Timebanking to meet integration challenges of asylum seekers, refugees and migrants in the context of urban poverty in the UK
– a case study
Abstract

Europe is facing a refugee crisis. Assimilation challenges are felt, especially, in the context of the economic downturn and in towns and regions facing economic and social challenges already. The increasing concentration of migrants in the northern regions of England, where economic options are limited and local authority resources and services are already stretched, is a case in point. Usual mechanisms for social inclusion and integration, such as through workforce participation, are not open to asylum seekers and are open to refugees only once their asylum claim is accepted and if they can obtain work. There is an urgent need, therefore, for new mechanisms to contribute to cultural acclimatization and social inclusion. Timebanking is a complementary currency, which uses time as the tool of exchange. The exchanges are valued equally by the hours that people spend giving and receiving services and are based on a set of core values. These include mutual respect, equality, reciprocity, and inclusion. Timebanking stresses an asset-based approach, which asserts that everyone is valuable and has something to contribute. The study explores how timebanking might contribute to the integration and assimilation of asylum seekers, refugees and migrants in the context of urban poverty in the UK, and draws empirical evidence from a case study of the Time Bank Hull and East Riding. The research reveals: the integration challenges for migrants and the host community; the needs, objectives, and goals of migrants; the potential contribution of timebanking to addressing needs and challenges; as well as potential limitations and barriers. The study concludes that timebanking holds a positive potential to contribute to the integration of migrants and reveals issues that urgently need to be addressed, especially the need to clarify the legal situation of asylum seekers in respect to timebanking participation.

Keywords – Timebanking; Time exchange; Time Bank Hull and East Riding; Asylum seekers; Refugees; Social inclusion; Co-production
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“If all we have is money and market, then human beings are chattel, surging across national boundaries in any way they can in search for a better life. If money is the sole measure of one’s worth, then those who do not have money are essentially worthless. Issues of immigration and work permits and residency are variations on the question: what does it mean to be a human being? What does it mean to be a member of the human family. [...] Human beings are either assets or liabilities. That is the ultimate issue posed by a global economy. Immigration law simply provides the crucible in which our humanity will be tested. Suddenly, the core values take on a different meaning.”

- Edgar S. Cahn
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Abbreviations

EU – European Union
HO – Home Office
Hull – Kingston upon Hull
NHS – National Health Service
OD – Open Doors
TB – Time Bank
TBHER – Time Bank Hull and East Riding
TBUK – Timebanking United Kingdom
UK – United Kingdom

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1. Introduction

Our current society is facing plenty of problems in diverse dimensions of human life, ranging from economic and ecological, to social issues.

Europe is facing a refugee crisis caused by conflicts and civil wars mainly in the region of the Middle East and Africa. One of the most repressive states in the world is Eritrea; its citizens flee from unlimited conscription and forced labor (Kingsley, 2015).

Whereas Germany received the most applications for asylum within the European Union, the United Kingdom was the eighth largest recipient of new asylum-seekers in 2014, with 31,300 claims (The UN Refugee Agency, 2016). The total number of asylum seekers at the end of the fourth quarter of 2015 increased by 15 per cent compared to 2014 to 34,363 applications (Refugee Council Information, 2016).

With the increasing number of asylum seekers in the UK and limited public funds available for their support it has becoming increasingly difficult to find affordable housing for them. Asylum seekers are mainly housed in the northern part of England; as rental prices are cheaper there. Kingston upon Hull used to have a quite homogenous population, however, owing to the local availability of relatively low cost housing – which is related to the relatively depressed economic situation of the city – asylum seekers are being sent to Hull, which is having a significant impact on the make-up of the population. The share of ethnic minorities increased by 7.2 per cent within eight years (between 2001 and 2009) (Macdonald, 2015). The recent developments may corroborate the assumptions that the shares have increased since 2009. The Yorkshire and the Humberside region received about 12.5 per cent of the total asylum seekers by the end of the third quarter in 2015 and are part of the main spots where refugees and asylum seekers are located (Plimmer, 2016).

This rising concentration of asylum seekers and migrants in the northern regions of England stresses the already stretched local authorities as service providers and society, especially as the local economic situation is depressed. In particular, Kingston upon Hull is affected by deprivation and decreasing industrial activity. According to the Index of Multiple Deprivation, 25.7 per cent of the population live in income deprived households and 20.2 per cent are affected by employment deprivation (Gill, 2015). 20.3 per cent of Hull’s working-age population (from 16 to 64) are benefit claimants who increasingly face cuts and sanctions in government payments. The British government announced cut backs of £12 billion to its welfare budget in 2015 for the current year (BBC News, 2015). In addition, the local health profile “of people in Kingston upon Hull is generally worse than the England average.” (Public Health England, 2015).

The dual burden of high deprivation and asylum seekers, who need to be provided with basic needs and opportunities for social interaction, impose costs on government welfare budgets and put pressure on the resources of the local authorities, economy, and society. The prevailing conditions in the region of Kingston
upon Hull are high relative levels of poverty and social isolation compared with other regions of the UK. Innovative approaches to overcome these problems are therefore, now, urgently, needed. One possible solution or element of a solution may be time banking.

The local existing Time Bank (TB), Time Bank Hull and East Riding (TBHER) is fast growing and embedded in contact and collaboration with other concerned organization in the city; such as TBKitchen, Land Army, DIY team and the non-profit-organization Kaini which established the local currency Hull Coin.

In the 1980s the concept of timebanking was formalized. Since 1998 it has been used in the UK to combat various issues in private, public, and community life (Timebanking UK, 2016b). Timebanking is a system that replaces money as the means and unit of exchange – instead transactions are valued by the hours’ that people spend giving and receiving services. The exchanges are based upon four core values: “mutual respect, equal value of services, reciprocity, and inclusion” (Weaver, Dumitru, Lema-Blanco, & García-Mira, 2015). Edgar Cahn describes these rules in the light of co-production – people are assets, everyone has unique skills; therefore, there is a necessity to redefine work and to revalue unpaid types of work that are nevertheless crucial for society. Reciprocal exchange reveals that humans depend on each other and if this interdependency is realized, social capital will automatically be encouraged (Cahn, 2000).

The key idea of timebanking is to refocus humans’ orientation from the market to the non-market economy and to enable people to actively contribute to the improvement of their own lives and those of others.

Some protagonists of timebanking suggest that timebanking might be used to address challenges of asylum seeker and migrant social integration and, on this basis, the leaders of TBHER have begun to inform asylum seekers of timebanking opportunities in Hull. This case study seizes this opportunity to explore how timebanking may contribute to the integration of the concerned migrants into the local community within the difficult conditions of urban poverty, already stretched local authorities and society.
2. Literature Review

Since timebanking was formalized in the 1980s, research has been undertaken to further develop the conceptual and theoretical foundations of timebanking, understand and develop its potential for social impact, and develop empirical evidence of actual impacts and benefits for individuals and society. Embedded in diverse sociological theories – namely co-production, social inclusion and exclusion, self-determination theory – timebanking has been investigated by means of theoretical reflections, case studies, surveys and comparative evaluation (Boyle, 2004; Cahn, 2000; Cahn & Gray, 2015; Gregory, 2009, 2010; Powell & Dalton, 2003; Seyfang, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2006; Seyfang & Smith, 2002; Weaver et al., 2015; Weaver et al., 2016). A lot of research is available exploring different fields where timebanking may serve urgent needs, help address problems and contribute to improving lives. Such fields include: community building, cost-saving, homelessness, justice, health, elderly care, and the needs of young people (Bretherton & Pleace, 2014; Collom, 2008; Gregory & Drakeford, 2010; Knapp, Bauer, Perkins, & Snell, 2010; Lasker & Collom, 2011; Letcher & Perlow, 2009; National Institute for Health and Care Excellence, 2015; New Economics Foundation, 2002).

Existing research mainly focuses on the US and UK. Nevertheless, there is some literature covering timebanking in Eastern Europe (Valek, 2014, 2016; Valek & Jasikova, 2013; Valek & Tarasova, 2014) as well as some other countries (e.g. Japan) and world regions (e.g. Australasia). However, the literature is not always in-depth and there has been little systematic research.

Recently, more critical and analytical research has begun to explore the potential of timebanking with regard to transformative societal change in the context of the TRANSIT project. This project is investigating how social innovations, including timebanking, contribute to empowerment and transformative societal change (Avelino et al., 2014; Weaver et al., 2015).

Crucial in this context is the exploration of the underlying mechanisms of timebanking, that is co-production, building stronger relationships and communities based on the core values, and how these values are integrated into these relationships (Boyle & Harris, 2009; Stephens, Ryan-Collins, & Boyle, 2008; Weaver et al., 2015). In particular, governmental authorities have developed increasing interest in co-production as an opportunity to improve the performance of social services and their outcomes. However, research mainly focuses on the identification of driving factors of co-production, rather than real impacts and outcomes (Bovaird, 2007; Boyle, Clark, & Burns, 2006; Ostrom, 1996; Slay & Penny, 2008; Stephens et al., 2008; Voorberg, Bekkers, & Tummers, 2014). Gregory (2010) particularly emphasizes that co-production itself is not the primary reason for timebanking activity; however, timebanking ensures the development of co-production – and the more successful timebanking practices are the more options for co-production evolve.
The currently available literature on timebanking consists of many publications demonstrating diverse impacts and benefits on an individual, community or societal level. Nonetheless, research evidence is still lacking when it comes to the challenges and limitations that timebanking faces; in particular, as concerns the issue of scaling-up TBs. Timebanking UK acknowledges that “there is a recognized lack of robust evaluations of timebanking” (TimeBanking UK, 2016a), which might hinder financial support and adds to the problem of further developing the timebanking movement (Weaver et al., 2015).

Although timebanking has long since been mentioned as a possible instrument to improve migration and asylum problematics (Seyfang, 2004) and more recently mention has been made of using timebanking in the context of intercultural learning and communication (Valek & Tarasova, 2014), there is no information available about practical implementations and experiences except for a project in Portland, Maine (USA). The local Time Bank there, in cooperation with Catholic Charities Maine, had a program over five years that included refugees and migrants into their timebanking community. Unfortunately, the final report of the experience has been lost and there is no known written record of the experiment. The topic of immigration and timebanking is therefore fertile ground for study.

This is because migration, and the refugee crisis in particular, are also now major issues in social and policy discourses. Research is now urgently needed to identify how timebanking may contribute to the integration of migrants and to explore its role in overcoming cultural differences. These questions arise currently due to the growth of flows of migrants and asylum seekers in Europe and as policymakers and the public begin to recognize that innovative approaches will be needed to enhance the integration of migrants into their new host communities. The new approaches need to be both effective and able to respond to rapidly-evolving integration challenges much faster than existing inclusion and integration approaches. Research is needed therefore, to explore the effectiveness, efficiency, responsiveness and suitability of timebanking in the context of integration issues.
3. Problem statement

3.1. Objectives
The research aims of this study are (i) to examine the potential role of timebanking in the process of integration of refugees and asylum seekers; (ii) to explore how migrants perceive timebanking and how they see timebanking may be used by them to achieve their goals; (iii) to understand possible discrepancies between expectations and experiences; and (iv) to generate recommendations for timebanking and other relevant actors.

The related objectives of the research are: (i) to understand the integration challenges for the migrants and the host community; (ii) to understand the underlying mechanisms of timebanking and how they could contribute to the integration of migrants; (iii) to understand the needs, objectives, and goals of migrants and examine how these could be addressed by timebanking; (iv) to explore possible barriers to participation in timebanking; and, (v) to analyze these barriers and how they might be addressed.

3.2. Research Questions
In order to bridge identified knowledge and research gap regarding the use of timebanking in the context of integration and inclusion of migrants, the following research question will be the main target of this study:

*How could timebanking contribute to the integration of migrants?*

To answer the main research question, several operational sub-questions are necessary:

- What are integration challenges for migrants and the host community?
- What are the goals, objectives and needs of migrants?
- What are the underlying mechanisms of timebanking and how could they contribute to meet the needs of the involved parties?
- How do the migrants perceive timebanking and how do they see timebanking may be used by them to achieve their goals?
- Which needs, objectives, and goals could be met through timebanking and which would be left unsatisfied?
- What are the challenges and limitations of timebanking?
- What alternatives are available to contribute to the integration of migrants and in which of them are migrants engaged?
- How do these alternatives differ from timebanking?

The umbrella term *migrant* is used in order to cover asylum seekers (of all application stages), refugees, and migrant workers. If a differentiation is necessary and the context requires to clarify the actual legal
situation of a concerned person, this will be mentioned. However, in general this study makes use of the term migrant to ensure a cohesive application.
4. Timebanking – theoretical basics

4.1. Emergence of Timebanking

The idea of time as a complementary currency to money is in no manner a new one, but dates back to the 19th century. First attempts began in 1832 when Robert Owen initiated the *National Equitable Labor Exchange* and issued labor notes which workers obtained as representing their hours of work. These labor notes served as an alternative currency. Despite great initial success, all offices closed down two years later as conflicts emerged about values of products and time spent to produce them (TUC History Online, 2016).

In the course of the years, other people, such as Pierre-Joseph Proudhon and Karl Marx in respect to anarchist, mutualist and socialist ideologies, took up this idea of labor certificates. However, the idea stayed at the theoretical level rather than advancing to practical implementation (Adam, 2013).

Nonetheless, even if the idea of time as an exchange tool for production and consumption of goods and services is quite old, it took more than one hundred years until the first Timebank was established in Japan. In 1973 a Japanese woman put her ideas into practice and founded the first Timebank in order to achieve an alternative to usual monetary trades. Teruko Mizushima had developed her ideas during her young years emerging from her own experiences and difficulties she had faced. She is seen as the “*Pioneer Trader in Time as a Currency*” (J. Miller, 2008). The organization Volunteer Labor Bank was based on two different activities which were weighted equally. The first activity was compulsory for all members and included at least two hours per month voluntary work for non-members to the organization. The second type of activity was the exchange of time between and among members of the Volunteer Labor Bank. Care was the most significant factor for both activities as they mostly included cleaning practices and caring for relatives and children. Mizushima believed that once people become involved in voluntary work they would increase their engagement and contribute to a more caring society. By the 1990s the number of members was more than 4000 and the organization had spread all over the country. The individual branches only had a limited number of members as the initial thought of Mizushima was that people would operate most effective and feel comfortable in a small group, as well as avoiding that people would leave the responsibility to one or two active members as soon as the group is bigger than a specific size. However, the sudden death of Mizushima caused an immense decrease in members and also an increase in age of members as it became difficult to get younger people involved (J. Miller, 2008).

In the 1980s the timebanking movement emerged in the USA as the lawyer Edgar S. Cahn consolidated a similar system to that of Mizushima, which had been developed by local residents in a neighborhood of St. Louis and also involved creating reciprocal service exchange networks with the intent of providing mutual aid and enhancing community cohesion (Cahn, 2000; Cahn & Gray, 2015; Cahn & Rowe, 1992). Like Mizushima (whose work predates that of Cahn but is less well known outside Japan because of the language
barrier), Cahn developed a comprehensive concept of timebanking embedded in diverse social theories and focused, in particular, on co-production as one of the main features (Cahn, 2000).

