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Knowledge for INtegration Governance

Migration, networks and resources: the relationship between migrants' social networks and their access to integration resources

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The KING project's objective is to elaborate a report on the **state of play** of migrant integration in Europe through an interdisciplinary approach and to provide decision- and policy-makers with **evidence-based recommendations** on the design of migrant integration-related policies and on the way they should be articulated between different policy-making levels of governance.

Migrant integration is a truly multi-faceted process. The contribution of the insights offered by different disciplines is thus essential in order better to grasp the various aspects of the presence of migrants in European societies. This is why **multidisciplinarity** is at the core of the KING research project, whose Advisory Board comprises experts of seven different disciplines:
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INTRODUCTION

United Nations statistics estimate that across the world urban populations will nearly double by 2050 and that by this time the majority of the world's population will be urban. Migration is the key driver of this trend and is responsible for enormous changes in diversity across the globe. These changes have attracted the attention of global organisations with the World Bank, the UN and IOM as well as the EU all noting the increasing diversity and scale of migrant flows. A number of agencies have stressed the challenges associated with emergent demographic complexity – this is certainly reflected in the level of media and political attention given to migration and associated diversity. Further it is clear that while migration driven diversity is a global and inexorably transnational phenomenon new local problems are arising as global tensions are played out at local levels particularly in the intersection of religion/ethnicity/age and gender, and new forms of inequality, exclusion and hegemony emerge.

The concept of superdiversity was introduced by Steven Vertovec (2007) to describe the demographic complexity driven by global and internal migration that has occurred at a greater speed and scale, and spread over much wider geographic areas, than previously experienced. Despite some contestation superdiversity is acknowledged within migration studies in Europe to have displaced multiculturalism as both a demographic reality and as an analytical lens through which to describe multiple differentiations along class, religious, ethnic, linguistic and educational (and other) lines. It has considerable potential to fill the current post-multicultural theoretical void through providing theory to help develop understanding about the ways in which novel demographic complexities shape societies and economies. With the advent of superdiversity and widespread concerns about the rapidity of change it is now more than ever important to seek to understand how migrant integration can be supported.

There are a number of features of superdiversity that are of particular relevance to integration. First the complexity of new migrant populations wherein migrants are diverse within ethnic or country of origin groups along multiple variables including age, gender, faith, education levels, reason for migration and class. In addition states themselves impose diversity upon new migrants through allocation of different migration statuses each associated with different rights and entitlements. Furthermore access to family migration is increasingly regulated across the EU to the extent that in some countries the state shapes the family lives of migrants. This complexity has enhanced the heterogeity of the new migrant population making the development of policy around integration problematic.

A second challenge for integration is the super-mobility often associated with superdiversity. Increased mobility is a global phenomena and of course free movement throughout the Eurozone is one of the four pillars of the European Union. Refugees are particulary mobile with some groups such as Somalis and Kurds moving relatively frequently between cities and EU states while other immigrant move frequently perhaps to better housing or employment opportunities or because their migration is circular and they

never intended to move on a permanent basis. High levels of onward and circular migration which makes the targetting of integration initiatives difficult.

A third challenge is the arrival of migrants into areas of old migration where multiple layers of migration have occurred over decades leading to a extremely high levels of superdiversity and also fragmentation of populations whereby neighbourhoods do not house a critical mass of any country of origin, ethnic or religious group which again makes the targeting of programmes difficult.

Finally the lack of reliable data about the numbers and whereabouts of new migrants and unresolved questions about what society migrants should integrate into given the absence of majority communities or numerical dominance of minority ethnic groups in some neighbourhoods also bring their challenges in integration terms.

ABOUT THE STUDY

This paper builds upon a series of reviews of integration literature undertaken for the KING project which explore migrants' experiences of, and access to, integration resources. While the literature reviewed a wide range of barriers to integration and highlighted the importance of social capital for integration, we were unable to find empirical evidence that could inform us about the meanings migrants themselves gave to integration, the way that they use networks to access integration resources and the kinds of initiatives that migrants themselves feel would be beneficial in helping them to integrate.

Much has been written about the importance of social networks in integration. There is considerable political controversy around the types of networks that are integrative or even anti-integrative. Migration studies have leaned quite heavily upon Putnam's (2007) three categorisations of social capital: bonding (co-ethnic), bridging (with ethnic others) and linking (with organisations and the state). Putnam's (2007) findings from quantitative research in the US, although heavily criticised, are taken as evidence that too much bonding capital in the form of connections with co-ethnics living in the same vicinity, leads to lower levels of trust and civil activity.

There are a number of reasons why Putnam's ideas about social capital are problematic in an era of superdiversity. First Foley and Edward's (1999) critique of the literature on social capital finds that much thinking around social capital conflates capital with networks. Indeed they demonstrate clearly that empirically there is little evidence to support this conflation. Instead they argue that social networks only yield capital IF those networks provide access to resources that would otherwise have been beyond reach. In integration terms this means that we cannot assume the connections that migrants make upon arrival in a new country yield resources or that they have an integrative or anti-integrative role. It also means that to understand the role of social capital in integration we must explore not only what types of networks they possess but the resources that they gain via those networks and how those resources are put to use to further integration processes.

A further problem lies with Putnam's categorisation of capital. The division of capital into just three types does not allow in-depth understanding of the kinds of networks that migrants' possess. For example bonding capital is assumed to mean networks that are exclusively co-ethnic. One of the key facets of superdiversity is the acceptance that identity extends beyond ethnicity and that individuals' lives and experiences are likely to be shaped by the intersection of different characteristics. Evidence is growing

which demonstrates that focusing exclusively on ethnicity is highly problematic in that uncritical analysis can and does lead to the essentialising of ethnicity as the cause of inequality (see Bhopal 2012).

In an era of superdiversity with many urban areas housing people from many countries of origin, with different migration statuses, hopes and aspirations, making the assumption that 'people like me' will be co-ethnic is overly simplistic. Clearly it is important to identify the types of networks that people possess, the characteristics that draw people together, the ways in which those networks are constructed in particular understanding the how and where of construction and to examine the different types of resources to which different types of networks facilitate access. This report focuses upon these matters seeking to provide new knowledge about network formation and function and the role of these in the processes of becoming and belonging that are crucial to migrant integration. We also utilise this knowledge to make some suggestions about the kinds of networks that show the most promise in providing access to integration resources. The report begins by setting out the aims, objectives and methods of the study.

METHODS

The aim of this study is to provide new knowledge about the ways in which new migrants utilise networks to access resources which can further their integration. There are six objectives:

1. To examine migrants' own definitions of integration in order to understand the ways in which the resources they access or seek can promote integration in migrants' own terms.
2. To explore the kinds of networks that new migrants possess and how those networks change over time
3. To understand how networks are formed and what places are particularly useful for network formation
4. To examine the kinds of resources that different types of networks yield and how resource needs evolve over time
5. To gather for migrants' perspectives their ideas about what kinds of support they require to further their integration aspirations
6. To make a range of tentative recommendations about the kinds of networks and initiatives

Given the lack of knowledge around these issues an investigatory qualitative methodology was considered to be the best approach.

In order to ensure that our sample reflected the superdiverse populations located within many European cities we adopted a maximum variation sampling approach wherein we sought to identify people from as many different countries of origins, ethnicities, immigration statuses, life stages and faiths as possible. We sought to recruit equal numbers of men and women and tried to ensure that we had a mix of spoken English language abilities from being unable to speak English at all to being fluent. The latter criterion was considered to be particularly important given the evidence that demonstrates the key role of language as a facilitator to integration (Ager and Strang 2008). The idea behind the use of a maximum variation sample was that if people were as different as possible any commonalities identified would provide potential for generalisation and a solid foundation for the development of policy recommendations.

We interviewed 29 new migrants all of whom had been resident in the UK less than two years. Our intention was to interview people who could reflect back upon their experiences since arriving in the UK. We felt that those who had been in the UK for less than two years were sufficiently new to be able to recall

the networks they made and used at the early stages of their life in the UK. We recognise that the use of a retrospective approach can have its limitations. Clearly we were dependent on the selective memories of respondents. It's highly likely that they had experiences which they either could not recall or did not want to. With further time and funding we would have chosen to interview people shortly after arrival and maintain contact with them throughout their settling in period so that we could observe and explore integration as it evolved. However such an approach is intrusive and expensive and risks the interviewer becoming an influence on integration processes since they would actually become part of respondents' social network.

We took a range of approaches to locate our interviewees. We approached six migrant support organisations in Hackney, Birmingham, Luton and Wolverhampton, a college and a local authority equality and diversity team. All of these were in superdiverse areas and had worked with us on previous occasions. In addition one of our researchers used his personal networks and word of mouth to identify new migrants as well as approaching people directly to ask if they would be interested in participating in the study. While the use of organisations and networks means that respondents identified inevitably had some kind of network our retrospective approach enabled us to understand network formation in the period before they made that connection. It is however likely that there are migrants who are unconnected – our approach meant that such individuals were not involved in our study.

Table 1: - Detailed demographic information about our sample is set out in Table 1 below.

