantly English language speaking. Moreover, are more likely to form migrant-led associations from specific linguistic communities in order to utilise the social networks and capitals available to them. This is an active strategy of participation within available networks through available *linguistic conduits*. The implication is that lower levels of linguistic capital, or those lacking of ability in the dominant language in a specific context, increases bonding social capital within the migrant communities. It could be restated that in contexts with linguistically diverse communities, linguistic capital potentially influences bridging and bonding social capital, as well as the specific ability to network, access information and resources. This supports the literature review’s position that migrant associations and the ability forced migrants create parallel networks to access to previously unattainable resources. By inference opposed to migrant associations ‘proving migrants inability to participate meaningfully’ (Hahlo, 1998 cited in De Tona and Moreo, 2012:24), these findings would tentatively suggest that migrant associations could be a demonstration of the creation of networks to use linguistic capital to access and utilise available resources to guard and support their communities, adapt service provision to community needs and seek to have a stronger, more influential voice. Forced migrants participate meaningfully through

the linguistic conduits, which allow them to access required capitals for their communities. In a sense they create their own parallel linguistic markets to access symbolic capital denied through other means. This echoes Moreo's (2012) conclusion that migrant activism is the refusal to accept the image and definition portrayed by the powerful of the weak.

Nevertheless, as Bourdieu questions, what is the genuine 'symbolic profit...of linguistic practices'? (1991 cited in Sandel, 2003:524). Participation alone through migrant associations in their own languages does not guarantee forced migrants influence and ability to direct their futures. One interviewee claimed that participation through migrant associations does not allow the same access to resources, as participation through a main stream *English-language dominated* organisations would allow. This further supports the concept that civil society contains competing actors seeking to be heard and access symbolic capital and that the consideration of linguistic capital can reveal the struggle between conflicting voices.

The migrant leaders stressed that the processes of integration through linguistic appropriation adopted by established migrant communities. The findings stated that the migrant organisational leaders felt that migrant communities had become established through the professionalisation of the community, which was initiated through the learning of English. The findings concluded that the communities placed greater importance on the learning of the dominant language on the second generation, who subsequently become a linguistic resource for the community. It was inferred then that through the second generation's linguistic and cultural capital, increased the overall ability for the community to access capitals and resources (Harrison, 2009). One of the interviewees highlighted that the linguistic appropriation of the established Punjabi community in the UK and process of professionalisation which they embarked on, led to greater acceptance, integration and social status. The interviewees felt that the ability to use English demonstrated the educational and professional status of an individual. Professionalisation, therefore, as a result of linguistic competency influences social mobility (Fang, 2011) and the ability for communities to access desired status and influence.

Additionally, it was demonstrated that linguistic appropriation was strongly motivated by a number of socio-psychological reasons, primarily those related to personal value and the need to overcome the humiliation in connection with the inability to communicate in the dominant language. The habitus of self-worth influenced the process of linguistic appropriation. This has several implications within the context of civil society. Firstly, this strengthens the position throughout this dissertation

that in order to influence or voice their issues in civil society organisations, forced migrants must acquire high capability in English in order to communicate, but also demonstrate a professional status. Furthermore, it implies that there is strong psychological barrier preventing forced migrants from wishing to participate in English in organisations, thereby excluding themselves based on the belief of lack of knowledge or expertise reflected in the perception of their own linguistic competency.

As noted in the literature review the dominant language becomes the norm which is used to measure other linguistics forms (Bourdieu, 1991 cited in Sung Yul Park and Wee, 2008). The linguistic practices of forced migrants are therefore valued in relation to the dominant language of the context. Moreover, as Gerhards (2012) implied forced migrants entered a process of devaluation where the home language was revalued in comparison to the dominant language. The home languages do not provide the linguistic conduits to access the symbolic capital in the dominant social structures and therefore lose the perception utility and high status. Forced migrants face the devaluation of their home languages, but simultaneously face the devaluation of themselves as individuals through the lack of language ability in the dominant language. The boundary of the field of agency is decided through language. In other words, that the ability of forced migrants to participate in civil society organisations is shaped by their ability in the dominant language, but also the *habitus of self-worth* based on the perception of linguistic competence. The findings therefore demonstrate to an extent that linguistic appropriation and adaption to the linguistic market was apparent in civil society organisations.

One asylum seeker interviewed made a comment which potentially implied that there was a hierarchy of languages, with other European languages being more favourably received. Several of the forced migrants mentioned that they spoke several home languages, which in some cases were one or more indigenous African languages in addition to a colonial language. They mentioned that the educated elites spoke the language of the former colonial state, whether this was English or French, this was a marker of status and educational level. This meant that unlike the Somali refugees, these individuals were able to speak a European language, even if they could not speak in English on arrival to the UK. This interviewee noted two incidents; firstly that when she had met a member of local governance the official had attempted to speak to her through the medium of French despite having little fluency in the language. The second set of incidents she described involved conversing with host community and other community members through the medium of French when she initially arrived and was able to receive support due to this. In spite of this, the

participant remained firm in wishing to improve her English and not utilise her French, however it appeared that at least on the initial arrival she had made use of her transnational linguistic capital to gain support, as Gerhards would predict. Though contrasting from his view, language learning occurred through her social networks, opposed to educational institutions. However, the speakers of other non-European languages did not report such incidents, and were only able to use the linguistic capital within the non-European linguistic communities. This supports Gerhards (2012) point in regards to transnational capital providing community links and allow individuals to access resources of other linguistic communities. Though it is difficult to state this conclusively, these findings imply that individuals who can speak a European language have a greater ability value in transnational linguistic capital, or symbolic capital and are able to access resources across a range of linguistic communities, than those who speak non-European languages.

This dissertation would suggest that the historical processes of migration, postcoloniality and experience of integration shape the present day habitus, values and contexts which shape linguistic capital. Gerhards recognised that the “Westphalian political order...has also structured the institutionalised linguistic order insofar as most nation states have a different official language” (2012:12). Nevertheless, if this is followed the Westphalian notions of sovereignty institutionalised the linguistic order not only within countries through the promotion of a national language but also accorded international status to peoples and languages through the historical processes. Gerhards’ theories are limited by Westphalian sovereignty, and therefore transnational issues of migration and refugee flows on linguistic capital and marginalisation are not comprehensively understood. Escaping conflict leaves forced migrants in a vulnerable position in terms accessing international or indeed national support or resources, despite their high level of transnational capital. In the literature review, Sung Yul Park and Wee (2008) indicated that the unification of the linguistic market renders other languages as inauthentic, however this is an evolving process. Fang considered that “the formation of linguistic capital in the past has powerful carryover effects on present capital formation,” (2011:253). The literature review stated the close link between habitus, as continually evolving set of structures, and linguistic capital. Considering the “whole history of language practices in that market” would give an indication into how languages are evaluated (Sandel, 2003:525). Understanding the history of the community’s speaking practice and context is necessary (Sandel, 2003). Migrants’ knowledge, experience and interaction with host and established migrant communities shapes habitus and subsequently shapes linguistic as well as other symbolic capitals. Historical processes of change potentially play a role in influencing the linguistic market. The

findings, although not conclusive, have hinted that there is a need to contextualise linguistic capital and view it as embedded in historical processes.

There was an implication from the findings, which supported the literature review's position that the social status of the individual was linked to the value of the language in the wider linguistic market. There was a strong implication from the interviews that issues of legitimacy and authority *to speak, be heard* and *influence action* were present in civil society organisations. Forced migrants were frequently delegitimised and as a result marginalised within decision making processes in organisations. One of the organisational members felt that interacting with forced migrants through formalised procedures such as needs analysis forms was sufficient interaction, and that further involvement was not necessary beyond the service delivery-client relationship. This finding implies that the ability to be heard is impacted by the perceived ability and legitimacy to speak (Bourdieu 1977 cited in Harrison, 2009) and influence powerful members or decision-making processes. The migrant organisational leaders strongly believed the labels given to forced migrants such as service-users, clients and beneficiaries related to their position or status in society. Forced migrants, therefore do not have the legitimacy or authority to influence organisational practices, and required organisations to act as their spokespersons.

