"I like it here because I have to." Migration and Adolescent Identity Formation: Exploring the Experiences of Students in a London School

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Declaration of word count

The word count, exclusive of appendices and references, is 37,634 words.

I, James Gilsenan, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

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Abstract

This study aims to explore the life experiences of migrant adolescents of Latin American heritage, with a particular focus on the personal influence of migration on their identity formation. Previous research has demonstrated that this is an area of difficulty for adolescents who have experienced international migration during their childhood years, and highlighted its impact on mental health.

My aim is to shine a light on the experiences of this under-researched group of adolescents, helping to identify both the positives and difficulties of migration from their perspective, and to develop a more detailed knowledge of psychosocial developmental processes in migrant adolescents, using Erikson's psychosocial theory as a framework.

Semi-structured qualitative interviews, employing narrative and visual approaches were conducted with nine students in a London secondary school. Thematic analysis of this data has resulted in the development of six key themes, which centre around the topics of discrimination, loss, cultural adaptation, reduced freedom and pressure to succeed. These were presented back to the original research participants for feedback and development through a process of member reflection, to ensure that their voices are represented faithfully.

Implications for practice are discussed, with the aim of influencing how Educational Psychologists, teachers and other professionals work with this group of young people in a way that promotes positive outcomes in an academic, social and psychological sense. These include ways in which discrimination can be challenged and reduced within schools, as well as approaches to facilitating the healthy identity formation of migrant students and responding to issues within families and the broader environment that can provide a barrier to this.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Research Problem

Existing research shows that the formation of a stable sense of identity during adolescence is critical for mental health, with conflict in identity development consistently linked to poor psychological outcomes in a range of cultural contexts (e.g. Chen, Lay, Wu and Yao, 2007; Crocetti, Klimstra, Keijsers, Hale and Meeus, 2009; Sandhu, Singh, Tung and Kundra, 2012). Research also shows that migrant and ethnic minority adolescents are at particular risk of having difficulties in this area (e.g. Rousseau, 1995, Spencer and Markstrom-Adams 1990).

Little is known, however, about how young people themselves navigate adolescent identity formation against the atypical backdrop of migration. My research looks to explore this process in depth, focusing on the individual experiences of migrants of Latin American heritage in London.

1.2. Research Aims

The overall aim of this study is the development of a more detailed knowledge of psychosocial developmental processes in migrant adolescents that can then act to influence how Educational Psychologists (EPs), teachers and other professionals work with this group of young people in a way that promotes positive outcomes in an academic, social and psychological sense.

My objective is to identify both the positives and difficulties of migration from the perspective of migrant adolescents, and its influence on identity formation, highlighting how these adolescents can be best supported to meet their potential. I wish to give a voice to this underrepresented minority, in line with the importance placed in the SEN Code of Practice (Department for Education, 2015) and by Ofsted (2011) on enabling the expression of pupil views, allowing children and adolescents an outlet to convey their experiences.

1.3. Research Background

1.3.1. Positioning Myself as a Researcher: Demonstrating Reflexivity

I am from the Republic of Ireland, a country with a long history of emigration throughout its history, including within my own immediate and extended family. I have always held a keen interest in learning about other parts of the world and have travelled for extended periods throughout Latin America in the past number of years. I can speak and write in Spanish and my Year 1 placement on the Doctorate in Educational Psychology (DEdPsy) course was in the

London borough with the highest number of pupils of Latin American heritage. As a result of this, I began taking on cases involving Latin American children, concentrating on issues affecting this community. Upon beginning a search for research on this group, I noted a lack of published material, which prompted me to consider this as a research topic.

1.3.2. Development of Research Topic

Immigration is a key political and social issue at the current time (IPSOS MORI, 2016). I am interested in exploring what Educational Psychology can contribute to understanding aspects of the experience from a psychological perspective and thus contributing to making immigration a positive experience for migrant children and families, the education system and society more broadly.

In Year 1 of the DEdPsy programme, I conducted a small-scale pilot study exploring the experiences and attitudes of five Latin American migrant parents regarding their children's education (Gilsenan, 2016). During this study it emerged that many parents were concerned about issues of identity conflict and their impact on the general wellbeing and mental health of their children. This was especially evident for those with children over the age of nine, who, from their parents' perspective, appeared to experience more psychological difficulty in making the transition to life in the UK than younger children did. This links to research which has shown that older migrant children and adolescents show higher rates of anxiety and depression than the general population (e.g. Potochnick and Perreira, 2010). In general, participants in my parent study linked their children's difficulties to conflict in national identity, and also referenced emotional and mental health difficulties in their older children, as highlighted by the following quotes.

"Well, I am Bolivian, my wife as well, and my daughters were born in Spain. One was born in Madrid and the other in Seville, so now they don't know where they are from!" Mauricio, Bolivian parent

"He is Peruvian, but now he says he is Spanish. When I ask if he is Peruvian, he says, no, I am Spanish… I don't see it in the same way." Natalia, Peruvian Parent

"The four year old spends her day playing. But the twelve year old. She is very sensitive. And since this has been a big change, I think this has affected her even more… she is a bit depressed." Rosa, Bolivian parent

Adair (2015) highlights that discrimination against migrant children occurs in schools, but that the experience and its impact are not well understood from the child's perspective. Adair (2015, p. 3) goes on to highlight that "the experiences that children have in their first classrooms are foundational to how they think about themselves as learners and members of the larger communities around them." Anagnostopoulos, Vlassopoulos and Lazaratou (2006, p. 36) describe how "the processes of identity formation in adolescents belonging to minority groups are extremely difficult within a cultural and social framework with double and often conflicting values."

In addition, recent societal discourses around the UK's European Union (EU) referendum have led to an increase in hate crimes against migrants in England (Home Office, 2016) and greater instability around the immigration status of large numbers of families, with likely negative psychological effects on an already marginalised group. It is worth highlighting that the current research is ideologically based on the rights of migrants and minority groups in general to choose whether or not to retain their native language and culture after moving to the United Kingdom (UK), and on multiculturalism more broadly, in line with previous researchers in the area such as Ruiz (1984).

1.4. Gap in Current Research

The inclusion of migrant children and families into British society requires reliable and trustworthy research to inform practice in areas such as education, health and social care. Organisations such as the OECD have already carried out a large amount of international data-gathering to statistically document the characteristics of migrant workers. This has provided detailed information on, for example, their socio-economic background, age, educational background and country of origin. Sieme, Fox and Pietka (2011) describe how more recent research has begun to explore aspects such as migrants' own perspectives, including their experiences before, during and after migration, as well as their aspirations and reasons for migrating.

Migrant children and adolescents, however, are a group that has been significantly less well researched, especially newer migrant groups to the UK, such as Latin Americans. As Sieme,

Fox and Pietka (2011) highlight, these children generally follow their parents to their destination country without possessing much power or influence in their families' decision to move. Sieme et al. (2011) also propose that knowing more about how migration is experienced by children, and the needs of young people themselves, especially from newly-arrived groups, is critical to planning appropriate services and support for these children.

It appears that there is a lack of research on identity formation among minority groups in general, and particularly research that considers the role of social and environmental factors. Brittian (2012), for example, highlights the need for modern researchers to develop a broader, more inclusive idea of identity, building on the work of earlier theorists, and based on the aim of understanding how identity formation impacts upon healthy development in a variety of social and cultural domains. Schwartz (2001) highlights how the "idea of identity as embedded in interpersonal, social, and cultural contexts is a necessary ingredient in the design of effective research and intervention programs" (p. 49), and that although research on identity has begun to look at the role of social and cultural context, this work is still in its infancy. King and Ganuza (2012), from a language perspective, also highlight how only a small number of studies have looked at language acquisition from the perspective of individual speakers, in terms of "how bilingual and multilingual individuals interpret and describe their own experiences and linguistic and cultural status" (p. 180).

I have chosen to look at the specific area of young people's experiences of migration in more depth, in particular exploring the psychological concept of identity formation among adolescents, in order to better understand the processes they go through and how best to support them within school and community contexts. My pilot study highlighted national identity conflict as a potential area of difficulty for migrants of Latin American heritage. However, upon consulting the literature (e.g. Rumbaut, 1994; Gullan, Hoffman and Leff, 2011; Rousseau, 1995; Spencer and Markstrom-Adams 1990), which is expanded upon in Chapter 2, a range of additional factors, both socially and individually based were identified that have the potential to influence identity formation in migrant adolescents. These included ethnic and cultural identification, discrimination, second-language acquisition, personal feelings of loss and upheaval, mental health, and inter-generational conflict.

1.5. Definition of Identity

Based on the wide range of factors that have the potential to influence migrant adolescent identity formation, and my objective to focus on the perspectives and psychological experiences of my individual research participants, rather than imposing a more focused or

limited conceptualisation, the general and broad concept of identity proposed by Erikson (1968) is employed as a theoretical framework in this study. Erikson is one of the key figures in the fields of both research and theory regarding personal identity, and developed an eight-stage, lifespan model of human development, with the exploration of identity issues and identity formation highlighted as the key developmental tasks of adolescence. Erikson's broad definition of identity includes both social-contextual and internal dimensions.

The definition of identity adopted in this study was originally proposed by Erikson (1968), who defined identity as "a subjective sense of invigorating sameness and continuity" (p. 19). This study draws on Rageliené's (2016) definition, which elaborates on Erikson's work, further defining identity "a sense of continuity within the self, as well as a frame to differentiate between self and others, thus allowing the individual to function autonomously from others" (p. 2). According to Erikson (1968), although identity development is most pronounced during adolescence, the issue of identity formation is never definitively achieved and remains a lifelong concern.

1.5.1. Cultural Considerations in Identity Formation
Erikson posited that the developmental task of identity formation is relevant across cultures, based on the idea that the establishment of personal identity is the universal psychological link between childhood and adulthood. However, he also proposed that the particular nature of an individual's identity differs between various cultural groups, based on social influences.

As such, it is important to consider how these factors impacted upon participants in this study. Ferreira (2014) proposes that an important unifying characteristic of Latin Americans is their cultural values. Ayon & Aisenberg (2010) suggest that European culture is based on individualistic and personal goal driven values, whereas Latin American culture tends to be more collectivist, with more of a focus on family well-being rather than on individual opportunities.

Ferriera (2014) goes on to highlight how constructs such as "familismo" and "respeto" are central to Latin American culture. Familismo, is representative of the tight connections, loyalty, cooperation, and support within one's family (Ayon & Aisenberg, 2010). Respeto, translated to English as "respect", describes a hierarchical divide between children, adolescents and adults based on demonstrating respect and obedience to those who are older and with a greater status and authority. (Atkinson, Morten, & Sue, 1993). As such, the Latin American heritage of participants in this study, whose families have migrated from the

countries of Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador and the Dominican Republic, may influence their identity formation by forcing them to reconcile a more family-oriented and generationally hierarchical culture, with a UK culture where less importance is placed on these factors.

1.6. Relevance to the EP Role

This research aims to inform EP practice by developing an understanding of the experiences of a sample of Latin American migrants and, by extension, offer some insight into the experiences of migrant adolescents in London more broadly. In doing so, it aims to promote professional standards of ethics, effective service delivery and improve cultural competence among EPs. By better understanding the experiences of migrant adolescents, EPs will be better placed to work effectively with them and their families in a variety of contexts and to transfer this knowledge within schools and other settings.

Professional standards for EP training (British Psychological Society, 2015) highlight that "culturally competent/informed practice is fundamental to EP practice in today's diverse and global society" (p. 18). Guidance from the Health and Care Professions Council (HCPC), a regulatory body, states that EPs must be aware of how culture, equality and diversity can impact their practice and be able to adapt how they operate to meet the needs of different groups (HCPC, 2015).

Recent research has also discussed EPs' need to show an awareness and knowledge of other cultures, and to meet the needs of different groups through the application of psychology. For example, Abdi (2015) suggests that both schools and EPs have an important role in supporting children and young people in the development of their ethnic and cultural identities. Sewell (2016) puts forward that EPs are at particular risk of bias and potential discrimination due to their role in constructing knowledge about individual children and young people, which can often place a lower level of importance on the understandings shared by children and their families compared to the education professionals involved. Sewell (2016) suggests that EPs have the potential to develop a higher level of awareness of how their profession can act as a contributing factor to discrimination and oppression against minority populations, and that ensuring that a range of voices are heard and being conscious of issues of prejudice, along with social and economic privilege, are important in developing fair and impartial EP practice to serve all groups in society. With this is mind, this research aims to give a voice to one particular less privileged group within society.

1.7. Key Concepts

The introduction to this report concludes by providing working definitions of some of the most important and frequently used terms, which are referred to throughout the rest of the document. My aim in defining these key terms is to improve the accessibility and clarity of this research report.

1.7.1. Migrant

In this study, I have chosen to use the word migrant in a broad sense, to describe any individual who moves to reside in a country of which they are not a native. According to the Migration Observatory, no universally-accepted agreement exists on a definition of the term "migrant". According to this group, "migrants might be defined by foreign birth, by foreign citizenship, or by their movement into a new country to stay temporarily or to settle for the long-term" (Anderson and Blinder, 2017, p. 3). In the current study, a migrant is defined as an individual who was born in another European or non-European country and moved to the UK at some point during their life, with the intention of remaining on either a temporary or permanent basis. For consistency, the term migrant, rather than immigrant, is used in this report, except when directly quoting other researchers or research participants. According to Vore (2015), "migrant" is the broader term and encompasses all individuals who relocate from one country to another, whereas immigrant has a similar meaning, but also a specific legal definition regarding the right to remain in certain countries.

At the current time, most Latin American migrants arrive in the UK for economic reasons and most now come after time spent living in Spain (McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016). This secondary migration is facilitated through many Latin Americans regularising their immigration status in Spain and thus becoming citizens of the EU, with freedom of movement. Many have then been attracted to London in particular due to it experiencing a shorter economic downturn than large Spanish cities, leading to continued demand for labour, particularly in industries such as cleaning (McIlwaine and Datta, 2014).

Detailed information on the precise migration journeys and legal status of participants was not collected in the current study, due to its focus instead on their individual psychological experiences. According to school records, no participants in this study were registered in the UK as refugees or asylum seekers, although this does not entirely preclude the possibility that this may have been the case at an earlier stage in their overall migration journey, as refugees continue to seek asylum from Latin American countries such as Colombia and Venezuela, due to violence and political persecution (e.g. Bermudez, 2013).

Within my literature review, previous research related to refugees and asylum seekers has also been included, due to the large degree of shared experience between various groups of migrants, whether they are defined as economic migrants or refugees. The International Organisation for Migration (IOM) highlights the false dichotomy between economic migrants and refugees and describe how migrants "cannot be reduced to economic migrants on the one hand and refugees on the other," highlighting how in fact, "it is highly difficult in most cases to isolate a unique cause for the migration" (Althaus, 2016, p. 1). According to Cohen's (1989) classification of various migrant groups, a significant proportion of Latin American migrants in London share much in common with the group Cohen defines as "helots", in terms of being originally from a developing country, having an unskilled occupation and uncertain access to housing and other social services. This is in contrast to the group Cohen (1989) described as "denizens", those with greater economic capital, often holding multiple citizenships and working as well-paid expatriates in multinational companies.

1.7.2. Latin American

In this study, Latin Americans are defined as those who trace their heritage to Spanish and Portuguese-speaking Central and South American countries as well as Mexico, Puerto Rico and Cuba. Research participants are defined as Latin American either by virtue of being born in a Latin American country, or being born to two Latin American parents in another country outside the UK, therefore qualifying for citizenship of a Latin American country. The term "Latin American" is chosen over alternative terms such as "Latino" or "Hispanic" because this is the most encompassing, general term, and the one commonly used by the community and migrant-support organisations. "Latino" is generally employed as a more informal term.

1.7.3. Adolescent

The World Health Organisation (2017, p. 1) defines adolescence as "the period in human growth and development that occurs after childhood and before adulthood, from ages 10 to 19. It represents one of the critical transitions in the life span and is characterised by a tremendous pace in growth and change that is second only to that of infancy." Participants in this study are drawn from the middle period of adolescence, and aged between 14 and 17.

At times, the terms "child" and "young person" are also used in this report. These are terms that overlap with "adolescent". The UK Health and Safety Executive (2018) defines a "young person" as anyone under the age of 18 and a child as anyone who has not yet reached the legal minimum school leaving age.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1. Key Questions Explored in the Literature Review

My literature review aims to identify:

- The size, distribution and socioeconomic status of the Latin American population in the UK and any key contextual factors impacting upon London's Latin American community.
- What impact the existing literature suggests that migration has on adolescent development in general, and identity formation more specifically.
- How second-language acquisition influences adolescent identity formation.

These areas of focus were chosen in order to help me to develop an understanding of the Latin American community in London more generally, as well as issues around migration, identity and language learning, and the interaction between these key aspects of my research. It was decided to focus specifically on the area of second-language acquisition as the third area of focus, as, based on my initial familiarisation with the literature in the area, I found that there existed a body of research by academics such as Norton (e.g. 2000, 2013) highlighting the impact of second-language acquisition on identity formation. However, this research tends to be published largely within linguistic journals rather than psychological journals, where language-related issues appeared to be underrepresented. As such, this was included as a separate, third focus of the literature review.

Exploring these areas in the literature review helped me to identify and hone the research questions for the current study, which are outlined at the end of this chapter.

2.2. Approach to the Literature Review

In an effort to develop an understanding of the areas covered by my research, I looked separately at research on the experiences of Latin American migrants in particular and issues of identity formation among migrant adolescents more broadly.

I initially conducted a search of the existing research on the education and general experiences of Latin American migrants, looking particularly at the UK, but also taking into account research published in the United States (US).

When reviewing the existing literature, I searched the UCL Explore books and journal libraries and also the databases PsycINFO and ERIC, using the terms "Latin American", "Latino", "Hispanic", "Education", AND "School", "Inclusion", "Achievement", "Education". I also searched for literature on migration more broadly, and particularly its impact on identity formation, using the search terms "Latin American", "Latino", "Hispanic", "Migrant", "Refugee", "Asylum-seeker", AND "Identity", "Self-concept", "Wellbeing", "Mental Health". The same search locations were used.

Only research published within the last thirty years was included in this literature review, and an effort was made to include the most recent research from the period since 2010. Search terms based on educational achievement were included in order provide useful background information on how Latin American children and adolescents are performing generally within schools in the UK relative to other groups, as this will also likely be an important contextual factor which influences their identity formation through social comparison.

2.3. Reflections on Studies

Overall, the part of the literature review that focused on the experiences of Latin American migrants more generally reflected similar issues of social exclusion and economic disadvantage within the Latin American community in the UK and in the United States. In the US, there is a "Latino" population of over fifty million (US Census, 2010) and far more statistical data and general research is available. For this reason, for the United States, my review of the literature was limited solely to that with a particular focus on children of school age, where no equivalent research exists in a UK context. Based on the general paucity of relevant research conducted in the UK, all studies on the Latin American community were included in this review.

Around migrant adolescent identity, published research shows a marked skew towards the US, with the majority of published research on the topic coming from that country. An effort was made to focus on research on Latin American migration, rather than migration from other parts of the world to the United States, where possible, in order to increase the potential to generalise findings to Latin American adolescents in the UK.

2.4. Structure of the Literature Review

This literature review has been divided into three main sections, corresponding to the three questions outlined earlier in this chapter. The first section covers contextual information on the Latin American population in the UK, with a particular focus on issues relevant to

children. The second explores research on identity formation in migrant communities, and the third looks at the role of language acquisition and language-learner identity formation. Norton (2013) defines identity in the context of second language acquisition as "how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is structured across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future" (p. 45). She proposes that this evolves and is subject to change based on second-language competency.