Timebanking has become a movement during the last thirty years and spread all over the world, covering more than forty countries in six continents. Most of the existing TB’s are organized in networks (varying in scope from local to national) However, the entire number of existing TB’s is difficult to calculate (Blanc, 2011). In 1995 Cahn established TimeBanks USA as a connecting and support platform for new TBs. This was followed in 1998 by the establishment of TimeBanking UK by Simon and Boyle. A pan-European networking organization for TBs is currently in the process of being established under the name: Timebanking Europe. Since the timebanking movement emerged in the United Kingdom it has grown to comprise approximately 300 TBs (Timebanking UK, 2016b) which have an enrolled collective membership of about 32,000 individuals and organizations. The overall documented hours of services worldwide exceeded 4 million in 2015 (Cahn & Gray, 2015).

4.2. Timebanking according to Cahn

Cahn emphasizes that timebanking is a complementary currency rather than an alternative currency as timebanking does not attempt to replace money. In contrast, it aims to assist where the formal economy fails. Cahn differentiates between two types of economies, which exist contemporaneously: the formal (monetary) economy and the Core Economy. The core economy consists of everything that does not belong to the formal private or public economy. It, thus, contains family, neighborhood, friends, and community. Cahn (2000) compares the core economy and the formal economy to a computer: all specific programs only function if the basic operating system is working. For Cahn, the core economy is analogously this basic operating system. In turn, if the core economy is in poor condition all the other specific programs (for example activities within the formal economy) are not able to operate. For Cahn, therefore, the core economy is the true basis of human wellbeing. It is an economy of abundance; the usual market valuations based on scarcity are not able to properly value human skills and capacities that are vital but abundant, including human capacities to give and receive in the context of family and community caring and sharing.

Timebanking enables people to improve their lives and those of others, as people are defined by what they can contribute, rather than on the basis of what they are unable to do, their needs and whether or not they have a paid job. This perspective turns the hegemonic approach of delivering welfare upside down: instead of perceiving people as having needs and being a burden on society, they are seen as potential assets.
4.3. Underlying mechanisms of timebanking

4.3.1. Core values

There is a substantial theoretical and conceptual framework for timebanking. Within this framework timebanking is conceptualized as being based on four core values. These are (Cahn, 2000):

I. **People are assets**

   Every person has skills and every person can contribute to his or her own life, and as well to the lives of others. Hence, timebanking asserts that people, their time and talents, are the true wealth of society.

II. **Redefining work**

   Timebanking revalues work which does not belong to the formal economy. Whereas the formal economy has forgotten and is not able any more to value the most important things, Timebanking redefines and reshapes “[...] social contributions as valuable work” (Cahn, 2000, p. 65), including usual activities, such as caring and helping each other.

III. **Reciprocity**

   Participants not only provide their time to their community, but they are also rewarded by receiving services in turn. This reciprocity enhances social cohesion among members, produces incentives, and contributes to a robust network.

IV. **Social capital**

   Social infrastructure is the essential factor to enhance and release social capital. Social networks, therefore, need continuous investments of social capital, which is created by trust, reciprocity and civil engagement and participation.

Based on these core values, timebanking aims to revive communities, to enable people again to value important things in life and to allow “[...]people and communities to become individually and collectively more self-reliant” (Weaver et al., 2016, p. 6) The importance of these core values lies in their operationalization through the mechanism of service exchange, which translates the values into the relationships that form the social infrastructure, creating robust networks of trust. This incorporation enables the development of more inclusive, cohesive and self-reliant societies.

As this study is limited in time and scope it is necessary to clarify that the term timebanking is adopted uncritically, albeit it is recognized that there are debates over some derivatives of timebanking that purist proponents reject as not being true to the core values just set out. Although different mechanisms and aspects of timebanking are further investigated in this research, the primary aim is to understand how timebanking (in this case practiced within TBHER) can contribute to the integration of migrants rather than engage in debates about timebanking definition and delineation.
4.3.2. Co-production

The implementation of timebanking activities – the reciprocal exchange of services – is substantiated by the idea of and the commitment to co-production (Gregory, 2010).

Co-production was first used by Elinor Ostrom in the 1970s in the context of collaboration between police and communities. While the police lost the close connection to the civil population, this detachment had caused an increase in offences. The special insider information of the local population was a crucial factor for the police for preventing crimes. However, without these connections the police were not able to work as effectively and efficiently as before (Parks et al., 1981). This example reveals that services rely, on the one hand, on the expertise of professionals as well as, on the other hand, the knowledge and skills of the service consumers – in sum: the producers of services need the consumers as much as the consumers need the producers (Boyle et al., 2006).

Co-production was initially used as a critique to the centralization of service delivery through big institutions, such as ministries and departments. Studies have shown that centralized services are less effective than might be expected due to lack of appreciation of the value of collaboration between professionals and beneficiaries. Professionals cannot solve problems in the core economy without the active contribution of those they seek to help (Boyle, 2004; Parks et al., 1981). The key principle of co-production, therefore, is the acknowledgement that people are assets. Yet, the asset perspective is used rather poorly by service providers. Instead people are more often defined by their needs than by their skills. Hence, co-production (and timebanking) may be an alternative approach, offering scope to achieve more effective and efficient services by allowing people to help themselves (Boyle & Harris, 2009). While beneficiaries gain a more active role through co-production (such as determining problems and contributing own resources like time and skills) and become partners in service production, the roles of professionals and specialists also change; instead of being administrators who organize and direct services they become coaches who work with their beneficiaries.

Collaboration between the monetary formal economy and the core economy is necessary, as well as reciprocity between professionals and their beneficiaries. Enabling beneficiaries to use their skills and talents to help others and their community and rewarding these contributions (in terms of acknowledging and recognizing their efforts) enables these contributions to be recognized and valued as work and reshapes the relation between the professionals and their clients into one of equality and partners (Slay & Penny, 2008).

Timebanking puts co-production into practice and also deploys other mechanisms. It measures and rewards (individually and societally) work that is often overlooked. Independent from the formal economy, timebanking also offers opportunities for individuals to access and consume services that otherwise would be inaccessible for lack of money.
Several examples of the implementation of co-production and concerned research demonstrate that co-production helps to reduce costs, can reach out to otherwise difficult-to-engage groups, may generate trust and more caring communities, can contribute to a better state of people’s health, and can drive and maintain social involvement (Boyle, 2004). Co-production occurs in various forms and to different extents. According to Bovaird (2007) there are seven different relationships of co-production emerging from two dimensions. The first dimension describes the role of professionals and users in terms of service delivery, including professionals as sole service deliverers; professionals and users as co-deliverers and users as sole deliverers. The second dimension involves the role of professionals and service users in the planning process: including professionals as sole service planners; both professionals and users as service planners; and only users as planning services. Two of these resulting relationships are not co-production since only professionals are entitled. However, the remaining seven relationships describe different forms and extents of possible co-production processes. One form represents full co-production: when professionals and users are equally part of service planning and delivering (Bovaird, 2007).

This typology allows different forms of co-production to be identified and analyzed within different settings and projects in regards to TBs. The relationships between the involved persons, such as staff and TB members, vary among them and may change over time, depending on the success of timebanking practices and their developments. The more successful an operating TB is, the more opportunities for possible co-production relationships emerge. Although, co-production is not the main reason for initiating a TB – since these are initiated primarily to foster and strengthen social capital and reconnect local communities – timebanking practices ensure the development of co-production in various forms (Gregory, 2010).

4.3.3. Social inclusion

Social inclusion has gained increasingly attention on the international political and institutional arena since the 1970s. It has evolved in different contexts and from different theoretical and intellectual backgrounds. Whereas the French model of social inclusion is based on society, the Anglo-Saxon concept is based on the individual. The French concept invokes the idea of social solidarity, which arises out of shared rights and values as the main factor of inclusion. Social inclusion is, therefore, the integration and assimilation of the individual into the prevailing culture and society, based on moral and normative framework. This contrasts the Anglo-Saxon model, which is based on the idea of difference between individuals and of society as a construct of different social networks based on optional exchanges of rights and duties. Hence, social inclusion is ensured as long as no discrimination appears and individuals are free to choose and exchange their social network (Rawal, 2008). The concept of social inclusion is therefore used and interpreted differently in different contexts. It is also a semantically difficult concept and, even if it is used in policy contexts, a clear definition and application is still elusive (Atkinson & Davoudi, 2000).
According to The World Bank (2015) social inclusion is defined as “[…] the process of improving the terms for individuals and groups to take part in society” and is one of their central principles in the World Bank Group’s dual goals. The World Bank emphasizes that not only poverty is an indicator of deprivation and inequalities; several other factors such as gender, ethnicity, religion, domicile, age, and so forth may play a decisive role in the context of social inclusion (The World Bank, 2015). The European Commission, also, mentions inclusive growth as one of its key priorities in the Europe 2020-strategy. For the European commission inclusive growth will be achieved through “[…][creating] more and better jobs, especially for women, young people, and older workers; helping people of all ages […] through investment in skills and training; modernizing labor markets and welfare systems; [and] ensuring [that] the benefits of growth reach all” (European Commission, 2016b). However, in particular, the use of the concept of social inclusion by the European Commission is questionable, as it is applied in terms of economic growth in a completely competitive economic system. Within such a competitive system – which only values scarce resources and devalues abundance – skills and experiences are the significant factors determining whether people are included or not. The linkage of inclusion and growth in a competitive economic system appears to be an oxymoron.

The term social inclusion is automatically two-sided as it invariably implies the contrary: exclusion. Social exclusion has gained an increasing attention as well in the context of social debates concerning social inequalities and politics within the European Union. According to Atkinson and Davoudi (2000), there is neither a cohesive or methodical utilization of the concept of social exclusion nor a precise definition. Although, the concept is used numerous in policy and academia the main indicator for social exclusion is defined by monetary poverty. The EU 2020 strategy names and defines exclusion only in the context of poverty and depicts the situation of being at risk of poverty or social exclusion (AROPE) as a “[…] situation of being at risk [either] of poverty, or severely materially deprived, or living in a household with a very low work intensity.”

Social exclusion was defined by the World Bank, in alignment with the definition used by the European Union in order to ensure cohesion in terminology as “[…] [a] process whereby certain individuals are pushed to the edge of society and prevented from participating fully by virtue of their poverty, or lack of basic competencies and life-long learning opportunities, or as a result of discrimination […]” (The World Bank, 2007). The World Bank stresses that both terms and concepts of social inclusion and exclusion do have multiple definitions and may vary substantially depending on the context and may evolve over time.

The concept of social exclusion was first used in policy discourse in the 1970s in France to take into account those people who were not able to adapt to current societal conventions and was further developed by various social and policy analysts. It contains a broader spectrum of factors that are relevant to social deprivation than only economic factors. However, paid employment – holding a job – is still used as the main indicator of social ex/inclusion in setting policy goals and developing inclusion strategies. The
importance of other social and cultural circumstances is still underestimated. As Rawal (2008) concludes: “[…] that [the concept of social exclusion] has gained such wide currency partly because it means all things to all people” (Rawal, 2008, p. 171).

Alongside formal policies for inclusion that rely heavily on strategies of workplace insertion and economic growth, social innovations, such as timebanking, also address the issue of social inclusion and exclusion, but they take different approaches. For most of these innovations social inclusion is a priority concern and is targeted through their activities.

Notably, timebanking addresses the failures of market and competition, the formal economy, and the monetary system as these are considered to exclude individuals, for example based on lack of formal qualifications or not being absolute best performer at a job interview. In contrast, timebanking turns this perspective on people around and “[creates] an activity space by developing new communities of members who adopt and practice timebanking values, such as social inclusion” (Weaver et al., 2016). By implementing the core values of timebanking (see chapter 5.3.1) into the built relationships, the conditions of exchange are decoupled from the predominant economic principles approaches, which are applied routinely in many areas of human life. Furthermore, as engagement in timebanking is not limited by characteristics, such as gender, ethnicity, age or religion, timebanking opens opportunities for social inclusion to everyone and everyone is treated equally because all TB members, their skills, and their time is valued equally. According to Weaver et al. (2016) evidence from case studies undertaken in the TRANSIT project show that timebanking activities covers a wide range of individuals in terms of diversity and age. Especially hard-to-reach groups are also included, such as ex-offenders, former addicts and those recovering from depression. The characteristic of timebanking as a sphere without competition and the valuation of abundance – everyone has something to offer – may be seen as the main factors that facilitate social inclusion (Cahn, 2000).

4.4. Demarcation and operationalization

TBs have evolved in various shapes and contexts from origins in Japan and the USA. However, timebanking is related also to other social innovations that also develop and use complementary currencies. Complementary currencies evolved as a community-oriented response to address failures of the formal economy that lead to loss of local economic activity and/or unequal opportunities for economic participation within society (Merrit & Stubbs, 2012). This demonstrates the interrelatedness of timebanking to other complementary currencies, but also establishes a need to differentiate between them. The following table (Table 1) sets out the different characteristics in scope and purpose.
Table 1. - Typology of alternative currencies (Boyle, 2014).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>Economic</th>
<th>Social</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National or international</td>
<td>Backed currencies (e.g. Carbon points)</td>
<td>Loyalty points (e.g. Nectar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local</td>
<td>Local currencies (e.g. Local Exchange Trading Schemes)</td>
<td>Time banks (e.g. member to member)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In contrast to other local currencies “Time Banks fill a gap. They support mainstream economic geographies by providing a mechanism within civil society for dealing with their many lacunae” (whereas others oppose prevailing ideologies (Lee et al., 2004, p. 614). For instance, Local Exchange Trading Schemes (LETS) seek to encourage behavioral change in terms of economic practices, however, timebanking varies in its basic conditions as the credit value is based on other social, economic and political motivations. “Timebanking does not seek to challenge market-based exchange mechanisms; it seeks to challenge excessive individualism and the imposition of market values into the ‘core economy’: family, community, democracy” (Gregory, 2014, p. 179). Hence, it is crucial to distinguish between different approaches of alternative currencies and ensure the understanding of the various intentions and motivations.

Although the typology in Table 1 differentiates between approaches of alternative or parallel currencies, the boundaries are blurring. Some TB’s are difficult to allocate to exactly one of the mentioned categories. In addition, it is necessary to distinguish between different forms of TB’s. Boyle (2014) recognizes the following different types of TBs that operate in order to fulfill different purposes:

i. Co-production TB’s – refer to the concept developed by Edgar Cahn and describes TB’s as a tool to rebuild social networks and communities and to change the relationship between service professionals and service users in order to enable and enhance co-production to improve social service systems.

ii. Municipal TB’s – emerged out of the Spanish feminist movement and depicts TB’s which are supported by local governments to enhance mutual aid and community self-help. The governmental involvement allows a greater scope of TB’s and includes as well economic exchanges on a basic level.

iii. Insurance credits – are the Japanese version of TB’S which are used to improve social care of pensioners. These are part of the national system and focus mainly on elderly care by combining monetary and other credit schemes.

iv. Reciprocal volunteering – is an online version of timebanking and allows volunteers to exchange their credits emerging out of their voluntary activities on the internet.

v. Time-based currencies – refer to the interface of social and economic exchange as practiced by Local Exchange Trading Schemes (LETS) to revitalize local economies and to use social capital on site.

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1 Additional information about the given example may be found in Appendix 1.
vi. Reward points – are awarded for specific desired behaviors (such as recycling etc.) and may be exchanged for goods.