Age	Country of Birth	English Language?	Location	With family	Legal Status	Occupation	Religion	Gender
55	Somalia	Y	London	N	Refugee	Prohibited	Muslim	M
25	Somalia	N	London	Y	Spouse	Prohibited	Muslim	F
28	Morocco	N	London	Y	Spouse	Unemployed	Muslim	F
25	India	Y	London	Y	Spouse	Unemployed	Hindu	F
27	Pakistan	Y	London	Y	Spouse	Unemployed	Muslim	F
27	Saudi Arabia	Y	London	N	Spouse	Unemployed	Muslim	F
23	Bangladesh	Y	London	Y	Spouse	Unemployed	Muslim	F
41	Nigeria	Y	Luton	Y	Spouse	Care work	Christian	M
50	Pakistan	Y	Luton	Y	Economic	Accountant	Muslim	M
35	India	N	Wolverhampton	Y	Spouse	Factory	Sikh	M
29	Syria	N	Wolverhampton	N	Refugee	Take away	Muslim	M
22	Zimbabwe	Y	Wolverhampton	N	Refugee	Unemployed	Christian	F
29	Pakistan	Y	Wolverhampton	Y	Refugee	Retail	Muslim	M
34	Syria	Y	Wolverhampton	N	Refugee	Take away	Muslim	M
37	Nigeria	Y	Wolverhampton	Y	Spouse	Unemployed	Christian	M
26	Pakistan	Y	Birmingham	N	Student	Student	Muslim	M
40	Pakistan	Y	Birmingham	N	Asylum Seeker	Leaflet distribution	Muslim	M
26	Pakistan	Y	Birmingham	N	Work	Recruitment	Muslim	M
26	Pakistan	N	Birmingham	Y	Spouse	Take away	Muslim	M
25	Pakistan	N	Birmingham	N	Work	Machine Operator	Muslim	M
25	Eritrea	Y	Birmingham	N	Refugee		Pentecostal	M
61	Egypt	Y	Birmingham	N	Asylum		Muslim	M
26	Sudan	Y	Birmingham	N	Asylum		Muslim	M
53	Kuwait	N	Birmingham	N	Asylum		Muslim	M
26	Pakistan	Y	Birmingham	N	Student	Car wash	Muslim	M
28	Eritrea	Y	Birmingham	N	Refugee		Christian (Orthodox)	F
40+	Nigeria	Y	London	N	Work		Christian	F
38	Sudan	N	Birmingham	Y	Spouse		Muslim	F
37	Sudan	N	Birmingham	Y	Spouse	Marketing	Muslim	F

Eighteen respondents were male and eleven were female. Ages ranged from twenty-two to sixty-one. The majority of interviewees were in their twenties. Only four interviewees were more than forty years old.

Four interviewees were in the process of claiming asylum (all male and Muslim but from different countries of origin namely Pakistan, Egypt, Sudan and Kuwait) and seven had been granted refugee status including men and women; Christian and Muslim; and originating from various countries corresponding to past and current political turmoil. Twelve interviewees had migrated to join a spouse of which sixty-six per cent were female. Two interviewees were students who had the intention of staying for work and four migrated for economic reasons.

A wide variety of countries of origin were reported. Nine interviewees originated from Pakistan, three from Nigeria and Sudan respectively and two interviewees from Somalia, Syria, Eritrea and India respectively. Thirteen interviewees were living with a family member all of whom were spousal migrants apart from one refugee family. Two thirds of the interviewees spoke English.

Interviews were either undertaken in English or with the aid of an interpreter who was identified by the community organisation and paid by the project. Each respondent received a sum of £20 to cover their time and travel expenses. All interviews were digitally recorded and then transcribed in full.

Interviews were semi-structured and took between 20 and 90 minutes. Respondents were first asked to outline the meaning of the term integration. The main part of the interview involved recollection of the networks they had formed during their residence in the UK. For ease we classified these networks into pre-migration networks, that is those in existence with people in the UK before migration took place, networks developed in the first few weeks of residence, how networks evolved, expanded or even contracted over time and their current network. For each connection identified we explored the resources that the network had enabled access to. The open-ended nature of questions also allowed us to capture the types of activity that migrants did alone, After examining networks and resources the interview ended by exploring the kinds of help that migrants' felt would be most useful in aiding their integration. The topic guide utilised for the study can be found in the appendix.

Data analysis took place collaboratively and used a combination of NVIVO and systematic thematic analysis. The latter approach was found to be most effective in understanding the narrative of network development over time.

1. MEANINGS OF INTEGRATION

Various meanings of integration emerged from the interviews with new migrants. However, it should be noted that almost half the new migrants interviewed did not understand what the word integration meant[1]. A number of different processes of becoming and belonging (linked to employment, feeling connected, and feeling at home and at ease) were identified that linked to the idea of integration including:

- Language learning
- Understanding systems
- Becoming employable
- Making a contribution
- Understanding 'British' culture
- Developing varied and durable networks

1.1 Functional indicators of integration – language and employment

A recurring theme developed from migrant's narrative of the meaning of integration stemmed from the idea that integration is a *process* and that the passage of time allows people to become more integrated. This was firmly seen in terms of networks, contacts and connections. However, no clear idea of how or when this process might end was developed in migrant's narratives. Despite this, functional aspects were seen as fundamental skills to be able to achieve the goal of being integrated. Successful integration was strongly linked to employment:

> 'Whatever a proper British person can do here, I can do here. So that is okay. For everything it is fine. The only thing is the job.'

Integration was also heavily associated with language ability:

> 'First it is always difficult for a new person to get integrated. But as time goes by I get to know more people, the language and it is getting easier. I want to read and write English language and work and everything. I am getting to where I am supposed to be. I am getting integrated.'

> 'I would love to learn English language so that as soon as I can learn this language people will understand me and I can understand more people. English language would open many ways for me. To get a job, to get education – everything.'

> 'If you go inside the people of the country you'd be… you would know the language, you would know the culture, you would understand, you work with them.'

[1] From 29 interviews: 13 did not know what integration was; 1 thought integration was related to mathematics; 15 discussed their understanding of the meaning of integration. New migrants who gave their views and opinions about integration were those who spoke English and were those who had lived in the UK for a longer amount of time (almost two years). Two interviewees had also been involved in migrant organisations and undertaken courses to learn about meanings of 'integration'.

1.2 Understanding 'British' culture

Integration was understood as a period of adaption and change in order to 'fit in' with the majority society. This emerged as a one-way process in migrant's narratives where they believed they had to make adjustments and changes to the way they conducted their life. No new migrants discussed their understanding of integration as a two way process or in terms of British people learning and adapting or changes in British culture.

> 'I think it means that you are able to incorporate yourself into something new. It means being part of something. Being welcoming'.

> 'It means involvement in the new community. You know in our country we are born and bred in Pakistan. We are grown in old Pakistani styles. In this country, it is totally different, how we adapt the new systems and challenges I think…I am thinking that's integration. Adaptation of new society, new culture, how you adapt.'

This emerged in migrant's narratives as describing how they perceived 'British' society and culture as a closed container. As such migrant's descriptions of successful integration were linked to 'getting inside' and learning the system. This also emerged in descriptions of trying to 'mix up' with people.

> 'It means learning a way of life of your host community. Getting to know how things are done. The way of life. Getting to know people. The activities. Taking part in those activities. Getting involved and 'owning' what goes on in there and contributing in there'.

A key feature of integration was repeatedly described as a disposition to take part in activities of the country and the ability and confidence to change and adapt. This took the form of a positive frame of mind and having an 'open' disposition.

> 'You just have to try to be social. To talk to others.'

However, for those who had suffered prolonged loneliness and trauma in the migration and integration process this was described as a barrier to meeting people and forming friendships:

> 'Being new is difficult. It is not something that is easy. You find difficulties but you get used to it. You just need to relax. That's all.'

1.3 Developing strong and durable networks

A key aspect of defining integration for all migrants, regardless of social cleavages, was living with many different types of people. New migrants expressed a strong desire to meet and mix with those they considered to be 'British' and expressed the view that there were special skills needed to enter this environment. However, this view was not replicated for making contacts with other perceived migrants. This was described as an unequivocally positive experience in contrast to the uncertainty and burden of adapting to what was viewed as 'British culture'. A difference in narratives emerged between a formal meaning of integration and how it was practiced through new migrant's everyday experiences exemplifying the consequences of the growing dynamic within small and large urban environments of increasing global interconnectedness which is often thought about in terms of 'superdiversity'.

> ‘Before in Syria, if you go to a different country it is very hard. But even now if you go to my country you see English people, French people – same as here. I think life is mixed now. If you ask for English they help, if you ask for different language they help. On the bus, driver, taxi everyone help.’

> ‘It’s my thinking. How to live, how I want to live… I want to stay with communities and all communities… I am happy to live with everyone especially Christian, Hindu, white, black, everyone…I like everyone. I try to speak, I try to mix up with all of them.’

The change and adaptation described in the detached meaning of integration was, in practice, not directed towards one ‘British culture’ but emerged from narratives as the ability to get on with people from many different nations. Indeed for a number of new migrants the key to adaptation was getting used to living with diversity rather than with a majority group. Much existing thinking around integration assumes that new migrants come from diverse areas and that being Black means they are comfortable with all those who are phenotypically different. Policy certainly implies a need to re-adjust to integrate with a white majority and to adopt the dominant culture of the country of migration. Superdiverse neighbourhoods are frequently utlised as arrival zones wherein newcomers from overseas arrive and find their feet. Some of our respondents found they needed to adjust to the superdiversity evident within such areas.

> ‘In your country you live only with Sudanese and if you see another people it’s like you are afraid of him…now if I am living 7 months here now…Yeah the more nationality. It’s a good thing. Because I came now I have a lot of friend from another country.’

In some narratives this was extended to a view that there was a differentiation between ‘British’ people and everybody else:

> ‘I will say that when you go to a new place to my knowledge mixing of different people, getting into the mainstream, the main people already living the like the main country people so I believe in the mixing of everybody of people in the UK that’s all to my knowledge that’s OK… Yeah don’t be like, you know, avoid to talk to them and when we see we should be friendly, make friends and it seems like we are integrating in the community.’

> ‘You know there are a lot challenges you have to face in the first place. To integrate is like. I will just start by saying it is not easy like that. People have a different culture, background those things. How do you cope every day? It is a challenge. There are rules you have to follow. It’s a challenge. In terms of language, speaking the language. You have to understand these things and understand this scenario. I think you can adapt to these things. It is like this. Collaborate this together for a human being. This is what I think is integration. There are a lot of challenges for your background, the systems and everything. It is how you adopt those things in a way that will suit you that you feel confident and can live in a safe environment. That is what it is.’

Mixing with the ‘majority’ was seen as a good and necessary element of integration but in many cases it was not seen as enjoyable or pleasurable in contrast to narratives of everyday experience. Respondents referred to ‘British’ people as almost mythical creatures with only one respondent having connections with someone they referred to as British. However looking at the networks that our respondents developed it would appear that they did have connections with British citizens but these were from ethnic minority groups rather than white. It would appear that Britishness was seen as equating to whiteness.