2.5. Latin Americans in the UK

2.5.1. The size and distribution of the Latin American population in the UK

Latin Americans are a sizeable and increasing group in the UK. One estimate from 2016 places the population at 250,000, of which around 145,000 are in London (McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016). This is larger than the UK's Chinese, Romanian or Somali migrant communities. The majority of UK Latin Americans are based in the south of London (McIlwaine, Camilo-Cock and Linnekar, 2011), where the Local Authority where the research took place is located. In order to anonymise the location in which the research took place, the term "The Local Authority" or "The LA" is used throughout. McIlwaine et al. (2011) comment upon the fact that migration from the region is often irregular in nature, so it is difficult to gather fully accurate and reliable statistics. As such, the true population figure may be significantly higher. In comparison with other minority groups in the UK with closer historical links to the British Empire, significant levels of movement of people from Latin America to the UK have occurred only relatively recently. The Immigration Act of 1971 allowed for Latin Americans to gain temporary British work permits, and because of right-wing dictatorships in many countries in South America at the time, thousands of people arrived in the UK to seek asylum. At the current time, most Latin American migrants arrive in the UK for economic reasons, and most now come after time spent living in Spain (McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016).

McIlwaine et al. (2011), in the first major piece of research exploring the experiences of Latin Americans in London, put forward an image of social exclusion, poverty and frequently-experienced discrimination, highlighting the need for further research in order to build a better understanding of the needs of the community. This study was based on a quantitative survey of over 1,000 participants in London across a wide range of nationalities and socioeconomic groups, and also draws on individual qualitative interviews and focus groups.

One important issue for this group is that "Latin American" is not recognised as a minority ethnicity within the United Kingdom census. As such, Latin Americans identify with a variety

of different categories such as "Mixed", "White Other" and "Black Other", based on the different ethnicities present within the community. Because of this, it is not possible to examine focused data on areas such as academic attainment among Latin Americans in the UK. Block (2008), in a review of the existing literature and a qualitative study based on a small sample of Latin Americans in London, highlights how the invisibility of Latin Americans arises from their multiracialism.

With language employed as an approximate measure, it can be seen from relatively recent research that speakers of Spanish and Portuguese perform below the national average at GCSE level, and within the Local Authority where this study is based, Spanish and Portuguese speakers are the lowest-achieving pupils at the end of Key Stage 2, when languages with fewer than thirty speakers are excluded from the figures (Demie and Hau, 2013). An important point, however, is that these figures will be mixed with some Spanish and Portuguese speakers from Spain and Portugal, rather than from Latin America. It is not possible to gain an accurate picture of the relative proportions of Europeans and Latin Americans using current statistics. However, anecdotally, in the school in South London in which my research is based, staff mentioned that all of their Spanish-speaking students are of Latin American rather than Spanish heritage, although some were born in Spain to two Latin American parents and hold dual citizenship.

An exploratory pilot study (Gilsenan, 2016), conducted in Year 1 of the DEdPsy programme, highlighted how Latin American parents tend to hold very high expectations and hopes for their children's education, emphasising the personal sacrifices that they have made for their children. They also experience difficulty in adjusting to a new and unfamiliar culture and language, and to difficult housing and working conditions. Parents generally demonstrated a relatively low level of understanding of the UK education system and of broader culture and social services.

2.5.2. The socioeconomic situation of the Latin American population in the UK
A key theme of existing research on Latin Americans in the UK is that of social exclusion. This is a somewhat disputed term, which is associated with economic deprivation and "inferiority in relation to centres of power, resources and prevailing values" (Estivill, 2003, p. 19). In terms of context, current research also makes clear the large and increasing economic and social inequality within London as a whole. London currently encompasses the highest proportion of families with household incomes in the bottom 10% of the nation, alongside the second highest proportion of families in the top 10%, as highlighted by the London

Poverty Profile in an independent study drawing on a wide range of statistical sources (Aldridge, Born, Tinson and MacInnes, 2015). Anti-migrant media and political commentary, which intensified in the lead-up to and immediate aftermath of the UK's EU referendum in 2016, has also been linked to an increase in discrimination and violence, along with general negative stereotyping of economic migrants (e.g. Greenslade, 2015; Home Office, 2016).

Pharoah, Hale and Lee (2010), in a study that took a mixed methods approach drawing on ethnographic exploration and observation, focus groups and a community survey completed by 100 participants., discovered that in a South London borough's Latin American community, there was a clear picture of social exclusion. Many research participants were found to lack knowledge about their entitlements to health and social care services, with some members of the community avoiding seeking healthcare and other services altogether for fear of detection by immigration officials. Latin Americans saw that they were a low priority for local government and that the qualifications and employment skills possessed within the community were not well-recognised in wider society. Overcrowded housing was also seen as a common problem, with individuals and families frequently having to move to avoid unsuitable and substandard living conditions and detection by immigration services.

McIlwaine et al. (2011), in a wide-ranging study mentioned earlier in this chapter, discovered that people of Latin American heritage are employed in all areas of London's economy, but that a significant proportion, especially recently-arrived migrants, endure difficult and potentially exploitative working conditions. They were found to work long hours, often having to combine many part-time jobs in fields such as cleaning and catering. Almost 70% of the 1,014 respondents to McIlwaine et al.'s (2011) study perceived discrimination as an issue they had experienced, with many feeling a sense of distance from wider British society. One factor likely to contribute to this feeling of marginalisation is widespread difficulty in speaking English, combined with a current absence of appropriate provision for language learning. This area has seen large funding cuts in recent years (Moorhead, 2015). McIlwaine et al.'s (2011) study was wide-ranging, and used a combination of primary and secondary data sources. It did not, however, include a specific focus on education or the experiences of children and adolescents, looking instead at the adult population. This is a gap that the current research seeks to address.

2.5.3. Family issues specific to Latin American migrants

Hornby (2011), drawing on existing research in the field and his own theoretical model of parental involvement, highlights the relationship between school and home as a key factor in

determining the nature of the individual experiences of children and young people. No available published research exists to draw upon on home-school relationships within the Latin American community in the UK, but in the US, in a review of research and policy, Gándara and Contreras (2009), in a publication exploring the factors behind Latin American educational underachievement in the US, found that many poorer Latin American parents believe that they cannot support their children academically because of their lack of formal academic qualifications and English-language skills. Based on their strong desire for their children to learn English, it was discovered that many Latin American parents did not to teach their children to read in Spanish, thinking that this would impact negatively on their learning of English. Findings from my pilot research (Gilsenan, 2016) also suggest that parents place a strong emphasis and pressure on their children to learn English rapidly and begin to achieve academically within a short period of time, but often lack the skills to support them in this aim.

Latin American migrant support services serve as both language and cultural mediators between the community and wider British society. IRMO (The Indoamerican Refugee Migrant Organisation) is a migrant-led community group with a primary aim to uphold the rights of Latin Americans, empowering them to establish themselves and build a life in London. The organisation provides open access to advice, education, training and cultural opportunities to help people, generally in their first months in London. IRMO's director and maternity-cover director have been involved in ongoing conversations that have helped to shape both my research questions and interview guide, and supported the recruitment of research participants.

2.5.4. Factors that impact upon Latin American adolescents
McIlwaine (2015), in a study drawing on her previous largely quantitative study (McIlwaine, 2011) and another smaller-scale qualitative study involving 70 participants found that practices related to "social invisibility" allow undocumented or irregular Latin American migrants to travel around London without being tracked by immigration services, but they also have a powerful influence on individuals' mental health, with anxiety a frequent experience, as well as a sense of being disempowered by working in low-paid jobs within the black economy, despite many London-based Latin American migrants holding further-education qualifications. Parental wellbeing and particularly anxiety and other mental health difficulties are matters that may also have a strong impact on children and young people as they develop in this environment.

Migration from one country to another is a process that also allows for the establishment of new social and gender norms within a given community, which has the potential to act as both a positive and negative influence on parental and adolescent wellbeing. McIlwaine and Bermúdez (2011), in a London-based study found that working-class women benefitted most from the difference in gender norms and expectations between Latin America and the UK, generally increasing their level of control over their lives through participating in community organisations and other groups. More economically disadvantaged males were found to be the least active, both socially and politically. This was perceived to be influenced by working irregular hours and feelings of being socially disempowered through the process of migration and the types of work they were forced to engage in after moving to London. These factors are also highly likely to impact on father-child relationships and general family dynamics. This study was based only on London's Colombian community, and employed a mixed methods approach, drawing on qualitative and quantitative research conducted between 2005 and 2009.

2.6. Migrant Adolescent Identity Formation

The psychological concept that this study focuses on is that of identity formation. This has been chosen because it is an issue that has been linked in previous research to mental health difficulties, academic underachievement, and problematic and anti-social behaviour generally among adolescents (e.g. Chen et al., 2007; Crocetti et al., 2009; Sandhu, et al., 2012), and thus is deemed worthy of further exploration. As Pumariega, Roth and Pumariega (2005) outline, in a review of practice around the mental health of migrants in the United States, the process of migration is increasingly being acknowledged by academics to be both a psychological process as well as a sociological one. This has led to the mental health needs of migrant children and young people being recognised to a greater degree.

2.6.1. Establishing and maintaining a bicultural identity

The establishment of a bicultural identity upon exposure to a new cultural context is a key element in the migration experience for adolescents. Berry (2003, p. 17) defines bicultural identity as "the successful understanding and incorporation of two cultures contained by a person's self and consciousness with the individual able to function appropriately and effectively in a multicultural context." A study conducted in the United States by Yeh, Arora, Inose, Okubo, Li, and Greene (2003) looked at the experiences of eight Japanese adolescent migrants through a qualitative interview-based approach. Results indicated that overall, many of those interviewed were able to maintain relatively strong bicultural identities and deal effectively with the difficulties that they came across. However, participants did

experience a range of issues, from language barriers and identity conflict, to racism and general discrimination, which had a negative impact on this process. Research participants most often relied on friends rather than on more formal structures for support. In terms of identity, participants typically experienced a degree of conflict about living in two cultures. While some participants saw themselves as not belonging to either culture, others saw themselves as mainly Japanese. The authors highlighted that, in line with Berry (1997), strong identification with at least one cultural group can contribute to the maintenance of psychological wellbeing. Thus, migrant adolescents who mainly identify themselves by their home nationality may function more effectively in their host country than those who already feel marginalised from their native country and culture. As Latin American migrants in London generally arrive via a portion of childhood spent in Spain, they may struggle to articulate and describe their national or cultural identity as distinct or shared with their parents. This may mean they feel marginalised from their native country and culture, thus making them particularly vulnerable to difficulties in bicultural identity formation.

This links to a study conducted by Knauss, Günther, Belardi, Morley and von Lersner (2015), based in Germany, which used correlational and multiple regression analyses with a sample composed of a group of 46 adolescents with a Turkish migratory background and another 45 who were born in Germany. The researchers concluded that the perception of discrimination was linked to poorer psychological outcomes among those adolescents who had experienced international migration. This was found to be particularly true for those who described their identity as transcultural and not fixed to one particular ethnic or national identity. A key finding of this study (Knauss et al., 2015, p 8) was that "compared to adolescents with a lower level of transcultural identity, adolescents with a higher level of transcultural identity had a better psychological adjustment, as long as they did not feel discriminated against." Thus, the findings of Knauss et al. (2015) propose that sense of belonging may be diffuse among adolescent migrants who hold a transcultural identity, rather than choosing one ethnic or national identity to identify with, and might not function as an effective buffer when discrimination is perceived and experienced within their environment. This may mean that Spanish-raised young people of Latin American heritage, who generally hold two national identities before arriving in the UK, are a particularly vulnerable group to the negative impact of discrimination experienced.

2.6.2. Impact of identity integration on wellbeing
Schwartz et al. (2015), in a study drawing on a sample of 302 participants over three years, found that adolescents with lower Bicultural Identity Integration (BII) showed a lower level of

self-esteem, along with poorer family relationships, prosocial behaviour and optimism, compared with those with a higher level of BII, suggesting the importance of being able to integrate various elements of one's identity into a stable whole. The study looked at the development of BII in Latin American adolescents who had recently arrived in the US. They suggest two separate paths that adolescents may take during their initial years post-migration: a greater degree of integration between participants' Latin American heritage and aspects of US culture contributed to positive adjustment and family relationships, whereas less ability or willingness to integrate aspects of these two cultures led to difficulties for migrant adolescents living in bicultural or multicultural settings. A limitation of this study is that it looks only at the experiences of adolescents in "gateway cities" such as Miami and Chicago, which already had high Latin American populations, and therefore it may not be possible to generalise the findings to other locations in the US or outside. In London, Latin Americans make up only a small proportion of the overall population, compared for example, to Miami's 67% Latin American population (US Census, 2017).

2.6.3. Ethnic identity formation and acculturation
Gibson (2001) describes how acculturation refers to psychological changes that occur based on contact with culturally different social contexts and people. Berry (1997, p. 20) highlights four different potential coping strategies that an individual can adopt during the acculturation process.

> Assimilation: involves own-culture shedding, even though it may be voluntary.
> Integration: involvement in two cultural communities and being flexible in personality.
> Marginalisation: involves rejection by the dominant society, combined with own-culture loss.
> Separation: involves rejection of the dominant culture, perhaps reciprocated by them. (Berry, 1997, p. 20)

Berry (1997) highlights that while it is possible for the process of acculturation to be experienced without significant problems, it may also be a difficult process and require significant adaptation. Ethnic identity is one component that makes a contribution to the process of acculturation. As Yeh et al. (2003, p. 2) outline, it is seen as an "enduring, fundamental aspect of self that includes a sense of connection to an ethnic group, and the attitudes and feelings associated with membership of that group." Yeh et al. (2003, p. 3) concluded that the process of identity formation may be "especially challenging for

immigrant youths because they are simultaneously trying to learn a new language, dealing with a new culture, relating to peers, while experiencing academic and parental pressures."

2.6.4. Impact of minority-group societal messages on identity formation
Rumbaut (1994), in a study exploring the experiences of over 5,000 children of Asian, Latin American and Caribbean heritage in the US, suggests that the need to achieve acceptance from the new culture while simultaneously being accepted and maintaining strong relationships with the family and culture of origin can be a significant challenge. In particular, he suggests that how the children of migrants experience and respond to prejudice and discrimination in educational, employment and home contexts can lead to a greater level of difficulty, as they navigate the process of acculturation and adolescent identity formation. Rumbaut (1994) highlights the complexity of identity formation and suggests that for migrant adolescents the process of identity formation is "complex, conflictual and stressful" (p. 22) and can also be underpinned by significant conflict between generations.

Gullan, Hoffman and Leff (2011), in a more recent study of African American young people in the United States, drawing on a much smaller sample of 17 adolescents in four focus-groups, outline similar findings to Rumbaut (1994), in that efforts to develop a sense of identity relative to the surrounding world and dominant culture are influenced by often negative societal messages about African American culture and achievement. This may also be something that impacts upon Latin American young people in the UK, where dominant global stereotypes of Latin American migrants, perpetuated by politicians such as US President Donald Trump, are often highly negative (e.g. Reilly, 2016). In my pilot study (Gilsenan, 2016), parents spoke about the negative impression their children had of Latin American countries, often referring to them as violent, dangerous and undeveloped, rather than drawing upon their heritage as a source of pride.

Further research exploring how discrimination impacts on identity and wellbeing have described how young people can internalise the negative social position that is presented to them by wider society (DeVos and Suarez-Orozco 1990). This can lead to the development of feelings of inferiority, as highlighted originally by Erikson (1964), and can also interfere with the process of adolescent identity formation. Spencer and Markstrom-Adams (1990), in a review of the existing literature at the time, proposed that that the complexity of the process of adolescent identity formation may increase based on factors such as ethnicity, differences in language and "long-standing, although frequently unaddressed, social stereotypes" (p. 290).

2.6.5. Migration and narrative identity formation

Research also indicates that the impact of the trauma of family separation and unexpected migration journeys can mean that migrant young people may struggle to make sense of and form a coherent narrative around their experiences and who they are. For example, McLean and Breen (2009), in a mixed methods study exploring the experiences of 171 adolescents, highlight that "narrative meaning-making" is one of the central processes of identity formation. They propose that "engaging in narrative practices, such as reflecting on past events or talking about them with others, is an important way in which people develop life stories or a narrative identity and is related to positive wellbeing" (p. 1). In addition, McLean, Pasupathi and Pals (2007) put forward that "personal storytelling" is a way in which narrative identity can develop. They describe this as the ability to tell stories to other people, which aids individuals in connecting their experiences and their personal identity and to draw meaning from their experiences. It could be expected, then, that adolescents who have experienced one or more instances of international migration during their formative years might struggle with this aspect of identity formation. If identity is at least partly constructed through what is reflected from those around us, the disruption and lack of continuity in these key relationships is likely to have had an impact on this process.

2.6.6. Relationship between identity and other behavioural and mental health issues

Schwartz, Pantin, Prado, Sullivan and Szapocznik (2005), in a study looking at identity and problematic behaviour among early adolescent Latin American migrants in the United States, found strong correlational relationships between family functioning, identity, and issues with behaviour, and concluded that "the relationship between family functioning and behaviour problems operated indirectly through identity" (Schwartz et al., 2015, p. 20), with instability and confusion in identity partially mediating the relationship between maladaptive family functioning and early adolescent conduct issues. The study involved 181 Latin American migrant adolescents and their caregivers. Identity was measured by means of self-reports from adolescent participants, with family functioning and behaviour problems measured through a combination of parent and adolescent reports. The authors drew on previous research that showed that family functioning has a positive correlation with the establishment of a stable sense of identity in adolescence (e.g. Mullis, Brailsford and Mullis, 2003) and that having a strong, coherent identity has been demonstrated to have an inverse relationship to adolescent behaviour issues (e.g. Adams et al., 2001). The authors of this study conclude that actions and interventions concentrating both on adolescents themselves and also on their environment may be an effective strategy in bringing about a reduction in behaviour problems in migrant teenagers, but that more longitudinal research is required in

order to explore the way in which identity formation mediates the relationship between family functioning and teenage behaviour issues.

In research conducted in Europe, Crocetti et al. (2009), drawing on a sample of 1,313 adolescents in the Netherlands on a longitudinal basis, found that a having a high level of anxiety was associated with difficulty in identity development. Another study by Crocetti, Rubini, Luyckx and Meeus (2008), drawing on the experiences of 1,952 adolescents, links identity formation difficulties with emotional instability, highlighting how adolescents in ethnic minority groups experienced difficulty in simultaneously developing their own identity while also evaluating "the collective values of their cultural heritage and the values of the receiving society" (Crocetti et al., 2008, p. 993). The authors suggested that "adolescents belonging to ethnic minority groups have to consider and reconsider different identity alternatives to a greater extent" (Crocetti et al., 2008, p. 993) than the native Dutch adolescents with whom they were compared. Recent research has also linked identity difficulties among adolescents to problematic behaviour ranging from gang membership to religious extremism and terrorism (e.g. Al Raffie, 2013).

It appears, then, that the establishment of a coherent sense of identity is an important element of psychological wellbeing and adjustment for adolescents, and that migration and being part of an ethnic or cultural minority can contribute to a risk of difficulties in this process among some children and young people. The primary mechanisms by which this difficulty occurs appear to be through the experience of discrimination, acculturative and intergenerational stress, and the challenge of aligning multiple, often conflicting influences into a coherent whole. To counter this deficit-focused conclusion, however, Pumariega, Roth and Pumariega (2005) conclude that although migrant adolescents experience difficulties, overall they are less impacted upon by mental health issues, and show better "social functioning" than their adult counterparts, suggesting that this finding may point to a level of resilience present during the adolescent phase of life.

2.7. Language Learning and Identity

2.7.1. Full immersion generally employed: evidence shows use of home language is preferable
There is no existing research on good practice around language teaching for Latin American and Spanish-speaking children in UK schools. Looking at EAL (English as an Additional Language) learners more broadly, Arnot et al. (2012), in a 12-month research project involving researchers from the University of Cambridge and Angela Ruskin University, drawing on a review of the existing literature and qualitative interviews with children and

education professionals, report that in both primary and secondary schools in England, the "immersion strategy" was most often employed. This involves placing all new non-English speaking arrivals in mainstream classes as well as providing extra English tuition in small groups. A limitation of this study was that research took place in a part of Eastern England that possesses far less language and cultural diversity than inner-city areas such as the Local Authority where my research took place. However, through my own work as a Trainee EP in a number of inner London boroughs, similar practice has been observed.