Forced migrants are presented as a part of the organisation discourse in lobbying governing institutions. One of the interviewees stated that there was a mind-set among civil organisation, which was termed a *pathology of vulnerability*. This approach constructs forced migrants as passive receivers of charity. These concepts construct the habitus of vulnerability and passivity, which act to present "refugees as subordinate, in need of help and guidance" (Moreo, 2012:176). The consequence is that forced migrants are infantilised and enter a process "whereby their insights and contributions are ignored or devalued" (ibid.). When considering the interviewee's comments regarding the *spokesperson* and his dismissal of being able to learn from their experience, it can be seen that the habitus of charity and perception of vulnerability is not only result of community norms, but is active in shaping present and future behaviour of those working in organisations (Maton, 2008). It could be argued that *habitus of vulnerability* shapes the value placed on the linguistic community's skills and experiences, which in turn shapes the approaches employed by civil society organisations when working with them. The habitus of vulnerability is therefore the 'modus operandi of practical action' (Hanks, 2005:69), and differentiates the space of action within civil society, clearly demarking hierarchies and positions of power (Moore, 2008).

Mohammed argued that perceptions and prejudice in the host community, and subsequently in civil society organisations, influenced perception of linguistic competency. The immediate assumption is of forced migrants having a low level English. This perception of linguistic competency forms and

They are speaking the language for the first time, they are not constructing the sentence correctly or not using the words correctly. So, people have a tendency to think this person is stupid and childish, or a person as a little child. They assume that person's intelligence is ...as that of a child.

Mohammed

reinforces the habitus of vulnerability and incapability. The findings noted that the lack of ability in the dominant language has further relegated the individual to the inescapable and *ahistorical* status of beneficiary or client. This is a form of discrimination and marginalisation, which contributes to the underlying habitus of the linguistic market and field. Subsequently, this influences the behaviour of the civil society actors. The mind-set of charity and the assumption of vulnerability contributes of the unconscious habitus in civil organisations and is caused and perpetuated by the perception of language ability. The habitus of vulnerability, lead to assumptions as noted by the interviewees in regards to passivity, unprofessionalism and lack of ability to function in the host community or civil society. Malkki states that labelling results in 'the systematic disqualification of the refugee's own assessments of their predicaments and their future' (1996:378-9 cited in Moreo, 2012:164). The person is reduced to the *story* or product. There is a difficulty in viewing forced migrants as 'historical actors rather than simply as mute victims' (Moreo, 2012:164). Through focusing on the story of the individual opposed the individual themes, the ability to learn from the experiences of refugees and asylum seekers and the opportunity for active participation in civil society is lost.

It is essential to consider the experience of migrants and stages of community integration. The findings imply that forced migrants are not fully valued for their experiences and skills but also in marginalised to roles as either passive beneficiaries of services or volunteer roles, which do not allow them to influence decision making processes which directly concern them.

"This devaluation eventually erodes people's self-worth, dignity and ability to think and work autonomously. The responsibility (and the power that comes with it) to manage, assist and take care of refugees is then outsourced to non-radicalised, white professionals, who increasingly become experts and managers of other people's lives"

Moreo, 2012:176

Moreo's position is that labelling enters forced migrants in to a process of devaluation. On reviewing the interviews several key themes highlighted this process of devaluation and further supported Sung-Yul Park's warning that learning English does not automatically provide the key to accessing symbolic capital, since the structures of the linguistic market is determined by 'institutions of power' (2011:445). Organisational gate-keeping was a frequently mentioned theme across both sets of interviews. The concern by several interviewees was that this exercise of power was taking place throughout civil society and within the organisations that sought to represent the marginalised. This led to two further issues being raised in relation to inclusion and participation of forced migrants within organisational structures and wider civil society: *professionalism* and value of educational achievement, and *interpretation* as a volunteer role.

As one of the participants noted that for organisations, if the individual is 'without the language skills, you have a client for a life time' (Isaac). Isaac's comment references the distrust of organisational processes in mainstream English-language dominated organisations and the issue of gatekeeping. Isaac was of the opinion that organisations sought to self-perpetuate and that an industry had been created around working with forced migrants. He presented this as the corruption of the system within civil society. Isaac seemed insistent that throughout civil society organisational exclusion of forced migrants was a systemic issue and linguistic competency was essential to overcome the dependence. The exclusion of forced migrants was defined along three main lines; exclusion from *internal organisational management processes*, *inter-organisational networking opportunities* and *interaction with policy makers through organisations*. These were all linked through the discussion of *professionalisation*.

It was clearly seen that forced migrants were attempting to use English language to access symbolic capital, simultaneously felt that their English language ability was a barrier to their active participation in civil society. Across the interviews the themes of work and education were presented as at the core of the issues of inclusion in civil society. Having a voice and the ability to influence organisational processes, was closely linked to many to being able to gain professional employment. These were also the themes which had the strongest connection to linguistic appropriation, as many stated a strong desire to learn English to demonstrate their skills to organisations and potentially access work experience to gain employment (Appendix 10 RAS.G2Or2B1.a.1; RAS.G4Or1B1a.2). However, as Tollefson noted that languages are not ideological neutral and "learning English to gain employment is a symptom of unequal power relations not a solution to it" (1991:210 cited in Sung-Yul Park 2011:444).

The discourse of employment and education was closely interwoven within the overall discussion of participation in civil society and linguistic competency.

...and the person can be always powerless forever, if you haven't got language skills. I think language is key to... communicate, a key to participate fully in the society.

Isaac

English was perceived as the key gate-keeper, which would allow forced migrants to have a greater voice within civil society organisations and wider society, but also gain professional work experience. Lack of

linguistic competency in the dominant language therefore translated to lack of ability to professionally participate in civil society, leading forced migrants excluded from various aspects of organisations. For this reason, forced migrants with lower linguistic competency are unable to participate in the higher levels of the organisation, for example the board, professional-internships or as volunteer or paid staff (Figure 7). Linguistic competency therefore defines the ability to influence organisational practice.

This leads to the overarching view that the perception that employability is valued on the basis of the ability to converse in dominant linguistic forms, and that professional skills can be devalued through the assumption of low linguistic competency (Appendix 10 RAS.G4Or1B1.a1.a.1). In relation to this, the key factor in determining professionalism was the ability to engage in language appropriate to the tasks required in the functioning of organisation. This links to Bourdieu's view that the field contained processes which evaluated the language against a hierarchies of genre (1993 cited in Hanks, 2005). Genre in this case would reflect the ability to produce appropriate *Third Sector language* or *jargon*, which reflected professionalism to civil society organisations. Language was valued in terms of appearing *professional* as much as the ability to access capital (Gerhards, 2012). In the field of civil society, it appears that patterns of linguistic discourse with the greatest value are those which provide access to management or policy makers. The linguistic patterns, as well as linguistic competency, of forced migrants therefore shaped the perception of their professionalism, subsequently their perceived knowledge of essential Third Sector skills and organisational tacit culture. Auerbach (2005) noted the difficulty of individuals being *seen* and appreciated for their skills and knowledge when they are assessed as second language or literacy learners (cited in Warriner, 2007).

The findings suggested that the value of education is also mediated through language. Furthermore, as noted earlier in the discussion of historical processes, European languages seemed to hold higher status. European education and employment is also appeared to be more highly respected and

valued than education or specifically qualifications gain in non-European settings. The stratification of the market along educational divides, in turn devalued the skills and knowledge of the individuals who came from outside Europe and so were unable to access the same resources of the dominant members of the field. Skills learnt outside of Europe are not utilised by civil society organisations and become “neglected knowledge’s” (Moreo, 2012:165).