Conclusion

To conclude this first chapter on meanings of integration, it is important to highlight the clear difference that emerged between a formal definition of integration and a more vernacular understanding of integration. The more detached definition was perceived as an interminable process with a distant 'British' majority in contrast to alternative narratives of everyday contacts and friendships across social cleavages. For example, one new migrant who had suffered domestic violence did not consider herself to be integrated however she had made very strong connections with other women from a hostel and had continued to develop durable and mutually supportive relationships with many different people.

Functional aspects such as language and employment emerged as important in the narratives of migrants. However in order to achieve these, confidence and an open disposition were described as fundamental. As highlighted above, traumatic experiences made it difficult for some to begin to consider what integration meant to them. Uncertain situations displaced the importance of integration as some new migrants tried to find stability and safety in a new environment. Therefore meanings and narratives of the practices of integration were inextricably connected to the formation and development of networks and access to resources of integration.

Key points from Chapter 1:

- Distinction between formal meaning of integration and descriptions of everyday processes of integration.
- Formal meanings of integration were linked to functional indicators such as English language ability and employment.
- Formal meanings of integration seen as ongoing process of adaptation and change.
- Everyday processes of integration were linked to (mostly) pleasurable experiences of gaining friends and contacts with people across social cleavages of which very few were described as 'British'.
- Feeling confident, open and a willingness and ability to understand others emerged from the narratives as key to all aspects of integration. This was hampered by isolation, instability and trauma.

2. NETWORK FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT

This chapter focuses on the different ways new migrant networks are formed and how they change over time providing the foundations for the following chapter in which the different types of resources that different migrant networks yield are explored. As defined by Kitching (2009) social capital can be viewed not only as resources but also as 'opportunities available to agents occupying particular positions' (p. 694). Therefore evaluating the quality and variety of social ties and networks is crucial in assessing how they may affect integration (however integration is defined). This chapter therefore addresses the way in which these connections develop and fluctuate as an individual tries to find meaning and belonging in order to 'get on' in a new environment. Clearly, enforced and chosen processes and social and cultural dimensions intertwine and affect each other, giving rise to complex combinations of inclusion and exclusion at different levels. Bearing this in mind this chapter aims to answer four questions namely:

1 - How are encounters made?
2 - Who are in networks (and who aren't)?
3 - What modes of connecting are described as most meaningful?
4 – What types of networks are described as 'successful' by migrants?
Guided by these questions this chapter proceeds as follows: first, pre-migration networks are presented; second initial networks in the receiving society are explored and finally the vicissitudes of wider network development are mapped out. For each of the three stages the emphasis is placed on the quality of a described relationship. The chapter concludes with a review of the importance of affective relationships which provide security, routine and a sense of belonging and therefore explains the strength, meaning and utility of different migrant networks.

2.1 Foundation network development

2.1.1 Refugees and formal organisations

The most important distinction in the initial trajectory of network development rests on migration and legal status. Forced migrants did not report any 'foundation networks' that is pre-existing networks of family or friends, to rely on when they first arrived. This meant that they had less affective networks and relied heavily on formal organisations for advice and support. However, through these organisations they gained information regarding functional aspects of integration.

> 'They helped me… the Refugee Centre here. About life, about a lot of things. They told me a lot about the city. The bus and everything. I got the doctor from here, from this centre.'

> 'When we come here we feel very at home. We don't feel like refugee. People they help you…here they do everything you know. They try their best to help you. So everything you need you can do it here. Phone call. Papers. They help here. When I come here I feel more relaxed. There are a lot of people here that speak your language. They see you, they help you, they give you a lot of information about hospital, GP, find good solicitor.'

In addition, with help from refugee or migrant organisations they gained knowledge of the systems and rules governing refugees.

> 'When we were granted the status before that we had some issues. We contacted the solicitor who helped us a lot. He told us that there will be an organisation called refugee

centre and there will be one in the area. The Refugee Centre were really good. All the staff here were very helpful. They assisted in whatever they could. We had to get to some extension for where we are staying … Refugee Centre helped us a lot with this.'

However, as a result of the nature of the asylum process, many forced migrants had experienced a rupture in their network development when they were dispersed by the UK Border Agency. In one case a young female Zimbabwean refugee had no affective relationships but was attending four different organisations. Nonetheless she felt isolated and described how she was not hopeful for the future. She described how she previously had one friend, who had subsequently withdrawn her support. Despite attending a local church she did not find comfort or respite from her isolation: 'we help each other but they are not friends.' Her isolation and fear for the future undermined her ability to develop networks perhaps pushing her further into exclusion.

Refugees who had foundation networks in a previous reception location maintained some contact with contacts via social media but reported they lost contact with many individuals and that visiting was prohibitively expensive.

'When I came from Liverpool here, I only had one friend. But after that it became like wild fire. I visit people, friends, but not very often. I am trying to establish myself here now so I am staying here. I don't go and visit people frequently. Maybe I visit one friend each month. But I am very busy with the job and it is expensive to visit. I have been to London twice and I have been back to Liverpool once.'

'The majority of people I meet are on Facebook. Particularly Syrians ... In places and functions and events that have been organised for the Syrians, for the Arabs. But communication is on Facebook.'

Refugees largely made their foundational networks through formal organisations either in hostels or in public or parochial places. For some, these developed into strong affective relationships. Unlike other categories of migrants, they often did not have connections with family in their country of origin or their country of residence and could not access the affective support which we found emerged as both important and meaningful for other categories of migrants.

2.1.2 Family migrants and private space

In contrast, economic, spousal and family migrants described how they immediately had at least one person on which they could rely on for initial support including provision of food, housing, translation, health and signposting to libraries or ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages)[2] courses. These contacts were identified as the most important people for helping initial settlement in a new country:

'The only help that I got was from my husband. He helped me settle down and helped me to get to know the differences. How to get around, what buses to take, what train to take. Taking me to the GP and showing me where it is. All the basic day to day things.'

'My wife and brother. Everything. They help me with everything.'

[2] ESOL refers to English for Speakers of Other Languages. In the UK, ESOL is aimed at migrants and carries the connontation of education for those who have or intend on settling.

> He (husband) came in UK before and he looked on the internet and he called the office here. They told him exactly what I need to do. To bring the passport copy and fill the form for the ESOL course. And take it here. He made it easy for me.'

Importantly these pre-migration contacts acted as enablers through which other contacts and resources could be gained. The primary place for economic and family migrants to establish initial networks was the home and other private spaces as they were introduced to other family members and visited others in the diaspora. In the case of female spousal migrants, their husbands often introduced them to the wives of their husband's friends who be became contacts for providing information regarding knowledge of systems, training courses and the routines of everyday life. Migrants also described how these contacts often provided comfort and encouragement having themselves encountered similar experiences when they first migrated.

> 'He (husband) is friends with her husband. He called her and he said my wife is here. If you are free sometime then call my wife… She helped me to find the training class. This lady. And when I had the baby she come here and two weeks she take care. She really helped me.'

> Actually he (husband) had stayed with that family for a month or so when he arrived here. And he was hoping to rent a home near to their place. So she was helping me to find a place. He introduced me to her so that we became friends and now if we have anything like an emergency then she helps me and I help her.'

Some foundation networks provided pre-migration support which ranged from advice regarding the types of clothing needed to cope with the British climate to organistion of large-scale immigration status appeals engaging the support of a local MP and a municipal education worker.

2.1.3 Confusion, disorientation and the role of pre-migration networks

Regardless of migration status, the first few days after arrival were characterised by disorientation and a degree of fear.

> 'At the start I got very confused but now it is easy. I don't have any problem. I feel confident, I can travel alone'.

This was moderated to some extent by the strength of pre-migration networks. Fear emerged through the narratives of migrants as they described getting lost ('all the houses look the same'), being confused by transport, not understanding systems and procedures and not having a good English accent.

> 'Yeah first time when I came here I didn't know anybody. Just my husband here. This time I was feeling a little bit sad. But now I am feeling happy because I know people. And so many things. This time, the first times, I was very shy to speak in English. If I said wrong they would laugh to me.'

Those who were emotionally close (including but not exclusively individuals who were spatially proximate) encouraged new migrants and gave them confidence which in turn provided built potential to increase networks through engaging with others in either formal organisations or through personal contacts.

> ‘First time I find life here very difficult. She talked with me, she gave me advice and support. She (Moroccan female friend) was here before she explained to me about the GP. She told me what they are going to ask me. She went to the GP with her husband, she couldn’t go alone. But she encouraged me to be independent. She told me to go by myself…We encourage each other to speak in English to improve our English. If she talks to me in Arabic then I say to her – what are you doing? I don’t know Arabic. Talk English!’

2.2 Initial network development – finding and negotiating ‘place’

2.2.1 Single or family migration

Network development was moderated by a number of factors. Whether an individual arrived alone or with a family effected the development of their network. Those who had a family with young children did not appear to seek a large network and specifically mentioned a stasis period where they focused upon gaining permanent, good quality, accommodation that was also close to their children’s school.

> ‘Now we don’t have anybody. First we have to have the children in school. Then the house, and then we can go out. It takes time. I need to get a car. Then we can go to family, to Birmingham. My family is there. We are not all complete here yet. We just have the basic things.’

They described how they were too busy to really develop a network of friends and chose friends carefully connecting with those who also had children with similar routines. They mentioned that they were friendly to their neighbours but that they did not have the time or the inclination to go out of their way to make new friends. They concentrated on their family and creating a safe and stable environment.

> ‘Right now my best friends are my family. My wife is my family. My priority is my family … These days I have a family I spend my time with my children. I am always at home. I am with my children.’

Migrants who arrived alone felt that those who had families had very different routines of daily life. The friend of a male Syrian refugee who lived with his family described how he needed to ‘keep a wall’ between himself and his friend as he was aware that his friend’s family was his first priority so he did not want to overly impinge on his friend’s life. We observed that several respondents withheld requests for help because they did not want to overly burden their friends instead they only asked for assistance in emergencies. This lack of confidence in utilising their networks meant they did not have access to the knowledge and information they needed to integrate more quickly – in short their self-rationing of network support held them back from getting more engaged in integration activities.

2.2.2 Religion and network development

Religious organisations and associated places of worship emerged as particularly important in facilitating social connections, engaging in mutual support, volunteering and creating meaningful new networks. Religion provided a key source of continuity in the lives of new migrants, which gained salience when other aspects of their lives such as work and affective ties had been disrupted or lost.