Wardman (2012) comments on how generally within UK schools, issues relating to the language-based and social support offered to children who are learning English remain highly underdeveloped and unsophisticated, and that there is evidence that the use of a child's home language is advantageous, rather than a pure "immersion strategy", both in terms of language acquisition and child wellbeing more generally. Wardman (2012) stresses the importance of all school staff with a responsibility for English language teaching developing a knowledge of the processes of second language acquisition and the value of the use of a child's first language in school. This was a primarily qualitative study contextualised by a review of UK and international literature, and a mixed methods approach involving classroom observations in eight primary schools was used to triangulate the results. The British Council (2014) also suggests that a fully bilingual approach is the ideal method of learning English as a second language, but that where this is not possible, the use of home languages should be encouraged and supported.

2.7.2. Language as a key element of identity
Norton (2000) draws on a case study based longitudinal piece of research focusing on migrant women in Canada, exploring themes of identity and motivation in the area of language acquisition and teaching. Norton (2000 p. 19) argues that a "conception of identity as multiple, a site of struggle, and subject to change across time and place is highly productive for understanding language learning." She suggests that second language acquisition theory would benefit from developing an understanding of identity that makes reference to larger, and often unequal and unjust social structures which manifest themselves in daily social interaction, resulting in various levels of discrimination and prejudice. In adopting this stance, she highlights the role of language as "constitutive of and constituted by a language learner's identity" (Norton, 2000, p. 27), outlining how it is "through language that a person negotiates a sense of self within and across different sites at different points in time, and it is through language that a person gains access to, or is denied access to, powerful social networks that give learners the opportunity to speak." As such,

language is not conceptualised as something neutral, but is understood in relation to its social context. Thus, those individuals who have access to the greatest amount of economic resources in a given societal group will have access to power, which will impact upon how they understand their relationship to the world. According to West (1992), it is an individual's degree of access to this power that will define the way in which their hopes and desires are established and communicated. Based on this idea, an individual's identity is bound to shift alongside changes in economic and social relations. As such, adolescents' identity would be expected to evolve rapidly as their language skills develop within their new social context.

2.7.3. Learner identity formation is impacted upon by a wide range of factors
Torkmani (2012), as part of an EP thesis, conducted a mixed methods study looking at the experiences of 35 adolescents learning English as an additional language (EAL) in the UK and, in particular, at the process of learner identity formation. The findings demonstrate that adolescents' academic experiences and learner identity are highly influenced by "a number of interlinked factors, such as peers, parents, teachers and perceived English language proficiency, which together, through a social comparison process and intersubjective interactions, shape EAL students' perceptions of themselves as learners" (Torkmani, 2012 p. 3). Torkmani (2012) concludes that although all 35 participants in the research were considered to have broadly similar levels of English language proficiency, the wide range of self-reported scores on the English language rating scale and responses from individual interviews suggest that students' evaluation of their learning situations were distinct to them and not necessarily related to their assessed English language ability. As such, it appears that adolescents' learner identity formation can be highly influenced by feedback from those around them, such as teachers and peers.

2.7.4. Potential for school staff to think stereotypically about minority groups
Gaulter and Green (2015), EPs, used an action research design to explore issues surrounding the inclusion of pupils of Slovakian Roma heritage in an English school. Data was gathered through involving nine members of staff and the use of visual research methods with a small number of children. One key finding that emerged from the research was that teachers who did not appreciate and value the diversity and complex nature of individual children's identities were more inclined to employ stereotypical assumptions, which had the potential to be negative or harmful. Gaulter and Green agree with Hamilton (2011, p. 13) in concluding that if "inclusion is to be a reality rather than idealism", staff need to develop the ability to reflect critically on their personal values and views about other cultures and devote time to

understanding the varied backgrounds and heritages of the children in their class. The authors (Gaulter and Green, 2015, p. 49) stress that EPs need to "highlight the importance of integrating the migrant child's identity into the school environment to lessen feelings of difference and to draw upon child voice in order to understand these identities." This is a gap that the current research seeks to fill by drawing on the voice of migrant adolescent participants.

2.8. Conclusions Based on Literature Review

Based on this review of relevant literature, it is evident that the Latin American community in the UK is a significantly-sized population that is geographically concentrated in South London. Poverty and social exclusion are evident within the community, against the backdrop of a national context becoming more hostile to migrants in recent years, in terms of both government policy and recorded acts of discrimination.

There is a lack of research on the specific experiences of adolescents in this community and in new migrant communities in the UK more broadly. However, relatively low educational outcomes in the Local Authority in which this research is based and very poor educational achievement in the US suggest a group that is vulnerable to underachievement and poor psychological outcomes. English-language difficulties and issues of anxiety are also evident among parents, a significant proportion of whom engage in low-paid, insecure employment.

The research on identity shows that overall, adolescents are resilient to mental health issues brought about by migration, relative to adults. It has been found that it is possible to maintain a healthy bicultural identity, but that the experience of direct discrimination can impact upon this. In addition, having a looser attachment to one cultural group can be a problem for adolescents in terms of their identity formation. Latin American migrants coming to the UK are at particular risk of this as they may already feel marginalised from their native country given their previous Spanish residence or, in some cases, birth, contrasting with their Latin American family heritage.

Further research also highlights the interacting factors that make identity formation challenging for migrant youth, and clearly demonstrates the impact of acculturative and intergenerational stress on identity formation, showing that those who struggle to integrate their two cultures have lower wellbeing in general. Further studies show that identity formation is impacted upon by societal messages about a minority group and also that

identity difficulties appear to mediate other problematic issues such as conduct and family difficulties.

In terms of language teaching, a full immersion approach is generally employed in UK schools, even though evidence shows that the use of home languages alongside English is preferable, both in terms of language learning, and in terms of wellbeing and identity. Research also highlights the key role of second-language acquisition in identity formation, suggesting that identity is likely to shift in line with language proficiency.

2.9. Research Questions

The findings of this literature review led me to reflect on the relative lack of qualitative research exploring children and adolescents' first-hand experiences of migration and and how it has impacted upon how they see themselves. I wanted to understand more about the experiences these young people have been through and how these experiences have influenced how they identify and see themselves. I wished to explore what factors matter to adolescents themselves, rather than providing a pre-defined set of issues to respond to.

This led me towards formulating two research questions to be explored through this study:

- What are the experiences of migrant adolescents of Latin American heritage in a London school?
  - How do these experiences impact on their identity formation and how they see themselves?

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

3.1. Identity: A Developmental Psychology Perspective

Identity formation theories exist at the intersection of social and developmental psychology (French, Seidman, Allen and Aber, 2006). My training as a psychologist and work as a Trainee EP positions me towards taking an individual and developmental psychology perspective as a theoretical standpoint. The focus of the current research on the individual experiences of adolescents also provides a rationale for taking this distinctly psychological perspective on identity. Erikson is the predominant researcher in the area, and most developmental theories of identity build upon or are offshoots from his seminal work, *Identity: Youth and Crisis*. Sorell and Montgomery (2001) describe Erikson's psychosocial theory of lifespan development as the "grand theory" of identity development research.

3.2. Various Concepts of Identity

Although the idea of personal identity has been discussed in art and literature for over a hundred years, identity formation is a relatively recent academic concept. Research on the topic grew during the 1960s alongside Eric Erikson's influential work, and identity is now considered a central theme in western culture. Theorists such as Kroger (2004) have suggested that this rise in the importance placed on the idea of individual identity is due to the relative lack of community traditions and shared meaning in modern industrial society.

As highlighted by Deaux (2000), there is no clear consensus among the academic community within psychology, sociology and anthropology about the definition of identity, and at times the term is used in an unclear and ill-defined manner. Baumeister (1999) provides a particularly clear definition by contrasting identity to the similar term, self-concept. He proposes that identity provides an answer to the question "Who are you?" Self-concept, in comparison, may provide answers to other types of question such as "What kind of person are you?" and "How good are you?" Baumeister (1999) concludes that "identity may contain material that is not part of the self-concept, because identity is not fully contained inside the person's own mind" (p. 249).

Many psychologists, for example Marcia (1994) with his Identity Status Theory, continue to develop thinking from an Eriksonian, developmental perspective, although Van Hoof (1999) proposes that Marcia's work is an "offshoot" rather than a direct development of Erikson's ideas. This lies in contrast, however, to the social psychology position on identity, which puts less focus on within-person factors; instead, identity is seen as an interaction between a

person and their environment (Josselson 1994). This also echoes the anthropological view, which proposes that in order to exist, identity requires comparison with another entity (Rew and Campbell 1999).

3.3. Identity in Migrant and Ethnic Minority Adolescents

Two important processes that migrant adolescents in the UK must navigate are cultural adaptation and ethnic identity formation, within a context where their ethnicity differs from that of the majority population.

Berry (1997), as discussed in detail in Chapter 2, highlights assimilation, integration, marginalisation and separation as the four different potential coping strategies that an individual can adopt during the acculturation process, as they adapt to a new cultural context. Each of these strategies comes with a set of possible advantages and disadvantages, with integration as the most adaptive and marginalisation as the most maladaptive overall.

Ethnic identity is a part of an individual's social identity that Tajfel (1981) describes as deriving from their knowledge of membership of a social group, together with the value and importance attached to it. The term ethnic identity is often used as a synonym for racial identity. However, as Phinney (1992) highlights, an individual's ethnicity is made up of more than race, describing how it also encompasses the set of beliefs, values and culture of a person's heritage. Phinney (1988) also describes how "in order to achieve a secure ethnic identity, minority adolescents must explore the meaning of being a minority in a predominantly white society" (p. 2). Phinney (1988) describes how Erikson did not develop in any detail the process by which one's culture or ethnicity is incorporated into one's personal identity and that there has been relatively little research on the development of ethnic identity in adolescence or adulthood.

Phinney's Model of Ethnic Identity Development (1989, 1992) is a three stage model which she proposes underpins the identity formation experiences of ethnic minority adolescents. Stage 1 is called Unexamined Ethnic Identity. Here, an individual has not yet engaged in exploration of their personal ethnicity, and therefore may accept, without question, the majority culture's dominant values and attitudes. This stage bears similarities to Marcia's diffusion and foreclosure identity status, based on either a lack of active exploration, or the adoption of others' opinions and values without questioning these. Stage 2 is called Ethnic Identity Search/Moratorium. Phinney (1989) proposed that Individuals arrive at this stage at the point that they encounter a situation or life circumstance that forces them to become

aware of their ethnicity and begin to explore it. This could be triggered by an overt act of discrimination or racism, or could be more of a gradual process. Phinney (1989) defined Stage 3 as Ethnic Identity Achievement. This stage is based on an individual reaching a sense of acceptance based on developing a clear understanding of their ethnicity and its place relative to the majority culture.

These theories are drawn upon in interpreting my findings, particularly those related to cultural and ethnic identity. However, as the conceptualisation of identity in this study encompasses these factors, but is broader in scope, a decision was made to use Erikson's more wide-ranging theory as a theoretical framework.

3.4. Theoretical Framework: Erikson's Psychosocial Theory

Erik Erikson was a psychoanalyst and developmental psychologist, who established his theory of psychosocial development by drawing upon the Freudian theory of psychosexual development to establish a new theory that included stages throughout the life-span, as well as considering both environmental and social influences. Erikson's (e.g. 1950, 1982) psychosocial development theory proposes that development throughout an individual's life-course takes place in eight stages, during which a person must go through various central crisis periods in order to proceed to the next stage. Erikson clarified that an individual does not remain "neatly located in one stage; rather persons can be seen to oscillate between at least two stages and move more definitely into a higher one only when an even higher one begins to determine the interplay" (Erikson 1978, p. 28). Four of these stages, based on the development of trust, autonomy, initiative and industry, happen during infancy and childhood. A further three, based on intimacy, generativity and ego integrity, are proposed to take place during adulthood.

This research focuses on adolescence, which Gilleard and Higgs (2016) describe as the "pivotal fifth stage between childhood and adulthood, shifting the individual's concerns away from the institutions of childhood toward those of adulthood" (p. 302). Erikson (1968) defined identity versus role confusion as the central crisis to be overcome during adolescence. In terms of the broader hierarchy of the stages, the identity stage is followed by the intimacy stage and preceded by the industry stage, which is focused on the development of key skills such as numeracy and literacy. Erikson (1968) called the period between childhood and the development of a coherent identity a psychological "moratorium". During this time, an adolescent can experiment with their identity while societal pressures are suspended. This adolescent moratorium is conceptualised as a stage in development when a

commitment to a given life-path has not yet been made, but choices are instead tentative and exploratory. Erikson viewed it as an active struggle to explore and take on different roles, and a time in one's life with many crises and unresolved questions.

Erikson described his concept of identity as "the accrued confidence in the inner sameness and continuity of one's meaning for others, the inner experience of oneself" (Erikson, 1950, p. 235). His theory can be seen as relational in that it encompasses meaning-making at an individual level, but within a social context, as highlighted by Josselson (1994). Seligman and Shanok (1998) describe how putting forward the idea that psychosocial development is an interactive process between a person, their individual psyche and the society they live in is Erikson's most significant contribution to psychological theory.

Erikson saw adolescence as a particularly important life stage. In Erikson's (1968) view, identity formation begins in childhood, but grows in importance during adolescence. He theorised that during this period, adolescents must work towards achieving the difficult task of integrating a range of earlier experiences and traits into a more stable adult identity. Erikson uses "identity crisis" as a term to describe the period of confusion and instability adolescents typically go through as they struggle with various choices and alternatives during this time. Drawing on Erikson's work, Côté and Levine (2002) highlight how a coherent and stable identity helps in the process of organising and providing meaning to a person's experiences, guiding both their decision-making and behaviours. A more fragmented or unstable sense of identity, on the other hand, is seen to lead to a young person being more susceptible to external influences within their immediate or broader environment. Marcia (1994) built on Erikson's ideas and explored the notion of identity foreclosure, which occurs when individuals make a premature commitment to an occupation, life-path or ideology, without any period of exploration beforehand. Although a "foreclosed" individual may appear to have the benefits of a strong identity, this strength is less able to cope with external forces and events in a person's life. As Van Hoof (1999) describes, the status names given by Marcia relate to slightly different concepts than the same terms that Erikson originally used. For example, Marcia referred to the identity status of moratorium as "a psychological state of conscious consideration of identity alternatives" (Van Hoof, 1999, p. 499), whereas for Erikson, a moratorium is "is the period of time in which individuals are free from adult responsibilities" (Van Hoof, 1999, p. 499).

3.5. Criticism of Erikson's Theory and Research Drawing Upon It
Erikson's inclusion of the whole life cycle in his psychosocial theory gave a frame for seeing

development in a more holistic and life-long manner, with an emphasis on the dynamic relationship between an individual and their environment, as they both change over time. In building upon Freud's psychosexual theory to include the significance of the wider cultural context, Erikson provided a base on which to explore the variety of experiences of different cultural groups within developmental psychology.

However, that does not mean that Erikson's theory is free of bias and inclusive in terms of the experiences of the wide variety of individuals that it has the potential to represent. A large amount of the criticism of Erikson's work has centred on the idea that his theory of psychosocial development is derived from and thus mainly provides a description of the development of European American males, and is therefore most applicable to this relatively privileged group.

Feminist standpoint theorists have highlighted that a weakness of grand theories such as that proposed by Erikson is that they sacrifice focus on the diverse range of individual, personal experience in order to focus on more universal, abstract principles (e.g. Miller and Scholnick, 2000). Other academics have also cautioned against broadly generalising theory developed in one social setting and drawing on the lived experiences of one particular group (e.g. Harding 1990). Sorell and Montgomery (2001) critique the emphasis Erikson placed on the biological differences between men and women as an explanation for differences in their psychosocial development, particularly during adulthood. They also addressed the topic of a male, patriarchal bias that many have argued underlies Erikson's work. However, despite their criticisms, Sorell and Montgomery (2001) argue in support of the more general concepts included in the framework, and the value of using a developmentally-rooted psychosocial theory as a way to interpret and understand identity development and human development more broadly. They conclude that Erikson's psychosocial model is valid on an explanatory level, but incomplete descriptively, in that the eight-stage model provides a useful explanation for change across the life-span, but the description of this change is rooted in the experiences of modern, western male development, and as such is not complete. In their view though, despite the criticisms of bias, primarily on the basis of gender, socioeconomic status, and ethnicity, the identity construct still has value.

Brittian (2012) suggests that that in both Erikson and Marcia's work the role and agency of the individual is underrepresented, in terms of their capacity to play an active role in shaping the environment around them. Brittian (2012) describes how some of the shortcomings of Erikson and Marcia's work are overcome by developmental systems theories, which

emphasise the individual's role in generating their own meaning based on a range of influences at different levels, drawing on eco-systemic work by researchers such as Bronfenbrenner (2005). However, Brittian (2012) describes how the literature regarding adolescent identity formation in minority groups, such as African Americans, has been "much too molecular, focusing on demographic characteristics, such as economic status, race, ethnicity, and gender, in a nondynamic, non-individual-context relational way" (p. 4).

3.6. Rationale for Choosing Theoretical Framework

Overall then, Erikson's psychosocial theory is adopted as the theoretical framework for this research, as it is seen to provide the clearest psychologically-based account of identity formation in adolescence, with the simplicity of the model providing a useful frame for exploring the process of identity formation in migrant adolescents. Researchers such as McKinney (2001) also highlight the wide use of Erikson's theory within the field of psychology, and Schwartz (2001) describes how although there are a range of other theories of identity formation within the academic literature, many of these are grounded in Erikson's original work. This includes, for example, Phinney (e.g. 1989, 1992) work on the formation of ethnic identity as an added factor among individuals belonging to ethnic minority groups.

This study aims to address some of the critiques of Erikson's work, by focusing on the lived experiences of one particular minority group, who differ in terms of culture, language and societal context from the original sample on which Erikson's work was based. It seeks to examine how Erikson's psychosocial theory applies to a sample of recently-arrived migrant adolescents in 21st century London, using it as a theoretical framework to deepen understanding of their lived experiences, while at the same time offering the opportunity to evaluate the usefulness and relevance of Erikson's theory in this context. The research approach focuses on participants' own subjective life experiences, allowing a space for them to explore and articulate the various factors that have influenced their identity formation against the backdrop of their migration experience, rather than only focusing on the role of particular demographic characteristics, which Brittian (2012) highlighted as a feature of previous research on minority adolescent identity formation.

Through this open-ended, participant-driven approach, and also by recruiting a broadly equal sample of female and male participants, my study aims to address some of the criticisms of patriarchal bias in Erikson's original work by gaining a rounded understanding of the influence of migration on identity formation in both genders.

The objective of the current research is not the generation of an entirely new adolescent identity development theory, but instead to explore how the psychosocial theory devised by Erikson can be used to interpret the experiences of migrant adolescents. According to this aim, key elements of his psychosocial theory were drawn upon to devise activities and questions for the interview guide, and also in the interpretation and analysis of data, which was focused on the identification of common themes underpinning the experiences of Latin American migrants.

Using Erikson's stage theory as a theoretical framework to guide my efforts, I have chosen to examine how the experiences brought about by migration might impact upon and potentially disrupt the psychosocial development of migrant adolescents, focusing particularly on their identity formation. This was done in a way that aims to provide insight into how migrant adolescents see themselves, as well as their personal ambitions and goals in life, along with how able they feel to succeed in these. These aspects are drawn from the individual element of Erikson's identity model. In addition, the research aims to explore participants' sense of connection with others within their immediate and extended environment. These are aspects that make up the social and environmental component of Erikson's identity model.

Chapter 4: Study Design and Methodology

4.1. Philosophical Positioning

Willig (2001) describes how ontology is related of the nature of the world and our understanding of what makes up reality. In this study, the ontological position taken is relativist, in terms of acknowledging the existence of multiple realities that are constructed by individuals. Research based on this ontology posits that there is no possible correct reality that can be objectively measured or observed. Guba (1990) describes how relativism implies that because multiple interpretations of reality exist, none of these can be considered objectively true. According to Levers (2013, p. 2), "the purpose of science from a relativist ontology is to understand the subjective experience of reality and multiple truths."