Goglia stated that in postcolonial African societies ‘multilingualism is the norm’, with individuals being able to switch between languages and discourse patterns depending on their context, preference, education and identity (2011:324). This suggests that the forced migrants from African states are accustomed to linguistically diverse situations and are as a result linguistic flexible. However, despite the forced migrants interviewed being from multi-lingual or bilingual backgrounds (Appendix 10 RAS.G4Or2B2.1; Appendix 11q O.G4Or3B1.1), the organisational members did not tend to demonstrate any capability in the languages of those they represented. This realisation led to the discovery of a previously unnoticed area for analysis related to interpretation and translation. The findings demonstrated that many of the organisations, whether large or small, made use of the linguistic abilities of their beneficiaries or volunteers. The motivations stated were complex, but for many organisations this provided them with access to in-group tacit and cultural knowledge of forced migrant communities, as well as free translation service in comparison to a costly paid for services (Appendix 11 O.G2Or3B2a.3; Appendix 11 O.G2Or3B1b.4b; O.G2Or3B2a.1; O.G4Or3B2b.9; O.G4Or3B2b.10). For forced migrants, interpreting for organisations allowed them to access symbolic capital such as social and intellectual capital, gain a greater knowledge of tacit culture and methods of working which are seen as essential in the host community organisations.

Nevertheless, Piller and Pavlenko state that bilingual skills do not necessarily mean high status jobs as language work and bilingualism, as it depends on the prestige of the languages spoken (Harrison, 2009). Native language speakers are still given considerable communicative advantage compared to forced migrants who have a greater capacity in English. The high cost of professional interpreting services demonstrates the potential high financial value due to scarcity of speakers, though, this also encourages the use of forced migrants as free alternatives by organisations: forced migrants themselves become linguistic resources. However, the issues of professional status impacts the value the forced migrant’s linguistic value. To the end that refugees, who are free of visa-restriction, volunteer their services where another individual with professional status would be paid. This lends to the process of [financially] devaluing the home languages and the linguistic skills. In this case, the symbolic profit of the linguistic capital forced migrants possess is reduced, due to the fact it does not

access higher level social resources. Nevertheless, the symbolic profit for the organisations is maximised through the use of forced migrants as linguistic resources to better interact with other beneficiaries. The value of the language therefore is related to functionality, demand, use and the resources it allows access to, but also the wider social value. A number of the interviews mentioned that civil society organisations are under-funded and unable to pay for translation services. The value of the language is associated the social status of the individuals who speak it, and is itself symbolic of the social power structures of wider society. Marginalisation as a result of language links to Fairclough's view that language contributes to the exercise of power over individuals and communities (1989:1 cited in Blackledge, 2005:15). The findings demonstrated there was a dominance of some languages over others throughout the linguistically diverse field of civil society. A key issue demonstrated was that languages spoken by forced migrants were not necessarily seen as valuable for organisations outside a free interpretation context. This promoted further devaluation of the language as refugees as interpreters were not paid professionals but seen as unprofessional volunteers.

The issue of professionalisation of the migrant communities which was discussed in the findings demonstrated how migrant communities professionalised through accessing language, education and subsequently employment in order to be included in the societies within which they lived. The denial of professional status of their linguistic abilities, however acts as a further barrier to their inclusion in civil society as legitimate and authoritative participants. Linguistic communities bring opportunities to access new social networks and social resources, however these are utilised for the benefit of those with access to dominant form of linguistic practice and knowledge. The discussion of professionalism in relation to participation in the findings related to the ability of forced migrants to participate in society, but more significantly highlighted the issue of authority and legitimacy to voice and influence over organisational structures. This is significant as the discussion of professionalism indicated a linguistic and social hierarchy within civil society and clearly acted as a barrier to forced migrants wishing to influence and have greater voice. Auerbach suggests that it is not increased ability in language or literacy which leads to social change through community empowerment, but that it is "global forces, not individual competencies, [that] shape life possibilities" (2005:369 cited in Warriner, 2007:309).

The linguistic market appears to be embedded in a complex system of markets (Blackledge, 2005), such as education and employment within the field of civil society. This links to the statement by Bourdieu of 'a series of multiple, overlapping and even hierarchical embedded fields or markets'

(cited in Sung-Yul Park and Wee, 2008:246). The value accorded the previous education and skills demonstrated the importance of legitimate and authoritative knowledge. Essentially there is need to learn the language of civil society and management for forced migrants to be able to participate at higher levels of organisations. The status of professional knowledge within civil society and the possessing the means to articulate it reinforces the position of official language and devaluation of other linguistic practices.

As Hanks (2005) stated that the language was symptomatic of higher or lower status or class, but the subsequent authority was invested in the *speakers* not the language itself. The linguistic patterns of forced migrants were not given professional status and their previous employment experience and skills were therefore by entering into the structures civil society as beneficiaries, they become themselves devalued. This significantly reduces their ability to be included in organisational decision processes and to take decisions in regards to their own empowerment. As a result of devaluation and marginalisation within civil society forced migrants are unable to utilise their symbolic capital to access the resources for the benefit and empowerment of their own communities. Forced migrants are effectively competing with other civil society actors, unheard and in a state of suffering as result of being unable to access symbolic capitals to empower and support their communities.

Conclusion

This dissertation set out to discover whether there is a role for linguistic capital in understanding the inclusion or exclusion of forced migrants in civil society. Inclusion was seen in this dissertation as active participation but also as the ability to be heard, and have influential power in decision making processes.

The first section of the dissertation discusses issues of labelling forced migrants, and the difficulties present by the terms refugee and asylum seeker. Forced migrants are often presented as *the other* and lack the ability to have an influential voice in wider society. The literature review then focused on the key aspects of linguistic capital, considering Bourdieu's and later authors interpretation of the concept of *habitus*, which formed a crucial theoretical foundation to this dissertation. Closely connected to *habitus*, the concept of *symbolic capital* was discussed to understand linguistic capital, set within a larger linguistic market. It was seen that the linguistic market was complex but also linked to other symbolic capitals. Gerhards (2012) concept of transnational linguistic capital, and the importance of community building linguistic capital was highlighted throughout this dissertation, and provided a useful foundation and counterpoint to a large number of the findings. The literature review concludes with a discussion of the tensions with civil society and the acknowledgement that that it is an evolving concept. The literature review summarised and provided the framework for the subsequent research and the findings.

Following the literature review, review of methodological approaches was required in order to understand the issues in conducting research with forced migrants. The dissertation sought to have an exploratory approach, seeking to evaluate the role and impact of linguistic capital through analysing experiences of those involved in the context of civil society. For this reason, an approach based on grounded theory was used to discover whether the analysis of linguistic capital, provided a better understanding of inclusion or marginalisation. The research conducted evaluated in-depth interviews with a range of participants, who were either refugees or asylum seekers or members of civil society organisations that sought to represent them. Interviewees came from a range of ages, backgrounds and efforts were made to include equal number of men and women. Interviews were carried out in variety of locations in Northern Ireland and England, with some interviews taking place remotely via Skype.

It became apparent that there is a role for linguistic capital in understanding issues of marginalisation within the context of civil society. It was seen that linguistic capital shapes the access to other symbolic capitals and resources, and a part of a complex system of markets where linguistic capital acts as a gateway to greater social rewards. Gerhards saw exclusion or marginalisation based on lack of transnational linguistic capital i.e. multilingualism, as this meant individuals were less able to access resources from other linguistic communities. For him, the multilingual elite were able to have access to desirable symbolic capital. However, Gerhards views did not consider the factors of forced migration and conflict. Forced migrants have transnational linguistic capital, in terms of the fact they are multilingual and are therefore able to access resources across a range of linguistic communities. Yet, they do not have access to highly valued resources, status or capitals through the linguistic conduits of the dominant elite. Nonetheless, the findings suggest that the value of their transnational linguistic capital did not allow the same access to symbolic capital as those who are multilingual in European languages opposed to non-European languages. European transnational linguistic capital would potentially lead to greater ability to access other symbolic capitals.