> ‘The people at the mosque. It is the centre. The mosque is the place that I get my friends, in football. I go to the mosque it is where I get connections. A Somali person who has no religious beliefs, they would not think of going to the mosque. Where would they find support? They would be lost. They would not have anything.’

The routine associated with regular worship provided continuity and a sense of calm in otherwise uncertain and new environments.

> ‘Well the first day you pray at home. Next day I say to my daughter, where is the mosque? And she said it is just at the corner there…When I first went to the mosque at the beginning. I started to meet people each time. They know the mosque. The point of them coming is the mosque. We pray. Five times a day is very hard. You pray. Every two hours you are in the mosque.’

Religious organisations also provided a space of mutual support, learning and purpose. Interviews demonstrated that new migrants were very keen to help others, through such activity they were able to exercise some agency in a situation that others might be viewed as restricted and limiting.

> ‘On Friday I pray and I go to mosque all day. And if someone needs help in pray or in Arabic I help. I ask people if someone needs help for free. I want to help. I can help for free. I stay all day Friday…’

> ‘I am a part time volunteer (at the church). On Wednesday. I clean up the kids rooms. You reach out to the kids and give them support.’

> ‘We just organised a big sports event for all the Ahmedi kids under 15 in the region. The sports were badminton, table tennis, cricket, football and also some indoor games. And nearly 120 children turned up. It was a very successful event…It keeps me busy. Although there is some stress it is a way to feel relaxed. You organise things for the children…’

Religious organisations were a key ‘multiplier’ site for further connections. They acted to increase the scale and speed of connections from parochial to private space. Connections built within religious settings occured both in formal and informal manners. For example, one church organised bible studies on Fridays where members of the congregation met others who lived in their local area. These meetings were hosted in the homes of different members of the congregation and participants encouraged to share problems, thoughts and aspirations for the future, an act that also served to help them to build new friendships.

> ‘People that live within a certain area of the town meet every week. So you know it is a growing church so you can’t know everyone but if you can know two or three people who live around you it helps…There is a strong support network.’

Connections made in a mosque were described as extending to being invited for a meal in the private space of the home. These connections also took place across ethnic or social lines for example a Moroccan spousal migrant became friends with a Somali refugee whom she had met in a mosque leading to an affective relationship and male migrants from various countries got involved in a football team:

> ‘I come to the mosque and I see the people there they have football and something and I ask them where do you play and they say oh there are many, many people and they say come. So now I am a member of the five (five-a-side football team).’

2.2.3 Formal organisations and network development

Formal organisations were key sites for network development mentioned by the majority of new migrants. However they did not seem to provide a site where enduring connections were made. The timing of educational terms or organisation projects dictated the rhythm through which connections could be made. Location was a key mediating factor. In London, as migrants tended to travel longer distances to reach an organisation, there were fewer common local connections where more meaningful relationships could be made.

ESOL organisations were an important site for many to gain confidence and also had the effect of providing routine and purpose. Although the ESOL classes themselves rarely provide a site for developing close relationships with class-mates, the relationship with ESOL teachers was meaningful and provided a space for new migrants to gain advice with specific problems.

> 'A person like the teacher here at the organisation. If I ask for help from here then she will find out and clear it up for me. I don't have a good idea about how things are here so I find her as a good point of information because she grew up here. For things related to UK. Those kinds of information you only get from people who are living here. Who have grown up here from their childhood. I know I can get correct information from her. I believe so anyway. For things like jobs. And to know how the system of education works here like she helped me a lot with that.'

> 'Our teacher, our principal is a very good person. He's giving information like about courses and everything like how we prepare classes and how we can success and you know how all lectures, after lectures he asks how you are and how you like the teachers.'

ESOL teachers also acted as a mediator between new migrants and other organisations that provided training, or, in two cases, intense mentoring support.

> 'I come for the English class. And today, first time I will meet my mentor. This organisation has given me a mentor.'

Libraries also acted as important sites for gaining information and often were places where new migrants went alone but met others 'in place'. They described how initially family members had taken them to the library, however, following repeated visits and continually seeing others in the same place the library became a place where connections were made. However, similar to ESOL classes these connections rarely developed into more meaningful relationships.

> 'There are 15 / 20 mums there (in the library). There are a lot. There are so many. It's Bangladesh. It's here, it's Indian, Chinese, Japanese, Indian … They do so many activities – singing, story. We have five minutes and then it's hi, bye. That is it. I have no friends there.'

> 'The most help is the library. They do so many things there – trainings and they will find it. Library is the most important one. If you go there and you see the leaflet it is the best. They will find it there.'

Others also described how the library was a place to kill time and gain a respite from loneliness. It was also noted that library courses were free and it was perceived as a welcoming place to enter alone.

> ‘I don’t like to stay all day in the house. All day alone. I want to do something. That is why I go the library. If someone works it is better. I want the job.’

2.2.4 Initial networks and spatial considerations

An important distinction emerged from the analysis of network development in initial stages of settlement. Those who were considered to be the most meaningful contacts were not always spatially proximate. For example women found emotional support and gained confidence (for example to travel on buses alone or register with the doctor alone) as well as general well-being through those they have known for a long time but were either in other regions of the UK or even in their country of origin. Social media was used to bridge the physical distance in order for them to reach those who they felt were socially and emotionally proximate.

> ‘My husband is the main person for support. And my mother. I call her everyday actually. She gives me the moral support. I think I discuss all of my personal things only with her. She gives me that support. We Skype so we can see each other. It is great because you feel like she is just sitting there talking.
>
> I learn with my friend by viber, English. My Moroccan friend. And every day I speak with my family, one hour or two hours every day. On viber. And my family ask me about this country.

Affective support through social media allowed people to access different levels of support. This could be very personal from family members in different cities, or organisational, such as being a member of the national Ahmedi Muslim association or travelling to London to go to an event for newly arrived Syrian refugees.

2.3 Network development – vicissitudes of widening and deepening connections

The development of a new migrant’s network was mediated by the knowledge and connections from their pre-migration and initial networks. The number and quality of proximate contacts explained why some migrants had small or declining networks, whilst others rapidly developed both a large network of affective friends and more formal or instrumental contacts.

2.3.1 Serendipitous encounters as integration markers

A key aspect of network development was the emergence of serendipitous and chance encounters on the street. This was initiated through gaining confidence in the local area and frequently moving around their locality. Many migrants found these chance encounters pleasurable describing how they provided meaning and a sense of place. These encounters took place in various places including on the street, in the supermarket, on public transport and so forth.

> ‘Whenever I go to Asda I have met her there (Somali spousal migrant from ESOL course). But we are not very close we don’t call frequently but we are like hi, bye, friends.’

> …first time I met him I think we played football together but I didn't know him straight away. Then one day I see him on the street and we talk, talk. And then he said lets go to coffee shop in the town centre as well. And now he is a good friend. I can ask him for help because he has been here more than me. Nearly 8-9 years. He can help me.'

Micro-publics emerged through migrants' descriptions of 'hi/bye' or 'fast' friends. These friends were accompanied with feelings of comfort in specific spaces. Importantly they were often not meaningful in themselves for their affective or direct functional support. However they are pivotal as a means through which to gain a sense of belonging and could be viewed as a marker of integration. Additionally encounters in micro-publics in some circumstances led to more affective friendships. However this tended to be with 'like-friends' such as those who were previously known from the sending context or religious network.

> 'My college mates from India are here. I saw them in the street. I know everyone from India. Some of them are my college mates, some are from near to my place back home in the countryside. They are small villages. I know them from there. In the street I was saying hello to them…'

Meaningful and durable connections within networks that had developed post-migration were made when individuals took part in a shared activity. Situations that encouraged working towards a common goal such as a peer-led project, job training or support through a life-changing event (pregnancy, dispersal, gaining refugee status and so forth) made the considerable impact on the amount of meaning placed on a particular relationship.

> 'Last month me and my two friends we came (to the organisation). There is a lady from India and the other lady is from Bangladesh. We did our user-led project together and we are still in contact. Sometimes we meet each other outside. One of our other friends she had a baby so we arranged to get together and go to visit her with the new baby.'

Connections made in these environments also acted as multipliers for further connections and friendships which in turn increased the new migrants' confidence and access to functional support.

2.3.2 Network development, time and hope

Network development also included a degree of mutual support or the feeling of helping others. This included a notion of routine, and ability to gain some agency in situations that were otherwise highly restricted. However over time network development could become inflected with feelings of frustration and failure. Such feelings emerged as a response to migration aspirations not progressing as previously hoped. An acute desire to move on and find meaning emerged once systems had been learned, language acquired and functional aspects of everyday life mastered. This was particularly prevalent for those who had experienced barriers to gaining employment.

Networks did not necessarily develop in a linear fashion. Importantly, as highlighted above, migrants were often beholden to rhythms that were beyond their control such as ESOL teaching terms and short-term project funding. These could lead to the creation of intense networks and activity for a short period of time, but, if projects did not lead to further meaningful contacts, migrants described a feeling of loss and stagnation. It was clear how migrants, for various reasons, had periods where their networks had been stronger, more stable or more affective. These network ebbs and flows point to the need for new migrants to have a variety of different networks to be able to overcome shocks and rapid changes that can lead to network depletion.

In addition, initial emotion, (relief for safety, excitement at starting a new job or joining a spouse or family member) seemed to temper the disorientation and confusion at the beginning of the migration process. However, as time passed these initial feelings were superseded. Narratives of growing confidence and security were sometimes accompanied by frustration if hopes and expectations had faltered. New migrants described an extended waiting process which seemed become increasingly desperate if there was no defined end. For example time spent waiting to get a job for which an individual had already completed significant training and experience was accompanied with a feeling of despondency.

> 'I did my engineering (degree) and then I did my MBA … it is a bit depressing not being able to get a job. Education is fine but without any experience it is very difficult.'

> 'It is this refugee status. It is repelling. They don't want to know your background – they just see refugee. This is my feeling. (I am working) in a grocery store. That is the part time job that I am currently doing. But I am looking for some professional job that belongs to my qualifications.'