Epistemology is concerned with the theory of knowledge (Willig, 2001). In terms of epistemology, my assumption is that knowledge is constructed by each of the individuals involved in the research and that my role is to interpret this, through the lens of my own personal values. This reflects Smith's (1983) position that the researcher takes a "subject-subject posture" where both personal values and facts are seen as linked. Thus, since the researcher cannot be separated from their findings, the research is value-bound. This is a constructivist approach, with the view taken that reality is constructed by the individual within the group and therefore it needs to be interpreted by the researcher. This contrasts with a constructionist perspective, where meaning and experience are produced and reproduced socially, rather than originating within individual people (Burr, 1995). Ponterotto (2005, p. 129) puts forward that constructivists take a relativist perspective, assuming "multiple, apprehendable and equally valid realities."

Guba (1990) argues that the appropriate epistemological paradigm for qualitative research is constructivism. As I am using Erikson's psychosocial model, a theoretical framework drawn from individual psychology, this has also led me towards taking this constructivist position, which fits with the use of a developmental psychology theory in the analysis and interpretation. Constructivism is closely aligned with interpretivism, in that for both, it is important to understand subjective experiences that are time- and context-bound. Schwandt (1994) claims that constructivism is synonymous with an interpretivist approach.

4.2. Rationale for Qualitative Approach

A qualitative approach has been adopted in this research as it facilitates the process of describing and analysing the individual lived experiences of the research participants. As

Merriam (1998) explains, a qualitative approach can be chosen when the researcher is not interested in directly testing a hypothesis, but more in the generation of insight. Thus, data collection can then involve many different sources of information, including informal discussions and interviews and a review of current policy documentation and research in the area of interest. The difficulty of both defining and measuring identity, as well as my own skills as a researcher, also led me to consider qualitative methods as the way to best answer the stated research questions.

Hausser (1983, p. 177) has previously criticised research in the field of identity over the "predominance of readymade, narrowly focused research instruments, which regularly fail to take into account the subjective importance of self experience, so important for identity development." My aim in this research, then, was not to just define and label a particular identity status at one point in time, but, following Kraus (2000), to instead "draw the lines of the identity process in cooperation" (p. 4) with the interview participant themselves through an active process of self-construction, which I aimed to facilitate taking place through a process of interaction during the interview itself. My aim was to provide participants with a platform to construe themselves as active designers of their own lives, seeing adolescence "not as a time which is to be lived through passively, where society or biology takes over the active role, but as a process, which is and can be influenced by an active subject" (Kraus, 2000, p. 5). Feedback received both during and after the interviews indicated that participants valued using the interview as a space for self-reflection, in terms of both articulating and ordering the narrative of their lives.

Although the current research does not claim to be transformative in scope, it is inspired by aspects of the transformative, community-based approach to research outlined by Mertens (2010) and Bamberger, Rugh and Mabry (2006), which stresses the importance of the manner in which contact is established with communities in ways that are culturally sensitive, ensuring that clear recommendations are made and that all stakeholders are provided with access to findings. My current research questions build upon my initial pilot study, and have been formulated in collaboration with a Latin American migrant support group called IRMO, ensuring that the research aims are meaningful to them and sit alongside their priorities as a community organisation. I have also been involved with IRMO on an ongoing basis, providing advice on education-related issues and running a workshop for recently-arrived parents on English language acquisition and the emotional experience of migration for children and young people, which drew upon some of the initial findings of this research.

4.3. Interview Approach

I constructed a semi-structured, activity-based guide for use during the individual interviews, focused around exploring my research questions. A copy of the interview guide is included in Appendix A.

The interview guide was developed with the aim of allowing participants to tell their own story through a series of activities, both visual and conversation-based. It deliberately avoided the collection of a range of factual data such as date of arrival to the UK, and focused more on participants' individual and unique experiences and perspectives, with the aim of helping them to make sense of their own experiences through the interview process. I drew upon Erikson's psychosocial theory in terms of exploring both the individual self component and the social and environmental component of Erikson's identity model throughout my interview guide, which was divided into five sections. After some initial rapport-building and sharing of my own migration journey, the interviews focused on:

1. Photo-sharing: This activity aimed to explore participants' experiences of migration and personal change by contrasting an image of themselves before moving to the UK with one from after they had moved. I initially demonstrated myself with a personal example of a photo taken before and after my own migration journey. The participant was then invited, on an optional basis, to place two photos of themselves side by side, one from before and one from after they moved to the UK. If they had not brought photos to the interview, they were asked to recall two specific memories. Another purpose of this activity was to make clear that I was adopting the use of the term "migrant" to describe myself, and, implicitly, any individual who moves to another country. This was done as an attempt to develop rapport and establish commonality and shared experience, while at the same time being mindful of the inherent power imbalance between researcher and participant, despite this small area of commonality existing between us.

2. Influencers – Identity and Wellbeing: The aim of this activity was to prioritise the various influences on participants' identity and how these impact upon them as they mature. I presented the participant with an A3 piece of paper with their name at the centre and four concentric circles around it. Participants were asked to think of all the people and factors that influence how they feel about themselves, and place them within the circles. The participant was at the centre and the aspects that were most important were placed in the closer concentric circles, with those less important positioned further away.

3. Moving to London: This section of the interview prompted participants to reflect on and explore the experience of migration as well as stages which they went through in establishing themselves in London. It began by asking them to recall the moment they first heard that they would be moving to London. The aim was to gather participants' migration journeys in their own words, and was informed by narrative research approaches.

4. Language Exploration: Here, questions explored the impact of language acquisition on participants' identity and how they interacted with the world around them. It looked to explore the impact of speaking in a second language and developing competency in English on how participants saw themselves and their evolving identity development.

5. How I see myself and How others see me: The aim here was to explore how participants saw their self-identity as different or similar to how others saw them. This is an activity adapted from Awan (2007). In the original version, participants were asked to put together identity collages using materials drawn from magazines and newspapers that expressed "how I see myself" and "how I think other people see me". In this study, however, pen drawings were used to save time. The aim of this section of the interview guide, then, was to contrast adolescents' self-identities with their perceptions of how they believe they are perceived in the wider world, in order to discover any differences and explore these through further questioning.

6. Response to Quotes: This section of the interview involved participants responding to three quotes on the topic of immigration and identity. One came from a parent interview during the pilot phase of this research project, one came from a Colombian author and another from a French artist. The aim of this final section was to look at how the social context and ideas of "Latin American" and "migrant" social identities resonated with participants.

The approach of a semi-structured interview was chosen based on the desire to gain a rich picture of the individual experiences of participants. Semi-structured interviews look to avoid undue researcher influence and obtain participant views in their own words. The interview guide contains open-ended questions, allowing the interviewer to move away from the guide at times, if necessary. However, due to having a broad structure in place it is possible to compare individual interviews in a meaningful way, drawing out both differences and similarities.

Examples of visual records from Activities 2 and 5 are included in Appendix G.

4.4. Sampling and Recruitment

Participants were recruited in a single school in the Local Authority in South London. The school is an average-sized mixed gender school that performs well compared to national averages and was recently rated as "Good" by Ofsted.

Potential participants were identified in a purposive manner through the school, first identifying participants who fit the basic criteria for the study (being in Years 9-12, aged 14-17, of Latin American heritage and having moved to the UK more than three years ago) and then approaching suitable participants, providing them and their parents with information on the project, and asking if they would like to take part. A minimum of three years in the UK was decided upon in order to ensure that participants possessed sufficient English-language skills to engage in the interview. This was based on previous research by Hakuta, Butler and Witt (2000), which concluded that verbal proficiency takes at least three years to develop.

Nine interviews were carried out in total, and an effort was made to achieve a roughly even gender split. Four females and fives males were interviewed. All names have been anonymised. These nine interviews exhausted the entire sample available, as all other Latin American students in the school were more recent arrivals, with insufficient levels of English-language ability to participate in the study.

Table 1: Sample Table

	Name	Gender	Year Group	Time studying in a UK School	Country of Birth	Second Country Lived in
Participant 1	Kemina	Female	10	4 years, 6 months	Colombia	Spain
Participant 2	Bruno	Male	9	2 years, 11 months	Bolivia	Spain

Participant 3	Kristian	Male	10	2 years, 9 months	Colombia	Spain
Participant 4	Karmen	Female	9	3 years, 8 months	Spain	UK
Participant 5	Samuel	Male	10	3 years, 8 months	Ecuador	Spain
Participant 6	Hana	Female	10	3 years, 8 months	Spain	Switzerland
Participant 7	Claudio	Male	10	4 years, 8 months	Spain	UK
Participant 8	Marc	Male	10	3 years	Spain	UK
Participant 9	Kesi	Female	12	5 years 8 months	Colombia	Spain

4.5. The Local Context

The Local Authority (LA) in which the interviews took place is a borough in inner London, with a population in the region of 300,000. It has a high level of population turnover, and according to figures published by the Local Authority, it has a level of population density among the highest in England (LA, State of the Borough, 2012). 27% of residents live in Local Authority maintained social housing, and the LA is the 14th most deprived borough in the country (LA CYPS, Service Improvement Plan, 2011-14). Over one-third of children of primary school age receive free school meals (LA CYPS, Service Improvement Plan, 2011-2014), which is frequently used as an indicator of poverty or economic deprivation. This level is over twice the national average (DfE, 2015).

4.6. Data Collection Procedure

4.6.1. Pilot interview

A pilot interview was conducted in order to test my interview guide and the meaningfulness of my questions for the research sample. All of the topic areas and activities described in the interview guide were covered in an interview time of 55 minutes, within the hour initially

allocated for the interview. During the interview itself, I did not see fit to use the timeline activity that had been included in the original guide, and as such, this was omitted from the final interview guide. Based on the quality of this interview and the fact that no further changes were made based on the pilot, a decision was made to include the data from this interview in the analysis.

4.6.2. Interview Process

The interviews took place in a private room within the school building, and were audio-recorded for transcription, with the consent of participants. All participants were informed that they could contact me through a named adult in the school over the following three months if there was any aspect of the interview that they would like to follow up on or clarify during this time.

4.6.3. Participant feedback on interviews

All participants were sent an online form following the interview, which gave them the opportunity to give feedback on the interview process itself, and also to provide any additional comments relevant to the topic.

Overall, participants rated the interview process highly, giving it a mean rating of 8 out of 10. Some comments from participants are included below:

"I think it has been the first time I opened up to someone and explained my thoughts on this topic." (Claudio)

"I expressed my self and what I found interesting is that he wants to help other people that were on the same situation when they come to the UK." (Karmen)

4.7. Data Analysis

4.7.1. Coding and thematic analysis process

The interviews were transcribed and the qualitative research programme Atlas.ti was used to annotate the transcripts, with codes and themes then evolving from the data. A full transcript of one interview is included in Appendix F. This transcript has been line numbered, and all quotes attributed to Kemina within Chapter 5 can be found at the line number shown directly after the quote. A copy of all of the codes for this transcript is included in Appendix D. All of the codes that made up one particular theme are included in Appendix E. The approach to thematic analysis described by Braun and Clarke (2006) was used to guide the analysis

process. This involves the researcher initially becoming familiar with the data through reading the interview transcripts a number of times, then going on to generate initial codes and themes and finally looking to review and define these themes. Coding was also informed by Saldaña's (2009) general criteria for coding decisions, in particular the question: "as you're applying the coding method(s) to the data, are you making new discoveries, insights, and connections about your participants, their processes or the phenomenon under investigation?" (Saldaña, 2009, p. 51). This was a question I kept at the forefront of my mind throughout the coding process.

According to Braun and Clarke (2006), the purpose of conducting a thematic analysis is the identification of patterns of meaning within a set of data that offer answers to research questions that have been put forward. Patterns are uncovered and then defined through a process, beginning with becoming familiar with the data and moving on to producing codes, then developing themes, and finally revising these themes. An advantage of thematic analysis highlighted by Braun and Clarke (2006) is that it is theoretically flexible. As such, it can be employed within a variety of different theoretical frameworks as a way to investigate the answers to a wide variety of research questions. Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest that thematic analysis is particularly suited to exploring the types of questions that are based on individual experience, as well as exploring views and perceptions as a way to develop an understanding around the construction of meaning. Given my research questions closely fit with thematic analysis's strengths as a method, and that my aim was to examine how the research participants made sense of their own personal and social worlds and to discover the meanings of particular experiences to participants, it was decided to adopt it as my data analysis approach.

Inductive analysis was carried out, based on undertaking a coding of the data without the attempt to initially fit it into a particular theory or framework. 116 codes were first identified by manually adding codes to each of the nine transcripts using the Atlas.ti computer program, and then clustered according to topic, and divided into the sections of Language, Cultural Identity, Personal Identity, Family Issues, Education, Discrimination, Feelings on Migration, Peers and The Role of Teachers. It was felt, however, that these initial themes were too literal, merely reflecting key words within sets of codes and the stages of the interview guide itself. A decision was made to consider some of the main themes that emerged across each of these initial nine categories. During this process, the 166 codes were again clustered within a Word document and a different six themes were identified, which each of the initial codes were subsumed within, and cut across the different categories

initially identified. Themes were then defined and given draft titles, and the codes that sat within each were again clustered into subthemes, leading to each of the six themes having between two and five subthemes in total. These subthemes were then given names, which along with the theme names, evolved and changed slightly throughout the writing of the Chapter 5, and particularly based on the remember reflection interviews conducted

4.7.2. Alternative approaches to analysis considered

Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) was considered as an approach to analysis, but I eventually concluded that it would not be a suitable methodological approach to answer my research questions as they are not based purely on understanding the experience of migration but look to explore the impact of the experience on the specific psychological phenomenon of identity formation.

4.8. Ethical Considerations

A research introduction and consent letter was provided in English for participants and their parents in advance of the interviews and explained to parents in Spanish if this was necessary. These are included in Appendix B and C. At the start and end of each interview, participants were also reminded of their right to withdraw their consent to participate in the project at any point during the interview, and this right to withdraw was also made clear at the end of each interview, during debriefing.

The process of participant selection involved consultation with the school's EAL mentor, who had taught or was currently teaching all of the participants in this study and so knew them personally. The aim of these discussions was to exclude from the study any potential participant who was considered to be at risk of experiencing emotional discomfort or distress. No potential participants were excluded based on this process of consultation. Care was also taken to ensure that the interviews were conducted in a sensitive manner, without applying pressure to participants to discuss or reveal information that they did not feel comfortable divulging. As a Trainee EP and former Assistant Psychologist and teacher, I have many years of experience of having emotionally significant conversations with children and young people and identifying signs of discomfort and anxiety.

On one occasion, a participant became upset and began to cry during the interview itself due to the difficulty of describing the hardships he had experienced as a child. On this occasion, I checked in with the participant about whether he wanted to pause or finish the interview, which he declined. At the end of the interview, I then asked him if he wanted to spend some

time away from his classmates, either alone or to meet with a member of staff. He again declined this offer, and appeared to have regained his composure at this point. I also asked the school's EAL mentor to check in with this boy at the end of the day and again later in the week, to explore his emotional state. She later reported that after speaking to the individual, no further action needed to be taken.

Time was spent at the beginning of the interview building rapport with each participant and making them feel at ease, and throughout the process, it was made clear that there were no right or wrong answers or particular expectations for their responses from my perspective. Participants were also informed about the confidentiality and anonymity of their responses. In the initial part of the interview where participants were invited to bring a photograph, this was framed clearly as an optional invitation in order to reduce any pressure felt by participants, and place the power and control with them. If they forgot to or chose not to bring photographs, they were invited to imagine two different scenarios instead.

Participants were signposted to a trusted adult within the school whom they could go to if they had any questions after the interview. This key person, the EAL mentor who introduced them to the project, also checked in with each participant in the days following the interview. This adult was familiar to all participants and had my contact details if any questions arose. I also checked in with this person in the weeks following the interviews, and no issues were reported. Confirmation of ethical approval is included in Appendix I.

4.9. Researcher Positioning During Interviews: Demonstrating Reflexivity

I identify as an economic migrant and migrant student/worker from a former British colony, and my own identity has contributed to my selection of migration and identity as a research topic. Therefore, it is important to consider how this affected the research on a theoretical, practical and interactional level, particularly in terms of how it may influence how I select and interpret theory.

My own identity and appearance may affect the participant responses and interpretations of my questions during interviews. My presentation as a white male and representative of a Local Authority is likely to outweigh participants' perceptions of me as a "migrant" based on my accent or other cues. The first section of the interview schedule, however, requires me to discuss features of my own migration journey, making clear that I am adopting the use of the term migrant to describe myself, and, implicitly, any individual who moves to another country for educational or employment reasons. However, on a number of occasions during

the interviews, participants referred to expecting to see more "people like you" with "pale skin" in London, suggesting that they perceived me as representative of the dominant White British population in the UK. My position within this research required me to engage in reflexive practice about my motives, potential bias and participant perceptions. I also engaged in regular formal supervision with my research supervisors and informal discussions with colleagues in the Local Authority where I am on placement.

4.10. Member Reflection Group Interviews

4.10.1. Rationale for conducting these

Lincoln and Guba (1985) encourage qualitative researchers to engage in a process of member checking in order to enhance rigour. In their view, "the member check… is the most crucial technique for establishing credibility" (p. 314).

The Consolidated Criteria for Reporting Qualitative Research (COREQ) checklist lists member checking as a method to enhance rigour by "ensuring that the participants' own meanings and perspectives are represented and not curtailed by the researchers' own agenda and knowledge" (Tong, Sainsbury and Craig 2007, p. 356). MacKenzie, Christensen and Turner (2015) outline how ensuring accurate representation is of particularly high importance in community-based research where the aim of the research is to document the experiences common to a single community, as the current research does.

Estroff (1995) raises the question of whether research participants have the capacity to truly engage in the process of academic research or if they are likely to merely acquiesce to the researcher's views in the way that a patient accepts a doctor's treatment decisions. For this reason, the decision was made to conduct my member checking in groups, as an attempt to reduce this inherent power imbalance between participant and researcher, by allowing them to discuss among themselves, rather than only make comments directly to me. Building on this, Thomas (2017) outlines how researchers using terms such as "validation" are likely to hold the assumption that there exists a "correct" or one true version of the interview or analysis, and suggests that there are descriptions that demonstrate more neutrality in relation to the assumptions that underlie the construction of knowledge, such as "participant feedback" and "member reflection". For this reason, the term "member reflection" was chosen for this study.

4.10.2. Member reflection session plan

In order to prepare for my member reflection interviews, I first adapted some of the language used in my draft themes, to ensure that they would be understandable and meaningful for participants when presented in a standalone way. Groups of two or three participants were selected based on year group, and on feedback from the school on which participants would be likely to work best together. Groups lasted 40 minutes to one hour each. Seven of the original nine participants took part, as one was absent from school on the day they took place and one participant had moved to a different school.

I first thanked everyone for their initial interviews and for choosing to come to the follow-up group, and briefly explained the process I had gone through in the time since the initial interviews in order to reach the provisional version of my thematic analysis. I stressed that these were my early-stage attempts to summarise their collective experiences, and that their responses would be valuable in ensuring that I did so accurately. Participants were initially given 20 minutes to walk around the room independently in order to read the themes and attach stickers of different colours to indicate that they either strongly agree, kind of agree, or disagree. An example of the output of this process is included in Appendix H. They were also invited to add any other thoughts at this point in either English or Spanish. This plan was agreed collaboratively with participants in the initial group, including the colour coding and the categories chosen.

After this process was completed, each theme was then discussed in turn, with participants invited to discuss among themselves, and share any comments or questions directly with me. At the end of the session, each participant was given the opportunity for a final reflection or comment on the thematic analysis and their experience of being involved in the research as a whole.

4.10.3. Researcher reflections on the member reflection group interviews
This process developed my confidence as a researcher in the validity of my themes and the overall process of data analysis. More participants either "strongly" or "kind of" agreed with each theme and subtheme than had expressed it during the original interviews, therefore providing an endorsement for the analysis conducted. All participants also commented positively on the experience, with key quotes highlighting this included below.