As a result, it may be stated that these different forms of TB’s address different contexts and populations. Therefore, the socio-economic profile of members varies depending on the concept and focus of the TB. Whereas TB’s in the UK – which mainly represent the co-production model – address so-called hard-to-reach parts of the general public, the time based currencies have shown to attract more fortunate (or better-off) parts of the population (Boyle, 2014).

In general, the structure of a TB may be displayed by means of a metaphor. A growing tree may represent the three main elements of a TB: The roots that depict the fundamental mission, goals and the core values; the trunk that describes roles, policies and activities that are necessary in order to keep the whole project organized and ensure its functionality; and the leaves and fruits which exhibits the built relationships and fostered community. “Time Banks [are] like trees. They grow. And they need to grow in proportion” (TimeBanks, 2016).

Figure 1. - Time Bank structure (TimeBanks, 2016). (TimeBanks, 2016). Usually TBs are administered by a leadership team which operates on different levels, however, there are no specific requirements; therefore, the organizational structure varies among TB’s. Time brokers for example may take care on the one hand of membership issues (secure members and extend membership) and on the other hand time auditing (Gregory, 2008). Although TBs once kept paper records, today they typically use software to provide information about services and members, to arrange exchanges and to keep track of the exchanged hours. There are several software systems available, for example Community Weaver, which is provided by the umbrella organization TimeBanks USA, or Time and Talents (TnT) which is an hourworld software. TnT is distributed in the UK by TimebankingUK (TBUK) and is used by many of its members (TimeBanks, 2016).
5. Methodology

The research was conducted from a constructivist perspective to elaborate on how the involved parties (asylum seekers, refugees, migrants, the host community, TB representatives, English-language teacher, social worker etc.) construct and perceive their experienced reality. The research design is a mixed case study approach based on the case of the TB in Hull and East Riding (TBHER) using ethnographic methods. The parties were interviewed before and after a (necessarily very) short period of asylum seeker activity within the TBHER. The interviews sought interviewees’ perspectives on asylum seekers' needs, goals, expectations and experiences and on the assimilation challenges facing asylum seekers and host communities. Perspectives on timebanking and its roles, as well as on barriers to timebanking that asylum seekers might face were also sought.

5.1. Research design

The thesis is based on a single qualitative case study. According to Denscombe (2010, p. 53) “[relationships] and processes within social settings tend to be interconnected [and] to understand one thing it is necessary to understand many others and, crucially, how the various parts are linked.” Hence, the case of the Time Bank Hull and East Riding (TBHER) was chosen due to the unique and experimental nature of the project. The northern regions in the UK are facing difficult developments. The recent cut backs in public expenditure and increasing deprivation in diverse dimensions paired with rising migration impose a growing strain on already stressed communities and stretched resources (BBC News, 2015; Gill, 2015). TBHER has recently reached out to incorporate Eritrean migrants and this offers an opportunity to investigate how far timebanking may contribute to their social integration. The research may provide first insights into the potential of timebanking and into the initial challenges and emerging opportunities of timebanking in contributing to the integration and assimilation of migrants in the context of urban poverty.

In order to gain a comprehensive insight into the local organizational setting, a second project that also operates in Hull and seeks to support asylum seekers, the Open Doors project (OD) operated by Methodist Church, was included in the study. OD Hull project provides a Thursday drop in session for refugees, asylum seekers and migrant workers and aims to “support [them], enabling them to integrate into the local society and live independent [and] confident life successfully” (Open Doors, 2016a). It is the central point of contact for arriving migrants in Hull and represents an important source of information about the people’s needs, problems, desires and expectations. The Open Door project appear to be an essential transit organization which plays a decisive role in guiding people in need towards possible solutions. TBHER and OD have established an important cooperation and work together as complementary and synergistic initiatives to provide opportunities for asylum seekers and migrants.
5.2. Research methods

The study used basic classical ethnographic methods and combined qualitative and quantitative research. The qualitative data was conducted mostly via semi-structured in-depth interviews and participant observations. Semi-structured interviews were chosen as they provide, on the one hand, guidance towards generating the main issues and, on the other hand, freedom for interviewees to explain their concerns. Interviews were conducted with the involved migrants, representatives of the host community, the local TB, and representatives of the project OD Hull. With agreement of the interviewees the interviews were recorded, transcribed and coded. Quantitative data was obtained from the interviewees; about their actual time exchanges. The research was grounded in literature reviews. The reviews covered relevant literature on timebanking, urban poverty, migration, important mechanisms such as co-production, and important social and policy issues, such as inclusion. Quantitative statistics were obtained on levels of timebanking activity, urban deprivation and migration from relevant sources; e.g. TBUK and the British government. As relatively little information about the TBHER and OD are publicly available, data about these were mainly gathered on the ground through interviews and discussions with the involved persons. Interviews concerning OD and TBHER were performed with two different representatives and, where possible, data were verified by crosschecks and reference to other sources, such as websites. The triangulation of various information sources provides some assurance of the accuracy and authenticity of findings and provided for additional data to be gathered during the process, enriching data, analysis and findings (Denscombe, 2010).

5.3. Interviews

Data collection was addressed to two different groups of interviewees: representatives of organizations involved in supporting asylum seekers and migrants in Hull, and representatives of the asylum seekers and migrants. There were two rounds of interviews: one round was undertaken prior to the migrants beginning any timebanking activity and another round four weeks later, which provided opportunity to explore opportunity take up, activity levels and experiences.

The number of entirely conducted interview amounted to 14. The first round of interviews took place on the 24th June and included interviews with Bashir Siraj (BS) the manager of OD, and Peter Harding (PH) who assists the organization of OD, Rosie Ireson (RI) Buddy Co-ordinator of East Riding Voluntary Action Service, and four migrants. The second round of interviews took place between the 18th and 22nd of July and covered interviews with Kate MacDonald (KM) the coordinator of the TBHER, Jane Mercer (JM) a social worker specialized in immigration advice, Karen van Diesen (KD) an English teacher with a professional background in development studies, and the follow-up interviews with the already interviewed migrants. The duration of the interviews varied between 20 and 90 minutes. The varying durations arose partly out of
the method of semi-structured interviews, the participants were free to choose to which extent they wanted to answer questions, and because of different language and communication skills.

Interview partners were chosen based on the key organizations that work with the concerned migrants and on who are the key postholders within those organizations. This purposive sampling ensured the informants’ relevance and expertise concerning the issue of integration of migrants (Tongco, 2007). Short profile descriptions of the organizational interviewees are provided in Appendix 2. The interviews with the representatives of OD, TBHER, Hull and East Riding Volunteering Action Service were conducted in order to gain information about the organizations and their perspectives, impressions, and experiences of their work with migrants and their perception of the needs, goals, and challenges for them.

The involved migrants were chosen based on their interest in timebanking and their willingness and availability to participate in the study. Willingness to participate was important because the research topic covers sensitive information. The first interviews with four of the interested Eritreans provided insights into initial needs, desires and expectations of their TB membership. The second interview focused more on actual experiences.

Semi-structured interview guidelines addressing main issues were developed and used, which ensured core topics were covered, while leaving space for interviewees to add topics and information. The used interview guidelines included the general topics of needs, goals, challenges and experiences concerning migrants and their possible and actual TB activity to gather similar information from various perspectives. The guidelines are presented in Appendix 3. Those for organizational interviewees vary slightly depending on the organization that the interviewee represents. For both groups of interviewees, the interviews were conducted face-to-face and the order of the question was occasionally changed, depending on the conversation. Sometimes additional questions were asked if the interviewee raised lines of inquiry that had not been foreseen or the path of the interview suggested that deeper probing might yield useful information.

5.4. Data analysis

The gathered data were transcribed with the transcription software transcrib e and coded with the coding software MAXQDA. The first step of the analysis was to apply codes to the first round of interviews based on the research questions: in the beginning, to identify the various perspectives on the needs, desires and expectations of the concerned migrants and the host community (including OD and TBHER) and following from that, explore perspectives on which of these needs and goals timebanking might address and on perceived limitations of timebanking in the context of integrating migrants
The data derived from the second phase of data acquisition were coded according to themes identified in response to the questions about how far, and how fully, timebanking activities contributed to satisfy the identified needs and challenges of migrants. The coding of the second round of interviews was similar to the first set of codes, but, varied in some instances as the results of these interviews also covered preliminary findings about the impact of timebanking on the migrants’ needs, desires and integration. The codes used are listed in Appendix 4, including the pre-set codes, which were determined before the actual coding process, and a list of emergent codes, which were developed from the interview materials. In order to ensure a greater objectivity of the process of coding, an inter-rater reliability assessment was performed. The data were independently coded and compared afterwards to validate the allocated codes and to ensure a non-arbitrary application. Results from this are provided in Appendix 5.

The analysis of interview data provides answers to the formulated research questions and led to an interim analysis of the overarching research question “How could timebanking contribute to the integration of migrants?” as the results may show how timebanking involvement contributes to the migrants’ social inclusion, satisfaction of needs, and therefore, impacting their social network and state of integration. In addition, the analysis may show which needs of the host community regarding migration issues are satisfied and how timebanking practices contribute, on the one hand, to the integration of migrants into a host community, and on the other hand, how timebanking may contribute to the assimilation process; where assimilation is defined as “[…] the process by which the characteristics of members of immigrant groups and host societies come to resemble one another” (Brown & Bean, 2006). Accordingly, the results give a preliminary understanding of how timebanking may lead to a stronger community in the context of urgent needs, migration, and urban poverty.

5.5. Limitations
This study has several limitations. These are the small scale, short-time duration and limited insights into the needs of migrants, as the research was able to follow only a few migrants and for only a few weeks at the very start of their timebanking experience. However, the study may offer some indicative conclusions and tentative recommendations for practitioners, policymakers and other stakeholders. This research demonstrates the potential and basis for a viable, more extended and fuller study, ideally based on more extensive experiments carried out over a longer period, as TBHER and OD hope to be able to organize. Future research should also cover several case studies in different contexts in order to generalize the identified results. Accordingly, this research may represent just the first study of this topic and may be seen as a starting point of more in-depth studies.
5.6. Ethical Issues

There are ethical considerations to take into account in establishing and conducting interviews with asylum seekers and refugees. It is necessary to ensure informed consent, assure the anonymity of interviewees and to ensure that all information is treated confidentially. It is particularly important to preserve anonymity in regards to safety concerns of the migrants and the safety of friends and relatives back in the country of origin. In order to achieve this, the names and personal details of the interviewed migrants have not been reported. Copies of this thesis will be made available to all of the organizational interviewees for their comment and consultation prior to any further dissemination of the study.

5.7. Contextualization and the importance of sustainability

Sustainability science addresses problems that are complex and systemic in nature. Whereas traditional managing strategies and science disciplines are organized for specialization (Weaver), cooperation has increasingly become necessary as the issues at stake are urgent, cut across boundaries and cannot be addressed by any single scientific discipline or even by science alone (Jahn, Keil, Petschow, & Klaus, 2012). Therefore, transdisciplinarity is a cornerstone of sustainability science as it aims to bring together various disciplines and other source of expertise to generate knowledge which may be linked to social action to enhance natural and social well-being (Cash et al., 2003; Miller, 2013). In alignment with the nature of the addressed problems, the nature of sustainability research is inter alia systemic, context-specific, normative, and impact oriented (Jahn et al., 2012). According to Miller (2013) science and technology are key factors concerning sustainability transitions, however, “how societies choose to construct and pursue [...] sustainability will be an intensely social, political and cultural process.”

Transdisciplinary research is embedded in contexts and combines various interfaces to tackle essential societal problems relating to sustainability (Lang et al., 2012). The process oriented nature of sustainability research aims to bring together various stakeholders and the solutions they envision. Viable and achievable processes of solution finding may only be attained by cooperation and communication of the concerned people. According to (Weaver), “different stakeholders have different knowledge needs and [their] knowledge [...] about environment, economy, and sociocultural factors needs to be taken into account and integrated into action perspectives.”

Hence, to put societal sustainability visions into practice it is necessary to bridge the gaps between science, policy, and society, which are more used to addressing problems separately. Social innovations that address societal transformation towards sustainable development have increasingly gained political attention. The Bureau of European Policy Advice (BEPA) defines social innovations as “innovations that are social in both their ends and their means [...], as new ideas (products, services and models) that simultaneously meet social needs [...] and create new social relationships or collaborations. In other words they are innovations
that are not only good for society but also enhance society’s capacity to act” (Dro, Therace, & Hubert, 2011).

According to Merrit and Stubbs (2012) innovations based on alternative currencies, such as timebanking, “represent a community-focused response to the unequal distribution of markets within a society” and are aiming to rebuild a social dimension into economy and enable society to act outside the formal economy (McAfree 2011; Merrit & Stubbs, 2012; Seyfang, 2002). Timebanking provides an alternative to prevailing social and economic practices and may contribute to building more resilient communities, as people are able to help each other and themselves instead of relying and depending on the mainstream economy or public services that are prone to be cut back when they are most needed (e.g. during times of economic downturn). Timebanking could particularly benefit asylum seekers as they have limited rights in respect to the mainstream economy.

Timebanking offers mechanisms to strengthen communities and build robust social networks. Social sustainability can be strengthened as new extended relationships, informal networks, and trust are built. Proponents of timebanking argue that it is non-discriminatory and can thereby contribute to processes of inter-cultural communication as people from different backgrounds, languages, and cultures come together, and that timebanking helps create more open minded communities (Valek & Tarasova, 2014).

Time banking may contribute to remove barriers, in particular mental concepts which hinder integration and assimilation, to allow intercultural communication and to create sustaining, resilient and agile societies while the methods of exchanging services also aid towards a more resilient economy on the local level.

Timebanking is therefore claimed to contribute to societal sustainability and hold potential to support social inclusion. The aim of this research is to generate first insights and preliminary findings that may be linked to social action in exploring, developing, and harnessing this potential. The research seeks to generate information to meet the knowledge needs of the various concerned actors and stakeholders, especially in this case the social innovation organizations and policymakers seeking to support social inclusion and cultural acclimatization of asylum seekers and migrants.
6. The case of Hull

Political tensions and social dissatisfaction have been increasing throughout the EU over recent years, brought to the fore by trends and events such as the economic crisis, public and private indebtedness, insolvent states, and increasing flows of migrants and refugees. Debates have arisen concerning the very fundamentals and future of the European Union: membership, the euro, immigration, and political, economic, and social integration in large. Visiting and re-visiting these issues has become socially accepted, which adds to the sense of uncertainty, and societies across Europe are experiencing increasing electoral gains for nationalist and extremist parties (Adler, 2016; BBC News, 2016). The active data acquisition for this study was conducted between the 23rd June and 22nd July, a period that covers the UK Brexit referendum and the weeks immediately thereafter. The referendum was held to decide whether the UK should leave or remain in the European Union.