In contrast, waiting for two years before gaining access to British citizenship (and the accompanying access to training and education) was accompanied with frustration but not despair.

> 'But it is not where I am. You know. This job. It is where I want to be. Going to the school. Getting my degree.

> 'I would love to stay if I have a reasonable well paid employment where the prospect is good. At the moment it's not. I don't have a job. And it can be very difficult to take when coming from an African man. You are brought up to be able to take care of your family. If the reverse is the case it is very difficult to adjust. And that is what I am doing. It's tough.'

Conclusion

To conclude this chapter, the key features explored above will be reviewed. Legal status emerged as the greatest signifier of the importance of pre-migration networks. Initial network development immediately following migration depended on whether a migrant had arrived alone or was supporting, or supported by, a family. Stable employment which was suited to experience and qualifications emerged as the key to signal successful integration.

Successful network development depended on confidence and the availability of opportunities in a new environment. Fear and instability hastened and exacerbated isolation leading to increasingly fraught and negative integration experiences. This may be more acute for refugees who do not arrive with pre-migration networks and where support and advice is centred on formal and informal organisations in public and parochial spaces. The spatiality of networks is also important with fleeing connections in micro-publics emerging as important to the development of a sense of place. This was in contrast to strong affective relationships sustained across long distances through social media. However, integration processes were not described as straight-forward even for those with strong pre-migration, initial or highly developed networks.

Key points from Chapter 2:

1 - How encounters are made:

- Previous contacts from sending country (family migrants)
- Home and private spaces (family and economic migrants)
- Formal migrant advice organisations (more important for refugees)
- Formal ESOL organisations (all)
- Formal and informal religious contacts (all)
- Social media
- Spontaneous and serendipitous encounters

2 - Who are in networks (and who aren't):

- Spouses, children, extended family networks in local, diaspora and sending country contexts.
- Instrumental and affective friendships
- Translators and support workers in formal organisations
- ESOL teachers
- Religious organisations
- ➢ A wide range of different nationalities, religions, ethnicities are in migrant's networks at different levels with different effects for integration

BUT:

- 'British' people are not in networks (despite a desire from migrants to engage with those who they consider 'British')
- Neighbours are not mentioned as important in networks.

3 - What modes of connecting are described as most meaningful?

- Working together for shared purpose to make new enduring connections.
- Connecting through family, friends and religious networks
- Joint classes (such as ESOL or IT) were not described as a meaningful mode of connecting

4 - What types of networks are described as 'successful' by migrants?

- Formal organisations providing time and clear instructions regarding migration or asylum process
- Strong and durable affective relationships providing support or respite from isolation regardless of spatial proximity
- Religious organisations providing opportunities to invest in oneself and help others

The common feature of these networks is that they helped new migrants make meaning in their new lives.

3. RESOURCES GAINED FROM NETWORKS

As stated earlier in this report, network formation can be broadly described along a trajectory of foundational network, initial networks and the development of networks. The previous chapter examined how networks were made. The next step is to understand what benefits are derived from increasing the networks of the individual. This chapter focuses on two key questions:

- What resources are yielded from these networks?
- How do these resources aid the migrants?

While the cases that we have dealt with may be varied, several strong commonalities emerged. The resources that accessing such networks can yield can be sub-divided along four main strands:

- Practical support – this may include addressing key needs which allow one to settle
- Information – accessing information in dealing with the trajectory of the individual. This information may be rely on the experiences of others or through more formal organizations or groups
- Cultivating belonging – addressing the psycho-social needs of the individual
- Linguistic development – improving language skills

The balance of these four strands may vary depending on the specific circumstances of the individual.

3.1. Practical Support

Practical support as a resource refers to specific, tangible needs and help received. Upon arriving in a new country, initial needs must be addressed. Such needs that emerged included being picked up from the airport, having a place to sleep, food or having access to transport. For example,

> 'Shelter first. Take rest. It is very important. Second food. If you get those two, you will be happy. Then you look job'

> 'Like picked me from the airport, If I need something they could pick and drop me, I didn't speak good English I need they help me and go for shopping together. There's lots of things at that time that I needed.'

In Maslow's hierarchy of needs for example (Maslow 1962), shelter, safety and sleep figure prominently in the foundational physiological level of needs. This is the first and most fundamental level. From there, migrants can begin to address other needs. In the following both housing and the National Insurance Number are mentioned as foundational components upon which individuals can build the rest of the their time. The National Insurance Number is important as it allows an individual to be paid from work and pay taxes.

> 'My brother – he gave me accommodation. I am living with my brother. My friend helped me with my national insurance number and with everything whenever I need to go out to town. He will go with me.'

Other participants spoke of the value of meeting a friend who later became important. In these cases, accommodation were again a key needs:

> ‘Actually he had stayed with that family for a month or so when he arrived here. And he was hoping to rent a home near to their place. So she was helping me to find a place. He introduced me to her so that we became friends and now if we have anything like an emergency then she helps me and I help her.’

> ‘I was staying in housing [unclear] I was homeless. I was asking and first they give me when I was 7 months pregnant and then I stay one month til they see me. I am pregnant and [unclear] they didn’t give me so I thinking [unclear] I talked to him and he say ok if you are friend stay with them and now I get for two months they gave me.’

The following interviewee talks about practical support he received from friends and family.

> ‘Mainly financially if you need any money, they help you. You help each other, you help each other out and also with the car. Let’s say you have to go to the hospital with reference to the NHS (National Health Service) so if you need help to the hospital or the doctors, they take you.’

Others needed help such as being accompanied to places and being physically shown where to go and what to do. The following examples are cases in point

> ‘… especially when I came here that time it was difficult me. Absolutely I had language problem because I was in Pakistan and then I came here. Sometimes I need help and need people from other things when I go to any big shop if any office. If I have any problems with language, I have my friends here who settle here with families, they do a job here and they come with me.’
> ‘Initially when I arrived here the main problem was the language and then my sister helped me with languages, she used to take me out. Also, she helped me when I had a bad time. She also looked after me when I was unwell, she fed me, she looked after me. It was that

> *As you spent time here and as you made a life here in the UK, how did it change the people that you needed help from?*
> However you see, whenever you need help if you want to go somewhere and you need a lift and you rely on your family like my sister or friends. Also, financially you need any money you know there’s ask for help and this is how they come about and help you out.’

As durable and meaningful networks are forming, some interviewees sought crucial gateways and hubs which allowed them to develop networks and meet their own practical needs. These needs may be as diverse as seeking the routine of a religious site with members of the same religion, to finding English classes.

Other forms of practical support appeared as networks formed and developed. In some cases, interviewees needed assistance in a) empowering themselves to become independent having initially made sure that basic needs are met and b) finding key spaces which act as ‘gateways and hubs’ (Meinhof and Galasiński 2005) for other networks and sites of network development.

Key sites of network development included places of worship (churches and masjids), information points (the library and job centre), work and educational sites (in some cases religious organizations that provide ESOL classes and local colleges and children’s schools) and accommodation (the home, hostel, houses of friends). Below are examples of these sites:

And how did you meet them?
You know in the mosque

So let's say with the people from the masjid, have you always been going to the same masjid?
Yes, that's where I met

So that's where people that you have met and then met new people too
Yes, yes

So the people in the masjid how do they help you?
They give me good advice about this country and they give me good informations like how do you improve yourself, your language skills and everything so that's how

'And then a person like the teacher here at the organisation. If I ask for help from here then she will find out and clear it up for me. I don't have a good idea about how things are here so I find her as a good point of information because she grew up here. For things related to UK. Those kinds of information you only get from people who are living here. Who have grown up here from their childhood. I know I can get correct information from her. I believe so anyway. For things like jobs. And to know how the system of education works here like she helped me a lot with that.'

'My husband is working. And I go to the library. Only time I go for the work and then I go to the big library. And there someone said there is ESOL course just for women and then I fill in the form and I start the ESOL entry level 1.'

3.1.1 Practical Support and forms of knowledge

Other forms of practical support beyond initial networks were varied. Support ranged from seeking and offering financial assistance to helping others move home. Such forms of support relate to tangible needs which required the help of others. These forms of practical support were an essential resource yielded from the development of networks and making sense of the realities and challenges of daily life.

Given that each person has a particular trajectory and specific needs, there is a flow of information that must be accessed in order for them to become orientated and later consolidate their presence. In order to make sense of this lifestyle adjustment and individual needs, there was a dependence on information to aid progress within their lives. This information and knowledge may come through various forms including for example: finding a direct answer to a particular problem or need and/or being signposted or finding a signpost. Information may come from other individuals or communities and/or formal organizations (which may include places of worship and information sites). For example:

'But the church will go to pray you see different people. They live different lives. If you they told you, if you any problems they tell me this country no problem.'

'My friend told me to go to the job centre. The job centre told me that the best places to get a job was to go to places like pizza hut and just keep asking at places like that. Just go from one place to the other. And then I got to this job and I told them that I used to do this kind of job in Syria. And they gave me a trial for 2 days and now I have this job. They found that I was good at this.'

'I speak to a friend and he sent me to a solicitor. They recommend us to go to a solicitors and people tell us. We people will not go blindly. We are not sure unless what he gives. We can ask friends and people who already been here who already know someone and know a solicitors. I need advice. They say I know this one, go to that one. That's what we do that.'

'First if you come to the UK, you stay in hostel[name of place] that area you can meet a lot of people from another country. The first time to come to the UK and the Sudanese help to give. They take care. I didn't have clothes. I didn't have money at that time. They say for you there is some organization [name of organization] because that area to get clothes, they give you tin item like this. In October, like two days like this in UK then the people get me here

Those are your Sudanese friends?
Yeah, then you stay in that area. People leave and stay that was 3 or 4 months when the people come from another country or another country I need to help him so oh let's go to [name of organization] they come to this place they help you. They are nice people. Good people.'

'We believe those people who already live here know much more than us so they can guide us on matters so we can ask them advice from our friend.

Can you give me examples of places they have shown you or information they have shown you?
They showed me like the neighbourhood office, citizen advice bureau, like you need to go get information and I need help to get to the neighbourhood office and they told me where to go and sometimes I need to locate post office that is information that people already here they can tell you so when I need shopping like grocery they can realize where to go and these thing.'