Linguistic capital has a role in shaping the inclusion of forced migrants within civil society, however, there are gatekeeping obstacles which further prevent them from entering and influencing decision making processes. Ultimately, preventing forced migrants from being active participants in their own community development. The implication is that within civil society organisations forced migrants are marginalised by the structuring structures of habitus; the habitus of linguistic competency, vulnerability, charity and professionalism. The findings of this dissertation would suggest that proficiency in the dominant language structures would not automatically result in acceptance, integration and ability to navigate the social structures in place within civil society organisations. This dissertation has also seen that value, which is placed on the speaker as much as the level of linguistic competency, is dependent on financial assets, educational qualifications and perception of professionalism. Interpreters with the language and cultural skills would not progress to professional status without accepted and costly qualifications. Processes of professionalisation has inadvertently devalued the potential contribution of forced migrants in civil society organisations.

Professionalisation was also seen to have several other keys links to linguistic capital and inclusion. Linguistic proficiency in the dominant language was the key barrier to achieving qualifications and subsequent professional status. The experience of established migrants demonstrated that professionalisation of individual members acted as a method for migrant communities to establish, secure resources and build relationships with the host community. Further research into how the

stages of community building are impacted by professionalisation within the context of linguistic capital would present an intriguing view on the issues of inclusion and exclusion faced by migrants. Also, greater consideration of the question whether greater linguistic capital leads to greater professional status would be instructive.

There were examples of linguistic othering seen through the use of terms and labels given to forced migrants within civil society, which limited their potential roles in organisations. The discourse of vulnerability and charity, i.e. the pathology of vulnerability, has led to a sense of disenfranchisement. Forced migrants are faced with not only linguistic challenges, but also discrimination resulting from entrenched practices and habitus within civil society, which prevent access to decision making power structures within organisations. It was seen that a range of approaches were applied by civil society organisations to manage their working relationships with forced migrants. Given the feedback from the forced migrants within this dissertation, the approaches by civil society organisations are not inclusive of the indigenous forms of knowledge of the individuals they seek to work alongside, and as a result will not encourage genuine empowerment within the communities. Forced migrants interviewed felt excluded by those who sought to represent them by being unable to directly articulate their thoughts in a manner that influenced the decision-making of practices that directly concerned them. Furthermore, by not including forced migrants actively in organisational processes, organisations are limiting the reach of their potential resources, by not fully utilising their linguistic and other symbolic capitals. Though, as mentioned earlier there is a fine line between utilisation of linguistic resources and exploitation of volunteers for their language capabilities.

The research findings also demonstrated a conflict of assumptions on various themes between the forced migrants interviewed and the organisations. The issue of volunteering provoked strong reactions with many seeing it as a stepping stone to professional employment whilst others strong felt it was a form of exploitation. One of the more significant findings to emerge from this study is that organisational processes exclude forced migrants due to the perception of their language capability and the issue of professionalism. However, it was seen through the interviews that many forced migrants are highly active within their own communities, have a high drive and interest to work towards the benefit of their communities. Yet, due to the lack of recognition from organisations and other authoritative bodies, forced migrants enter a process of devaluation, whereby their skills, experiences and knowledge is marginalised and they are viewed purely from the lens of beneficiary or client within civil society organisations. In short, forced migrants face symbolic suffering, i.e. the restriction from accessing potential capitals to benefit and support their communities.

A further implication of this study has been to reconsider the value of linguistic capital. Through the course of this research the concept of linguistic capital became further defined in order to be better understood in the context of civil society. In the beginning of this research linguistic capital was understood as a tool using the value of linguistic patterns to achieve desired social status, gain access to power and resources. However, this dissertation now view linguistic capital as *linguistic conduits*, which represent the dominant set of linguistic patterns within a particular market or context. Languages are linguistic conduits which allow access to certain symbolic capitals. The primary linguistic conduit is the one within which resources, status and power can be accessed. Individuals or communities with high levels of linguistic capital have the ability to achieve desired social status, gain access to power and resources within the dominant linguistic community or across a range of linguistic communities. Languages are valued on the use or functionality within a particular context and relationship to the language of the dominant group, as such the value that is given to any particular language is contextually dependent. The linguistic market therefore is more akin to a complex system of linguistic conduits which allow access to varying level of resources, and the linguistic patterns of the dominant elite allow access to highly desirable resources. Issues such as labels and perception of professionalism are symbols or indicators of the value associated with individuals and linguistic practices. This represents the underlying habitus which shapes the value given to a particular language.

It also became apparent that habitus and subsequently linguistic capital is context dependent and is not ahistorical, but is shaped by historical precedents and processes, such as previous migration flows resulting from imperialism, postcoloniality, economic trade and conflicts. One of the implications of these findings is that historical processes, whether in the form of the experiences of integration of established migrant communities or of postcoloniality, are still significant in regards to the treatment and value given to forced migrants. Further to this is that linguistic capital is embedded in historical processes of change and adaptations to market forces. The analysis of linguistic capital does not reflect only issues of *linguistic value*, *linguistic appropriation* and *multilingualism*, but also uncovered deeper historical processes and power structures which acted as barriers to inclusion within certain fields and contexts. It was clear that high level linguistic competency in the dominant language was not sufficient for forced migrants to break the barriers which excluded them from more active participation and influence in civil society. Language of the field in this case the *language of civil society*, demonstrates knowledge of the field and is prerequisite to being able to take a more influential and active role. There was the suggestion from the interviewees that appropriation of the dominant linguistic forms, and the knowledge specifically related to the

organisational processes was necessary for forced migrants to learn in order to gain a greater voice in the civil society organisations that sought to represent them.

These are preliminary findings, as such have a number of limitations that will require further study to ascertain firm conclusions. The key limitation is that this study was exploratory and based on a limited number of in-depth qualitative interviews, therefore a number of the concepts need to be verified and tested before being able to create a fully comprehensive theory. A key area for further verification and exploration would be into the extent of symbolic suffering faced by forced migrants who do not engage in civil society, and whether or how language plays a role in their non-participation. In addition to this, this dissertation has not fully considered all the available research on comparing the value of European languages over other languages; nor fully explored the issues of postcoloniality on linguistic capital or other symbolic capitals. Further consideration of how to contextualise linguistic capital in light of historical processes would have been useful in this dissertation, as would consideration of concepts such as the sub-altern voice, in an attempt to highlight the marginalised voices in the discourse of symbolic capitals. As would further consideration of the issues of postcoloniality on linguistic capital, which may shed light on the global trends and marginalisation of linguistic communities within sovereign nation states. There is not enough room in this dissertation to fully explore these issues, as such this would be better discussed in further research. Nevertheless, this does lend to the argument that there is as suggested in the literature review a multi-layered linguistic market, which is embedded in a highly complex socio-economic historical contexts (Fang, 2011; Sung-Yul Park and Wee, 2008).