Voting pattern in this referendum provide insights into regional differences in the UK. The population of Hull is currently estimated to be 258,362 (UKPopulation, 2016) of which around two-thirds are eligible and registered to vote. More than 113,000 voters took part in the referendum, a turnout rate of 62.9%, which compares with a participation of only 36,945 during the 2009 European elections (Hull City Council, 2009). At the referendum 76,646 voted leave and only 36,709 voted remain. It has been suggested that the high relative turnout in the Brexit referendum is related to a wish of the electorate, especially voters in the northern constituencies such as Hull, to register dissatisfaction with representative democracy and the top-down political decision making process and that the referendum was seized as an opportunity to demonstrate to the political system that many citizens feel themselves overlooked and their interests overridden, especially by austerity policies that impact most severely on already economically-depressed regions. In these regions, immigration is a particularly sensitive issue for reasons explained earlier in this thesis. It is plausible that the referendum result does not display a strong political will to leave the European Union, but rather a rejection of ‘politics-as-usual’ in search for better prospects (Adler, 2016).

6.1. Geo- and ethnographic characteristics

Hull is located in the northeastern part of England at the junction of the River Hull with the Humber estuary. Hull is an estuarine port city, 35 kilometers from the North Sea. Administratively, Hull is a unitary authority in the East Riding of Yorkshire. Hull was an important port. In medieval times the port was engaged in the wool trade. Hull became an international seaport during the 19th and 20th centuries, serving trade of Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and the East Midlands (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2016). Hull also had a prosperous fishing industry, which was active from the 16th Century. However, fishing from Hull declined partly due to depletion of fish stocks in the North Sea, but also because of UK entry into the EU and
obligations imposed under the Common Fisheries Policy in respect to sharing of fishing waters and establishment of fishing quotas (BBC News, 2000; European Commission, 2016a; Hull History Center, 2016).

Hull has been impacted by regional de-industrialization and by the shift in the regional and sectoral balance of the UK economy in favor of the south-east region and growth in the service sector. There has been economic decline or stagnation in Hull over recent years. On the basis of official deprivation statistics, Hull is now the third most deprived city in the UK (Gill, 2015). According to a report from the think tank Centre for Cities “Cities Outlook 2016”, Hull has the lowest resident wages in the UK (Centre for Cities, 2016). Hull is in addition one of three lowest ranked cities for new business start-ups and on the fourth rank of cities with lowest number of businesses. Hull has fourth lowest employment rate and has the highest benefits claimant count in the UK. The share of its population holding high-level qualifications is the second lowest in the country (Centre for Cities, 2016). There is an obvious trend towards an unregulated labor market: 62% of employment contracts are limited to a temporary period (Macdonald & Weaver, 2016). According to a study from 2013, the percentage of people struggling with debts is the highest in Hull, where 43.1 per cent are over-indebted (The Money Advice Service, 2013).

The short summary of circumstances may give an insight into the prevalence and dimensionality of poverty in Hull, which has implications and impacts for the social sphere. The prevalence of unhealthy lifestyles in some areas of Hull has led to a poor health profile of the city. Average life expectancy for people living in the most deprived areas is 10.3 years lower than for people living in less deprived areas. Levels of adiposity, alcohol abuse, teenage pregnancy and smoking while pregnant are relatively and absolutely high.

The recent refugee crisis and the resulting increasing flow of migrants and migrant workers poses additional burdens on the already encumbered authorities, welfare services, and communities. This heightens integration challenges and issues of clashing cultures in a context of urban poverty. Charities and other social organizations have stepped in where governmental capacities are exhausted or not effective. Several social innovation organizations and charities have implemented projects and programs to support arriving migrants. The main organization in Hull that provides a first line of aid for migrants is the Methodist Church, which offers help through its Open Doors (OD) project.

6.2. Associated project Open Doors Hull

OD offers support for recently arriving migrants in Hull. It provides a weekly “Drop In Session” for asylum seekers, refugees and migrant workers; arranging light breakfast, small cash support, free clothes, free music and English classes, immigration and benefit advice and support, and special support for migrant workers (Open Doors, 2016b). The project was initiated in 2000 by the Methodist Church. The project has run continuously since then and is now completing its 16th year. Interviews were performed with the coordinator of the project, Bashir Siraj (BS), and Peter Harding (PH), who assists the project coordinator, to
obtain information about the project, since there is very little documented information publicly available about the project.

In the eyes of BS “[OD] offers first of all welcome, smile, and hospitality. And a space to come and sit down, relax and socialize every Thursday [...]”. The overriding aim of the project, according to BS, “is to promote social harmony and peace in our community [...] bringing people together and educate and help them to work together to achieve this social harmony or peace [by offering] welcome, hospitality and [...] make them feel that they are important people.”

Approximately 250 people make use of this offer every week. The project is organized by BS, with the help of others, such as PH. However, it is operationalized by the target group itself: asylum seekers, refugees, and migrant workers are volunteering to keep the project working. They take care of preparing the drop-in session, cooking, cleaning, distributing food parcels etc. Besides the Thursday drop-in session, the Methodist Church also provide several other activities, such as language classes, music sessions, sports, and advice. In sum, over 300 people use OD services weekly.

OD does not receive any regular funding and is supported by churches, local and regular organizations, and local people. The financial resources available for OD are therefore very limited and people need to provide evidence of their status in order to obtain services, so that these are received by those who are in need. As PH stated “[OD is] more of a first aid system”, they provide lots of different offers and advice. However, as their capacities and resources are limited OD also signposts and guides people towards a suitable organization in order to satisfy their needs. Charitable organizations and other institutions in Hull (like the British Red Cross, Hull Homeless and Rootless Project (HARP), Hull Help for Refugees, Refugee Council, and the City Council) work in close collaboration.

OD does not advertise. Instead migrants are signposted to OD by other organizations. The other way around, when OD is unable to provide suitable service or to help people to satisfy their needs OD signposts people to the right organization. OD as an institution is not allowed and not eligible to give legal advice on immigration issues, for example, so it directs asylum seekers towards the British Red Cross, which offers support and advice for these concerns. A partnership has also developed between OD and TBHER in terms of signposting and collaboration.

6.3. Time Bank Hull and East Riding

6.3.1. Organizational characteristics

TBHER has approximately 600 members, though not all members are continuously active. The TBHER is run by five staff members, which, on the one hand, facilitate the whole institution as professionals, but on the other hand, are also usual TB members. One of these is a researcher who takes care of internal member
surveys and monitoring issues. All five staff have a paid position, but on a low hourly basis, ranging from 7.5 hours per week for the research position to 15-30 hours for the other employees.

Interviews were held with the initiator and coordinator of TBHER, Kate MacDonald (KM). The daily business and work routine of TBHER were also observed first-hand. This provided opportunity also for informal conversations with other staff members and to observe and gain insights into internal processes.

TBHER was established in 2012 and has its roots in early psychosis service as the founder KM used to work in the mental health sector for the National Health Service (NHS) and for government and has experience with national and regional service and system change. However, according to KM, TBHER does not focus on mental health and has become “ultimately [...] a whole community development approach.” Instead of focusing on a specific target group, the strategic goal is to reconnect and rebuild the overall community in Hull and East Riding and include all broad demographic characteristics. Therefore, special characteristics of TBHER are that it includes a great variety of members in regards to age, ethnicity, backgrounds, etc. “Because if you look at the assets of the community then everybody needs to be a member of it.”

The paid employees of TBHER have various skills, expertise, and experiences across different service sectors. They include, youth and social workers, a clinical psychologist and specialist in early psychosis, and a researcher and they apply their already-achieved knowledge in ways different from usual services. TBUK offers various opportunities for training and skilling of TB employees. However, KM emphasizes that her team is going beyond trainings and is continuously reflecting and questioning their work. “The way we work we are constantly reflecting what we are doing and I think the questionnaires we have put up recently are a demonstration of how we communicate with people, how we try to demonstrate the parallel world where we are different [to the usual service land]. For some people timebanking comes across like a service, they think of it like a service, so we have reflected a lot on this.”

TBHER was initially funded solely by small local financial contributions. It then obtained some funding from the public health sector and has also received support from the Local Authority, Hull City Council. However, current funding sources are under threat due to austerity measures. KM stated during the interview that 60% of the public budget for Hull has been cut. This source of funding is coming to its end, so TBHER is currently seeking new financial resources to enable it to continue.

6.3.2. Cooperations

TB membership is not restricted to individuals; organizations may also become members. These can share their resources, for example materials or premises, and earn time credits for this, which they can spend when they need help for specific occasions. Therefore, several of the 600 TB members are organizations, ranging from churches to cafes. However, TBHER is not only focusing on its own organization and how to
bring people together, it also tries to connect the different social and charitable organizations locally to create synergies and maximize social impact. The TB is developing a Mutual Aid Network (MAN) which is a system to connect different forms of mechanisms that contribute to building a second-level economy. The aim is to increase local resilience by pooling and sharing resources and increasing economic self-sufficiency within communities. These mechanisms are timebanking, cooperative savings and lending, cooperative ownership, and price-based mutual credit.² (MAN, 2016).

According to KM, the “MAN is about understanding the differences between [different organizations and mechanisms and] mapping what is going on in the whole area around a particular goal and make it easy for people to navigate between them. Our [TBHER] aspiration in the MAN is looking at that umbrella on how those different systems work together.” It is early days of cooperation and implementation of a MAN in Hull. However, there are various organizations that cooperate with TBHER in different ways, ranging from strategic groups around health and old people partnerships, Hull Coin, Growers’ Network, Rooted in Hull, as well as governmental entities such as Hull City Council and planned business partnerships with, for example, Credit Union (Macdonald, 2015).

6.3.3. Vision and aspiration

In general, it needs to be emphasized that timebanking does not describe a service. Timebanking is a mechanism that enables people to help themselves and each other. In order to ensure that people perceive and understand timebanking in the right way, KM stresses that a shift in perception is necessary. Similar to the concept of co-production (see chapter 4.3.2) people need to become active participants instead of passive recipients. However, the traditional processes of service delivery have made this difficult – everything from governmental services to health services is construed for passive recipients. During the interview, KM explained that in times of austerity and decreasing provision of services the current state of disconnected communities needs to be changed. TBHER is passionate about breaking down barriers between different ages, groups, and cultures. This is not only applicable for the local community, however; it applies also, for new and arriving migrants. The overall vision of TBHER is that they offer a mechanism and they want people to make use of this mechanism in order to change people’s thinking and to enable them to become active participants in timebanking and in society.

According to KM, timebanking is about “social justice, equality, humanity, being human, and welcoming.” Hence, TBHER wants to work with arriving migrants to break down barriers. Instead of being a service that is offered to migrants, similar to OD or other organizations that take care of their basic needs, TBHER wants to co-produce a TB that is “welcoming them and the assets they bring to our community, and wanting to

² For further information, see the Mutual Aid Networks website: www.mutualaidnetwork.org
enable them to get what they need as well. It is reciprocity. It is exactly the same. Not passive recipient, active participant.”

KM stated that “Hull is a quite isolated town, despite the fact there is a big port and people come through it. I felt very strongly that timebanking is something that could work well and be a way to enable people to connect and assimilate into communities.” Therefore, her goal is to enable migrants to contribute to their own lives and the community and, to be valued for their skills and knowledge. There is special emphasis on being valued equally.
7. Presentation and analysis of results

The present chapter is based on fourteen in-depth semi-structured interviews conducted with individuals concerned in the asylum seeker action. It summarizes interviewees’ perspectives on issues that relate to the targeted research sub-questions. As this research is located in social constructivism, different interviewees interpret and answer questions differently, due to their personal perception and opinion.

7.1. Integration challenges

Six interviewees involved in working with refugees, asylum seekers, and migrant workers were asked for their opinions on which integration challenges are faced by migrants and by the host community respectively. They are Kate MacDonald (KM) the TBHER coordinator, Jane Mercer (JM) a social worker, Karen van Diesen (KD) an English teacher, Bashir Siraj (BS) the manager of OD, Peter Harding (PH) who assists at OD and Rosie Ireson (RI) who works as a Buddy Co-ordinator for the East Riding Voluntary Action Service. The interviewees are engaged with the migrants and the host community in different capacities and in different areas of activity. The intention was that this would give scope to gather comprehensive insights into the range of integration issues and challenges experienced in Hull.

7.1.1. Integration challenges for migrants

The various perspectives illustrated that integration challenges in general are manifold and the perception of integration challenges varies depending on the personal perspective of the Interviewees. Figure 2. visualizes the main issues mentioned by the organizational interviewees.

Language barrier

All interviewees mentioned that language is an important factor: according to JM: “without language it is very difficult to integrate.” Similar statements may be derived from the interviews with KD and RI. In the context of language another problem seems to be illiteracy which is hardly addressed by governments or organizations. Health issue and disabilities among migrants (relating, for example, to trauma and isolation) can make education more difficult for the concerned persons, in particular learning the host country language.

Other cultural differences

Language is one aspect of cultural difference. All of the interviewees mentioned cultural differences more generally as an integration challenge for migrants. In the context of cultural differences various issues were raised. In particular, RI mentioned cultural differences in child raising and school systems. General cultural characteristics were mentioned by all interviewees, for instance how people are socialized and are used to
perceiving circumstances and situations. KM considered how differently societies and cultures deal with
time and standards. KD noted, in particular, the behavior of young men in relations to women. She has
considerable experience in cultural differences. She said: “I think lot of the young men have the attitude
that young women are how they are in movies [...], most of them want to marry somebody from their
culture and they just want a girlfriend. I think the young men don’t really understand how things work.”
Interestingly, not only cultural differences in regards to home countries of migrants and the UK were
mentioned, but also cultural differences concerning the origins of the migrants are, according to PH, an
issue that has to be taken into account as well. “Lots of them will be put in houses along with others and
some will not be the same; so they have got to learn how to cope with other people around.”

Unfamiliar systems

Furthermore, all interviewees referred in general to the English/UK system. Migrants need to understand
local (host) systems; i.e. how specific procedures need to be followed to comply with legal regulations and
to achieve what they need to settle down and integrate into the local community. In particular JM
emphasized that legal regulations are an important topic especially for asylum seekers; during their
application process they have very limited rights and in particular they are not allowed to work. “[Migrants]
not got arrested and stuck in prison because they were working when they shouldn’t be working”.

Concerning the topic of employment, integration challenges arise out of different requirements in the job
seeking processes. During the interview JM stressed that job seeking arrangements vary extremely
between different countries: migrants need to understand the British application system, how to search for
a job and how they need to behave during a job interview. These issues “are very difficult and very
different.”

Also housing is a systemic procedure that needs to be understood: how to rent houses, which payments
need to be made, etc. KM stated “I guess it might be extremely challenging. They have to be very organized
in advance to actually have housing set up and the way the benefit system works.”

KD experienced that migrants are frequently not aware of what they are entitled to, ranging from social
benefits, activities, or government subsidies for children. In terms of health services, and particularly
mental health services, KM also experiences, on the one hand, that migrants are not aware of what they
are entitled to and, on the other hand, services tend to ignore and not get engaged with migrants, as
resources are limited.

In general, several areas of the “systems [are] different, being very rules led, so people are accidentally
breaking the rules, breaking [these] without understanding what the rules are.”

These situations are in addition challenging in combination with language difficulties and legal status’, as in
particular legal regulations and entitlements change depending on the person’s legal status.
The lack of legal advice in Hull is causing a lot of challenges as well. There is no official legal support on site and BS stated that the migrants need to travel to other cities in order to access the help they need. In addition, money is hardly available to them, which makes their whole livelihood even more challenging. RI indicated “you are pretty stuck [because] money is another massive problem.”