In the some of the cases above, the information comes from a friend who directs the interviewee to a formal organization where he then locates a job. This distinction and switch in forms of knowledges is stratified by whether the information comes from a friend or informal source or whether it comes from a more formal organization.

In education, the terms 'hot' knowledge and 'cold' knowledge are used to describe the forms of knowledge that others seek. 'Hot' knowledge refers to informal, experiential knowledge from those who may have or have had similar experiences and cold knowledge alludes to information from organizations and formal settings (Ball and Vincent 1998). In some cases problems could be resolved through hot knowledge. An example of this would through meeting within the space of a restaurant and developing a sense of 'diasporic consciousness' (Castles and Davidson 2000) between a Kurdish migrant and the local Kurdish community.

'When I came from Liverpool here, I only had one friend. But after that it became like wild fire. Then I went to the restaurant and I was able to get friends from Kurdistan, Syrian-Kurdish. Friends who have lived in the UK for many, many years.'

In this case connections allow the individual access to hot knowledge from others from the same country of origin. In other cases, if the problem can be resolved in an informal setting, then that is sufficient rather than seeking an formal organization.

'In the restaurant?
Yes. There are a lot of people in there. When we come here we feel very at home. We don't

feel like refugee. People they help you. Before I came here I went to a different organisation. I don't want to tell you the name but it was not good. They kept saying this is not our job, this is not our job. But here they do everything you know. They try their best to help you. So everything you need you can do it here. Phone call. Papers. They help here. We go to restaurant and they told us to come here and we are fine here. It is okay. When I come here I feel more relaxed. There are a lot of people here that speak your language. They see you, they help you, they give you a lot of information about hospital, GP, find good solicitor.'

'I ask in the meat shop. There are many Pakistani people there. I ask I need this for my children. I must have one house to have a tenancy agreement for the school. When I came here after two months the children were in the school because you need a lot of documentation here. Water bill, gas bill, electricity bill, tenancy agreement.'

'It's like that – when you meet people and they ask you what you want and I say I am looking for a job and they say if you want to get experience then get this, this and that. You can call this lady. They give me advice. They gave me the address and they said if you contact this woman then she might need help and if she needs you, you can go there. So I went.'

One of the characteristics of building networks is identification of points of information and then acting on those referrals. Organisations often had a role directing the individual to other resources that they sought such as language skills, courses and work opportunities (i.e. through ESOL classes and job centre). The narrative of being referred to such forms of hot knowledge was a regular theme.

Knowing what forms of knowledge were required (hot or cold) or available and how to access such flows of information were skills learnt with experience and based upon the knowledge of others. Thus, the knowledge and skills needed to access and use this information were directly related to the development of networks as well as the trajectory and specific needs of the individual. Consequently, information and skills development involving such knowledge became key resources in making a life in the UK.

One corollary of these flows of information and knowledge are in learning about the 'system.' Examples included being helped with Home Office immigration papers, and finding information about gaining a National Insurance Number for tax and work purposes or the education system. This systemic knowledge is highly specialized that even some UK-born would not necessarily know.

'We found the library and we found help in the area

So the people in the library helped?
Yes and the people in the area, neighbours

How did the people in the library help you?
If you need, they print any paper. If you need books or use the internet or if there are any difficulties, the staff will help. Anything, any information they get it'

'Most times if, when I have a problem that needs more clarity. I don't know what this is. I have read something. There are so many updates with the immigration policy you need someone in the position who would be helpful to get some clarification on an issue. So I come here [the organization] when I can't get that clarification anywhere else.'

'And then a person like the teacher here at the organisation. If I ask for help from here then she will find out and clear it up for me. I don't have a good idea about how things are here so I

find her as a good point of information because she grew up here. For things related to UK. Those kinds of information you only get from people who are living here. Who have grown up here from their childhood. I know I can get correct information from her. I believe so anyway. For things like jobs. And to know how the system of education works here like she helped me a lot with that.'

3.2 Affective benefits

Another significant resource acquired via networks relates to affective benefits. Understanding the affective dimension allows us to adopt a more holistic understanding of integration which takes into consideration migrants' emotional well-being. Two main forms of affective benefits emerge. Firstly, 'cultivating belonging' in finding ways to belong to both real and imagined communities. Secondly, self-empowerment through an improved sense of confidence and agency.

3.2.1 Cultivating belonging

Belonging was identified by Maslow as being on the third level of his hierarchy of needs. Baumeister and Leary (1995) identify 'the need to belong' as a key psycho-social need for the individual. They link belonging to attachment and the development of meaningful relationships. Belonging cannot be ignored as it represents a point of convergence between the emotional needs of the individual and the development of relationships and networks. Thus, cultivating belonging becomes central resource in addressing key needs. How the individual cultivates belonging may depend on the frequency of their interactions and how positively affective they may be (Baumeister and Leary 1995). Migrants must find networks which satisfy one or both these conditions. This sense of belonging may be yielded by finding those key sites (which may be found through practical support and information) where interactions may be meaningful.

'The people at the mosque. It is the centre. The mosque is the place that I get my friends, in football. I go to the mosque it is where I get connections. A Somali person who has no religious beliefs, they would not think of going to the mosque. Where would they find support? They would be lost. They would not have anything.'

'Basically like me and you in the masjid, you introduce me and I introduce to them so then they can see me in the group so every week people they come to the masjid and we see them and say hello.'

'In an average the way to meet other people mainly through going to the mosque and other big festivals like Eid or somebody's funeral or you meet wider people at weddings

The people in the masjid are they mainly Pakistani Muslims or are they mixed?
Pakistani, Bengali, Africans no proper Pakistani. It's the House of God and it's open to all.'

Finding other sites and networks can cultivate belonging. These sites may be places of worship where affiliation develops with a tangible sense of community with the congregation as well the more 'imagined' community of faith. Other dimensions such as ethnicity, location and religious denomination, can enable the establishment of allegiances. Other sites may act as places of professional and educational development where interactions are meaningful in part due to the emergence of a sense of self-empowerment, aspiration and progression or simply the sense of friendship.

'I went to Tower Hamlets College because I wanted to do some English courses and they told me about this organisation. And so I came here and then on that same day the course was starting and so I stayed here and started on that day. And then it lasted more than six months. I had too many friends here it was such a nice time for me. I joined another course through that. It was e-lit, in Hackney. And I also did voluntary work here in this organisation so that was how I was spending my time.'

'Before baby they helped me a lot with ESOL. I come here. But after baby I come here and I meet other mums we talk what is good for baby. What is healthy for baby. How to play with baby. Before he was very angry now he is better. He was so angry. Because he was home alone. Also me I was alone. That's why he was angry. If you want to go outside it is better for him. I go also to library. They do lots of activities there. Dancing with baby.'

'It is called All Nations Christian Centre – it's a potpourri of every nationality. The last time we checked we had about 30 different nationalities. Probably more by now. Indians, British, Nigerians, Zimbabweans, Ghanaians, I have a friend from Trinidad, another lady is from Sri Lanka. And then Chinese. So that gives you a sense. Jamaicans. You meet all kinds of people. It is a vibrant community. And it is rich in love. Everyone wants to help everyone basically. It's a family community. The first time I came to visit the place was in 2009 when I was visiting her – my wife when she was studying. When I walked in I felt the warmth of community. And since then we have been going.'

Narratives in which the loneliness of not belonging emerged. Such narratives serve as poignant reminders of being on the periphery of belonging. Lack of belonging can be major problem and is evident in the following examples how lack of belonging is linked to emotion.

'Sometime you need, you not happy, and you need to talk to somebody but you need to trust him so it is the best way to have good friends.'

'In my surroundings I don't have anyone to talk to or anyone to spend my time. It is too difficult for me. That is why I love to go to Birmingham.'

'If I ever feel depressed or anything then I just go for a walk and I go inside ASDA so that I get to see many people around. Even if I don't need to buy anything. Maybe I will buy a banana or something. Sometimes I do this.'

Some of the sense of belonging can be linked to spatial location. In some cases, networks may be far away through transnational networks while others may be closer. Some participants noted the use of social media as way of meeting others from the same diaspora. Interactions may take place away from the spatial situatedness of the present moment and location.

'Some of my friends they also came to London after marriage. So I have a few friends like that. But because they live far away I don't contact them frequently. Through Facebook we talk. We message each other. One is in Birmingham. We don't call, but we message and Facebook and what's app.'

'Do you call each other during the week?
I use what's app. I have Pakistani friends and we use what's app. And I have a Pakistani friend and I call her every day. She is in Birmingham. We talk sometimes more than one hour every day.

And do you support each other?
She helps me a lot. She has helped me and she is helping me still.

In what way?
She helps me emotionally. She calls me, she diverts my attention. I tell her if I am missing my family and she diverts my attention. Oh she says that this happened and that happened... She diverts my attention and brings me out of that stressing time. And then I do the same for her and she came here ten years ago and still she misses her family. So sometimes if I am upset she helps me and if she
is upset then I help her'

'The majority of people I meet are on Facebook. Particularly Syrians. I also meet people in the Pizza hut and on the street and so and so. In places and functions and events that have been organised for the Syrians, for the Arabs. But communication is on Facebook.'

Belonging can be viewed as a form of becoming through process rather than being through status (Antonsich 2010). Hence, 'belonging practices' (Anthias 2013) such as attending a place of worship or going to work, may cultivate belonging. Understanding how a sense of belonging can be cultivated provides us with insight into the processes by which crucial psycho-social resources are acquired and applied to fulfilling key human needs and in being a migrant as well as becoming a part of a new environment.

3.2.2. Self-Empowerment

Self-empowerment was also a fundamental resource for integration. Many of the migrants acquired confidence through accessing ESOL classes and sometimes other classes such as yoga and IT. The development of new skills increased individuals' sense of independence and self-sufficiency and in so doing reduced their dependency on others.

Attending classes or places of worship enabled individuals to begin to develop a routine and to have a reason to go out and meet people. Once embedded in classes or a place of worship they accessed information about aspects of daily life and life opportunities and sometimes also found a central point to which they could always return based on a shared religious identity.