"You covered most of it… the majority was reflected and some just only individuals relate to, but as an overall thing that most of the students have gone through, that have gone through this process, you have covered it all." (Claudio, during member reflection)

"I liked it, thank you, because not a lot of people ask other people about their experiences, it's just like, OK, you moved here, so that's fine [laughs]." (Kemina, during member reflection)

For some themes, participants built up or challenged my original wording, and based on this, I made a number of changes to how themes and subthemes were described. For example, based on three participants disagreeing with a subtheme on the difficulty of being separated from their parents and siblings, I reframed this to include the experiences of those who were not only separated by from family members by national borders, but who felt that they had very limited contact and quite a distant relationship with their parents in London, due largely to their long working hours. One participant also encapsulated the difficulty of conducting a thematic analysis due to the diversity of individual experience.

"In my opinion, like every single statement that's in the sheet is kind of true and kind of false cause like everyone hasn't like the same experience in their lives, because you can actually not tell how life is drawn." (Kristian, during member reflection)

4.11. Reliability and Validity

In the past, qualitative approaches to research have been criticised for lacking clearly measurable reliability criteria. Smith, Flowers and Larkin (2009) suggest that while establishing the reliability of qualitative research is important, there is a need to develop criteria specific to qualitative rather than quantitative methods. My study is discussed below in relation to criteria set out by Yardley (2000).

4.11.1. Sensitivity to Context

This means the analysis being sensitive to the data, as well as to the social context and relationships between the researcher and participants. For the current study, this was ensured through the interview process itself and the approach to analysis, whereby the experiences of participants were explored in depth, in a way that aimed to help them in making sense of their own experiences. The research focus and research questions were also developed in collaboration with a local migrant support group in order to ensure that they were sensitive to the social context.

4.11.2. Commitment and Rigour

This can be seen as having a deep engagement with the topic area in addition to methodological rigour in data collection and analysis. This has been ensured through the

continual use of supervision, prompting me to habitually reflect on the research process. Smith, Flower and Larkin (2009) highlight how having an appropriate sample and research questions, the quality of the individual interviews themselves and the nature of the analysis are also indicators of commitment and rigour within a qualitative study. I feel confident in the rationale behind my choice of research questions and participants, and additional information on these can be found earlier in Chapter 4.

4.11.3. Transparency and Coherence

This has been described as clarity in research aims, with transparent methods and data presentation. Yardley (2000) also states that in qualitative research, the coding process should be validated by at least two individuals, to ensure transparency. I discussed both initial coding and theme generation with my two research supervisors. Through these discussions and my own individual reflection, it was possible to give definitions to the most pertinent themes, which were then interpreted through use of psychological theory. This process ensured that the analyses reflected the data in the most objective way, while also recognising my influence as a researcher.

Inter-rater reliability testing was also carried out with a colleague of mine on the DEdPsy course. Our conclusion was that in general, although we captured the same broad themes, my codes were longer and more descriptive than hers. For example, in response to the passage below, she coded "maturity" whereas I coded "migration seen as increasing emotional maturity".

"It made me change as a person, it made me appreciate a lot of stuff that I couldn't appreciate back then. It made me know the difficulty of stuff, made me have a point of view of adults, how adults see the world and how children see it, and to be able to compare and make myself be more mature." (Claudio)

4.11.4. Impact and Importance

Impact and importance can be understood either in a theoretical sense, in terms of enriching academic understanding, or in a more practical sense in terms of providing data and guidance for schools, education leaders and policy makers. The current study aims to discover how the process of migration has impacted on how the adolescent participants understand themselves. Through this, my objective was to gain insight into how an idea of oneself and one's identity is constructed against the backdrop of the atypical experience of childhood or adolescent migration in order to further theoretical understanding in this area. On the other

hand, I have also consulted with senior figures within the Local Authority and worked closely with a migrant support group in the development of my research, so that my eventual recommendations have the potential to have practical relevance on both of these levels.

Chapter 5: Results and Discussion

5.1. Introduction

In this chapter, the results of my thematic analysis are presented, along with links to relevant research and psychological theory. 116 codes were initially identified after the data had been transcribed, and these were eventually clustered into six themes and 26 subthemes. These are included in this section, supported by verbatim quotes from those interviewed.

The analysis conducted represents one subjective interpretation of the data, and a different researcher could have identified, named and articulated the themes in a different way. The six themes were common to the nine interviews conducted, but there were also areas of difference that emerged in each theme, and these are commented upon in each section. Each of the subthemes is composed of between two and six of the original 116 codes generated during the data analysis phase. For each subtheme, the number of participants who expressed the experience or point of view described during the initial interviews is included, in the interests of transparency. Comments have also been added based on the subsequent member reflection interviews, especially where large differences were evident between the initial and member reflection interviews. Seven of the original nine participants took part in these. Details of this process are provided in Chapter 4.

In presenting quotes in the report, some small alterations have been made. The repetition of particular words and sounds such as "ehhh" have generally been removed from the verbatim extracts presented, as well as any short pauses. Square brackets have been used where it was deemed necessary to provide additional detail on what a participant was referring to. Kemina's interview transcript has been included in Appendix F. The numbers which follow each of her verbatim quotes in this chapter correspond to those in the original transcript in Appendix F.

5.2. Title Quote

"I like it here because I have to" was chosen as my title quote, as I feel it captures the reluctance and emotional pain, combined with resilience and determination, which underpinned the experiences of migrant adolescent participants in this study. In describing his experiences, Claudio outlined how he had matured and become successful in the UK, both academically and socially, despite continuing to disagree with his parents' decision to move here, and feeling an acute sense of loss for his previous life in Spain.

This quote highlights the importance of schools recognising children and adolescents' lack of agency around migration, and demonstrating empathy for their emotions, while at the same time seeking to promote resilience factors, which facilitate positive adaptation and identity formation. These include aspects such as a supportive peer group and opportunities to pursue hobbies and interests, English language acquisition and the presence of relevant role models in the school environment.

Figure 1 outlines the six themes generated through the process of thematic analysis. These are then discussed in turn in the remainder of this chapter.
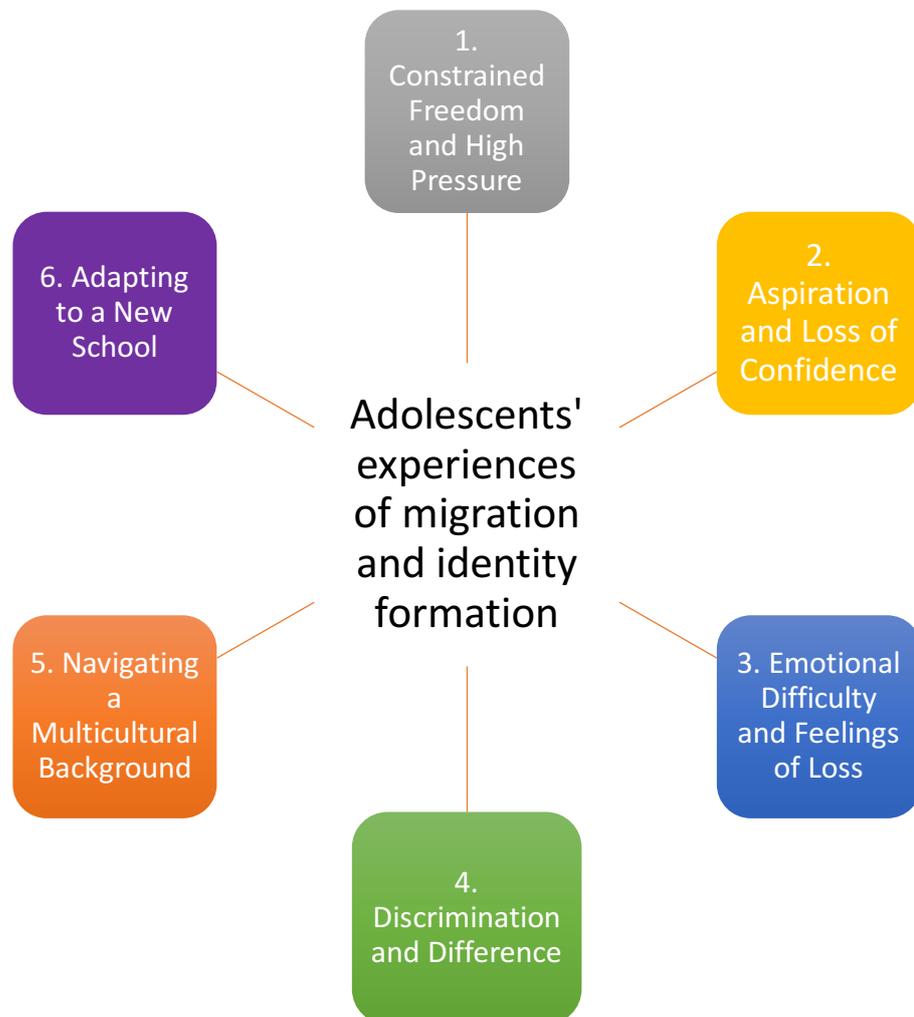

Figure 1: Theme Diagram

5.3. Theme 1: Constrained Freedom and High Pressure

"Yeah and also they [parents] just want you to stay at home so that you can learn English." (Kemina, during member reflection)

"They always expect you to be the next businessman, the next doctor, the next lawyer, cause they're already making the sacrifice." (Claudio, during member reflection)
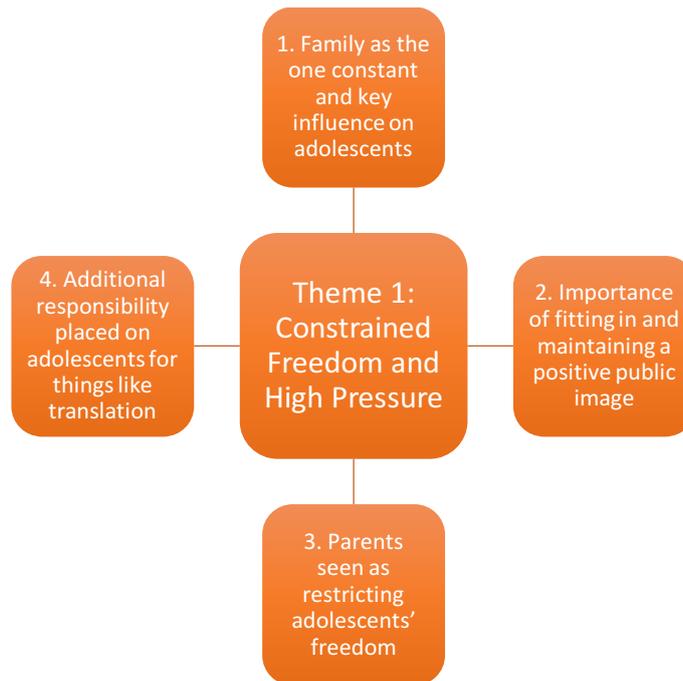
Figure 2: Theme 1 with four subthemes

Figure 2 illustrates Theme 1, and the four subthemes that compose it. Participants linked the process of moving to an unfamiliar country with having less freedom than they had in their home countries, either in Spain or Latin America. They mentioned spending less time outside the home in general than when they had been living in their home country. Parents may allow their teenage children less independence than they may have afforded them in their home country, where they themselves had a better understanding of the language, the local area and culture, as well as factors such as safety. McIlwaine et al. (2011), in their mixed methods research, found a picture of social isolation among London's Latin American community, which may act to restrict the amount of freedom and agency they permit to their children. A study by Schwartz, Côté and Arnett (2005), which looked at three different ethnic groups in the United States and suggested that lower levels of agency and freedom were related to less exploration and less flexible identity commitment, and positively related to avoidance behaviours in adolescents.

This curtailed freedom could reduce the opportunity for what Erikson calls the psychosocial moratorium, a period of exploration with absent responsibilities, meaning that young people spend less time exploring new identities and are more focussed on socially and parentally prescribed goals. Berman, Schwartz, Kurtines, and Berman (2001) highlight the importance of this stage and show that moratorium is associated with indicators of the development of critical thinking, particularly in the capacity to generate a variety of alternatives when an individual is faced with an important life choice.

5.3.1. Family as the one constant and key influence on adolescents

"My mother is my main role model. She always guides me in a good way." Marc

"As long as my Mum is happy and my family is happy then it's alright because friends, you can have them anywhere and everywhere." Kemina, Line 410

"My parents are most important influence. Because they always talk to me about what I should do, and how I should behave." Bruno

"Well you see family, like in most cases they're the only people that stay next to you at all points – in difficult times and good times. So with coming to London, they're like the only people that support you at all times." Claudio

Family was seen by every participant to be the main influence on their life and how they see themselves, above friends or other factors. All participants also agreed with this during member reflection. Parents and siblings, but particularly mothers, were seen to be the one constant in young people's lives throughout the transition between either two or three countries during their childhood and adolescent years. Parents were perceived to have high expectations of their children, leading to pressure to succeed, but some participants mentioned that they were often unable to provide practical support around education, due to difficulties with the English language. One participant also mentioned his desire to repay the sacrifices his parents had made for him in moving to England.

Kao and Tienda (1998) have put forward the theory that a lack of knowledge of their new country's education system can lead to unrealistically high or low aspirations among migrant and minority families. Children may also be aware that expectations held by their parents may not be applicable to their own situation and this could mean that siblings and peers act

as more direct role models. This was the case in this study, where parents were seen as providing encouragement and high expectations, but little practical support.

5.3.2. Importance of fitting in and maintaining a positive image in public

"So when I'm out, I'm being a very nice girl – helpful and polite so I think that people outside of school think that I'm a nice girl and that they're comfortable with me." Kemina, Line 450

"So in the streets I just try to act like a normal... I don't try to stand out in terms of trying to take attention, I try to stand out in terms of things that are good." Claudio

Two participants mentioned the idea that they wanted to consciously project a positive image to the world, and be seen as contributing to both the school community and society as a whole. During member reflection, a further three participants mentioned that they 'kind of' agree with this. There was a sense that these participants felt that some people in the wider local community held a negative perception of recently-arrived migrants, and as such, they were conscious of always presenting a positive image to the world that did not reinforce perceived negative stereotypes.

5.3.3. Parents seen as restricting adolescents' freedom

"Then when we came here, we didn't go out. Like, my mum doesn't want to go out to the park or anything here." Karmen

"You start missing those days of school when you can socialise with other people, especially in London 'cos you don't get to go out to places or play in parks as much as other countries." Claudio

Three participants felt that their parents' strictness and the fact that they generally spent less time outdoors doing things like going to parks after moving to London meant that adolescents often had less contact with the outside world than they did in their previous country and spent more time at home. During member reflection, a further three participants indicated that they "kind of" agree with this. Participants felt that they should have more freedom when comparing themselves to their peers, but perceived that their parents were actively constraining this, leading some participants to express a degree of resentment over this. They also mentioned strictness as a common trait of Latin American parents and that generally children and teenagers are held to more stringent behavioural standards than their British counterparts.

This fits with research from the United States by Ribar (2012), which found that migrant families tended to devote less time to community activities and leisure than those born in the United States. Previous qualitative research by this author (Gilsenan, 2016) also found that parents generally arrived in socially weak positions, without any knowledge of English, a social network beyond the immediate family, and any understanding of the functioning of English public services. McIlwaine (2015) also found that anxiety and feelings of disempowerment are common among Latin American parents, which is likely to have a strong impact on children and young people, and particularly on how much independence they are afforded within the local community.

5.3.4. Additional responsibility placed on adolescents for things like translation
"It's basically because parents also ask you to go and translate for them and be like 'yeah you need to translate this, you need to help me do this and that.' Don't pressure us because school is already a lot of pressure so please relax." Kemina, Line 556

"Well I talk to my parents in Spanish but when we go out, because my mum and dad also don't know how speak English, I'm the one, like, I need to ask if we need something." Karmen

Four participants felt that because their parents were less fluent in English than they were, they were often obliged to do translation work for them and generally help their parents to communicate with others outside the home. During member reflection, three more participants indicated that they strongly agreed with this. Some participants also felt that they had to take on additional responsibilities for things like cleaning and washing their clothes after their move to London due to their parents' need to work longer hours than they had before. This brought about an increased awareness of adult concerns such as those of a financial nature after moving to England. There was a sense that moving country meant participants began to see the difficulty and occasional cruelty of life, which caused adolescents to rapidly mature from the relative innocence of childhood.

Building on this, a study by Renzaho, Dhingra and Georgeou (2017) found that because children learn English faster than their parents do, this ability leads to them acting as translators, interpreters and advocates for their parents, helping them to function in this new context by acting as cultural ambassadors. However, children's newfound power as family language brokers often results in the older generation feeling disempowered and in some cases humiliated. These factors can serve to challenge traditional family roles, and lead to decreased value being placed on parents' cultural capital, with a consequent negative impact

on dynamics within individual families where parents' skills are not seen as useful within their new environment.

Latin American adolescents in the United States have been found in some studies to view language brokering positively and to potentially result in a stronger ethnic identity (e.g. Weisskirch, 2005). However, in other research, it has been discovered that that there is often a more negative side to occupying this role, with children and adolescents missing education and other opportunities for social interaction in order to help their parents to complete daily tasks (Tang, 2001). This can cause conflict for young people, especially when this involves activities that are seen as necessary in maintaining their social position within school or other contexts. When this topic was discussed during the member reflection interviews, participants generally viewed this translation work in a positive way, recognising how necessary and helpful it was to their families.

Based on research conducted in London, Cline, Crafter and Prokopiou (2014) produced a book of guidance for schools in using children as language brokers, highlighting that young people generally enjoyed the role, but that they found it easier when school staff "perceived bilingualism as an asset, valued the role, acknowledged the responsibility that came with it and did not ask them to act in this role when the topic to be discussed made that risky or disturbing" (p. 7).

5.4. Theme 2: Aspiration and Confidence Loss

"At the moment I'm looking for jobs for myself… but it's limiting, like there's jobs that you can't do because you just don't understand [the language]." Kemina (during member reflection)
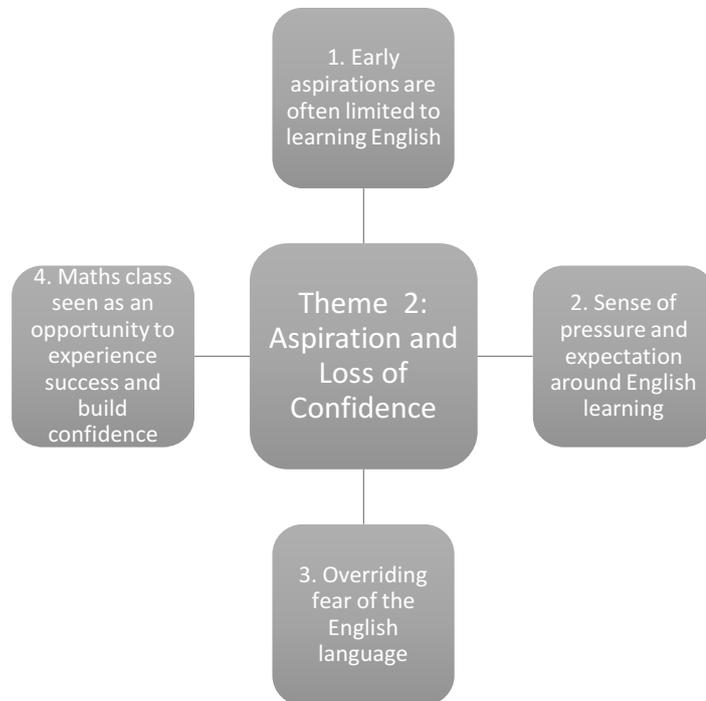
Figure 3: Theme 2 with six subthemes.

Figure 3 illustrates Theme 2, as well as the four subthemes that compose it. It emerged through the interviews that the process of migration has the potential to constrain aspirations in the short-term, by focusing adolescents on the immediate, daunting goal of language learning, meaning that they often find it difficult to look beyond this towards their broader goals and ambitions in life. As such, many become entirely focused on the magnitude of the initial task of learning a second language that participants generally had little exposure to or interest in prior to their move to London, which was generally an unexpected move from their perspective.