Hostility to migrants

Xenophobia was also stated as an integration challenge for migrants. KM mentioned that until recently Hull has not experienced much in-migration and, even though it was once a big international trading port, it had maintained a largely white, Anglo-Saxon demographic with little exposure to outsiders or even to in-migrants from other UK regions. Local people are not used to foreigners and JM asserted that locals not only feel threatened by people from different countries, they as well feel threatened by people from other parts of the UK.

Isolation

Isolation was mentioned by all the organizational interviewees. Different circumstances lead to a systematic isolation of migrants; therefore, the issue of isolation has to be seen in context of other integration challenges that migrants face and which may lead to isolation.

Figure 2 illustrates the mentioned integration challenges and how these are perceived to be interrelated based on insights from the interviewees. Many different factors, such as lack of language skills, cultural differences, and differences of ‘system’ as just described were mentioned as contributing to migrant isolation. KD stressed that there is a general lack of information flow about services offered for migrants. Hence, many migrants do not feel comfortable to access, for example, computer or language classes as “they might think it is not for free.” The lack of information and publicity contributes to migrant isolation in some cases. KD emphasizes how important it is to actually talk to migrants and inform them verbally. The same might be valid also for access to other services, like mental health. KM mentioned that isolation can lead to poor mental health and that mental health problems can lead to exclusion, which can add to isolation and reinforce it. There is an implied need for early interventions to break such dangerous downward spirals and prevent them from taking hold in the first place.
7.1.2. Integration challenges for the host community

*Hostility to migrants*

Xenophobia was mentioned by all interviewees in regards to integration challenges for the host community. The population of Hull used to be quite homogenous as the arrival of migrants only began in the 1990s and according to KM “people are still stigmatizing” and feel threatened by difference. The *Isolation* of on the one hand the migrants, and therefore, on the other hand of the host community has made xenophobia even worse as both communities have not been able to get to know each other. According to KM “*the challenge is how to meet that divide.*” In the interview PH mentioned that the rise of the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP)\(^3\) and the Brexit caused an increasing trend towards xenophobic behavior and JM stated that “*people feel that [migrants] are going to take their jobs.*” Many in the local community feel threatened in particular by *cultural differences*, which they may not understand. RI added the difficulty of the lack of *language* makes xenophobic attitudes and behavior more difficult to overcome, as the language barrier impedes social exchange. *Figure 3* visualizes the interconnections between the factors interviewees perceive and mention as integration challenges for the host community.

\(^3\) For detailed information see [http://www.ukip.org/2016_manifestos](http://www.ukip.org/2016_manifestos)
Understanding

Interviewees drew a strong direct connection between xenophobia and a lack of understanding and all interviewees mentioned both of these as integration challenges for the host community. KD experiences that most in the host community have no idea about the migrants’ background – they only assume people come to the UK to receive government benefits and take away local economic options from already-deprived host community. This hints that the host community may not differentiate between different kinds of migrants, for example between migrants from EU countries coming to the UK for jobs (usually low paid jobs that British people would not want to do) and refugees coming to the UK from war zones or to escape repressive political regimes in their home countries. KM holds that lack of understanding is caused and aggravated by the lack of connections and suggests that “challenges [such as integration challenges] are met by people meeting.” BS emphasizes that there is a need to communicate and to exchange cultural and social issues in order to achieve a mutual understanding. In alignment with this, KD affirms that it is necessary to inform local people about migrants’ backgrounds in order to break down typical stigmas and stereotypes.

Poverty, lack of economic opportunity and austerity

Owing to economic circumstances (see chapter 5.1) there are, however, few opportunities for both communities to come together in contexts enabling the parties to see the positive contributions that each can make (KM). Also, Hull citizens have limited facilities and limited economic opportunities, which limits the possibilities for regular encounters (PH). The main possibilities for regular encounters are therefore limited to facilities and activities relating to receipt of public services, such as at educational institutions and health facilities. Due to austerity measures local services have been cut severely and the host community therefore feels even more threatened by being forced to share those remaining with migrants.

Media

Distorted understanding and increasing xenophobia are perceived partly to be induced by the media. KD states that “the press is the main problem.” And as well PH claimed that it is of no relevance how isolated an area used to be – the media and the debate about migrants will reach the people. The intersection of coded sections that covered xenophobia and the media is conspicuous in Figure 3.
In sum, it may be stated that all organizational interviewees identify integration challenges for both the migrants and the host community but had more impressions and thoughts on integration challenges for migrants than for the host community.

Nonetheless, the two sides of the integration challenge are interrelated and mutually dependent such that strict separation is hardly possible. Xenophobia, for example, at the same time makes it difficult for the host community to be open minded toward migrants and is a barrier for migrants who want to integrate into the local community.

7.2. Needs, objectives, and goals of migrants

Four migrants participated in this research and were asked about their needs, objectives and goals in respect to their potential future life in the UK. Based on their experience, the six organizational interviewees were also asked their opinions on which needs, objectives, and goals migrants have.

The group of migrants comprised four individuals at different stages of their asylum seeking process; two were asylum seekers awaiting the outcome of their asylum application procedures, whereas the other two
have received decisions on their claims for asylum and been granted leave to remain in the UK as refugees. An accepted refugee is no longer an asylum seeker, is allowed to work, and is free to reside and work anywhere in the UK, so is no longer restricted to stay in the area to which the individual was sent pending the outcome of the asylum application procedure.

7.2.1. Identified by migrants

The participants were asked about their goals, objectives, and needs in respect to their future life in the UK. They were also asked to indicate which are the most important of these and to classify these into a time horizon varying from short-, mid-, and long-term. However, it became clear during interviews that the migrants were so preoccupied by their most urgent needs that these overrode any thoughts about others, such that it was not possible to obtain an indication of time horizons of goals, needs, and objectives. This is a case of having the energy to focus only on the immediately pressing need for security, which is linked to obtaining the right to remain in the UK and to establish the basis for creating a livelihood.

**Education**

All interviewees mentioned that education is their most important need, goal, and objective and as part of education, all interviewees are keen to improve their *language* skills.

They would like to improve their English language competence to be able to enter either the British labor market and find a job or to be able to study at a British university. Three interviewees already finished their studies in Eritrea and want to study further in the UK either to upgrade their Eritrean degree so that this will be accepted in the UK or to start a new program. They are aware of educational differences and note they need to prepare in case they are allowed to enter university education: “*I need to get prepared for university, because the college at which I studied and here might be very different.*”

In addition to general professional education, two of the participants mentioned that they need to “*understand the system in England: how things are working, the processes, and what to get where.*” Both declared that they need to build relations with the local community and to achieve a basic understanding of the system as first steps towards integration into the local community.

**Employment**

The interviewees all aim for employment: two want to practice former professions – one as a teacher and the other in agriculture – and the other two seek different opportunities in the future – for example, one wants to become a writer or an historian of the Eritrean struggle for independence. “*I want to transfer [my knowledge about Eritrean history] to the younger generation; it is also part of my duty.*” Employment is perceived by the migrants as a main issue as it would provide independence from government benefits and
ensure a livelihood. For one participant work is important as he had to leave his family back in Eritrea – “I need to work to support my family.”

**Positive legal status**

Two migrants are awaiting the outcome of their asylum application. Asylum seekers are not allowed to work. They receive a small amount of financial support from the government (a daily pocket money allowance of around £5), since the government covers living costs directly by providing housing and covering utility costs, etc. They do not have a choice where they would like to live in the UK. Rather, they are allocated to different sites across the country and must stay where they have been allocated pending the decision on their claim for asylum (Refugee Council, 2016a). The possibilities for all goals and objectives depend on the outcome on their asylum claim, so this is a dominating issue for the migrants. Pending the outcome of their claim, the migrants seek to prepare as best as possible to be able to immediately organize their livelihood in the event of a positive decision.

The main concern of one of the participants awaiting the outcome of his asylum claim is for security: “My primary objective is to protect myself, because my life back in Eritrea was harsh, especially relating to the government.”

![Figure 4. – Needs, goals, objectives perceived by migrants - Continuous lines describe the different sub-codes, dashed lines describe overlapping of sub-codes, the line widths describe the frequency of sub-codes and overlapping. Needs, goals and objectives of migrants are interdependent and reinforce each other.](image-url)
Figure 4 illustrates that the needs, goals, and objectives of the migrants are interrelated; for example, the interviewees perceive language as a main factor for positive employment prospects: “I need to learn the language to find a job, and as soon as I get my decision I want to work.”

7.2.2. Identified by organizational interviewees

In contrast to the migrant interviewees, the organizational interviewees generally perceive more needs, goals, and objectives of migrants. As the organizational interviewees are engaged with the asylum seekers and the host community in different capacities and in different areas of activity, they encounter migrants needing help at different stages in the integration process and are familiar with how needs, goals and objectives change. Even though all the organizational interviewees stressed the basic needs of migrants, additional issues, beyond the basic needs, were also identified.

Legal situation

As the most basic need of migrants the interviewees identified legal issues. In general, KD and JM considered that asylum seekers “focus on their claim” and their goal is to “get a positive legal status, a lot of their lives is taken up with that.” However, relative to the need, there is an undersupply of legal advice and support in Hull.

JM observes that the immigration act creates a harsher context for asylum seekers, due to legal provisions. This puts premium on legal advice services. However, legal advice services need to be registered properly; unauthorized immigration advice is a criminal act, which, JM states, may be punished with prison sentences.

BS reports that for lack of legal support services migrants do not receive the help they need. PH reports that the migrants are “frustrated by the time it often takes for the legal processes [...] and they cannot understand why they have been refused.” PH emphasized that the people “are suffering in any case if they come over, they suffer even more because of the response they get from the Home Office.” Without legal advice, the people do not know to what they are entitled and RI experienced that due to this lack of knowledge people break rules of which they are not even aware.

Employment/Money

Five of the six organizational interviewees mentioned work and money as important needs and objectives of migrants. During the interview KM noted that because asylum seekers are not allowed to work they live on a subsistence level and cannot save money. KD notes that they are “given very little money compared with what they had in their home country.” JM perceives financial and job security as a main need and objective, as well as RI who mentioned that “money is [...] a massive problem.” The migrants’ goal is “to get
a job and earn their own livings” according to PH. Money and employment are important also in the context of family. Some migrants leave families in their home country and their goal is to either support them financially or preferably to get them over as well. However, JM emphasizes this is very difficult, as the only way to get them over would be through the asylum route, unless the family has a lot of money.

**Accommodation**

At first asylum seekers are housed by the government until the decision on their claim has been made. In case of acceptance, the refugees only have one month of government support left. According to KM, during the transitional period they need to overcome several bureaucratic barriers, such as applying for benefits and establishing housing. JM experienced that “clients are really struggling with housing problems quite often.”

RI experienced housing problems are faced by families (and larger families in particular) during the asylum process in obtaining “adequate accommodation that actually fulfills their needs.” She noted that housing suitability is usually overlooked, because people and organizations mostly think about immediate needs.

PH emphasized that in the beginning the accommodation costs and all additional costs, such as for lighting and heating, are covered by the government directly, which means asylum seekers are not familiar with payment systems. The transition period of one month is quite short and “the people get so overjoyed when they get leave to remain that they do not realize that they have got to get job seekers, job center, and housing benefit.” It is overexerting as people are not aware of paying for gas, electricity, rent and council tax. KM and PH drew particular attention to the time that these bureaucratic procedures take.

Housing becomes an even worse problem in case of refused asylum seekers. According to JM the environment for failed asylum seekers is especially hostile. The Home Office does not deport people and “people would rather starve and die on the streets of England than go back home to a certain death, torture, or prison.” As refused asylum seekers can remain in the UK only illegally (though there is no forced repatriation) they do not have any possibility to work, earn money, or even save money to go elsewhere.

**Language**

In terms of education the organizational interviewees mentioned that language is the most important issue. The migrants present a mix of different educational levels. According to KD “some [migrants] have never been to schools in their lives” whereas PH noted that others are better educated than many local people. However, all agreed that language is in most of the cases a goal and objective of migrants. RI emphasizes that “language barriers are a big thing.” PH stated that migrants are “often keen to learn English, and to improve their English.” Nonetheless, JM stressed that migrants are first of all seeking to achieve security: accommodation, financial and job security. “After the whole list they can take care of learning English.”
Unfamiliar system

RI and KD perceived that many migrants are not aware of their entitlements to services and support. During the interview KM described that “people need to navigate around the system.” They are not familiar with systemic and cultural characteristics and RI emphasized that they hesitate to access services which are, in general, free of charge, inter alia schools, English classes or health services, as they were socialized in countries where these services generally cost money. “Families sometimes do not want to access health care, do not want to access schools because they cannot afford it. They do not want to burden people.”

Due to a lack of information, people are not aware of offers and opportunities available to them. KD experiences that “people do not know what they are entitled to”; in particular, a lack of publicity for English classes that are free of charge is an immense problem. According to her, it is not sufficient to distribute leaflets and posters: “you actually have to talk to people in order to clarify that offers are for free.” The same applies to housing benefits or student loans – RI and KD note that the lack of information about the unfamiliar system makes it “quite complicated” for people to navigate.

Integration

To overcome bureaucratic and social barriers and notably to overcome isolation the organizational interviewees mention integration as a need of migrants. BS stated that “they need to integrate; they need to network, which can help them to keep their vertical momentum or confidence high.” PH, RI, KD, BS and KM agreed that connecting to the local community is key to integration and enables migrants to talk to someone and to be recognized. They need to get involved in society, “get to know each other in the community and [begin] breaking down their barriers.” Connecting the different communities may contribute to giving the migrants an understanding of the local system and to people engaging in activities as RI notes that “especially younger men get very, very bored, very dejected and obviously get homesick.” They might ask local people to help them how to take care of themselves; as reported by RI, a lot of young men do not know how to cook or how to use British washing machines as they “come from being looked after by their mothers or wives […] they are really struggling with looking after themselves.” They might make friendships and get help to satisfy needs, such as the need for a bicycle to be mobile. Integration may contribute to acquiring an understanding of social conventions. KD mentioned that a lot of young men would like to find a partner; however, they are not familiar with cultural norms and how to treat women.

Figure 5 visualizes the various needs, objectives, and goals of migrants and connections among these as perceived by organizational interviewees and reveals the overriding dominance of concerns and issues relating to legal and physical status and security, accompanied and followed by integration challenges.
7.3. Perception of timebanking

All interviewees, organizational as well as migrants, were asked how they perceive timebanking in the context of its potential contribution to helping migrants meet their needs, goals and objectives, including the integration needs of migrants and host communities, as well as potential barriers to timebanking and limitations. Although, the interviewees had thoughts on the different questions it became obvious that answers are mostly limited to exploring potentials as actual experiences at the time of the study are limited. The study was undertaken at the start of a process of involving asylum seekers in timebanking, so the first interviews with migrants were held prior to any engagement by them in timebanking and the follow-up interviews took place one month later, as a basis for exploring take up and first experiences.
7.3.1. Potential of timebanking to satisfy needs and contribute to integration

7.3.1.1. Perceived by migrants

The interviewees were asked in which ways timebanking could be useful in helping them to achieve their goals and satisfy their needs. In the pre-experience interviews, the interviewees had difficulties to identify whether it could contribute to their goals or not, due to the lack of experiences.