What about the yoga class – you said that you are helping people and showing them.
Yes things like that – and in the English class. I try to show people if I know

My friend went to the GP with her husband, she couldn't go alone. But she encouraged me to be independent. She told me to go by myself. Her husband had time. But my husband did not. I help her with her English. We encourage each other to speak in English to improve our English. If she talks to me in Arabic then I say to her – what are you doing? I don't know Arabic. Talk English

It was notable that nearly every person interviewed said they had helped others. In some cases, help was offered spontaneously to passers by in the street. In other cases, the help was offered to an existing contact: for instance the loan of money or provision of information. The development of spontaneous networks were a theme in some of the interviews. The ability and confidence demonstrated in initiating and dealing with unscheduled contacts thereby relying on latent linguistic ability could be viewed as an indicator that the individual was capable of dealing with the unexpected and thus becoming more independent.

'In the masjid, in the shopping centre, sitting in the you know sitting and waiting for the bus, you see a new person and you say hi and then get to know. I am like the you can say eager to know more people and know the people from other countries. You can it's like special I try to make you feel like I met you, I tried to make you do you understand your friend like a family. When I see a new person I try to shake hands and talk to them. I like to meet.'

'Because Eritrean people they asking me the road, most people the newcomers he want to see his colours because this guy he from the country. He ask you. For me I live 9 months in this country. I don't mind any people they asking now.'

'I was just going my way and this guy approached and he had both of his legs bandaged and he was looking bewildered and he said he was looking for somewhere and needed some help. He can't go to the doctors because he was not legally here and he needed some money, some food because he was hungry and somewhere to stay. I was not able to give him everything but I had just a few pounds in my pocket and I gave him 4 or 5 pounds in my pocket and gave it to him.'

'Try to people. It's my wish. I help anyone who need it but I helped many times with my friends if I see one of my friends in the struggle, he left his job. He's struggle for his college. I tried to give him money and other thing if I think sometimes my friend need to go other way so I get trying for him and help him for anywhere.'

The affective benefit of helping others or spontaneous contact allowed individuals to feel a greater sense of agency and adjusted their role momentarily from being the seeker of assistance to being the provider. While much of the interviews was based on accessing networks and resources, these cases demonstrate a reversal of roles which may be indicative of a broader trend and would benefit from being the focus of further research.

3.3. Linguistic Development

One of the most important markers of integration is through language development (Ager and Strang 2008). The resources to improve language can be yielded through a variety of networks. Some of these networks may provide bilingual support through acting as interpreters or offering information. Other forms of support may be in more monolingual environments i.e. through ESOL teaching or at work. Migrants require 'linguistic capital' (Bourdieu 1977) in order to live and make a life in the UK. Many participants highlighted the value of English as linguistic capital.

'The English. Without English you can't do anything in this country .'

'Sometimes English is international language isn't it? But Bengali is our mother language. So we can speak easily. Like you speak English easily isn't it? First time it is difficult.'

Rather than adopting a second language learning outlook, the idea of an 'emergent bilingual' (García 2009) may be more apt. This allows us to understand that language development may occur in the terms of the individual who is using English within a continuum of multilingualism rather than in terms of a deficit approach focusing on the language they lack. Such a perspective allows us to gain greater insight into the complexities of how linguistics resources grow, are managed and the used to access other forms of resources. For example, the following extract has greater complexity and resonance by viewing it within the becoming of a bilingual rather than as a deficit of lacking the dominant language.

'Not too many friends here that help me. The main problem I need help is for the house. Other things I go to the council and I ask there. The school, I do it. I go to the health centre it was fine. And everywhere there is people who speak our language. Pakistani or Bangladeshi people so I can speak in our language to them. It is very easy. I go to the health centre, I ask someone there. In the council I can ask someone. Some people here speak English very fast and have a different accent. They don't speak properly. Sometimes on the telephone it is very difficult when people don't speak properly.'

'Actually the language in Bangladesh is Bengali but here it is English so I am speaking English. If any people is different here then I need to speak to English. If from Bangladesh then I speak Bengali. I also speak in Hindi.'

My friend she is Bengali, and actually most of our students were from Bangladesh so she was used to translate everything in Bengali language and that is why it was very easy for them to understand what we are saying and what we are talking about. Because their English level wasn't that much good so she helping them to understand the questions. That was good.'

Migrants may seek particular forms of linguistic capital based on their own needs. In some cases, an interpreter or translations may be required. For instance,

'Like picked me from the airport, If I need something they could pick and drop me, I didn't speak good English I need they help me and go for shopping together. There's lots of things at that time that I needed.'

'I came to the GP at that time I couldn't speak English and I needed a translator. Then they gave me one woman Iraq he couldn't understand accent of Sudanese people.'

In other cases, ESOL classes may be necessary to allow progression through the ESOL qualification framework, development of self-empowerment and access to work opportunities, wider networks or simply the opportunity to improve their language. For instance,

'The English. Without English you can't do anything in this country

How was your English when you arrived?
Now I feel better

Is that because of the classes?
For the class and for the people I a meeting. I try to speak to people'

'It's basically guidance. It's information. When I can go and speak English and different languages. At least I need to know information, where to go, whom to go. You know the institution here. The organization here. In a way they are telling me and then I go and get the information'

'And then I came. I am his dependent. This ESOL class certificate is very important for me. For my indefinite.'

'If you want ESOL class and that and that activity more ESOL and more activity. And I call them and I ask what is that and they say yes it is ESOL class and Connect Mums. And they say come we are happy to see you. So I come here and I register.'

The linguistic capital accrued can be converted into other forms of resources such as work/study opportunities, independence, dealing with daily everyday interactions and settlement conditions. Building a network allows access to developing linguistic resources. From a different perspective, lacking English clearly has a detrimental impact. English as a linguistic resources possesses the capacity to be both obstacle and gateway.

Conclusion

In conclusion, at different moments in network development, particular types of resources may be yielded. The mix of resources can be broadly categorized into four main groups: practical support, information, affective benefits and linguistic development. It may be that the case during different phases there may be an emphasis on some resources over others. For example, practical support may be more of a necessity at the beginning and cultivating belonging more so later on. Overall, these four main forms of yielded resources are essential for migrants.

Key points from chapter 3:

- There are four broad forms of resources that are yielded from network formation and development:
  1. Practical support - tangible forms of assistance which can often mean making sure basic and fundamental needs are meet.
  2. Information – migrant must access information and types of knowledges that allow them to navigate their specific trajectory
  3. Affective benefits – given the extreme circumstances of possibly being alone in a new country, the affective aspects of building networks cannot be underestimated for the individual
  4. Linguistic development – migrants may come to a new country with little or no linguistic capital in the language of their home. Networks may aid migrants in developing their linguistic resources to better orient themselves both practically and aspirationally

- Practical support is essential in dealing with key needs in a period of disorientation and vulnerability. The better and quicker that these important needs are met, the better the basis for subsequent network formation.

- Migrants may rely on distinct forms of knowledge such as 'hot' knowledge from other migrants and experiences within a similar consciousness and 'cold' knowledge from formal instiutions and organizations.

- How and where the forms of knowledge are accessed can be linked to network formation and the trajectory of the migrant. The information and skills in finding signposts and acting on them is crucial to integration.

- In affective terms, cultivating belonging is essential the the well being and strength of network development.

- Belonging is a process and connects to positive and frequent interactions. Belonging is a key human need and links intrinsic well being directly to network formation and development.

- Self–empowerment is another key affective benefit. The capacity for independence, confidence and agency plays a major part in assisting migrants make their lives in a new country.

- Linguistic development is a significant factor in integration. An 'emergent bilingual' perspective allows us a better insight in understanding the development of the linguistic capital of the individual. In so doing, we start from the migrant's perspective of linguistic resources and needs rather through a prism of what he/she may lack.

- More ESOL classes are required for both linguistic development and network formation

4. MIGRANT IDENTIFIED NEEDS AND SERVICES

Interviewees were asked what services they felt could be provided to help migrants integrate. Their answers fell into four broad categories. Firstly, support with finding work. Secondly, improving language skills. Thirdly, an office or program as a point of contact for general support. Fourth, housing was a problem which needed to be addressed.

4.1 Work

One of the main preoccupations was in identifying training programs for professional development and finding work. Finding work provided economic security, professional development, a routine, a sense of worth and the opportunity to meet other people.
Some of the interviewees stated:

> 'We have to give our work to them because if they are work, they also pay for things as well and they help the country as well mostly people who choose to migrate to another country you know want improvement in their life. If you restrict them to no work, no nothing, their talent is waste because I give you an example of myself. If I allowed to work in this country, I can pay tax for them for their nation because I am bright person and we can do anything, anything. I need to finish first everything study in this country, 5 or 6 years and I can do anything.'

In this case, there is an acknowledgement that both the migrant and broader society could benefit from migrants working. Seen this way, talent is not wasted, migrants contribute taxes and the migrant is improving his life.

Similar themes emerge from the following participant:

> 'For education. To help them to start, if they can't start their job to help for a small business. Put together some training programmes. Training to get a job. For example, it will be difficult for people who have been recently granted to get references. I felt personally that in the UK a UK employer wants to know what your experience is in the UK. Even if it is a window cleaner. They don't care. They want basic things like time management or communication skills.
>
> If a lot of talent is wasted in a few years' time we won't have the professional skilled workers here. We will have to rely on other countries. The UK has a lot more potential. We could do a lot. It is just a way of the management is. The Job Centre could have a big impact on the lives of the people.'

The theme of wasted talent emerges again. In this case, training as a step towards more meaningful employment is also identified. The experience of finding work can be dispiriting for some as illustrated below.

> 'The only major barrier is for finding a job. And even if I see some vacancy on some website I try to follow it up. I try to contact them and then they say it is already filled. So for some websites they don't update them. They are advertising it when it is already filled. It is a waste of time actually.'

The following example demonstrates a link to well-being and employment. The pressure to find work and the effects of not finding work are outlined below.

> 'The newly arriveds should get some help, some kind of jobs which will prevent them from going absolutely out of their mind because those people come here as perhaps as economic migrants and if they can't get a job, they go out of their minds because they can't afford, they can't bills, they can't pay anything so they tend to think about their situations that they are in.'