It appears that perhaps many adolescent migrants remain in Developmental Stage 4: Industry versus Inferiority (Erikson, 1959) for an extended period, having their development stagnate somewhat due to the immediate practical and psychological demands of migration. This stage is articulated in giving language acquisition and mastery precedence over everything else. At this developmental level, Erikson (1959) defines "industry" as mastering culturally-defined ways of achieving one's goals, for example reading, writing and maths. Migrants may

often still be at this stage well into their teenage years due to not having the ability to read and write proficiently in English, meaning there is a disjunction between their emotional and physical maturity, and the development of the second-language literacy skills that are necessary to engage with their new environment.

Toppelberg and Collins (2010) reference this disjunction in a study looking at language acquisition and its impact on cultural adaptation in migrant children and adolescents in the United States. They found that "communicative competence and social competence are correlated in English-language learning in children" (p. 8). Their research found that adolescents with poor English-language mastery are often infantilised and ignored by their classmates. Overall, they found that English language competence has a positive impact on adolescents' psychological development, capacity to emotionally regulate, and access to aspects such as teacher praise and understanding rules within the classroom, with the opposite true for those who struggle to master the English language.

Many participants in the current study experienced language learning as a deep and lasting loss of self-confidence. Most spoke about the fear they held about speaking and learning English and how this pervaded all aspects of their life, both in school and outside. Half of the participants had reached a point where they felt confident in their ability to speak English, but the other half were still struggling with confidence issues. This seemed to be especially true of boys, who appeared to be potentially less willing to take risks in their learning. A possible contributing factor to this may be the influence of Latino patriarchal culture, which emphasises the importance of men being strong and in control (Piniero, 2012). King and Ganuza (2005), in their reflections on a study exploring the experiences of Chilean migrant teenagers in Europe, commented that their findings raise the value of giving greater attention to gender differences observed in identity and second language acquisition, with boys indicating a much higher level of racism and discrimination experienced. This impacted significantly on their confidence and motivation to integrate into the dominant culture.

5.4.1. Early aspirations are often limited to English language learning

"I was looking to learn my English, that's all." Kristian

"I wanted to learn English at least… That was the only hope I had." Hana

"And I always wanted to get into medicine and all of that, so get good grades, but at that time it was quite, sort of like a big dream [because of the language], I was like no, I can't, I can't achieve As,

that's like a joke. So I kept saying oh, at least if I can get Cs or something, I think that was, yeah, my main goal, get friends, get Cs and yeah, that was it, it was quite low at that time [laughs]." Kesi

Three participants saw becoming proficient in English as their only short to medium term goal upon starting school in the UK and found it difficult to have concrete aims beyond this, since everything appeared to depend on their English-language level. One more participant strongly agreed with this during member reflection, with three participants "kind of" agreeing. Some also referenced their very low level of English beforehand as a reason why the task appeared so daunting to them.

5.4.2. Sense of pressure and expectation around English learning

"Don't put too much pressure on us. Because putting pressure on us will just stress us out and if you put a lot of pressure there's gonna be a point where someone's gonna cry." Kemina, Line 546

"I think it would be good for teachers to have a little more patience. Sometimes we can't get it the first time, so we need a bit more time to get it." Marc

"Many teachers, at the beginning, they don't even care about you. They don't even help you. And they judge you and they're looking at you for like, your low grades and they don't know how it is in your life." Kristian

"Like when you first come here, my mum kept on like you're not getting good grades, you're not getting this, you're not getting that. You've got to understand that we're moving in, leaving all our friends, our family, our culture, our language as well, so it's a lot." Kesi

Pressure to learn English rapidly from both parents and teachers was spoken about as detrimental by four participants, with expectations for English language learning often perceived as unrealistic. One more participant strongly agreed and one "kind of" agreed during member reflection. Participants felt that being judged by their grades within their first years of learning English was also unjust, and that more allowance needed to be made for their status as EAL learners.

Research conducted by Eisenchlas, Schalley and Guillemin (2013) found that while migrant children's competency in the English language is a highly important factor, children's skills and abilities in languages other than English are often neglected or not recognised. This links to work by Mehmedbegovic (2008) in London, where a child commented during a research interview that "Miss, who needs the languages of immigrants? You need to be good at

English, very good at English." This highlights the child's low perceived importance of minority languages or, as she described them, "immigrant languages". Mehmedbegovic (2008, p. 6) reflects on how her question captures "issues of inequality, power and marginalisation and recognition that the only affirmed and desirable profile is the one of a highly competent English speaker, native or near native". This was a sentiment that was echoed by many participants in the current research, who generally saw their skills in Spanish as irrelevant to their new context.

Eisenchalas, Schalley and Guillemin (2013), in a study conducted in Australia, found that parents who want to raise their children bilingually have very little support available to achieve this, in terms of maintaining home language literacy if migration has interrupted literacy development. This situation appears to be very similar in the UK, where in its report entitled *Languages for the Future*, the British Council (2013) stresses the importance of utilising the linguistic skills of the UK's minority communities, warning that the current failure to do so is a waste of linguistic resources. This report also highlights Spanish as the most important second language for the UK, based on a range of economic, political, cultural and educational indicators. However, as highlighted by Mehmedbegovic and Bak (2017), the value put on foreign language teaching in the UK appears to be currently decreasing. They describe a year-on-year reduction in both the number of schools offering foreign language classes, and in GCSE and A-level take-up from students.

Martín (2005) found that migrant and refugee parents, worried about their children's progress compared to native-born peers, often decide to change to using English in their conversations with their children, despite themselves having a limited level of competency in English. This contradicts a large body of existing research that provides evidence that maintaining and developing a child's home language does not have any negative impact on the acquisition of a second language (e.g. Cummins, 2001).

For participants in this study who had mastered the language and begun to demonstrate their potential academically, great pride was drawn from the achievement of making noticeable progress in English and beginning to show their true academic abilities. This links to the idea of overcoming difficulty and as such developing a sense of control over their experiences and development as a resilience factor, as proposed by Ungar et al. (2007).

5.4.3. Overriding fear of the English language

"Well, I was scared because I didn't know how to speak English. There was nothing anyone, like, could explain to me." Karmen

"I felt, like, scared. Because I didn't understand what was happening, or where I had to go." Bruno

Four participants commented that they felt scared by the prospect of learning English, and often remained silent as a way to avoid feeling self-conscious in speaking aloud in front of others. Two more "kind of" agreed with this during member reflection. One participant also mentioned that because of her Latin American accent and dialect, she had a similar experience when first moving to Spain, in that she was initially silent, not wanting to choose the wrong word or pronunciation. It appears to take more than three years for recently-arrived adolescents to find their voice in this new context, and some still felt highly self-conscious about things like reading aloud after this point.

5.4.4. Maths class seen as an opportunity to experience success and build confidence

"For every other lesson they put me in a low set, and then for maths only I was in high set because you know, many of the things I had done three years ago in Spain." Kesi

"It was easier for me to learn how to answer some questions in class, especially in maths. In maths you don't need the language so much, so I felt more confident there." Bruno

Three participants mentioned that due to the lower language demands in maths, it was possible for students to reach a feeling of achieving their potential more quickly, whereas subjects like English remained difficult for a much longer period of time. They also expressed frustration at being placed in low sets at times. A further three agreed during member reflection. This links to research by Cummins (2001), where he describes two principles, Maximum Cognitive Engagement and Maximum Identity Investment. The Maximum Cognitive Engagement principle stresses that learning must be in line with a learner's cognitive abilities, which is not defined by their level of proficiency in their second language. As Mehmedbegovic (2012, p. 69) highlights, "although negotiating language barriers with cognitively appropriate teaching and learning remains one of the most challenging aspects of working with new arrivals, teachers must strive to find a way of making cognitively appropriate work accessible for children who are developing their academic language proficiency."

Mehmedbegovic (2012, p. 69) builds on Cummins' work to describe how Identity Investment is "about creating conditions in educational settings where children build on what they have and what they know; their prior experiences are not dismissed, but 'allowed in' as the foundation stone of their current and future experiences and learning." As such, it is important that migrant adolescents are given the opportunity to draw upon their existing skills and knowledge within the classroom, through differentiated learning tasks and the use of their home language where appropriate.

5.5. Theme 3: Emotional Difficulty and Feelings of Loss

"I think migration develops you, your personal strength… But I think it also makes you weak in the sense that you're a young kid and you're being exposed to things even some adults may not ever have to overcome and the fact that you're vulnerable by not speaking English and losing friends, family." (Claudio, during member reflection).


Figure 4: Theme 3 with five subthemes.

Figure 4 illustrates Theme 3, as well as the five subthemes that compose it. Migration brought about experiences of loss for all the adolescents interviewed. For six out of nine participants, this was the second time in their life that they had experienced the significant upheaval of international migration. Participants spoke about the loss of important friendships and also the physical objects and items of sentimental value related to their childhood, which had been left behind, as well as significant periods of time spent away from parents and other family members, which is likely to have an impact on attachment formation and maintenance throughout childhood. The move to England was generally made in stages, with one parent often first moving alone in order to secure work. This move was often unexpected for participants, and on many occasions they mentioned being deceived about their initial move to London, believing that they were visiting family rather than moving permanently.

Research on trauma and identity formation (Berman, 2016) suggests that traumatic experiences can disrupt identity development, but that "trauma can also be incorporated into one's identity, serving not only as a turning point or reference point, but also defining one's life and purpose" (Berman, 2016, p. 1). This was evident among the young people interviewed, with some taking pride in their ability to overcome the difficulties brought about by their move, whereas others, who denied that their move had impacted upon them in any way, appeared less able to draw self-esteem from the achievement of adapting to a new country and educational context.

Batista-Pinto Wiese (2010) also speaks about psychological trauma in both children and adolescents as a result of international migration, particularly forced migration. She concludes that "migration has a massive interference in the child's psychological development and mental health, which can be severe if related to acculturative stress or traumatic states" (Batista-Pinto Wiese, 2010, p. 142). She proposes that young children are at risk of developing insecure, ambivalent, or disorganised attachment based on the idea that the absence of trust in their surroundings can manifest itself negatively in less exploratory behaviour and independence. She suggests that the impact of the migration experience may present in adolescents and older children as increased externalised aggressive behaviour, in addition to internalised anxiety and depressive symptoms.

5.5.1. Losing contact with old friends

"That's the thing, we travel a lot, you do lose a lot of friends." Hana

"I think I lost everything. Friendships, teachers, 'cos you know, you get used to them a lot, and yeah, I think everything literally, the culture, everything. Everything was completely different." Kesi

Eight participants spoke about leaving behind close friends in Spain or Latin America after moving to the UK, and the emotional pain and difficulty this had caused them, as well as facing the difficulty of establishing a new social network in London. This was found to be especially difficult for those who arrived in their school before a community of pupils of Latin American heritage had become established in the area.

5.5.2. Difficulty of being apart from parents and siblings

"We were like two years without him, so I had to, my mum said that I was like the dad of the family at that point." Claudio

"Then my mum left, and she went to Spain, and my dad never took care of me, so I was by myself, with my grandmother." Kristian

The majority of participants, five in total, spoke about emotional difficulties they had experienced due to staggered family migration throughout their childhood and adolescence. Some had lived with extended family, away from both of their parents for periods of time, and many others had been separated from their fathers and in one case their sibling for substantial periods due to immigration and employment-related issues. During member reflection, some participants mentioned that they did not see this as a difficulty per se, as they had become used to spending very little time with their parents, due to their work commitments in both Spain and the UK. Previous research by this author (Gilsenan, 2016) found that Latin American parents often work very long hours composed of multiple split shifts each day. This is something that was also found in McIlwaine et al.'s (2011) wider-ranging quantitative study.

Jones, Sharpe and Sogren (2003), in a study looking at economic migration from the Caribbean, found that the positive attachments children already had with their parents did not reduce the degree of loss and emotional difficulty that they felt after being separated from them. They conclude that "the persistence and severity of emotional problems relating to unresolved loss indicate that positive attachment behaviours in infancy do not necessarily insulate children against threats to their attachment bonds in adolescence" (Jones et al., 2003, p. 18). In particular, the findings from this study suggest that the concept of attachment and attachment difficulties, which are generally looked at in infants and young children, are experienced in a different but equally significant way by older children and adolescents. These issues appeared to be experienced by participants in the current study, due to separation taking place at various points during childhood and adolescence, combined with lack of contact and time spent together in London.

5.5.3. Feelings of loneliness and isolation during early months in London

"Like, when I entered to the school and I was sad and, like, alone because I didn't have friends... Oh, in Year 6, like, halfway through the year, I told my mum and dad that I want to go back to Spain because of all of that was happening, I was feeling alone and all of that." Karmen

"So it was quite hard at first 'cos it was only us three [Latin American students] so we would be the only group of three people sitting in the playground and when we were doing group activities we would be the three left over." Kesi

"When I moved here I felt like it was like one or two years when I was just struggling, crying a lot and the fact that I couldn't speak with anyone." Claudio

Five participants spoke about the deep sense of sadness and loss that they felt in their initial weeks and months in London, combined with a desire to return home and, in some cases, a feeling of frustration and anger towards their parents for bringing these difficulties upon them. It is therefore highly important that adults around these adolescents in school are sensitive to their emotional states and needs. It is crucial for those working with migrant adolescents to recognise that even if migrants, rather than refugees, are seen to have left their country by choice, this is not the case for children and teenagers. They may arrive having feelings of anger and resentment to work through rather than initially feeling ready to embrace the new opportunities available to them.

If interpreting participants' experiences in their early months in London from a personal change perspective using the Kübler Ross (2005) Stages of Grief model, it could be expected that young people will remain in the Shock and Denial phases for an extended period, due to the abrupt and undesired nature of their move, before moving on though Depression and Experimentation towards Integration. It is only in the latter stages of this model that they will be ready to learn and engage actively with school in London.

5.5.4. Unhappiness and resistance to move to London. Deception often involved in initial move

"I told my mum I didn't want to come, so she said, 'Who are you going to stay with?' And I said, I can stay with my brother or my auntie or my uncle." Karmen

"I didn't agree with my mum to come here, but once I knew I didn't have a way back, in my mind said I had to have a target and my target was to have an all right level of English, have good friends, play football." Claudio

"No, not at all. They had planned to come already so I didn't have any say [about coming to London]." Marc

"I remember crying every single day and the school was going to start soon and they had everything ready for me, uniform, school, everything, so it was horrible." Kesi

Eight participants described being initially very resistant to the idea of moving to London, having been generally content and secure within their lives in Spain. As migration was generally undertaken due to financial necessity, children did not have any say or influence on their families' decision to move to London. Participants spoke about being given a short period of time to prepare for the move and for many participants, deception was involved, in that they were initially told that they were going to London for a holiday, or to meet other family members, but eventually told that they were staying in London on a permanent basis. During the member reflection interviews, six out of seven participants revealed that deception had been involved in their initial move, having been told that they were initially moving to London for a holiday or a short trip.

5.5.5. Migration seen as developing personal strength and perseverance
"When they took the decision to move to here… it helped me to change my way of seeing the world. It made me more strong." Bruno

"I think I matured, I think it made me appreciate a lot of stuff that I didn't have back then." Claudio

Five participants expressed how they felt that the experience of migration had eventually brought about positive differences in their characters, such as increased maturity and emotional strength. Five of seven participants agreed with this subtheme during member reflection. They often reflected on their own personal strength of character, which they had drawn upon in order to make it through the difficult early months in London, and contrasted their personality now to how it had been before in a positive way. Participants spoke about feeling stronger and more confident now, as well as having a better understanding of the adult world. There was a sense among some participants, however, that their move had prematurely ended the innocence of their childhoods, forcing them to confront hardship and difficulty at an early age.

5.6. Theme 4: Discrimination and Difference

"Oh my gosh, if I told you the things that they say… oh you need to go back to your country, you need to get out. That's what they tell me. I'm like, that's rude and they're like 'it's a joke, it's a joke' But as much as it's a joke, I wish they didn't say it." Kemina, Line 438

"Yeah, something like, including like, cause I'm Colombian they [other students] call me like you, you drug addict and stuff like that." (Kristian, during member reflection).
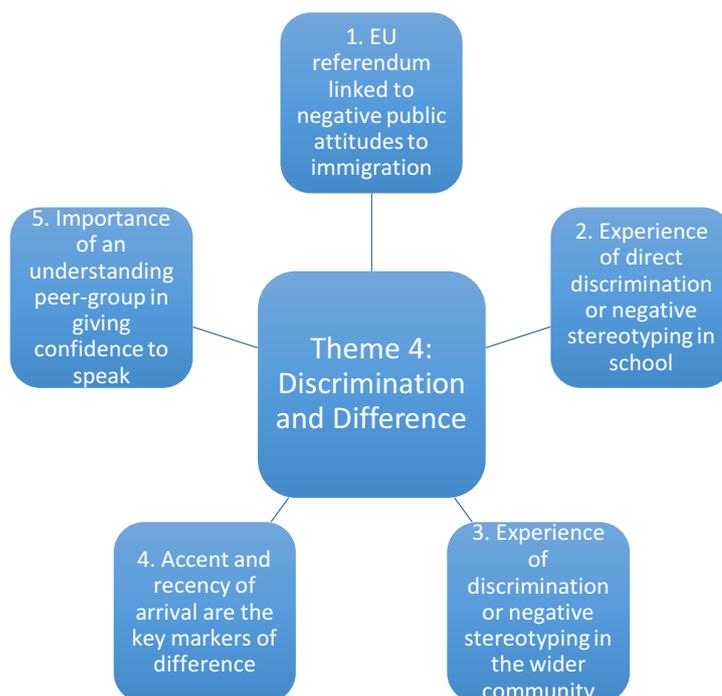

Figure 5: Theme 4 with five subthemes

Figure 5 illustrates Theme 4, as well as the five subthemes that compose it. Most participants were aware of, or had directly experienced discrimination or xenophobia since their move to London, and the majority were keenly aware of their status as economic migrants in a society that most saw as becoming less welcoming towards new arrivals. This discrimination and sense of difference may serve to distance young people from British identity, cementing a view of themselves as outsiders within a broadly hostile post EU referendum national context.

Participants themselves did not seem to link national identity conflicts to their general wellbeing, unlike their parents during the pilot study conducted by this author (Gilsenan, 2016). For adolescents, the experiences they had gone through due to migration and the

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impact of these on their development had the strongest impact on both their identity and wellbeing. Participants generally saw their two national identities as sitting easily side by side. One exception, however, was when, in a different school, direct discrimination from an adult was experienced directed towards "Latinos", which served to strengthen this individual's sense of Latin American cultural identity over their Spanish identity.

Participants seemed to be particularly emotionally influenced by discrimination that came from non-white British individuals, perhaps given that they may have considered them peers as those of a migrant background or minority ethnicity. However, it appears that lines may be being redrawn as part of Britain's specifically anti-migrant political and media context, which means that Latin American migrants struggle to identify allies in school, outside of their immediate community, with discrimination focused on accent and recency of arrival, rather than on ethnicity in general. During the member reflection interviews, participants also mentioned experiencing discrimination within the Latin American community based on factors such as recency of arrival.

5.6.1. EU referendum linked to negative public attitudes to immigration
"Yeah, mostly Brexit. Like, for example, I've heard many people, say 'I hope they go already because Latin people are coming here the most. Most of it is Latin.' So they think we're going to take all the benefits." Hana

"You could see the tension with all the Brexit thing that was going on, they just were like they're taking away your jobs, they're doing this, but that's not the case." Kesi

"And the media has an influence, so if the media says something and it's in the news, people will be influenced by it and spread the word and it gets to us, people saying 'oh they're gonna come and take our jobs.' And they don't see the things that we do as well. We also help the country to develop, but they just don't see it that way." Kemina, Line 494

Three participants raised the issue of the UK's decision to leave the EU and associated it with an increasingly hostile context for newly-arrived migrants to the UK. Five out of seven participants also agreed during member reflection interviews. Many placed the responsibility on the media for generating anti-migrant sentiment, and some directly linked phrases such as "they're taking our jobs" and "they should go back to their own country", which they had heard both in and outside school, to those used during the political and media debate around the EU referendum.