Sharing

All the migrant interviewees mentioned that the concept of timebanking could have a beneficial impact by enabling them to share their skills and experiences. They are keen to offer their knowledge and skills in various fields ranging from business administration to agriculture and are interested in learning from other’s skills. One of the interviewees mentioned that not only sharing of experiences and knowledge could be beneficial, but sharing of material goods as well.

Mutuality

The interviewees stated that the mutuality of offering and receiving could be helpful for them. One interviewee still awaiting the outcome of his asylum claim thought timebanking could be particularly helpful for him, because “it is not just volunteering, but also getting something back if it cannot be money yet.” Timebanking may offer a possibility to receive at least something to recognize and reward contribution, since asylum seekers are not allowed to work for money.

Networking

The interviewees were also interested in getting in contact with people, as networking may contribute to their integration into the local community. “[Timebanking could contribute to my integration, sharing experiences for example] is one part of integration if we use that opportunity properly.” They perceived timebanking as a caring activity – “the TB is a caring organization and they help me to do things I want to do and [provide] the opportunity to get to know each other. I really appreciate this.” One of the interviewees mentioned that in particular collaboration between people is very important, also to break down predominant stereotypes: “People can learn from each other if they cooperate.”

In general, it may be stated that at the pre-experience interviews the migrant interviewees had an outline idea about timebanking and how it could be helpful for them. In the four weeks between the first and second interviews two migrant interviewees had their first actual experiences with timebanking. As the period between interviews only amounted to four weeks this activity was quite limited. Therefore, there are few findings from the post-experience interviews. Both active participants earned credits by helping at events and distributing leaflets. One of the participants provided gardening services and enjoyed the
immediate connection between members. However, he did not receive services at that point. The other active participant spent credits on a well-being session organized by the TBHER and mentioned immediate connection and relaxed atmosphere as well. Hence, the two only had limited insights into actual timebanking exchanges.

7.3.1.2. Perceived by organizational interviewees

Sharing

The organizational interviewees feel that sharing of experiences and knowledge may be helpful for migrants. All interviewees agreed that everyone has something to offer and migrants are keen to share their experiences. As reported by RI, a lot of “refugees are extremely skilled and timebanking acknowledges this source of wealth and we can build up our communities [with these people].” KD mentioned that sharing skills as well contributes to the learning process of language for example and according to RI “timebanking teaches selflessness [...] people get much more than an arbitrary money credit.” Also sharing of material goods was mentioned by the interviewees as a potential of timebanking to satisfy needs as migrants may achieve access to goods they would not be able to use under usual circumstances. According to RI “money is a massive problem, because until the migrants got their asylum through they are pretty stuck and that is where timebanking could help. They can exchange goods and services and get support from other people.” KD emphasized that some migrants are not used to volunteering and “might think it is strange if they are not able to get anything in return. They might not be used to that culture.” However, the exchange of services and sharing of knowledge and skills reciprocally may achieve an understanding for people who are not familiar with volunteering.

Integration and networking

All organizational interviewees mentioned that timebanking could be particularly beneficial for migrants as it enables them to get in contact with other people. KM states that timebanking is about “the individual bridges, it is rebuilding and connecting [...]. Including them into activities and give them something to do immediately, so they feel part of it.” RI mentioned that timebanking “gives people a bit of a home and nice supportive community.” Both agree that the incorporation of migrants into a community, in this case the TBHER’s community, could contribute to improve migrants’ self-confidence and spirits, and even help avoid possible health problems, such as depression, that can come through isolation and loneliness. BS and PH as well mentioned that the opportunity to come into contact with various people contributes to the integration of migrants in general and KM emphasized that “timebanking focuses on shared interests, independent of particular persuasion. Timebanking provides a value vehicle that enables people to connect, the people know that all TB members have something to offer and are asking for something. That builds equality.” Vulnerable people are treated psychologically in a way that contributes to a feeling of being
valued and having a role and purpose. RI emphasizes that everybody is equal in timebanking, as the monetary dimension is taken out of relationships.

7.3.2. Potential barriers and limitations of timebanking

7.3.2.1. Identified by migrants

In general, the migrants were not aware of any institutional barriers or challenges to their engaging in timebanking. However, personal concerns were stated during the interviews as two of the participants got a positive decision on their asylum claim and their legal situation has changed. They therefore have to focus on fundamental issues to organize their life, including searching for accommodation and employment or finding out how to apply for government benefits. One participant stated: “now that I am a refugee I do not get benefits anymore and I need to organize accommodation and maybe find work. That could be too much to do to also be active in timebanking.” The other participant is involved in many other projects and has a position helping other migrants. Hence, for him as well it was an issue of time to become active or not.

A minor difficulty identified by one of the participants was that he did not have access to a computer and did not use the app, so he needed to go to the TBHER office to arrange service exchanges. The other active participant however, used the mobile app to access the TBHER’s software, which allowed him to arrange exchanges easily.

Neither of these interviewees mentioned any obstacles to their engaging in timebanking nor any limitations of timebanking. On the basis of their first experiences they are broadly positive and realistic about timebanking, perceiving that timebanking may help them achieve their goals but not assuming it is going to solve all their problems, for example that their TB membership automatically leads to employment. “I am not expecting that, I am not expecting everything from time bankers, I’m expecting to get at least something.” The active participants understood that timebanking is not a service, but that it is a mechanism, which they can use to help themselves.

7.3.2.2. Identified by organizational interviewees

The organizational interviewees were asked to think about potential barriers and limitations of timebanking and identified several issues that might be difficult for migrants in getting engaged in timebanking.

Language

The interviewees identified language as a barrier. PH mentioned that, in particular, the language barrier makes it difficult to find out what their particular interests are and what they might be willing to offer.
According to KM and KD, language barriers may also impact migrants’ confidence to join an unfamiliar community.

**Other cultural differences**

Other cultural challenges and barriers were identified. KD comments, for example, that “a lot of women are not allowed to access language classes or other activities because their husbands would not let them.” This could as well impact women’s engagement with timebanking.

Issues of time were mentioned and KM stated that “different cultures deal with time differently.” PH emphasized that these differences may lead to complications as “the British people are all ruled by their clocks” which might be different for people from other societies. In addition, people from other cultures do things according to different standards and in ways familiar to them. KD said “there might be different standards, which are not necessarily worse, but different.”

RI noted that some migrants may not be used to specific British traditions and solemnities “like Christmas, probably that will not fit for some people.”

**Access**

KM emphasized that “timebanking should not cost people money to be an active participant.” However, KD mentions there can be money costs in accessing specific locations. PH stressed that, due to a lack of mobility of migrants, exchange partners have to be really keen to arrange services with them. PH also feels that organizing exchanges via software could be a problem for some migrants who may not have any access to technical devices or who may be unfamiliar with the internet.

**Personal circumstances**

As the TBHER is just in early days of including migrants into their TB, KM emphasized that in particular the personal circumstances of people could represent barriers and challenges to get engaged in timebanking. Especially asylum seekers only have limited rights and resources. Their priority is to take care of their fundamental needs. Hence, their time and capacity to experience other things is quite limited. KD mentioned that motivation could also be a problem. The people might think they do not have anything to offer and after arriving enthusiastically they “realize it is not as easy as they thought.” That could be demotivating.

Problems might also arise from a lack of understanding. KD experiences that it is necessary to talk to people directly to ensure that they understand the idea and concept of timebanking and how it could help migrants. KM is certain “that we have to learn about the people that we are working with and talk to them [...] to co-produce timebanking with them.”
Lack of resources

Barriers and limitations particularly arise out of the lack of resources of the TBHER. According to KM the TBHER would like to have a specialist, a specific broker who takes care of building relationships and explaining timebanking to other organizations and that the TB works with migrants, who is present and is able to network. KM stated that due to the lack of resources it is “challenging for us here, we do not have specific resources around building relationships and trust”; however, building trust is especially important in working with migrants.

Legal limitation

During the interview with JM a possible legal limitation emerged of which no one was aware. She mentioned that in particular asylum seekers could be threatened by “legal issues and problems with the Home Office.” Asylum seekers are allowed to do voluntary work for a charitable organization but in general they are not allowed to do voluntary work – “there are some really tight definitions of which you have to be very careful.” The Home Office differentiates between voluntary work and volunteering: “Volunteers are not workers for the purpose of national minimum wage and do not qualify for it, [whereas] voluntary workers are still defined as workers, but they are exempt from being paid the national minimum wage” (Home Office, 2014). Asylum seekers are not allowed to undertake voluntary work; however, they are expected to volunteer. Therefore, it is extremely important for asylum seekers to ensure that they are allowed to do specific kinds of volunteering activity. The Home Office states: “If in doubt about whether a specific opportunity constitutes voluntary work or volunteering activity, organizations should seek independent legal advice” (Home Office, 2014). Yet, this has not been clarified for timebanking. The relevant legal instructions do not recognize time exchange as a distinct activity type and only identify and separately distinguish three activity types: work, voluntary work and volunteering. It is therefore at present open to interpretation which of these three activity types timebanking most closely resembles and into which category it might be considered to fall.

7.4. Organizational limitations in working with migrants

The organizational interviewees were asked about the limitations they face in their work with migrants. In general, all organizations named funding as a major limitation in their work. Due to cut backs in public expenditures a lot of financial support for social purposes has been reduced or no longer exists. All organizations face limitations in their capacity to help people with all different sorts of needs. JM states: “there are limitations on what we do... we try our hardest.” This is valid for the other organizations as well. However, according to RI and KD it is also about reaching out to the different people to inform those who are in need about offers which are available to them. In particular, bureaucracy and legal issues are immensely frustrating for the organizations and their clients. As JM described, the environment for
migrants and organizations that support them is increasingly hostile; several organizations are facing threats due to legal requirements and limitations. As most of the organizations are not qualified to provide legal advice and there is no official legal support organization in Hull, migrants need to travel across the whole country to access services they need. Lack of effective coordination among the various institutions and support organizations may also hinder an optimal and efficient use of resources.
8. Discussion and concluding remarks

8.1. Underlying mechanisms of timebanking – how could these contribute to address the identified issues

8.1.1. Integration challenges of migrants and the host community

**What are the integration challenges for migrants and the host community?**

In summary the interviewees identified several subjects in regards to the integration challenges for migrants and the host community. For the migrants the following issues were described: language barrier, cultural differences, unfamiliar system, a lack of legal advice and money, hostility to migrants and isolation. For the host community the identified issues are: hostility to migrants, lack of understanding, poverty, and the media.

From these findings it may be derived that most of the mentioned issues could be met by creating more room for exchange as the depicted topics are interrelated, mutually dependent and mutually reinforcing. Xenophobia is caused by a lack of understanding and predominant stereotypes distributed by the media. Cultural differences and unfamiliarity with a new system are exacerbated by isolation. The lack of exchange between different communities also impedes the development of competences that would enable hosts and migrants to create a community.

Timebanking and its incorporated core values (people are assets, redefining work, reciprocity, and social capital) allows people to get to know each other irrespective of their background or ethnicity. As KM stated: “It is about breaking down barriers and immediate connections.” Timebanking allows people to focus on abilities, skills and similarities as everyone has something to offer. It would enable the host community to generate an understanding of reasons for migration for example. Instead of being influenced by media, local people could form a personal opinion: isolation may be conquered as people meet and build relationships and cultural differences might be seen as interesting and enriching instead of seen as threatening.

8.1.2. Needs, objectives, and goals of migrants

**What are the needs, objectives, and goals of the migrants?**
Two of the organizational interviewees mentioned Maslow’s “Hierarchy of Needs” as a suitable description of the migrant’s priority in respect to their needs, objectives, and goals (Maslow, 1943).

Maslow described needs as a sequence of different stages, as soon as one stage is achieved the person aims to fulfill the next higher. Figure 6. illustrates the five hierarchical levels of needs. Whereas physiological needs and safety and security may be depicted as basic needs; the upper categories are higher-level psychological needs, including love and belonging, self-esteem, and self-actualization. According to Maslow (1943), people are motivated to achieve specific needs independently from rewards. First priority is to fulfill the physiological needs – inter alia water, food, and sleep. After satisfying these needs, people seek to achieve safety and security – including employment, health and social stability.

Once these needs are fulfilled, people are able to turn attention to fulfilling the higher-level needs for love and belonging, build relationships and a sense of connection, developing self-esteem and, finally reaching the stage of self-actualization. Unmet needs drive people’s motivation to satisfy these as the need is going to increase and become stronger the longer the period of denial (Maslow, 1943).

In general, it may be stated that this hierarchy of needs is applicable to migrants, as JM emphasized: “Maslow’s hierarchy fits their situation perfectly.”

Some affirmation of this is evident from the interviews with the participating migrants. They were asked to name their needs, goals, and objectives for their possible future life in the UK. In addition, they were asked to allocate the needs, objectives and goals to different time horizons (short-, mid-, and long-term). However, the participants solely mentioned their most urgent and pressing needs: education and language, employment, and a positive legal status. It seemed their basic physiological needs are met through government provision and seek next to fulfill their needs in regards to safety and security. The participants faced difficulties to identify other needs, goals, and objectives besides these of safety and security, which supports the idea of a hierarchical progression of needs. The lowest needs are necessary to be met first and only if these needs are met will people gain the ability and motivation to take care of other concerns. Although, the migrants themselves were not aware of other needs, objectives, and goals the organizational

Figure 6. – Maslow’s Hierarchy of Needs (Maslow, 1943)
interviewees observed several other issues (for example, legal advice, unfamiliar systems, access to services to which they have entitlement) which were, from the point of view of the migrants, not (yet) evident.

| Which needs, objectives, and goals could be met through timebanking and which would be left unsatisfied? |

Although, timebanking may not offer monetary rewards and may not provide direct access to legal advice, lead to a positive legal status, or provide accommodation services, it may offer possibilities to make all of these more accessible and more understandable.

Immediate connection of people, as described in chapter 9.1.1., may contribute to integration and to overcoming assimilation challenges. The migrants face high levels of stress, which are intensified by an unfamiliar system and being separated from family and friends. Connecting to the host community offers a natural way to learn English; to become culturally acclimatized; to become familiar with local systems and to learn where to go and who to ask for specific help. Through timebanking, migrants may access information which they would not be able to access in isolation. Government resources may be used more efficiently as migrants could access services through timebanking, which they themselves help to co-produce in the TB. Timebanking provides the opportunity for social exchange and co-production at the same time. In a context where asylum seekers are not allowed to seek formal employment or undertake paid work, this constellation offers many of the same kinds of social and skilling opportunities as a job, but in an informal, non-contractual, non-competitive context.

Creating and participating in a trusting, caring, and active community promotes social inclusion and social engagement, irrespective of an individual’s background. Timebanking exchanges can help overcome loneliness and isolation and, because timebanking is decoupled from predominant economic values, it represents a sphere without competition.

8.1.3. Barriers and limitations

| How do the migrants perceive timebanking and how do they see timebanking may be used by them to achieve their goals? |

In the very short time available to make this study, only two out of four interviewed migrants became active in timebanking. Although, all interviewees were introduced to the concept, those who had not
become active were not clear about the benefits and ways timebanking could be useful for them. However, as the active members were only in early stage of their membership, their understanding and assessment of how timebanking could contribute to achieve their goals and needs were also at an embryonic level. The active members were introduced to timebanking through initially collective events and did not experience one-to-one exchange. In addition, language barriers made it very difficult to discuss in depth and in detail, which limited investigation of the migrant’s perceptions of how far timebanking could contribute to satisfy their needs, objectives and goals.