4.2 Language

The importance of language was a key factor for most respondents and an area for improvement. Language can link to the section above about work. One migrant stated:

> 'I would say if the Government could set up a language learning program that could really help people to settle into this country better and even to find jobs because even the skilled and educated people who come from that kind of background they won't really have the necessary language skills to help them to integrate or go to better so the language barrier is the biggest barrier whether skilled or unskilled, educated or uneducated. That's the main one. Once they overcome that then gradually they will get to know the system better and the life and other people better.'

Continuing the theme that migrants coming to the UK are emergent bilinguals, bilingual help may be useful starting point to being a position to best learn the language of the new country. For example in one case,

> 'First of all what we need is help with learning the language. For example we were at the airport and after immigration we just stand there and we don't know which way to go, where is the exit of the airport. There is no one there to help even to come out of the airport. That is just an example. We need to have the understanding the law and order as well. If you don't know the language, you don't know.'

In another case upon arrival, one migrant said

> 'When new people arrive, I'd say the government should try to help them learn the language and maybe set up some sort of training program so they can learn some skills getting some financial help, just a little bit of help them get by. Just day to day things like skills, language and directions, understanding of the law.'

Language was identified as a key enabler of integration: the two are linked directly below.

> 'Yes, the migrants come they don't much about the country, the culture, integration. I think they should be aware of what they need to do and then they come, how they find a job, how they learn a language, where do they go to learn the language and sometimes they finding their home, where they buy their food.'

4.3 Information points

As noted in the earlier chapter, seeking information is a key resource that emerges from some networks. When asked specifically about what migrants would like to see, one migrant stated the following in describing a central information point that can provide the migrant general knowledge especially in cases where the foundational network may be lacking.

> 'An office where people who are new arrivals when they come can register themselves there then they can pin point their needs at the time. Things like health, education. Because basic education is very important. Lots of people don't speak English. They will ask people what is your learning, what have you done in the past? Then they can help you to get a job. Then people can integrate when there is a stepping stone. Sign posting and places to go and look for. People who don't have a friend or a community.'

There was one case in which a migrant was returning to his home country as he had in a sense 'failed' to make a life in the UK. This migrant had been working in a car wash and was not able to make ends meet. He asserted that an information program ought to be provided prior to arrival that educated prospective migrants about the real problems they would face when trying to integrate:

> 'I think there should be a proper program for the people coming here. They should know how things go here and the best thing is that people with skills should come…The main thing is that there should be awareness for people coming here. They should know all the things of what is going on. What problems they can have to face over there.'

4.4 Opportunities to meet British people

While many of our respondents had made wide-ranging contacts with people from different countries only one had any meaningful connection with someone described as 'British'. Several respondents suggested throughout their interviews that they would like to make such connections but they did not know how to meet a British person or where to go to mix with British. Migrants suggested that providing such opportunities would be beneficial.

> 'A project to know other people- there in not the kind of openness. People are a bit isolated. I only know my people. There should be a way for people to know other people. Especially a project for me to know other British. I am like a cocoon with my own people. I want to know other people as well. If there was a kind of project like that, that is what I think.'

Such a program would address issues of isolation and belonging. It would offer the opportunity to speak the target language. While learning English is highly cherished, finding native speakers to speak with is quite a different problem.

Conclusion

Overall this chapter has outlined the main things that migrants reported as services or facilities that they need. The need to work is an important factor in using skills, learning new skill, making a contribution through work and taxes as well as feeling valued. Learning the language of the new country is also crucial. Language is needed particularly in the early stages but also in accessing information. An information program or office which acts as an interface for providing knowledge for migrants as well as a program to meet British people would be beneficial.

Key points from chapter 4

- Work is essential in orienting oneself and offer skills development
- Contribution both financially and professionally is extremely important and leads to a sense of being valued
- There is an overwhelming need for language classes regardless of educational background.
- Language can be both an obstacle and gateway towards successful integration.
- Information programs can prepare migrants can be useful. These programs can function both/either pre or upon arrival.
- Multilingual support would be beneficial particularly in the early stages of arrival.
- Migrants have very few opportunities to meet native, British people and would welcome such opportunities.

5. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this final part of the report we return to our objectives and summarise the key findings in these areas.

Migrants' own definitions of integration

Not all new migrants are familiar with the term integration. Those that are portray integration as a series of processes which contribute to a combination of becoming and belonging. These invariably include becoming proficient in the language, understanding the way institutions work, expanding their knowledge of British culture and gaining employment. Developing broad and deep networks are a key part of the integration process with migrants recognising that networks are their main conduit to the resources they need to become integrated. Migrants see their participation in networks as a two way process with contributing to others in the network, as well as to society and economy generally, important aspects of integration. Contribution is a clear indication of the development of agency after weeks or months of being dependent on the support of others.

The kinds of networks that new migrants possess, how and where they are made and how these change over time

The types of networks possessed depend on migration route with those who had chosen to migrate invariably possessing largely affective foundation networks upon which they were able to build broader networks over time. Forced migrants were more dependent on organised networks which lacked the depth of affective networks. Over time they struggle to develop the depth of attachments they need to feel a sense of belonging. It is clear that the majority of our respondents, regardless of migration status, expanded their networks over time to include people beyond initial foundations in particular co-religious peers met during worship and other migrants met in public places or through introductions. Networks ebbed and flowed with some connections made early on fading, and others developing into more deep and more affective relationships. A degree of serendipity determined network development. Relationships might emerge through spontaneous encounters with other migrants in places such as libraries or church. However, the characteristics of place emerged as important. Migrants living in smaller cities such as Wolverhampton and Luton spoke about meeting people in the street, whereas those living in London and Birmingham travelled more widely to access services and were less likely to meet acquaintances in public spaces. Regardless of place, all migrants needed to have sufficient confidence to enter and utilise public places in order for such encounters to occur.

Networks and resources

Integration resource needs evolved over time. Initially migrants needed to orientate themselves to a new country and culture. Affective foundational networks were very useful in this regard and those without such networks clearly experienced disorientation and isolation. Further, such networks were essential to imbue migrants with sufficient confidence to venture out alone and to utilise public transport and public spaces where they had the potential to meet others. Over time formal organisations enabled access to wider resources such ESOL classes, volunteering opportunities and support with job-seeking. These resources and connections then furthered progress in terms of language development and access to work which in turn increased networking opportunities. However, networks were not seen as positive by all. Two respondents had complicated migration trajectories, working in several different countries before settling in the UK. They both described networks as slightly negative. They both focused on their family and didn't want to waste time forming useless or potentially detrimental relationships. More research is needed to examine potentially negative sides to networks beyond the current literature which overly focuses on self-segregation.

Support sought to further integration aspirations

Migrants valued wide ranging networks recognising that these were a valuable resource for integration and rationing their own demands of network connections in order to avoid exhausting the help that they were able to access via such networks. Migrants' reliance on personal and particularly foundation networks was very heavy. Many spoke of the need for more formalised orientation support to help them find their feet upon arrival. Language classes and activities that could increase both employability and social mobility were also considered desirable. Finally while migrants often had wide-ranging networks these almost never included "British" people. Migrants sought to make such connections and were keen to see the emergence of initiatives that would enable them to meet those considered British.

Recommendations

- Support migrants to develop wide-ranging networks
- Foundation networks are critical – dispersing asylum seekers away from these increases their isolation and/or reliance on the state. Where possible asylum seekers should be dispersed close to friends or family
- Asylum seekers should be helped to access the internet in order to access the affective support they need from distant friends or family if they have no foundation network locally
- Asylum seekers might be connected to volunteer orientators who can show them around their new area in the days after arrival
- Formalised orientation support would help migrants to integrate more quickly and might be provided in partnership with places of worship and religious organisations
- More established migrants might be offered volunteering opportunities that can enable them to help new arrivals to orientate
- Projects to address migrant integration might be encouraged to include 'user led' aspects whereever possible to increase confidence, provide opportunities for migrants to share experiences with each other, and provide supported engagement with their local area
- Language classes need to be readily available within areas that have high numbers of new arrivals. Connecting language and orientation would make for more speedy integration
- ESOL providers might be encouraged to adopt a more integrated role connecting with other organizations to offer and act on referrals
- Opportunities should be created for migrants to mix with wide-ranging individuals in particular British citizens. This might mean bringing religious organisations together (so that mainstream and migrant churches and masjids have regular social events) or connecting colleges or workplaces with migrant organisations
- Creating closer networks between organizations from education, housing, work and religion would to hasten integration processes through enabling a smoother and more coordinated approach less reliant on access to signposting
- Absence of networks presents a major barrier to integration particularly for those who experience ruptures in existing networks ie through domestic violence. Mentoring services might be offered to aid such individuals to build the confidence and the knowledge they need to build wider networks.

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APPENDIX - Social networks and integration resources topic guide

Part 1: About the respondent
When did you arrive in the UK?
Where did you come from? Have you lived in any other countries?
Who did you come here with?
Who do you live now?
Have you lived anywhere before this?
Did you know anyone here before you came?
Migration status
Employment status and occupation
Age
Gender
Faith
Languages spoken
Do you plan to remain in the UK? For how long?

Part 2: Meanings of integration
Have you heard of the term integration?
What does the term integration mean to you?

Part 3: Social networks and integration resources
We are interested in the people and organisations you know and if and how they help you to settle/integrate in the UK
Who are you in contact with each week?
Do they help you in any way? At what stage did they help you?
For each person/ organisation who helps:

- How do they help you?
- How/where did you meet them?
- Characteristics – faith, country of origin, language?

Who are you in contact with each month?
Do they help you in any way?
For each person/ organisation who helps:

- How do they help you?
- How did you meet them?
- Characteristics – faith, country of origin, language?

What help has been the most useful when you are trying to integrate?
Who provided that help?

Part 4: Offering help

Do you help anyone in anyway?

Who?

For each person/ organisation they help:

- How do they you help them?
- How/where did you meet them?
- Characteristics – faith, country of origin, language?

Part 5: Integration assistance

Has anything happened that has prevented you from integrating?

What was it and how did it affect you?

What, if any, help didn't you get that you needed?

If we were to set up a project to help migrants to integrate in the UK what services should it provide?

Is there anything else you would like to tell us that can help us to understand how migrants might be helped to integrate?