The literature suggested that there is a higher likelihood of finding forced migrants involved in civil society, particularly volunteering in migrant community associations. As De Tona and Moreo stated 'the role [of] migrant associations is crucial in enhancing migrant's civic participation' (2012:26). This dissertation discussed whether migrants associations are a strategy of utilising linguistic capital. Migrant associations circumnavigate the issues of language, linguistic appropriation and gate-keeping from management and decision-making within organisations that seek to represent forced migrants. It was stated in the findings that migrant associations are an attempt by forced migrant communities to utilise symbolic capital for the provision of their needs. Migrant associations were seen to contain linguistic conduits, which allow forced migrants to access previously denied resources, creating their own parallel linguistic markets. Yet, throughout the course of the interviews it was implied that migrant associations are undervalued in a larger hierarchy of organisations competing for funding and resources. Nevertheless, this dissertation has not been able to investigate

in-depth the full extent of the role of migrant associations in civil society and whether they provide a genuine space for the inclusion of forced migrants. This dissertation accepts Danese's (2001) viewpoint that it is necessary to move to a wider concept of participation, which accepts a variety of ways that society links to the political system (cited in De Tona and Moreo, 2012). This includes considering membership of society as a social fact, not as something that can be determined simply by decisions of the political authorities (Danese, 2001:70 cited in De Tona and Moreo, 2012: 28), and restricted by citizenship. Nonetheless, in future research it could be useful to consider whether migrant associations provide a space for active participation within civil society by allowing forced migrants to utilise the linguistic capital they already possess.

Potential further research into whether multilingualism in European languages has greater value than multilingualism in other languages would be useful to understand the wider issues of the global linguistic market. This dissertation has also noted a potential connection between various forms of social capital and levels of linguistic capital in linguistically heterogeneous countries. It would be useful to consider the role of linguistic capital on the formation of social capital; whether lower levels of linguistic capital would signify higher bonding social. From this wider perspective it would be also be interesting to consider whether linguistic heterogeneity in countries produces circumstances where those with increased linguistic capital are better able to navigate civil society.

The viewpoints expressed throughout the interviews in regards to civil society were varied, but reflected a view of a mixture of actors with varying levels of agency and ability to influence. Chandhoke (2007) stressed the importance of viewing civil society from the vantage point of the most vulnerable and marginalised, and in doing so address the tension between the ideal and the actual functioning of civil society. In the idealised sense, civil society was thought to be the space where those who were marginalised in wider society could garner collective support and gain a voice. However, this dissertation has found that those marginalised in wider society were also marginalised within civil society organisations by those who were meant to represent them. Through analysing the issues of linguistic capital and the relative ability to access symbolic capital, this marginalisation faced by forced migrants within civil society organisations becomes clear. In the idealised view civil society is an equitable sphere, however the results of this research support the idea that civil society is also subject to power relations and must be revaluated through the eyes of the most marginalised in order to be a truly transformative space for social justice.

The ability to access civil society, and the power to have a voice and be heard remains dependent on the legal, financial and intellectual status of the individual as it does in wider society. Yet Chandhoke is hopeful that through the realisation that the functioning of civil society does marginalise those it should protect and represent, transformative change can take place. Civil society is an ongoing project which through ‘engagement, contestation and affirmation’ individuals can realise themselves (Chandhoke, 2007:612), and create sustainable and equitable change. It is not only for those in positions of power to recognise the inequitable situation and the symbolic deprivation faced by forced migrants in civil society, but also for those who are the most marginalised in order to find a voice “to storm the ramparts of civil society, to break down the gates, and make a forcible entry into the sphere” (Chandhoke, 2007:613).

Nevertheless, this cannot be done without the support of those within civil society organisations, who create and manage the projects that deliver provisions and services to forced migrants. Host communities, established migrant communities as well as forced migrants must work together in co-ordination and through creating an inclusive space for learning overcome the habitus vulnerability and charity, in order for civil society organisations to be genuinely inclusive and representative of those they seek to serve. It begins by allowing individuals trust, respect for alternative forms of knowledge, and creating inclusive pathways within civil society organisations for forced migrants to be able to direct the manner of their own empowerment. This would allow the multi-lingual marginalised in civil society to be able to access the resources and capitals denied to them, rather than being left in silence in a state of symbolic suffering.

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Appendix 1: Information sheet, Consent form and Confidentiality form for Interpreters

I am a student at Queens University studying MSc Social and Community Development. I am working on case study, which is researching issues of language and inclusive of refugees from the Horn of Africa in Belfast. The aim of this research is to discover some of the causes behind exclusion and inclusion in communicating with community development organisations, and public institutions for refugees and asylum seekers in the context of Belfast.

For this reason I require the services of a translator and interpreter.

My research is guided by ethical concerns and I must give these guidelines for the appropriate consent to be given:

- **If so chosen you will remain anonymous and be referenced in the research in the appropriate manner which is conducive to your anonymity.**
- **You have the entitlement to withdraw from this study at any time and can ask any questions based on the research.**

Participation is voluntary and participants have the right to withdraw from the research at any time. Therefore, outside of the semi structured interview no names or names of organisations will be used.

Translator/ Interpreter Confidentiality Agreement

As a member of this research team I understand that I may have access to confidential information about study sites and participants. By signing this statement, I am indicating my understanding of my responsibilities to maintain confidentiality and agree to the following:

- I understand that names and any other identifying information about study sites and participants are completely confidential.
- I agree not to divulge, publish, or otherwise make known to unauthorized persons or to the public any information obtained in the course of this research project that could identify the persons who participated in the study.
- I understand that all information about study sites or participants obtained or accessed by me in the course of my work is confidential. I agree not to divulge or otherwise make known to unauthorized persons any of this information, unless specifically authorized to do so by approved protocol or by the local principal investigator acting in response to applicable law or court order, or public health or clinical need.
- I understand that I am not to read information about study sites or participants, or any other confidential documents, nor ask questions of study participants for my own personal information but only to the extent and for the purpose of performing my assigned duties on this research project.
- I agree to notify the local principal investigator immediately should I become aware of an actual breach of confidentiality or a situation which could potentially result in a breach, whether this be on my part or on the part of another person.
- I agree to accurately convey all information from the participants whether or not it is viewed as relevant or essential, and remain as true to the essence and meaning of their words as possible.

Signature	Date	Printed name
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Appendix 2: Information sheet, Consent form and Confidentiality Transcription

I am a student at Queens University studying MSc Social and Community Development. I am working on case study, which is researching issues of language and inclusive of refugees from the Horn of Africa in Belfast. The aim of this research is to discover some of the causes behind exclusion and inclusion in communicating with community development organisations, and public institutions for refugees and asylum seekers in the context of Belfast.

For this reason I require transcription services.

My research is guided by ethical concerns and I must give these guidelines for the appropriate consent to be given:

- **If so chosen you will remain anonymous and be referenced in the research in the appropriate manner which is conducive to your anonymity.**
- **You have the entitlement to withdraw from this study at any time and can ask any questions based on the research.**

Participation is voluntary and participants have the right to withdraw from the research at any time. Therefore, outside of the semi structured interview no names or names of organisations will be used.

Transcription Confidentiality Agreement

As a member of this research team I understand that I may have access to confidential information about study sites and participants. By signing this statement, I am indicating my understanding of my responsibilities to maintain confidentiality and agree to the following:

- I understand that names and any other identifying information about study sites and participants are completely confidential.
- I agree not to divulge, publish, or otherwise make known to unauthorized persons or to the public any information obtained in the course of this research project that could identify the persons who participated in the study.
- I understand that all information about study sites or participants obtained or accessed by me in the course of my work is confidential. I agree not to divulge or otherwise make known to unauthorized persons any of this information, unless specifically authorized to do so by approved protocol or by the local principal investigator acting in response to applicable law or court order, or public health or clinical need.
- I understand that I am not to read information about study sites or participants, or any other confidential documents, nor ask questions of study participants for my own personal information but only to the extent and for the purpose of performing my assigned duties on this research project.
- I agree to notify the local principal investigator immediately should I become aware of an actual breach of confidentiality or a situation which could potentially result in a breach, whether this be on my part or on the part of another person.
- I agree to accurately convey all information from the participants whether or not it is viewed as relevant or essential, and remain as true to the essence and meaning of their words as possible.