Nonetheless, it may be stated that those who already became active had a more sophisticated insight into timebanking and experienced that timebanking may help them immediately, for example to access goods and services they were usually not able to access. One of the active members noted during the post-experience interview: “I don’t know still, I don’t know how this helps, how timebanking helps me. I just have a rough idea. First time I came here I applied here just to make myself busy. Because instead of sleeping the whole day. So make myself busy, because I have a lot of problems in my mind, which I come through ones I remember back or the whole way I came here. Just to forget that, I want myself to be busy so I don’t have that much time to think about different things that happened in the past. But when I came here I think I have a rough idea that TB may help me in different ways. I hope.”

The interviewed migrants agreed that timebanking could be beneficial; although with limited actual experience of timebanking they were not able to determine or to express exactly in which ways it might help: “[...] it can help me to some extent. It is hard to say at the moment.”

The participating migrants did not mention any challenges to get engaged in timebanking; in contrast the organizational interviewees were aware of challenges and limitations.

TBHER lacks resources and needs to obtain new resources if it is to be able to invest in special efforts to integrate migrants into their community. TBHER’s attendance at the OD Thursday drop-in-session proved to be a catalyst in recruiting members. All participating migrants stated that being present and receiving a personal explanation of timebanking contributed to creating confidence and trust to become a member.

The main challenge and limitation was identified to be legal. As described in chapter 8.3.2. asylum seekers need to be careful about whether activities they engage in are permitted to them. At issue here is how timebanking and time exchange is understood by the Home Office (HO), which in its instruction distinguishes only three kinds of exchange.
TBUK has already established recognition for timebanking and time exchange more generally with the Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) about another sensitive legal issue: benefit claimants. There are specific legal requirements and conditions in regards to government benefits. In response to a question asked in the House of Commons about the status of timebanking and time exchange it was clarified that time exchange is equivalent neither to paid employment nor to volunteering, but represents a distinct form of activity. It was clarified that time exchange activities are exempt from tax for income tax purposes (since no money is involved) and that benefits claimants can engage in time exchange without this affecting benefits, so long as conditions on being able and ready to take a job are observed. In 2015 a stronger statement of DWP support for time exchange was achieved, in which DWP expressed that the government viewed time exchange positively. DWP has a policy of actively signposting benefit claimants to local TBs (DWP, 2015; Government UK, 2016).

In the case of asylum seekers, the decisive governmental department is the Home Office (HO). Its instructions distinguish paid work, voluntary work and volunteering as three distinct types of activity. However, the instructions do not separately identify time exchange. It is therefore urgently necessary to clarify the HO position on timebanking and time exchange, in order to clarify that asylum seekers are eligible to participate fully in TBs.

The legal situation is uncertain because there is no written regulation on timebanking in relation to asylum seekers. The urgent need to clarify this issue with the HO is an important finding and conclusion of this research and this has been communicated to TBUK, which is taking follow-up action.

8.1.4. Timebanking and its potential contribution to the integration of migrants

What alternatives are available to contribute to the integration of migrants and how do they differ from timebanking?

In Hull several other organizations and projects aim to support migrants and integrate them. The British Red Cross provides general support for refugees, HARP supports homeless people or those who are in danger of becoming homeless, Hull Help for Refugees is a collective of individuals seeking to help people during the current humanitarian crisis, the local Refugee Council is a charity which provides support and advice particularly for asylum seekers; and OD which provides a place for people to network, relax, and access help they need. The participating migrants are engaged in several organizations and projects, they receive support and they volunteer for these (British Red Cross, 2016; HARP, 2016; Refugee Council, 2016b).
The participants were asked to which extent these organizations may help them to integrate into the local community and to help them to achieve their goals and in what term the other organizations and their support differ from timebanking.

The already active participants stated: “TB is not like voluntary work. I think, it is sharing, not voluntary work. I can give you my experiences and someone else can give me their experiences. Like Methodist church, I work here as a volunteer but I just serve the people.” “In the other organizations you work as a volunteer, and you have certain qualifications and then you are helping with your skills and in the TB no matter if you have certain skills or not, I mean you can go there and at least learn. And it is not totally for people who, I mean I have certain qualifications on my home country, I am not from the UK - which is way different - so these qualifications could be different to Time Bankers and people may not have the skills that I have and I may not have the skills they might have. So we can help each other, that’s on how I believe “

Therefore, it may be stated that the main difference between other support and timebanking is that it is not a service that is provided to people to help them, it is a mechanism that enables people to help themselves. In order to achieve an integration of migrants into the local community, the concerned people need to become active participants instead of being passive recipients.

8.2. Recommendations and tentative suggestions

8.2.1. For Time Banks

The most important recommendations for TB’s, particularly in the UK and, hence, for the umbrella organization TBUK, is that it urgently needs to be clarified how the HO perceives and classifies timebanking in legal terms. Therefore, consultation with the HO is needed to enable asylum seekers to engage fully in timebanking activity without prejudice to their asylum claims.

The interviewees were asked where they perceive potential for improving the explanation and promotion of timebanking in recruiting migrants and convincing them to become members. Several ideas were identified by organizational interviewees and participating migrants:

- **Establish a Time Bank ambassador**
  Aim to appoint a TB ambassador who could talk about personal experiences and answer questions. The person could be present at OD or other events which are addressed particularly to migrants and their needs.

- **Set up a timetable for a longer time horizon to inform interested people**
  Forward planning setting out a program and timetable of timebanking activities and opportunities for migrants and asylum seekers would also help both from an information perspective and from
the perspective of logistics, since asylum seekers must respond to official appointments and need to be able to inform officials of other activities and engagements.

- **Create a code of conduct**
  Build a code of conduct based on first experiences of timebanking activities by migrants that sets out some ‘dos and don’ts of British expectations and etiquette. This would contribute to the confidence of both migrant’s members of the host community.

- **Organize exhibitions and presentations**
  As many people know little or nothing about the migrants’ background and history, TBs could organize exhibitions and presentations to introduce asylum seekers to the community and provide opportunities for them to present their story, including their timebanking experiences. This would provide a platform to exchange experiences and to learn about each other.

- **Award certificates**
  Timebanking certificates could be awarded to recognize specific levels of achieved hours. This might also be used in the asylum process or by refugees seeking work as testimony of the contribution to community.

- **Distribute leaflets and call attention to the TB’s website**
  Higher profiling of this aspect of timebanking (working with asylum seekers, refugees and migrants to promote social inclusion and social cohesion) using websites, the press, etc.

### 8.2.2. For policy

Recent trends and events demonstrate that policymakers face new challenges in securing social inclusion, harmony and cohesion. States throughout Europe are facing ever-higher levels of immigration and asylum seeking owing to an increase in conflicts, repressive regimes and failed states in other world regions. Lack of economic opportunities in many parts of the world is another factor in migration. At the same time given that European states are themselves operating against a backdrop of economic downturn and stretched public finances, immigration is an even greater challenge that has strong political and social as well as economic dimensions. Policies, strategies and mechanisms for assimilation, social inclusion and social cohesion are clearly strained. Anti-immigration sentiments are strong, as the discourse around Brexit demonstrates. There is also the extra dimension now added by extremism and radicalization, which also fuels extremist political parties. There is an urgent need, therefore, for new perspectives on social inclusion and social cohesion and for new mechanisms for community strengthening, both generally and specifically in respect to the assimilation of migrants.

Timebanking may provide one such mechanism that offers promise to be both effective and low cost. Government-supported and sponsored experiments with timebanking to properly explore and
demonstrate its potential are warranted. These could prove very cost-effective by offering cost savings in the longer term, with time banks providing part of a preventative infrastructure that helps stop problems and costs arising and that defuses social tensions by providing opportunities for everyone to contribute to society and to be recognized for their contributions. Timebanking is versatile. It is also synergistic with other social innovations. In particular, collaborations with other social organizations and charities working with asylum seekers, refugees and migrants in Hull demonstrates a potential for pooling resources and working in complementary ways to support migrants, with timebanking providing opportunities for migrants to self-help and help each other (transition from passive recipient to active participant), as well as to contribute to the community and to be part of the community. Timebanking organizations are therefore highly suited to be party to pilot projects, learning experiments and demonstration projects that involve collaborations with like-minded and complementary actors, such as the Red Cross, the Refugee Council and the Methodist Church.

The broader vision of timebanking as demonstrated in Hull, where TBHER in collaboration with Hull City Council are pioneering the development of a second-level economy along the model of sets of mutual aid networks, gives scope to embed work with asylum seekers and refugees in a broader canvas of developing longer-term social infrastructure to provide local resilience to economic downturns and the uncertainties of the mainstream economy. Again, this project might well warrant funding support, as a pioneering experiment in urban resilience that is inclusive by design.

Financial support for social innovation organizations is needed to support experimentation and to provide for upscaling and long-term sustainability. A critical issue is that the basic funding sources for timebanking are stretched at a time when timebanking is most needed. Financial innovation is needed to provide new and sustainable financing mechanisms for TBs.

8.2.3. For science

Although, the conducted research was limited in several dimensions, it was possible to derive first insights and preliminary conclusions in regards to the main research question: how could timebanking contribute to the integration of migrants and the research process identified several additional areas of interest. The study could be repeated and accompany migrants over a longer period of time to track their experiences of timebanking exchanges and to identify how the different mechanisms of timebanking contribute to meet the different needs of the involved parties and how these mechanisms could contribute to the integration and inclusion of migrants. The perception of inclusion and integration by migrants could be in particular of interest. A more in-depth research of the social construction of integration and inclusion may provide more profound insights that may contribute to address needs more effectively.
An important conclusion is that science has an important (yet so far not well developed) role to play working with social organizations, charities and other actors in supporting their efforts to address pressing societal challenges and in helping design and monitor experiments that support learning about the effectiveness of different mechanisms and solutions. Science can also play a role in securing funding for such experiments and supporting policymakers in establishing frameworks that are supportive to the creative efforts of social innovators and facilitate scaling.

This pilot study is used already to evidence that TBHER and OD are working collaboratively on providing opportunities for asylum seekers and the conducted research aids to clarify what opportunities need to be created; for example, language learning, cultural assimilation, and what kinds of pilot and demonstration projects may be developed in Hull. In particular, the issue of migration is currently of high relevance and is reflected by increasing calls for projects that address integration and assimilation.4

8.3. Reflection on the research process

8.3.1. Limitations of the conducted research

The conducted research was limited in several dimensions. Due to the very short research period it was not possible to generate a comprehensive analysis of the potential contribution of timebanking to the integration of migrants. As well a more quantitative approach could have been taken if the duration of the research would have been longer. In addition, the language barrier made it quite difficult to discuss complex issues and to identify their concerns. The researcher’s influence was not avoidable as it was necessary to ask more in depth questions in order to clarify whether the participants understood the questions. Therefore, there might be steering effects of questions, albeit unintended.

8.3.2. Conclusion

How could timebanking contribute to the integration of migrants?

Innovations are necessary in order to overcome the problems society is facing. Societal transition towards sustainable development needs social innovations, since many of the main challenges facing society are social challenges. A higher importance – and greater recognition in funding – is needed for social innovation and the organizations, like timebanks, that develop, offer and practice solution mechanisms. Social organizations need more secure funding streams if they are to experiment, build and scale.

The research process revealed that the various perspectives on the issue of needs, objectives, and goals of migrants vary tremendously. The short period of the actual research resulted in raising even more

4 For further information see Appendix 6.
questions that need to be addressed. Although, the initial aspiration to track the experiences of migrants and observe how their timebanking activity contributes to their personal progress was not fulfilled in the short period available to this study, the gained insights into the issue of assimilation of asylum seekers, refugees and migrants in the context of complex social and economic circumstances already provide valuable findings.

Finally, from a personal point of view and reflecting on my own first-hand observations, timebanking implies an immense potential to contribute to overcome integration challenges, to meet the needs of migrants as well as the host community, and creates room to meet each other. In contrast to other organizations, timebanking provides the opportunity to be an active participant – for the migrants as well as the host community.
9. References


Weaver, P. *The roles of interface functions, interface organisations and interface activities in harnessing science for sustainable development.*

Appendix

Appendix 1: Typology of alternative currencies

**Table 1.** Typology of alternative currencies (Boyle, 2014).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>Economic</th>
<th>Social</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National or international</td>
<td>Backed currencies (e.g. Liberty Dollar)</td>
<td>Loyalty points (e.g. Nectar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local</td>
<td>Local currencies (e.g. Local Exchange Trading Schemes)</td>
<td>Time banks (e.g. member to member)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Backed currencies: these alternative currencies are backed by anything of value. This may range from gold or locally produced goods. For further information, see for example: http://www.libertydollar.org/

Loyalty points: In case of a purchase of goods of specific brands which are members of nectar, the customer receives loyalty points to convince them to stick to their service. For further information, see: https://www.nectar.com/

Local currencies: are currencies that can be spent in specific areas at member organizations. This should encourage people to buy locally to enhance local economic activity and to reduce environmental impacts. For further information, see: http://www.neweconomics.org/issues/entry/community-currencies

Appendix 2: Interviewee profiles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bashir Siraj</th>
<th>Bashir is originally from Pakistan. He came to the UK in 2005 and since 2008 he is working as the project coordinator of Open Doors Hull, in order to ensure that the activities run smoothly. He works with people from different cultures and backgrounds which include asylum seekers, refugees, and migrant workers and helps them to rebuild their lives and helps to integrate into the local society and play their role actively.</th>
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<td>- Open Doors</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Peter Harding</th>
<th>Peter was devoting in world development and fair trade. He has visited various countries overseas and came back to the UK in 2004. A friend of</th>
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him got engaged in Open Doors and he joint her activities a few years later and became a practical assistance and helped where help was needed: doing and filling things, just being around and talking with people who are on their own and trying to help them settle in.

### Rosie Ireson

Rosie has worked her whole life with migrants, her parents have had a strong link to the migration phenomenon and worked for example with asylum seekers who went through the prison system. She has been aware of the migration and integration issues at least the last 25 years. Rosie has worked in Hull with a voluntary organization. She works for all different capacities, inter alia volunteering for HARP (Hull Homeless and Rootless Project), and also in the voluntary sector for "East Riding Voluntary Action Service" and provide support to groups to become constituted and recruit volunteers.

### Kate Macdonald

Kate’s background is in early psychosis services and she set up the young people early psychosis service in Hull and East Riding 14 years ago. She had become aware of TB probably about 12 years ago. And it seemed to her that time banking could be a possibility to enabling young people and their families, who had experienced early psychosis, to be readmitted into their communities and to enable them to build individualized bridges back to life. The starting point of the TBHER was mental illness; however, it actually became a whole community approach enable them to be active participants, not recipients.