There is evidence that racist incidents in British schools have increased in recent years (e.g. Busby 2017). A recent survey of teachers in Wales into the issue, carried out by Show Racism The Red Card (2017), highlighted teachers' lack of confidence and training on this topic. Teachers were found to be in agreement that anti-racist education should have a place within the school curriculum, with 90% of teachers surveyed believed that this was a necessary step. After a study based in England, Wales and Northern Ireland showed that 22% of teachers believe that, in the last year, students had experienced either a hate crime or hate speech while at school (Association of Teachers and Lecturers ATL, 2017). Dr. Mary Bousted, Secretary of the ATL added that "the Government needs to produce updated guidance that includes discussion of hate crime and speech and encourages critical thinking." Overall, then, a picture emerges of increasing numbers of xenophobic and racist incidents in school and teaching staff feeling underprepared to deal with this effectively.

5.6.2. Experiences of direct discrimination or negative stereotyping in school

"Yeah, discrimination. In like Year 7 there's people coming up to me because I'm Colombian and saying oh do you got cocaine, do you sell cocaine, give me one kilo please… and that hurts me, cause they're talking about my country, and it's always cocaine." Kristian

"She said where are you from, and I was like, I'm Colombian, and then she said oh yeah, you had to be Colombian. So that's when I was like what do you mean I had to be Colombian, and then she was like yeah, all you guys are doing the same thing." Kesi

"Because they say that they're just coming here to take their parents' jobs… there were children who were good with me but there were children who were racist and said those Spanish are just here to take the work from our parents." Karmen

Four participants described instances of having hostility directed towards them in school, either targeted towards their status as a recently-arrived migrant or towards their Latin American heritage. A further two participants "kind of" agreed during member reflection. In some instances, participants saw that abuse was disguised as "jokes and banter" by others, but it was not experienced as such by the individuals involved. One participant described a way in which he had positively dealt with discrimination in the past, by either responding with humour or stopping the incident immediately by telling a teacher.

While the research discussed in Chapter 2 describes the negative impact of discrimination on identity formation and psychological wellbeing, other research points to subtleties and coping mechanisms that are worthy of exploration. For example, Dion, Dion and Pak (1992)

found that young people responded to perceived discrimination through developing a stronger level of identification with their own ethnic or cultural group, potentially to act as a shield against negative societal perceptions. Phinney, Chavira and Tate (1993) found that young people protected themselves from discrimination by developing and expressing negative stereotypes about their group, or downplaying the importance of their ethnicity or cultural background. This minimising of the importance of nationality or culture was potentially the case for two participants in particular in the current study, who spoke about how they did not identify at all with the Latin American and Spanish speaking community in school.

5.6.3. Experience of discrimination or negative stereotyping in the wider community
"Oh, god. After Brexit, I literally heard, like, on the streets, many, like, racist comments against Latin people, and other minority groups." Hana

"When they say oh, where are you from, I say ah, I'm Colombian, they'll relate you straight away with Pablo Escobar and they will assume that you are disrespectful, naughty, not very good." Kesi

"Because, people think that immigrants they come here to take our jobs and even though the English people say 'oh, we don't say that'. It's true that they do. Deep inside they do say that and sometimes when you watch the news, the message, the moral is that immigrants are coming to take our jobs." Kemina, Line 491

Discrimination in the wider community was often seen as hidden, but the majority of participants, five in total, perceived a negative attitude towards them, having directly experienced or been aware of comments to family members about immigrants taking jobs and benefits. During member reflection, all participants either strongly or "kind of" agreed that discrimination in the wider community is an issue. Participants felt like they were treated differently in the wider world due to their status as recently-arrived migrants. Two had experienced direct hostility from members of the public based on the fact that they were speaking Spanish on public transport and in the street.

It is noteworthy that members of the same community had very different experiences of prejudice and discrimination within a similar school and local context, and as such, available research was consulted in an attempt to explain this. A study by Ruggiero and Taylor (1997) explored self-esteem and perceived control in order to investigate why members of minority groups at times minimise discrimination experienced when asked to speak about it afterwards. Individuals of Asian and black heritage responded to negative feedback after

being presented with information regarding the probability of discrimination. Overall, members of minority groups tended to minimise the impact of discrimination and instead blamed themselves for their perceived failure. By minimising the impact of discrimination as they did, individuals from an ethnic minority protected their social state self-esteem. This was, however, at the cost of lowering their performance state self-esteem.

5.6.4. Accent and recency of arrival are the key markers of difference

"Everyone talks about my accent. Everyone. My teachers don't say it in a rude way but there's people in my school, especially the Year 11s who always have to say something about my accent."

Kemina, **Line 427**

"We know the grammar perfectly, perhaps even the words and how to spell, but we still don't know really how to pronounce." Hana

"Maybe the pronunciation is the most difficult thing for Spanish speakers… sometimes people can't understand you when you're trying to talk with them." Marc

"So maybe if someone was trying to speak in English and obviously they would have a funny accent, and all of that, they would just laugh at it." Kesi

Even when progress is made in English language acquisition, accent marks migrant teenagers out as different, and was often a target for bullying and insults from other students in school. Five participants spoke about the fact that although they had made rapid progress in acquiring grammar and vocabulary in English, the aspect that they found most difficult to master was pronunciation. All participants either strongly agreed or "kind of" agreed with this during member reflection. This was reported to impact on their ability to be understood by others, and also made them a target at times for cruel comments from other students. Some eventually realised that they would likely never speak with a native English accent even if they achieved fluency, and as such, became more assertive in responding to these comments, as their confidence in English grew. Moyer (2004) observes that accent is "psychologically loaded" (p. 42) because it allows the speaker to be identified immediately as either native or non-native, the response to which may differ widely between various social contexts, something that participants in this study appeared to be acutely aware of.

5.6.5. Importance of having an understanding peer group in giving confidence to speak

"I mean they learned with me, they waited for me to get my words out and they allowed me to express myself in a way that I felt confident, and I didn't feel like they would laugh or embarrass me in front of everyone." Claudio

"When I joined the basketball team and everyone was serious and like they were focused on basketball so even if you said it wrong they would coach you, they wouldn't laugh, they wouldn't make a joke." Kesi

Four participants mentioned that it was essential to their development of English language skills to have a social context within their first year that was understanding and gave them the confidence to speak in English in a non-judgemental environment. One more participant "kind of" agreed with this during member reflection. For those who had arrived in England during the primary school years, school was often seen to provide this context. Secondary school, however, was generally seen as a less nurturing and caring environment. For those who had arrived after Year 7, settings such as sports teams provided a more confidence-building environment.

One participant mentioned how being given the responsibility of being made prefect took her mind off the self-consciousness that she had around speaking English, allowing her to focus on projecting a positive image of herself generally. Another participant mentioned how he valued the fact that teachers sometimes used him as a role model for more newly-arrived students to highlight the progress they could make in English and academic work.

5.7. Theme 5: Navigating a Multicultural Background

"They [parents] try to support you, they try to empathise with you… they can try as hard as they can but it's gonna be impossible for them unless they can go through the same experience of going to a new school and learning a new country." (Claudio, during member reflection)
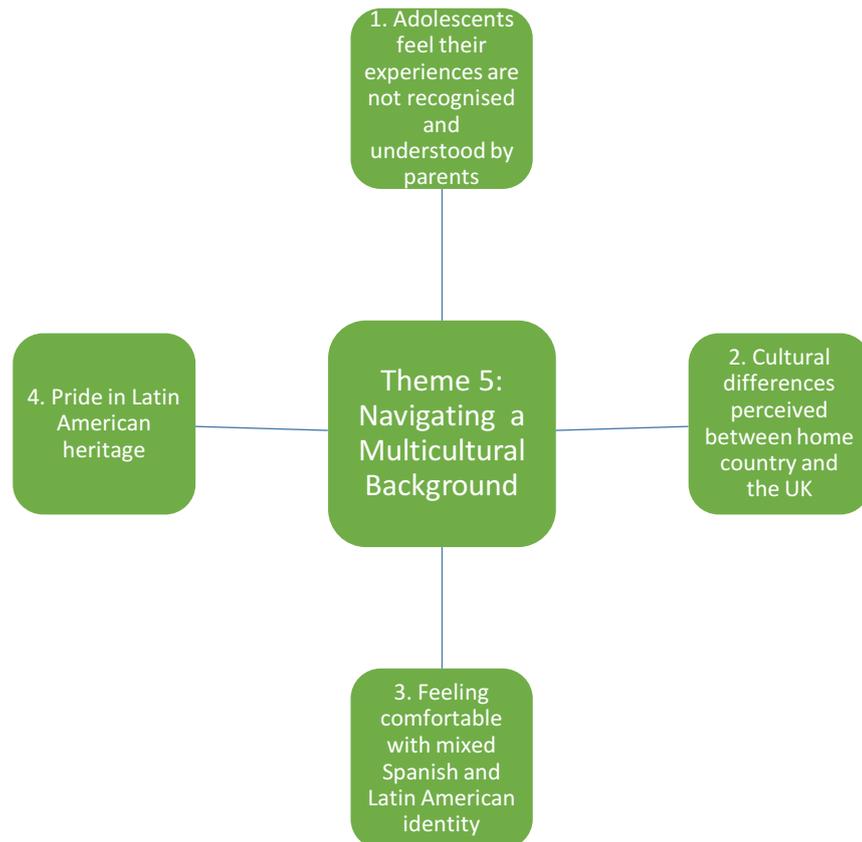

Figure 6: Theme 5 with four subthemes

Figure 6 illustrates Theme 5, as well as the four subthemes that compose it. Although over half of the participants in this study were born in a Latin American country, all participants had spent at least part of their childhood in Spain and, as such, were now forced to navigate their evolving identity in a third country that differed from their and their parents' birth country. Young people, then, had to navigate being part of a "Latino" school and local community, which they felt a varying level of identification with or reliance upon, while also adapting to British culture and education. There was a sense among participants that parents did not have a high level of understanding or ability to empathise directly with their children regarding the specific difficulties they experienced, leading to certain participants feeling quite isolated within their families. Anagnostopoulos et al. (2006, p. 236), in a study looking

at adolescent experiences of migration and its impact on family dynamics, provide an explanation of this process, describing how the "invariably painful gradual process of the parents' de-idealization, which usually occurs during adolescence, now may become traumatic, due to its forced external verification." They conclude that after the rejection of parental authority, adolescents can then become isolated, disillusioned and at risk of seeking alternatives to parental authority within their environments.

Participants also highlighted that they found it difficult to identify a particular British culture to integrate into, residing in the most diverse borough in England. This fits with other research conducted in London by Cooke (2008), who concludes that newly-arrived young people found themselves frequently living in multicultural areas of London that were "occasionally the sites of conflict as well as togetherness in difference" (Cooke, 2008, p. 22).

In their review of social values and culture, Masgoret and Ward (2006) found that knowledge of the new country's values and culture aids the acculturation process but is not directly related to the establishment of positive communication and relationships. They conclude that the best sociocultural adaptation outcomes are based on having a clear understanding of the differences in values and beliefs found in the new culture, rather than in purely accepting these without consideration. This suggests that integration is a two-way process of both getting to know new social norms, as well as reflecting upon those of one's home culture.

Immersion in one particular hobby, usually removed from language, seemed to be a way for some participants of grounding their identity in something from the past. This was something that was a feature of the lives of those who appeared to have adapted best to life in London.

5.7.1. Adolescents feel their experiences are not recognised and understood by parents
"Yeah because the parents think that it's more positive things than negative things... I think they should tell parents how children feel when they change country from one day to another because their lives change in the blink of an eye and from that day they think that their lives changed totally." Karmen

"She doesn't know when I have homework, all she says is have you got any homework? Go and do it. She doesn't know how I'm doing in school or come to parents' evening even if they call her." Claudio

Four participants initially spoke about feeling that their parents did not have a good

understanding of the difficulties that they had to go through in adapting to life in London, particularly in school. All participants either strongly or "kind of" agreed with this during member reflection. There was a sense that parents expected their children to be happy and enthusiastic about the new opportunities afforded to them by life in London, without fully appreciating the sadness and emotional difficulties that they experienced during the transition. One participant also spoke about the fact that his parents had a low level of understanding of the nature of his schoolwork and the tasks demanded of him.

Research conducted in France by Moguérou and Santelli (2015) demonstrates that help from parents of migrant children and adolescents is often unforthcoming, mainly because parents' lack of knowledge of the education system means that their capacity to offer practical support is limited, and that siblings are often a major source of educational support in large migrant families. This is something that participants in this study mentioned on occasion, with extended family such as cousins providing role models and support for academic achievement, which parents were unable to do.

5.7.2. Cultural differences perceived between home country and the UK

"The people around me behave differently than in Spain… they are more chatty and free to talk to other people than in Spain." Bruno

"I know in Spain we raise our voice a lot, but it doesn't seem like we're actually fighting. But here it sounds like they're fighting every time… as you get a little bit more time here and you keep living here for a while you understand it's actually friendly fighting." Hana

"But before, when I came here I thought I was gonna see many, many white people drinking tea [laughs]." Kristian

Four participants mentioned experiencing a degree of cultural dissonance upon moving to London from Spain. They generally knew little of modern British society and culture before moving to London and were surprised by London's multicultural nature, having expected a more traditional and monocultural White-British environment.

5.7.3. Feeling comfortable with mixed Spanish and Latin American identity

"Yeah, I feel like I'm Spanish and from Ecuador at the same time." Karmen

"I don't mind really, being called Spanish or Ecuadorian." Samuel

"I feel more Dominican because of my parents and family, but I feel Spanish as well. I don't think I will ever feel English." Marc

"I feel more Spanish, but I know that I'm Bolivian so I say to people that I'm from Bolivia." Bruno

Participants generally felt that their Spanish and Latin American identities sat easily beside each other and did not experience a large degree of conflict between them. Four participants mentioned this directly, but the topic did not arise in the other interviews. All participants either strongly or "kind of" agreed with this subtheme during member reflection. This was in strong contrast to earlier research by this author (Gilsenan, 2016), in which parents felt that issues of national identity conflict underpinned many of the emotional difficulties experienced by their children. Knauss et al. (2015) describe, however, how this type of transcultural identity may make adolescents more susceptible to the negative impact of discrimination than those who hold a single national or ethnic identity.

Those born in Spain generally saw themselves as equally Spanish and Latin American, whereas those born in Latin America prioritised their Latin American heritage over their Spanish, despite the fact that features such as their accent had often been shaped by their time in Spain. One participant was conscious of some conflict in his national identity in that he felt more Spanish, having left his home country at a young age, but felt it was more honest to say he was from Bolivia, since he had been born there. Another participant had experienced hiding his Latin identity while he was in Spain in order to blend in with the majority culture.

Two participants spoke about their identity as something they could control and shape rather than their culture or home language being something fixed that defined a significant element of their identity or personality. These participants seemed to reject culture as something that defines an individual's sense of self, and instead appeared to view culture as something that contributes little to their identity overall. This is something that McLean (2016) also found in her research looking at the the experiences of mixed-race young people, where she describes the idea that for some young people, culture was "rejected in light of an independent sense of self" (McLean, 2016, p. 150). For these participants, aspects such as their interests in music or sport were much more important for them in forming who they are.

5.7.4. Pride in Latin American heritage

"I'm proud to be Colombian and I will always be proud. So I don't mind if you like, insult me, like I don't care, I'm not going to hear you." Kristian

"I believe that you should never forget your roots and if you're Colombian, but yeah, you came here, you're still Colombian. If you want to take the British culture of course 'cos you have the right to, you were brought up here, but at least keep your other half intact." Kesi

"Even if I got to go to Spain right now I think I have a more developed mind-set, more mature, and I've kind of realised that the fact that I've refused that I was Colombian was quite stupid, and a bit prejudiced against the Colombian people really." Claudio

Five participants mentioned feeling a sense of pride in their Latin American heritage, and one in particular decided to begin identifying as Colombian rather than as Spanish after moving to the UK. Participants also spoke about the value in their school recognising and celebrating Latin American culture and giving equal prominence and importance to, for example, tragedies and events that occur in South America to those that occur in Europe, wanting their school to adopt a global standpoint, free of Eurocentric bias in terms of the priority given to global events.

5.8. Theme 6: Adapting to a New School

"The fact that you've got a place where you can be safe in a way and then have your friends and also learn, it's very good. School's always been there and even though I don't feel that feeling as much when I'm in school, when I'm outside I really miss school." Claudio

1. Educational achievement seen as a route to social acceptance

Theme 6: Adapting to a New School

2. Comfort in sharing the experience of language learning
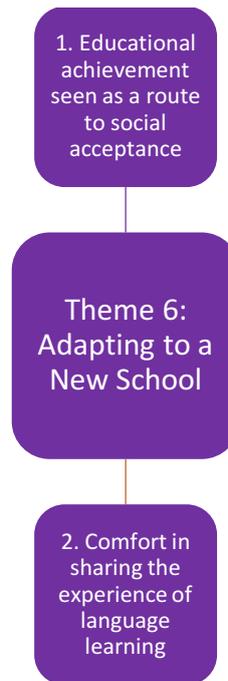
Figure 7: Theme 6 with two subthemes

Figure 7 illustrates Theme 6, as well as the two subthemes which compose it. Participants spoke at length about the experience of adapting to a new school environment, and the positives and negatives this had brought to them, both socially and academically. The vast majority of participants spoke positively about school and were highly motivated to achieve academically. However, a general picture emerged around how the idea of being "from here" as demonstrated through accent and recency of arrival, appeared to be key to entry into society's "in-group". Strong relationships with individual teachers in the school who acted as advocates were particularly important for certain participants, and some spoke about the practical difficulty of communicating with teachers in general in their early months in school, and thus the importance of having one person in the school whom they could trust. All participants were aware of the existence of a "Latino" or "Spanish speaking" community in the school, but they had very different relationships with this. Some were fully immersed and

spoke about spending most of their time outside lessons speaking Spanish, whereas others had very little social contact with other Spanish speakers within the school.

School has the potential to provide a particularly important environment for migrant adolescents and to offer a normalising context, to help them to feel secure through set routines, and to provide a second secure base outside of their home, or perhaps their only secure base. This can facilitate exploration and the experience of a psychosocial moratorium among migrant young people.

Building on this idea, in research conducted by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2015), first generation migrant students in the United Kingdom expressed a stronger sense of belonging at school than those without a migration background (OECD, 2015). This fits with the findings of the current research, where almost all participants spoke positively about their experience in school and their feeling of belonging there. In this OECD (2015) study, having a higher percentage of migrant students in a school was found not to have any negative impact on either overall academic performance or social integration. However, the report suggests that "after accounting for socio-economic status and performance in reading and mathematics, immigrant students are 44% more likely than non-immigrant students to be enrolled in vocational programmes" (p. 14), and that "the systematic tracking of disadvantaged immigrants into vocational pathways and less-demanding courses not only limits the academic skills they may acquire, but also creates an additional barrier into high-status professional occupations later on" (p. 14). This is a factor that was not specifically explored in my research, but given the loss of confidence expressed by participants after migration, it is likely that they may accept a less ambitious academic trajectory, if this is proposed by the school.

5.8.1. Educational achievement seen as a route to social acceptance

"You need education because if you're not good in your education, then people are going to say 'oh, you're dumb, you need to start studying more' and people will tell you stuff about yourself that you wouldn't like to hear." Kemina, Line 96

"Because school is important in life, if you want to be someone in life you have to go to school and be someone and like, get a high level. I don't want to be nothing, I want to get my money." Kristian

Three participants spoke about their sense that doing well in school would allow them to progress and be seen positively by both their family and society as a whole. A further three

either strongly or "kind of" agreed with this during member reflection. However, one participant was also conscious of the negative attention that success can bring within a minority community, where losing one's accent, achieving well in school and the loosening of ties to the community could be met with resentment from some parts. This links to previous research by Carter (2006), who identified the notion of "acting white", and found that academically successful African American students often risked being negatively labelled for their academic achievement, and losing social capital among their peers. As a consequence, they often resisted doing schoolwork and worked to deflect attention from educational achievement, stressing their achievements in sports instead, and sharing work with lower-achieving peers as a way to build and maintain social ties. In the UK, research by the EP Robinson (2013) uncovered similar findings when examining peer relationships and identity among highly achieving boys of Afro-Caribbean heritage in London. She found that boys in the study saw that peers could have both a positive and negative impact on attainment, and that boys used quite complex strategies to manage these relationships and balance popularity on the one hand with academic attainment on the other. Robinson (2013) speaks about how "boys were very aware of how they performed and were perceived by others. The boys purposefully created characters for themselves and occupied different positions to different ends" (Robinson, 2013, p. 87). This reflects somewhat the experience of Claudio, who spoke about how others could sometimes see his achievement positively by describing him as "smart", or else negatively by labelling him a "nerd".