Signature	Date	Printed name
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Appendix 3: Information sheet, Consent form and Confidentiality
Refugees and Asylum Seekers form

I am a student at Queens University studying MSc Social and Community Development. I am working on case study, which is researching issues of language and inclusive of refugees from the Horn of Africa in Belfast. The aim of this research is to discover some of the causes behind exclusion and inclusion in communicating with community development organisations, and public institutions for refugees and asylum seekers in the context of Belfast.

For this reason I would like to include refugees and asylum seekers to participate in a set of workshops aimed at discussing these issues. [This research will not affect how you may wish to participate in HAPANI's English Language and Community Development Project; if you decide not to participate in this research, you will not be excluded from taking part in English Language and Community Development project.] (inserted for participants from HAPANI projects)

My research is guided by ethical concerns and I must give these guidelines for the appropriate consent to be given:

- **If so chosen you will remain anonymous and be referenced in the research in the appropriate manner which is conducive to your anonymity.**
- **You have the entitlement to withdraw from this study at any time and can ask any questions based on the research.**
- **The themes and main ideas of the semi structured interview will be noted from a tape recording. To enhance the validity of the research the participants will receive, if requested, a copy of the general theme and be asked to confirm that it is an accurate recording of events. The tapes will be destroyed as soon as this is achieved and the relevant and appropriate data is copied for the research purpose.**

Participation is voluntary and participants have the right to withdraw from the research at any time. Information will not be shared with anyone else outside of the semi structured interview and the researchers [unless a translator is required]. Therefore, outside of the semi structured interview no names or names of organisations will be used.

For further information on the research please do not hesitate to contact me via email: ksumman01@qub.ac.uk.

Participants Confidentiality Agreement

As a member of this interview I understand that I may have access to confidential information about study sites and participants. By signing this statement, I am indicating my understanding of my responsibilities to maintain confidentiality and agree to the following:

- I understand that names and any other identifying information about study sites and participants are completely confidential.
- I agree not to divulge, publish, or otherwise make known to unauthorized persons or to the public any information obtained in the course of this research project that could identify the persons who participated in the study.
- I understand that all information about study sites or participants obtained or accessed by me in the course of my work is confidential. I agree not to divulge or otherwise make known to unauthorized persons any of this information, unless specifically authorized to do so by approved protocol in response to applicable law or court order, or public health or clinical need.
- I agree to notify the local principal investigator immediately should I become aware of an actual breach of confidentiality or a situation which could potentially result in a breach, whether this be on my part or on the part of another person.

Signature

date

printed name

Consent Form:

I have read the attached information letter which explains the research in reference to language and inclusion of refugees in civil society.

I understand that the letter is asking me to participate in a semi structured interview.

I understand that all the information gathered will be kept strictly confidential and that my name and the name of the organisation will not be included in any reports.

I understand that participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw my consent at any time (or during the time of data collection/until submission of the anonymous survey/etc.

I am consenting to take part in this research (outlined above) that will be taped for research purposes only and destroyed appropriately.

I understand that this research will be published in form of a Masters dissertation.

☐ I **AGREE** to taking part in the above research

Signature: _____

Date:_____

(Name)

معلومات عن اللاجئين وطالبي اللجوء:-

انا طالبة فى جامعة كوينز احضر لدرجة الماجستير فى علم الاجتماع وتنمية المجتمع.

واقوم الآن بعمل مشروع دراسى يعنى بدراسة مسائل اللغة ويشمل ذلك كل لاجئين القرن الأفريقى فى بلقاسط.

والغرض من هذا البحث معرفة بعض الأسباب التى تحول دون التخابط والتفاهم مع المنظمات الاجتماعية والتنمية ومؤسسات اللجوء وطالبي اللجوء فى بلقاسط. ولهذا السبب أود أن يتضمن هذا البحث لاجني القرن الأفريقى للمشاركة لأقامة ورشة عمل لمناقشة هذه المسائل.

هذا البحث لايؤثر على الاطلاق فى كيفية المشاركة فى مشروع هبانى للغة الانجليزية والتنمية الاجتماعية.

وان لم يكن لديك الرغبة فى المشاركة فى هذا البحث فهذا لا يقصيك عن مشروع دراسة اللغة الانجليزية والاجتماعية على الاطلاق.

فى بحثى هذا اهتم بالمسائل الأخلاقية وهذه خطوط عريضة يجب وضعها فى الاعتبار:

- اذا تم اختيارك ستبقى مبهما غير معروف وتكون مرجعا فى البحث وان يكون لديك اسلوبا تحافظ به على عدم التعرف عليك.
- لك الحق فى الانسحاب من هذه الدراسة فى أى وقت تشاء وان تسأل أى سؤال يتعلق بهذا البحث.
- مشاريع وأفكار المجموعات الرئيسية سوف يتم تدوينها من شرائط التسجيل. ولتقويه صلاحية البحث سيحصل المشاركون على نسخة عامة من المشروع اذا هم طلبوا ذلك وسوف يكون عليهم التأكد من دقة تسجيل الأحداث.
- سيتم اباداة الأشرطة مباشرة بعد ان يتم تسجيل المعلومات المناسبة منها لأغراض هذا البحث.
- المشاركة طوعية والمشاركون لهم الحق فى الانسحاب من البحث فى أى وقت يشاؤون.
- ولا يمكن لأى شخص كان من الخارج الاطلاع على المعلومات فقط المجموعات الرئيسية المخولة بذلك(والمترجم ان احتاج الأمر).
- وبالتالى: لا يكتب الأسماء ولا أسماء المظلمات خارج المجموعات الرئيسية.

ولمزيد من المعلومات حول هذا البحث الرجاء الاتصال من خلال هذا الأيميل الألكترونى التالى:

kusumman01@qub.ac.uk

استمارة موافقة

لقد قرأت وفهمت خطاب المعلومات المرفق الذى يوضح البحث الخاص باللغة الانجليزية وتضمن اللجنين فى المجتمع المدنى.

أفهم بأن الخطاب يحثنى بالمشاركة فى احد المجموعات الرئيسية.

أفهم بأن جميع المعلومات التى تم جمعها سوف تكون فى غاية السرية ولا يكون اسمى أو اسم المنظمة مكتوب فى أى من التقارير.

أفهم بأن المشاركة طوعية وأنا حر بأن أسحب موافقتى فى أى وقت حتى فى اثناء جمع المعلومات وحتى تسليم المسح المبهم (غير محدد) الى اخره..

انا اوافق بأن اشارك فى هذا البحث (كما ذكر انفا) والذى سوف يتم تسجيله لأغراض البحث وستتم ابداه جميع الأشرطة تماما.

أفهم بأن البحث سوف يطبع فى شكل مقال لرساله ماجستير.



أوافق للمشاركة فى البحث ألاه

الأمضاء:..... التاريخ:.....

اتفاقية سرية المعلومات بين المشاركين

باعتبارى عضوا فى احد الجمعيات الرئيسية انى افهم قد يكون لى الحق فى الأطلاع على معلومات سرية حول الأماكن والمشاركين.

وبتوقيع هذه الاتفاقية ابدى استيعابى وتفهمى لمسؤولياتى حول السرية التامة والموافقة على الأتى:

_____ انا أفهم بأن الأسماء أو أى معلومات تعريفية بالأماكن أو المشاركين يجب ان تكون فى غاية السرية.

_____ أنا أفهم بالأأفشى سرا أو انشر أى معلومة أحصل عليها للعامة أو أطلعة على شخص غير مخول له بذلك فى خلال فتره مشروع البحث هذا قد يؤدى الى التعرف على الشخص المشارك فى هذه الدراسة.

_____ أنا افهم بأن كل المعلومات التى حصلت عليها حول الأماكن أو المشاركين تبقى فى طى الكتمان وفى غاية السرية.

_____ وأقر بعدم افشاء أى معلومة من هذه المعلومات أو اطلعها على أى شخص اخر غير مخول بذلك الا من خلال القانون المطبق أمر المحكمة أو الحاجة الصحية العامة التى تدعو الى ذلك.