### Jane Mercer

Jane started working with refugees and asylum seekers in 2003. She works for various organizations and is active in a new charity “Community Integration Center”. She is looking at immigration advice at level 2, and is expecting in a year to be up to level 3. She also does work for the Polish Community Center, supposed to setting up an immigration advisory service with the Polish Community Center for EU Nationals. In addition, she is as well the coordinator for Hull Refugee Week. Next year Hull is the City of Culture and they are intending to have a National World Refugee Day in on the 20th of June 2017.
Karen van Diesen

Karen has a degree in development studies and a master’s degree in management and basic education programs in developing countries. She has worked for VSO which is a voluntary service overseas. She has worked for ten years in Africa, mainly setting up literacy programs varying from university to school levels. She has also worked in the Caribbean and in central India. Hence, she has great experiences working with people from developing countries. She came back to the UK in 2010 and her experiences and languages are very useful for her work in Hull now. She helped coordinating the Voluntary Interpreting and Translation Service (VITS) at Open Doors and teaches English with particular focus on vocabulary concerning health.

Participating migrants

The migrants who participated in this research are from Eritrean and have fled from an extremely repressive government. All of the interviewed persons arrived in the UK by the help of smugglers and all of them had to go through the same procedure: they arrived, were caught by the police, were sent to different stations such as refugee camps or immigration centers, afterwards the Home Office allocated them finally to Hull where they have to stay until they get their decision on their claim for asylum. Two of the participants already received a positive decision on their claim and were granted leave to remain and are recognized refugees. The other two participants are still awaiting the outcome of their claim and are asylum seekers.

Asylum seekers have very limited rights. They are not allowed to work, are forced to stay at the same place they have been directed to by the Home Office and have to rely on governmental benefits. Refugees in contrast are allowed to work and do have the freedom to move in the UK.
Appendix 3: Interview guidelines

Interview guideline for participating migrants – first interview

Brief introduction

The Hull and East Ridings Time Bank and a student from Maastricht University are making a study to see how refugees, asylum seekers and new migrants to the UK might use time banking to help them achieve their goals.

We would like you to help us with this. As you have shown interest in time banking we’d like to ask you about your own goals and objectives, how you plan to achieve these, and how you see, use and experience time banking in relation to your goals and plans. Today we would like to discuss your hopes for time banking. We would like if next month we could meet again and ask about your first experiences with time banking.

Any information you provide will not be linked to your name, but will add to information provided by other refugees, asylum seekers and migrants who are also joining the time bank.

You are free to decide what you want to answer and what you do not want to answer.

The time bank will also give you extra hours of time credit to recognize your contribution and to thank you for your help with our study.

If you have any concerns or questions, please do not hesitate to contact me.

  c.skropke@student.maastrichtuniversity.nl

Thank you for your support!

This questionnaire/interview supports our study of time banking.

1. Name:
2. Age:
3. Legal Status:
   Asylum seeker awaiting outcome of application procedure ( )
   Asylum seeker whose application has been accepted ( )
   Asylum seeker whose application has been rejected ( )
   Other:
4. Educational background: level of schooling, any higher education, formal qualifications.
5. What job did you do in your home country?
1. Did you already become active in timebanking?
2. Did you exchange services?
If yes:
Did you provide services?
What services did you provide?
Did you receive services?
What service did you receive?

3. Did you find time banking helpful/useful in respect to your aims and goals?
   Which aims and goals? And in which ways was it helpful?

4. Did you face any difficulties in arranging the exchanges? (Finding the right person, with the right service, location etc.)

5. How does time banking compare with other support and activities to you?
6. Will you continue with time banking?
7. Would you recommend time banking to other asylum seekers?
8. How would you describe time banking to them, now that you have a first insight?
9. Based on your experiences, do you think time banking can help you to integrate into the local community?
10. What does integration/inclusion mean for you?

1. If you did not become active in time banking, are there reasons for this?
   If yes, what are these? Barriers, circumstances, etc.?
2. Would you still like to become active in timebanking? Why?
   If yes, do you have ideas how to overcome the challenges/circumstances that have prevented you from becoming active in time banking?
3. Did anyone you know get involved in time banking over the last three weeks? Have you discussed their time banking experiences with them?
   If yes, what is time banking for you now that you have a first insight?
4. Do you think time banking could help you to achieve your goals and aims? In which ways?
5. How does time banking compare with other support and activities available to you?
6. Do you think time banking can help you to integrate into the local community?
7. What does integration/inclusion mean for you?
8. Have you any suggestions for improving the explanation or promotion of time banking?

Interview guideline for Open Doors

Contact person:
Carina Skropke
Ottostraße 50
52070 Aachen
Telephone: 0049 157 31 30 79 43
My name is Carina Skropke and I'm studying Sustainability Science and Policy and I am writing my master thesis about time banking. The study serves to explore time banking in relations to asylum seekers and migrants and how this might contribute to their integration and assimilation in the context of urban poverty in the UK.

Is it OK if I record the interview, as that will make it easier for me to ensure I make the best use of your answers?

Yes____ No____

Is it OK for me to mention OPEN DOORS by name in my thesis?

Yes____ No____

Is it OK to mention you by name in my thesis?

Yes____ No____

To start, perhaps you could tell me a little bit about yourself, your background, how you came to be involved with refugees and asylum seekers, your involvement with Open Doors and your roles within Open Doors working with refugees and asylum seekers? Do you have any particular training for these roles?

Q 1: What is the history and background of the project Open Doors Hull?

- How did this project come to be?
- How does it work?
- What resources are available to Open Doors for its work with refugees and asylum seekers? Who provides these resources?

Q2: Based on your experience with refugees and asylum seekers, what are their most usual goals, objectives and needs?

- Which of these are the most important or pressing?
- Do the goals or needs of asylum seekers vary much between individuals and groups? If so in which ways do they vary?

Q3: What specific integration challenges do refugees and asylum seekers face?
Q4: What specific integration challenges does the host community in Hull face?

Q5: Which of these goals, needs and challenges does Open Doors address?
   - How does Open Doors address this goal/need/challenge?
   - How fully does Open Doors address this goal/need/challenge?

Q6: Are there any obstacles or limitations you face in your work with refugees’/asylum seekers?
   - Which of these are the most important?
   - What is their impact?

Q7: Are you aware of any obstacles or barriers asylum seekers face in engaging with Open Doors?

Q8: Other than for the Hull and East Riding Time Bank does Open Doors work or co-operate with other organisations (public, private, NGO, faith-based, etc.) that engage with refugees’/asylum seekers?
   - Which other organisations?
   - What form does co-operation take?
   - How do these other organisations complement the work of Open Doors?

Q9: To what extent and in what ways does Open Doors Hull cooperate with the Time Bank Hull and East Riding?

Q10: Do you feel refugees and asylum seekers could benefit from time banking?
   - In which ways could time banking be beneficial to refugees’/asylum seekers and in respect to which of their goals, objectives and needs?
   - Could time banking contribute to integration and, if so, in which ways?
   - What obstacles do you see in getting refugees and asylum seekers involved in time banking?

Interview guideline TBHER

**Contact person:**

Carina Skropke

Ottostraße 50

52070 Aachen

Telephone: 0049 157 31 30 79 43

Email: carina.skropke@hotmail.de

**Contact details on interviewee**

Name__________________________________________________________
Is it OK if I record the interview, as that will make it easier for me to ensure I make the best use of your answers?

Yes____   No____

Is it OK for me to mention TBHER by name in my thesis?

Yes____   No____

Is it OK to mention you by name in my thesis?

Yes____   No____

Please tell me a bit about yourself, your background, what led you to work in the field of time banking, how long you have been engaged with this field, and your roles in time banking. Do you have any particular training for these roles?

Q 1: History and background of Time Bank Hull and East Riding?

- When was the TimeBank established?
- What are the origins?
- How is it funded/resourced?
- Are there any specific or special features of TBHER which make it different in comparison to other TimeBanks?
  - If so, what are the main differences and how are these significant?
- Are there any specific or special features of the context in Hull in which TBHER operates which make it different in comparison to other TimeBanks?
  - If so, what are the main differences and how are these significant?

Q2: Cooperation with other organizations

- TBHER is seeking to develop Mutual Aid Networks in Hull – could you describe what this means in general terms and for cooperation with other organizations?
- With which other organizations and institutions does TBHER co-operate, for what reasons and in relation to which goals?

Q3: History of TBHER engagement with refugees and asylum seekers

- When did TBHER begin to take interest in refugees and asylum seekers?
- How and why did this interest arise?
- Does TBHER have a vision, aspiration or goals in relation to working with asylum seekers? If so, what is this?
- Are there any specific motivations or incentives for TBHER to seek to engage with asylum seekers?
- What do you feel gives time banking a potential to be interesting and useful in addressing the personal goals/objectives/needs of refugees and asylum seekers?
- What do you feel gives time banking a potential to be interesting and useful in addressing the integration challenges facing asylum seekers and host communities?
- Which other organizations support refugees and asylum seekers in Hull?
- Is TBHER working alongside or cooperating with any of these organizations? Which ones? What forms of cooperation?
- Is there a potentially distinctive contribution of time banking in respect to refugees and asylum seekers compared with the contributions of other organizations? What is this?

Q4: Obstacles and barriers to refugee / asylum seeker engagement

- What are the main obstacles and barriers facing TBHER in realizing its potential in respect to refugees and asylum seekers?
- What are the main obstacles and barriers facing asylum seekers in engaging with time banking?

Q5: State of knowledge in this area and the main knowledge gaps

- How much do you feel is understood about the personal goals, objectives, and needs of asylum seekers in Hull?
- How much do you feel is understood about the integration challenges of asylum seekers in Hull?
- How much do you feel is understood about the integration challenges of Hull as the host community?
- How much do you feel is understood about the obstacles and barriers asylum seekers face in engaging with time banking?

Q6: Outlook and future progress

- What do you think has to be done to overcome obstacles for asylum seekers to get involved in time banking?
  - Understanding of time banking
  - Cooperation between different organizations
  - Advertisement/ promotion
- What kind of limitations do you face in regards to future progress to contribute to the integration of migrants?
  - Are there financial limitations?
  - Are there limitations in the Time Banks capacity?
  - Are there any conflicts between organizational goals?

Interview guideline other organizations

Contact person:

Carina Skropke

Ottostraße 50
My name is Carina Skropke and I’m studying Sustainability Science and Policy and I am writing my master thesis about time banking. The study serves to explore time banking in relations to asylum seekers and migrants and how this might contribute to their integration and assimilation in the context of urban poverty in the UK.

Is it OK if I record the interview, as that will make it easier for me to ensure I make the best use of your answers?
Yes ___ No ___

Is it OK for me to mention OPEN DOORS by name in my thesis?
Yes ___ No ___

Is it OK to mention you by name in my thesis?
Yes ___ No ___

To start, perhaps you could tell me a little bit about yourself, your background, how you came to be involved with refugees and asylum seekers, your involvement with Open Doors and your roles within Open Doors working with refugees and asylum seekers? Do you have any particular training for these roles?

Q1: Based on your experience with refugees and asylum seekers, what are their most usual goals, objectives and needs?
- Which of these are the most important or pressing?
- Do the goals or needs of asylum seekers vary much between individuals and groups? If so in which ways do they vary?

Q2: What specific integration challenges do refugees and asylum seekers face?

Q3: What specific integration challenges does the host community in Hull face?
Q4: Which of these goals, needs and challenges does your organization address?
   - How does your organization address this goal/need/challenge?
   - How fully does your organization address this goal/need/challenge?

Q5: Are there any obstacles or limitations you face in your work with refugees’/asylum seekers?
   - Which of these are the most important?
   - What is their impact?

Q6: Are you aware of any obstacles or barriers asylum seekers face in engaging with your organization?

Q7: Do you feel refugees and asylum seekers could benefit from time banking?
   - In which ways could time banking be beneficial to refugees’/asylum seekers and in respect to which of their goals, objectives and needs?
   - Could time banking contribute to integration and, if so, in which ways?
   - What obstacles do you see in getting refugees and asylum seekers involved in time banking?
Appendix 4: Complete set of codes
Appendix 5: Inter-rater reliability assessment

The assessment of the inter-rater reliability was performed with a fellow student who looked at a selected section of one interviews and allocated codes independently from the coding performed by the researcher. Apart from minor differences (highlighted by red circles), it may be stated that generally the same codes have been applied to the excerpt. Whereas the researcher for instance omitted examples given in the last part of the interview, the inter-reviewer allocated the whole paragraph to the code of integration.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coding by researcher</th>
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9. C: Based on your experiences with refugees and asylum seekers, what are their most usual goal, objectives and needs?

10. R: Think, to fill time (small laughing). They get a lot of the, especially younger man, they get very very bored, and very dejected, and obviously they get homesick. Find the, especially in Hull a lot of the men I've been working with, they don't know how to cook for themselves because they come from being looked after by their moms or their wives. And then they ended up in this alien city with just men that have no idea of how to cook as well. They are really struggling with cooking and looking after themselves, there are very practical in lots of other ways just not looking after themselves. So from that, seems to be a lot that we're doing a lot of mothering and teaching how to use like things, British washing machines and the different...so, lot of support and then obviously the language barriers been big thing. But you do find, when we've had them, had people volunteering, sorting they don't really matter, you can tell, you do much and small regardless of what language you speak. So we've have a lot of refugees that coming, that volunteered for us as well. That sort of help them. So get the social site and meet new people.

11. C: Are there any...you think also that those three, like filling time, taking care of themselves, practical problems

12. R: Yeah, finding role in society really. Fining their sort of place. I've know a Kurdish community for a very long time in Hull and a lot of the Kurdish came over in 2002/2004 and they were really sort of finding, feeling, that Hull is theirs now. They live here, and Hull is their city. So it is a long process. And it is an interesting one, so see people assimilate, people want to do it, there and then they want immediate results, and it is about how can people integrate over a longer period of time, so it is more sustainable and more, you know. I don't know it starts to soft approach that everybody gets to know each other in the communities, breaking down their barriers. And it works really well with the Kurdish community I think. I think they have assimilate really well in Hull. It will be the same with the Syrians, cause they are kind of starting to and realizing that their children will laugh and play with our children. And you know, have a bit of a laugh and giggle about certain donations and things like that. So it shows that we are all the same. Sharing is that what we are, and giving, like OD and lots of projects like that to help people realize that they are not a threat. (Laughing and looking at her children)
Appendix 6: Call document

The call document shows that the topic of the conducted research is of high societal relevance as “helping refugees in our community” is a thematic priority.
Declaration of academic integrity

Declaration of Academic Integrity Master SSP thesis

I, Carina Skropke, hereby declare with relation to my master’s thesis

“Timebanking to meet integration challenges of asylum seekers, refugees and migrants in the context of urban poverty in the UK

– a case study”

that:

I am aware of and have understood the rules and regulations stipulated in the Education and Examination Regulations (EER) of the Master SSP program regarding fraud and plagiarism;

I am aware of the possible consequences and disciplinary measures in the case of fraud and plagiarism in my Master’s thesis;

I have conducted myself in accordance with the Thesis Guidelines, Education and Examination Regulations of the Master SSP Program and generally established standards of academic integrity in writing my Master’s thesis;

I have carefully marked and referenced all direct quotes and references all indirect quotes included in my Master’s thesis;

My Master’s thesis is an original result of my own work and does not include the work of others except in the case of direct and indirect quotes that are recognizable as such (exception: Master's theses that have been co-authored as requested from and approved by the Examination Committee).

Place Date Signature