_____ أوافق على اخطار المحقق المحلى الرئيسى اذا علمت بأن هناك أى خرق فيما يخص السرية من جانبى أو من جانب شخص اخر.

الأمضاء:..... التاريخ:.....

الاسم كتابة:.....

Appendix 5: Somali Information sheet, Consent form and Confidentiality Refugees and Asylum Seekers form

Waxaan ahay arday dhigta jaamacada Queens waxaan bartaa MSSC arimaha bulshada iyo horumarinta jaaliyada. Waxaan ka shaqeynayaa cilmi baaris qaas ahaan baarayo waxyaabo kusaabsan luqada iyo wadajirka guud ee qaxootiga ka yimid geeska afrika ee Belfast jooga. Ujeeddada baaristaan waa in la'ogaado sababaha ka danbeeya ka saarida iyo kudarida wadhadalka ururada horumarinta jaaliyada iyo Hay'addaha dadweynaha qaxootiga iyo dadka magangalyo doonka ah guud ahaan Belfast.

Sababataan darteed waxaan jeclaan lahaa inaan ku daro jaaliyadaha qaxootiga ah ee kasoo jeeda geeska afrika in ay ka soo qeybgalaan fadhiyo looga wadhadli doono arimaas. Baaristaan ma saameyn doonto sida aad rabto inaad uga qeybqaadato luqada ingiriiska Hay'adda iyo mashruuca horumainta jaaliyada hadaad go'aansato inaad ka qeybgalin lagaaama saari doono inaad kaqeybgasho luqada ingiriiska iyo mashruuca horumarinta jaaliyada Baaristayda waxaa hagaya cadaalad iyo sugnaan oo ahmiyad siinaya. waa inaan siiyaa tixraacid, lana siiyaa ogolaansho ku haboon.

- Haddii lagu doorto waxaad ahaa naysaa qarsoodi iyo tixraac baaristaan qaab ku haboon in aad qarsoodi noqoto.
- Waxaad xaq uleedahay inaad ka baxdo waxbarashadan waqti kast waxaadna waydiisan kartaa su'aalo kasta oo ku saabsan baarista.
- Qaababka iyo figradaha kooxa wadatashiga waxay noqon doontaa mid la duubo. Inaan hore umarino oo aan xaqiijino kasoo qeyb galayaasha baaritaanka waxey heli doonaan hadey codsadaan kobiga kusaabsan baarista waxana la wareysan doonaa waxa la duubay inay sax yihiin cajalada waala baabi'indoonaa marki danti laga lahaa la gaaro isla marki ay macquul noqoto.
- Kasooqeybgalida waa iskaa wax uqabso kasoo qeybgalayaashuna waxay xaq uleeyihii inay ka baxaan wax baaristaan waqtigay doonaan warbixinta kasoo baxdana lalama qeybsanayo dadka aan kasoo qeyb galin kooxda wadatashiga in turjubaan loo baahdo maahane. sidaadaraadeed wax magac ah ama wax magac urureed ah lama isticmaalidoono meel kabaxsan kooxda wadatashigan. Haddii aad u baahto warbixin dheeraad ah oo ku saabsan baaritaanka fadlan haka hakanin inaad igala soo xiriirto iimeylkan ksumman01@qub.ac.uk.

Consent Form: Interview

Foomka Ogolaanshaha ee kooxda Wadatashiga

Waxaan akhriyey warqadda warbixin ah oo ahlkaan ku lifaaqan oo macneyneysa raadiskan kana warbixineysa luqada iyo kudarida qaxootiga mujtamaca shacabka.

Waan fahmay inay warqadu iweydiineyso inaan ka soo qeyb galo fadhiga kooxda wadatashiga.

Waan fahmay warbixinta la ururiyey oo dhan inay ahaan doonaan kuwa loo hayo si adag qarsoodina ah taasoo ah magaceyga iyo magaca ururka lagu soo dari doonin wax war bixin ah.

Waan fahmay inay kasoo qeybgalidu tahay Iskaa wax uqabso iyo in aan xur u ahay in aan ka saaro ogolaanshaheyga waqti walba ama inta ay socoto waqtiga taariikhda ururinta ilaa dhiibitaanka warbixinta qarsoodiga ah.

Waxaan ogolaanayaa inaan ka qeyb qaato baarista kor lagu soo sheegay taasoo lagu duubi doono cajalad ujeedada baaris kaliya iyo tirtrida sida ku haboon.

Waan fahmay in baaristaan lagu soo bandhigi doono natiijadda masterka.

☐ Waan ogolaaday in aan ka qeyb qaato barista kor ku xusan

Saxiix: _____

Taariikh: _____

(Magac) _____

Participants Confidentiality Agreement Somali version

Heshiistka Qarsoodiga ah ee ka qeybgalayaasha

Aniga oo ka mid ah xubin ka ah kooxda wadatashiga waxaan fahmay in aan xaq u leeyahay ogaanshaha warbixin qarsoodi ah oo ku saabsan meelaha ay iskugu imaanayaan ka qeyb

galashaasha barista. In aan saxiixo warbixintaan waxaan waxaan tilmaamayaa in aan fahmay mas'uuliyadayda ah in aan xaq dhowro heshiiska qarsoon oo hoos ku xusan:

- Waxaan fahmay in magacayga iyo warbixinta cadeynta ku saabsan goobaha barista iyo ka qeybgalayaashu yihiin si buuxda qarsoodi.
- Waxaan ogolaaday in annaan cidna u sheegin, shaacin, ama haddii kale la socodsiin qof aan xaq u lahayn in uu ogaado ama dad weynaha wax warbixin ah . dhab ahaan kani waa mashruuc baaris ah waxaana laga yaabaa in la garto dadka ka qeyb galay barista.
- Waxaan fahmay dhamaan warbixninta ku saabsan meelaha ama ka qeyb galayaasha aan ogaanayo ama aan galayo in ay yihiin qarsoodi. Waxaan ogolaaday in annaan cidna u sheegin, shaacin, ama haddii kale la socodsiin qof aan xaq u lahayn in aan uu ogaado, marka laga reebo siqaas ah fasax ama awood looga jawaabay sharci ama amar maxkamadeed ama caafimaadka dadweynaha ama baahi caafimaad.
- Waxaan ogolaadayin aan ogeeysiiyo cida mudan in ay wax ka qabto haddi lagu xad gudbo qarsoonaanta ama laga cabsado in lagu xad gudbo aniga ama qof kale.

Saxiix _____

Taariikh _____

Magac _____

Appendix 6: Information sheet, Consent form for semi-structured interviews

I am a student at Queens University studying MSc Social and Community Development. I am working on case study, which is researching issues of language and inclusion of refugees from the Horn of Africa in the UK. The aim of this research is to discover some of the causes behind exclusion and inclusion in communicating with community development organisations, and public institutions for refugees and asylum seekers in the context of the UK.

I would like to include those who work alongside refugees from the communities in the Horn of Africa to participate in a semi structured interview.

My research is guided by ethical concerns and I must give these guidelines for the appropriate consent to be given:

- **If so chosen you will remain anonymous and be referenced in the research in the appropriate manner which is conducive to your anonymity.**
- **You have the entitlement to withdraw from this study at any time and can ask any questions based on the research.**
- **The themes and main ideas of the semi-structured interview will be noted from a tape recording. To enhance the validity of the research the participants will receive, if requested, a copy of the general theme and be asked to confirm that it is an accurate recording of events. The tapes will be destroyed as soon as this is achieved and the relevant and appropriate data is copied for the research purpose.**

Participation is voluntary and participants have the right to withdraw from the research at any time. Information will not be shared with anyone else outside of the interview and the researchers [unless a translator is required]. Therefore, outside of the interview no names or names of organisations will be used.

For further information on the research please do not hesitate to contact me via email: ksumman01@qub.ac.uk.

Participants Confidentiality Agreement

As a member of this interview I understand that I may have access to confidential information about study sites and participants. By signing this statement, I am indicating my understanding of my responsibilities to maintain confidentiality and agree to the following:

- I understand that names and any other identifying information about study sites and participants are completely confidential.
- I agree not to divulge, publish, or otherwise make known to unauthorized persons or to the public any information obtained in the course of this research project that could identify the persons who participated in the study.
- I understand that all information about study sites or participants obtained or accessed by me in the course of my work is confidential. I agree not to divulge or otherwise make known to unauthorized persons any of this information, unless specifically authorized to do so by approved protocol in response to applicable law or court order, or public health or clinical need.
- I agree to notify the local principal investigator immediately should I become aware of an actual breach of confidentiality or a situation which could potentially result in a breach, whether this be on my part or on the part of another person.

Consent Form: Semi-structured Interview

I have read the attached information letter which explains the research in reference to language and inclusion of refugees in civil society.

I understand that the letter is asking me to participate in a semi-structured interview.

I understand that all the information gathered will be kept strictly confidential and that my name and the name of the organisation will not be included in any reports.

I understand that participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw my consent at any time (or during the time of data collection/until submission of the anonymous survey/etc.

I am consenting to take part in this research (outlined above) that will be taped for research purposes only and destroyed appropriately. I understand that this research will be published in form of a Masters dissertation.

☐ I **AGREE** to taking part in the above research

Name:

Date:

Appendix 7: Interview Guideline Questions for Refugees and Asylum Seekers

How many languages do you speak? What language was the main language you used in your country? (national language/local dialects) How important is/ are your languages to your life here in the UK/ to your family/your identity?

When you first arrived at the country where you claimed asylum; could you speak the language? How was the experience those early days? Did you contact any organisations? What did you think of the organisations? Were local organisations and government bodies, etc. accommodating to your language needs (were you provided with a translator)?

How do you feel about your English ability? What does the lack of English language capability mean for refugees and asylum seekers? Do you think people who can speak English fluently find it easier to find opportunities for work or volunteering?

What is the value of the other languages that refugees and asylum seekers speak in terms of volunteering or finding work? Do you think speaking X or Y (non-English languages) is useful? Do you use any other languages? Do you communicate well with the local people here/people from other cultures? Do you think your accent in English affects how people speak to you?

Work and Volunteering Experience

Did your languages help you in volunteering? Have any of your volunteer placements been related to speaking any other language? In regards to interpretation; as an interpreter, what has your experience been working as the link between organisations and members of the communities? Did you feel valued by the community organisations/members of the community? Do you feel that interpretation is a role that is best fulfilled by volunteers from the community or by paid professionals? Is there scope for community members to become paid professional? Are the trainings accessible?

Have you volunteered or worked at any organisations, or been involved in any of their projects? What kind of organisations were they? What kinds of roles have you volunteered in? Were any of the roles in a similar field to your work previously? Have you gained any professional skills/skills you feel would aid you in finding work? Why did you/do you wish to volunteer? What stops you from volunteering your time?

What value can volunteering in civil society organisation bring to refugees and asylum seekers? What do you think are the main motivating factors for them to volunteer their time? What prevents them from volunteering? What role do you think language plays in excluding refugees and asylum seekers from being able to volunteer in organisations?

What is the value of qualifications? Do you feel you can work/do work in a similar capacity to how you worked in your home country? Do you have any qualifications in your home country? What language did you take those qualifications in? Have you gained any qualifications since being here? Which qualifications do you think has more value?

Do you feel refugees and asylum seekers have a voice in the UK? Do you think a refugee with low level English language skills either spoken or written can participate in helping to develop their own communities?

3rd Sector and Beyond

What do you think are the barriers for refugees and asylum seekers in participating in civil society?

Are there any other barriers to interaction with public, private, and civil society institutions to asylum seekers and refugees being involved in volunteering or helping to develop their communities?

What can community organisations do to support refugees and asylum seekers have a voice?

What do you think the Third Sector (different types of organisations that work with the community) can learn from working with refugees and asylum seekers?

Do you think/feel that community development organisations value refugees and asylum seekers skills and experience?

What do you think are the biggest challenges at the moment for refugees and asylum seekers?

If you could say anything you wanted to the British government; what would you say?

Is there any other information that is important to tell me?

Appendix 8: Interview Guideline Questions for Organisations

Do you have any projects working with refugees and asylum seekers? What is the main focus of these projects?

Do you have refugees and asylum seekers volunteering or working at your organisation? If so, what do they tend to volunteer/work in? What % or figures are from refugee and asylum seeker backgrounds? What level of the organisation?

What training do you offer if any? What do you think are their motivations for volunteering? **Has your organisation benefited from working with refugees and asylum seekers as beneficiaries or as volunteers and staff?** What do you think are the benefits of volunteering for the volunteer? For the organisation?

What is the value of qualifications?

Language at organisation

How does your organisation deal with linguistic diversity? Is your organisation accessible to those with low level English language skills? Do you provide information in different languages? Do you make use of translators/ or volunteers as translators?

What does the lack of English language capability mean for refugees and asylum seekers? Does language proficiency remove all barriers to taking an active role in society?

What role do you think language plays in excluding refugees and asylum seekers from being able to access your services?

Civil Society

How would you define civil society? What key words would you associate with civil society?

What value can volunteering in civil society organisation bring to refugees and asylum seekers? What do you think are the main motivating factors for them to volunteer their time? What prevents them from volunteering?

**What do you think are the barriers for refugees and asylum seekers in participating in civil society?
What skills do refugees and asylum seeker require to be able to an active role in developing their communities? Does knowledge of English or other language affect their ability to take an active role?**

What do you think are the barriers for refugees and asylum seekers in participating in civil society?
What skills and experiences are needed to be able to participate in community development? Are there any other barriers to interaction with public, private, and civil society institutions to asylum seekers and refugees being involved in civil society?

How do you think organisations such as yourself can support the participation of refugees and asylum seekers to make more use of opportunities to participate in creating and leading their own projects?

The 3rd Sector and Beyond

What do you think the Third Sector or local community development organisations can learn from working with refugees and asylum seekers?

What can community organisations do to support refugees and asylum seekers have a voice?

Do community development organisations value refugees and asylum seekers skills and experience?

What would it mean for refugees and asylum seekers to have a voice in society?

If you could say anything you wanted to the British government; what would you say?

What do you think are the biggest challenges at the moment for refugees and asylum seekers?

Is there any other information that is important to tell me?

Appendix 9: Explanation of Coding System for Concept Maps

The first set of concept maps (Appendix 10: Concept Map of codes from interviews with refugees and asylum seekers, is colour coded to clarify the difference between basic (pale green), organising (orange) and global (blue) codes.

The second concept map (Appendix 11: Concept Map of codes from Interviews with members of organisations working with forced migrants) is also similarly colour coded as basic (pale pink), organising (pink) and global (purple).

Codes numbering system:

Example:

O.G1 refers to **Global Code 1** interviews from organisations (fold out Appendix 11)

O.G1Or.1 refers to **Organising Code 1** to be found in interviews from organisations (fold out Appendix 11) global code 1

O.G1Or.1B1 refers **Basic Code 1** to be found in interviews from organisations (fold out Appendix 11) under global code 1 organising code 1

RAS.G1 refers to **Global Code 1** interviews from refugees and asylum seekers (fold out Appendix 10)

RAS.G1Or.1 refers to **Organising Code 1** to be found in interviews from refugees and asylum seekers (fold out Appendix 10) global code 1

RAS.G1Or.1B1 refers **Basic Code 1** to be found in interviews from refugees and asylum seekers (fold out Appendix 10) under global code 1 organising code 1

Appendix 10: Differentiation of the Global Codes from the Interviews