5.8.2. Comfort in sharing the experience of language learning

"Yeah, it was a positive thing. Yeah, because there were more Spanish people who didn't know how to speak English with me, so I was comfortable." Kemina, Line 255.

"I felt nervous that there wouldn't be anyone to talk to. But when I came here I found people that spoke Spanish." Bruno

"Yeah, I mentioned the friend I told you that was really competitive with me, me and him went very well along in Year 6 and I think it was destiny in the form that both of us came to the same school, and thanks to him I've always, I've never felt lonely, I've always had him." Claudio

Five participants mentioned that they valued having the sense that they were not the only one going through the experience of language learning. Having some language teaching in small groups, supported by their home language, gave students a feeling that they were being supported and not alone in the experience. Peers also influenced participants by providing some positive competition and influence.

Most participants spoke about the important role of having a Spanish speaking friend in their initial weeks and months in London in order to ease the transition to their new school.

5.9. Relative Prevalence of Themes

Throughout this chapter, the number of participants whose quotes make up a given subtheme has been outlined in the text. Themes 1, 3, and 5 were universal, in that every participant contributed to at least one of the subthemes that make up these themes. Eight participants contributed to Theme 4, seven contributed to Theme 2 and six participants contributed to Theme 6.

The table below outlines the relative prevalence of each theme and subtheme across the nine participant interviews. For example, Theme 1, subtheme 1 is 'Family as the one constant and key influence on adolescents.' This was reported by all participants, as can be seen in the second column of the table, with a '1' in each row.

Table 2: Relative Importance of Themes for Each Participant

Name	Theme 1: Constrained Freedom and High Pressure	Theme 2: Aspiration and Confidence Loss	Theme 3: Emotional Difficulties and Feelings of Loss	Theme 4: Discrimination and Difference	Theme 5: Navigating a Multicultural Background	Theme 6: Adapting to a New School
Kemina	Subtheme 1, 2, 3, 4	Subtheme 2, 3	Subtheme 1, 4	Subtheme 1, 2, 3	Subtheme 4	Subtheme 1, 2
Bruno	Subtheme 1	Subtheme 3, 4	Subtheme 1, 3, 5	Subtheme 5	Subtheme 2, 3	Subtheme 2
Kristian	Subtheme 1, 4	Subtheme 1, 2	Subtheme 1, 2, 4, 5	Subtheme 2	Subtheme 1, 2, 4	Subtheme 1
Karmen	Subtheme 1, 3, 4	Subtheme 3	Subtheme 1, 2, 4, 3	Subtheme 2, 5	Subtheme: 1, 3	Subtheme 2
Samuel	Subtheme 1	N/A	Subtheme 2, 3, 4	N/A	Subtheme 3	N/A
Hana	Subtheme 1	Subtheme 1, 3, 4	Subtheme 1, 2, 4, 5	Subtheme 1, 3, 4	Subtheme 4, 2	N/A

Claudio	Subtheme 1, 2, 3, 4	N/A	Subtheme 1, 2, 3, 4, 5	Subtheme 3, 5	Subtheme 1, 4	Subtheme 1, 2
Marc	Subtheme: 1	Subtheme 2	Subtheme 4	Subtheme 3, 4	Subtheme 3	N/A
Kesi	Subtheme 1	Subtheme 1, 2, 4	Subtheme 1, 4, 3, 5	Subtheme 1 2, 3, 4, 5,	Subtheme 1, 2, 4	Subtheme 2
Total Number of Participants Contributing to Theme	**9**	**7**	**9**	**8**	**9**	**6**

5.10. Key Findings

These three key findings are based on the six themes identified in this chapter. The Implications for Practice described in Chapter 6 respond to each of these three key findings.

1. Specifically anti-migrant discrimination is an issue, and is targeted at and impacting particularly upon recently-arrived adolescents.
Based on Theme 4: Discrimination and Difference

2. Lack of freedom combined with language difficulties cause migrant adolescents' personal and identity development to stall for a period after migration.
Based on Theme 3: Emotional Difficulties and Feelings of Loss, and Theme 5: Navigating a Multicultural Background.

3. Intergenerational difficulties are common. These are often underpinned by the perceived deception involved in the initial move to the UK, combined with adolescents' feeling that their parents cannot support their academic and social development here.
Based on Theme 1: Constrained Freedom and High Pressure, and Theme 2: Aspiration and Confidence Loss.

Chapter 6: Implications for Practice

6.1. Introduction

In this section, a range of implications for practice are outlined through a consideration of how EP practice can develop based on the findings of the current research and in what areas EPs can provide most effective support to schools. It is of value for EPs to raise the importance of issues related to identity formation within school as part of our whole-school mental health remit. As highlighted by Schwartz and Petrova (2018, p. 1), "greater consistency and coherence within one's sense of identity is likely to lead to higher well-being, fewer symptoms of anxiety and depression, and lower likelihood of engagement in delinquent and health-compromising behaviours." As such, it is of importance to discover and implement ways of promoting healthy identity development in young people, while also developing a clear understanding of how to prevent difficulties in identity development. EPs have the potential to provide valuable support to schools in this area.

One important point to note is that from 1999 until 2011, local authorities possessed additional ring-fenced funding for EAL learners through the Ethnic Minority Achievement (EMA) grant (Strand, 2015), which also funded EMA teams within local authorities. Most of these have since been cut by the current government, and the borough where this research took place has no overall LA policy for the integration of migrant and EAL pupils. This is now down to schools individually, and as such, EPs can play a key role in ensuring that the needs of this group are met within schools.

6.2. Implications based on Key Finding 1:
Specifically anti-migrant discrimination is an issue, and is targeted at and impacting particularly upon recently-arrived students

This finding draws on Theme 4: Discrimination and Difference.

There is a need for EPs to be involved in training in schools focused on the following areas:
- Supporting adolescents in responding to discrimination.
- Developing teachers' confidence in intervening.
- Responding to incidents after they occur, as an opportunity for learning.

Anti-migrant discrimination was a prominent theme within my research findings and something that research shows is increasing within schools, that schools are struggling to deal with effectively, and that has a strong negative impact on identity formation. In this section of my report, I will consider what this means for EP practice, and specifically, how EPs can most effectively support schools in this area.

As EPs Mohamed (2012) and Mohamed and Thomas (2017) highlight, schools have a legal duty to play an active role in preventing and dealing with bullying and "schools should have robust procedures in place that recognise and deal with bullying and racist incidents, as well as provision to support children who may be experiencing bullying" (Mohamed and Thomas, p. 259). They highlight how provision could potentially include a range of approaches, including social skills interventions, therapeutic input and peer mentoring. One of these approaches, peer support, is elaborated here. EPs may also play a role in supporting schools to address wider socio-political events such as the EU referendum within the classroom to ensure that dominant media and political discourses are not replayed unchallenged, and that teachers feel more confident dealing with instances of discrimination within the classroom.

6.2.1. Supporting adolescents in responding to discrimination
One way that EPs can use the findings of this research is in supporting schools to develop peer support approaches to counter anti-migrant bullying. Cowie, Myers and Aziz (2017) highlight how peer support methods "have been shown over many years to improve the emotional climate of a school and to encourage children to take action against bullying and other forms of social exclusion" (p. 96). This is an area in which EPs have the potential to make a significant impact, by supporting schools in a training capacity to develop whole-school practice, as Price and Jones (2001) have done previously. This study explored the implementation of a peer-support scheme in a secondary school in Wales, and showed some positive impact, both for the peer mentors themselves and the students they supported. However, they encountered numerous organisational and timetabling difficulties and also reported that students expressed a sense of stigma around seeking support. This suggests that peer-support approaches may be more effective if all students in a given year group are trained and involved rather than only specific volunteers.

6.2.2. Developing teachers' confidence in intervening
This study has highlighted that it is important that discrimination on the basis of characteristics such as accent and recency of arrival is dealt with by schools on an organisational level and considered alongside discrimination on the basis of ethnicity, sexual

orientation, or other categories protected by the Equality Act (2010). This may require input for teaching staff on issues such as cultural competence and the appropriate way to both avoid and challenge subtle instances of prejudice and discrimination. Participants in this study mentioned experiencing discrimination on a frequent basis in school, particularly on a minority-on-minority basis. Knauss et al. (2015) proposes that although it is important to educate young people in how to deal with discrimination and racism, "supporting adolescents to cope with experiences of discrimination is not enough. It is also important to keep on raising awareness about the detrimental effects of obvious, as well as subtle ethnic discrimination, and about the relevance of appreciating diversity in society" (p. 10).

There is scope for EPs to become involved in work in this area, highlighting the psychological impact of discrimination and supporting teachers in developing cultural competency skills. A British Psychological Society (2006) paper on promoting racial equality within EP services highlights that a key element of addressing racism in schools is the implementation of anti-racist approaches as part of the curriculum and philosophy of schools to prevent the development of entrenched racist attitudes. Such approaches should address beliefs, feelings and behaviours. This is an area that EPs should be involved in within schools as part of a whole-school approach to mental health and wellbeing.

6.2.3. Responding to incidents after they occur as an opportunity for learning
Both approaches mentioned in the preceding sections aim to prevent instances of anti-migrant discrimination from occurring within schools. This research also suggests, however, that there is a need for schools to consider how to respond to instances of discrimination when they do occur. Restorative approaches are a way of enabling those who have been harmed or damaged in some way to communicate this to those responsible and for them to acknowledge this impact and take action to make amends. Cowie, Myers and Aziz (2017) propose that "restorative practice in schools, including conflict resolution, can help to change the climate of particular social contexts and offer win-win alternatives to violence and abuse" (p. 96), citing recent research such as that carried out by Sellman, Cremin and McCluskey (2017). They posit that "schools are in an ideal position to address social and moral issues, such as the role of incomers in mainstream society, and can create opportunities for young people to engage in reasoned debates about controversial issues" (Cowie, Myers and Aziz, 2017, p 96).

Macready (2009), an EP, drew upon a Vygotskian, social learning perspective in proposing a restorative justice model for schools, based on the idea that the learning environments

within schools are crucial to the learning of social responsibility. Macready (2009) concludes that "restorative practice offers opportunities for learning social responsibility both at a reactive level of specific and unique episodes of interaction, and at a proactive level that will reflect, as well as constitute, the values and principles of the school community" (p. 219). It would be beneficial for EPs to build on Macready's work and support schools to develop their practice in this area. One important point to note, however, is that a range of anti-bullying approaches in schools have been shown to be less effective in more diverse environments (Evans, Fraser and Cotter, 2014), suggesting that the implementation of anti-bullying programs in diverse, heterogeneous school populations, such as the one in which this research took place, presents a unique set of challenges. The authors stress the need for interventions in these kinds of schools being culturally sensitive, and also "embedded in a broad array of prevention efforts designed to address risk factors at the individual, family, neighborhood, and school levels" (p. 9). Palmer and Abbot (2018) build on this idea, by highlighting the distinction between bias-based and interpersonal bullying. They propose that the promotion of more inclusive attitudes toward a wide range of social groups may be of particular importance in diverse environments, so that "practitioners can refer students to these discussions when dealing with specific incidents of bias-based bullying" (p. 42). They suggest that "fostering overarching identities while valuing difference and creating inclusive norms" (p. 4) has the potential to lead to instances of bias-based bullying being met with more prosocial bystander responses.

6.3. Implications based on Key Finding 2:

Lack of freedom combined with language difficulties cause migrant adolescents' personal and identity development to stall for a period after migration

This finding draws upon Theme 3: Emotional Difficulties and Feelings of Loss, and Theme 5: Navigating a Multicultural Background.

There is a need for EPs working directly with adolescents and teachers to:
- Provide psychological support for migrant adolescents and direct interventions focused on identity formation.
- Challenge the low-setting of recently-arrived students and support schools in differentiation for EAL students.
- Support adolescents to engage in hobbies, which can bring personal continuity, exploration and a non-judgemental context for language-learning.

- Devise opportunities for migrant adolescents to share personal narratives and life stories in the classroom.
- Develop teachers' awareness of and empathy for language learners' experiences.

Many migrant adolescents found it difficult to make sense of their experiences and organise these into a stable identity. There was often a sense of flux and uncertainty during the interviews, with many young people dealing with the process of adapting to a new culture for the second time in their lives, as well as responding to additional factors such as poverty and discrimination. Constrained freedom based on parental strictness and unfamiliarity with their new environment meant that opportunities for exploration were limited. Language difficulties meant that adolescents often struggled to see past English language acquisition to broader goals and ambitions. Teachers can play a key role here in broadening horizons and encouraging adolescents to think and develop their interests beyond these narrow constraints.

6.3.1. Providing psychological support for migrant adolescents and direct interventions focused on identity formation

This research highlights that for some migrant adolescents, there may be a need for specific psychological support during their early months in England. Many spoke of their deep sense of loss and sadness, combined with a parental narrative that they should appreciate the opportunities granted to them by life in London and succeed to repay their family's sacrifices. Schools, supported by EPs, could help to support young people by normalising these difficult emotions and providing an understanding and compassionate context for students to share and make sense of their experiences. EPs could also be involved in the delivery of individual therapeutic work within schools, facilitating interventions with staff, and prioritising adolescents for access to Child and Adolescent Mental Health Services, where necessary.

The current research also suggests that it is important for schools and EPs to support migrant adolescents in their identity formation. This should be based on the idea that personal development and establishing a positive personal identity is important for adolescents, regardless of whether or not they have acquired fluency in English. Some potential ways to achieve this are provided by Brittian (2012), based on her work with African American adolescents. She proposes that while the main socialisation context for ethnic minority adolescents is around family and peers, specific programmes such as 4-H clubs have the potential to influence young people's beliefs and values and, based on this, foster positive identity formation, drawing on previous research by Kroger (2007). Rhodes and DuBois

(2008) highlight how youth development programmes have the potential to play an important role in supporting adolescents in developing a positive identity. Programmes such as Flex-ID, discussed by Sacramento (2015), is an example that aims to promote the balanced construction of young people's intercultural identities, through helping students to learn how to live with a "flexible identity" with the goal of improving the integration of students from migrant communities into the educational system and society. There is a potential for EPs to work alongside schools to implement specific interventions based on some of these principles.

6.3.2. Challenging the low-setting of recently-arrived students and supporting schools in differentiation for EAL students

This research highlighted that many adolescents felt that they had been placed in low sets for the majority of subjects due to their status as EAL learners. EPs have a role to play in challenging this practice within schools, and ensuring that schools are supported in differentiating work at an appropriate level of cognitive demand for recently-arrived pupils. Guidance from Herzog-Punzenberger (2016) highlights that academic setting can have a disproportionately negative impact on migrant adolescents during the period in which they are attaining second-language fluency.

The current research indicates that adolescents find it hard to plan for their futures while struggling to gain proficiency in English. Their personal and social development seems to stall for a period after migration. Participants struggled with planning for the future, and as they also lack practical parental support in this area, they may be particularly strongly swayed by guidance in this area by schools, either in a positive or negative sense. Research by the OECD (2015) suggests that migrant teenagers are disproportionately guided towards vocational and academic pathways, regardless of academic ability. Mehmedbegovic and Bak (2017), however, suggest that speakers of additional languages should be encouraged to use these skills in their career planning rather than seeing their lack of academic fluency in English as a deficit. EPs can play a key role here in areas such as challenging and supporting better practice in school in areas such as the low-setting of recently-arrived pupils, supporting teachers in how to differentiate tasks for EAL learners, encouraging schools to find opportunities for pupils to demonstrate their learning in their home language, and questioning schools about the proportion of EAL pupils on vocational pathways. EPs can also help to change dominant discourses by highlighting the resilience factors for these children and the long-term benefits of bilingualism, both cognitively and in terms of aspects such as career prospects within a global economy.

6.3.3. Supporting adolescents to engage in hobbies, which can bring personal continuity

In the current study, the participants who appeared happiest and most well-adjusted to life in London were those who had been able to immerse themselves in a hobby such as sport or music upon moving to the UK in order to use this as a way to deal with emotional difficulties and also to integrate and socialise with new people outside of an academic context. It is important for schools to facilitate a recreational bridge and anchor for identity to avoid adolescents feeling "lost" in their new context after migration. This could be though provision such as after-school clubs and activities: many participants highly valued these, due to their restricted freedom outside of school and the fact that their parents were not aware of how to access clubs and services in the local community.

6.3.4. Devising opportunities for migrant adolescents to share personal narratives and life stories in the classroom.

There was a strong sense in the current research, that participants felt that engaging in the conversation with me was the first time they had been able to share and reflect on their experiences and how these had impacted upon the development of their personal identity. Narrative is a foundational aspect of identity formation, with Erikson (1950, 1968) arguing that the creation of a coherent account of who we are and how we came to be that way is the critical developmental task of adolescence. Based on the feedback to the interviews, there may be value in giving migrants a forum to tell and make sense of their individual stories, within a context of multiple moves during childhood that were all outside of their control. One approach to this is Autographical Writing, a technique discussed by Mehmedbegovic (2012), which is based on idea that "every child needs to learn through education first of all how to know, understand, analyse and critically approach his own individual situation within the history of a community and a social group, to be able to see the bigger picture and gain understanding of the self within it" (p. 69). Autobiographical Writing is an approach that uses home languages as well as English in order to provide a model that adolescents themselves can use to shape and define their own narratives. EPs can be involved here through supervising and supporting school staff who are engaging in this work.

Another intervention that has the potential to make a positive impact in the area of adolescent identity formation is called the Tree of Life (ToL). This involves "people drawing their own 'tree of life' in which they get to speak of their 'roots,' their skills and knowledge, their hopes and dreams, as well as the special people in their lives" (The Dulwich Centre,

2018). Lock (2016), an EP who evaluated a ToL intervention, suggests that as EPs work within a variety of contexts related to children and families, it positions them strongly to take an active role in applying psychology in new and varied ways such as this in order to "reduce thin descriptions and dominant negative discourses of individuals and groups" (p. 10). Lock's (2016) research has shown that ToL can produce positive outcomes when used with both children and adults, providing a "safe place to manage feelings and experiences, to feel valued, respected and understood" (p. 10), which has the potential to engage difficult-to-reach families and bridge the gaps that currently exist between individual services and communities.

6.3.5. Developing teachers' awareness of and empathy for language learners' experiences

Some participants raised the idea that they felt many teachers did not appear to empathise with their position as second language learners and treated them instead as low-achieving students based on the grades they had achieved. As argued by Darvin and Norton (2014), "teachers who are more critically informed about migration and social class can provide a space that not only enriches the language and literacy development of migrant students but also empowers transnational identities" (p. 116). By valuing the skills and experiences that migrant students bring, teachers can be a valuable force in helping these students to take ownership of more powerful identities, as a way to navigate the social world.

EPs can play a key role here in training school staff on issues related to cultural and linguistic competence. Ceginskas (2010) in her study of multilingual identity argues that more bilingual or language-aware teachers are needed in order to achieve this, and that teaching students from an entirely monolingual position "may have detrimental impact on individuals with a multilingual background, who may feel as if their experience of multiple identifications is overlooked. In particular, with respect to minority and migrant languages" (p. 218).

6.4. Implications based on Key Finding 3:

Intergenerational difficulties are common. These are often underpinned by the perceived deception involved in the initial move to the UK, combined with adolescents' feeling that their parents cannot support their academic and social development here

This finding draws upon Theme 1: Constrained Freedom and High Pressure, and Theme 2: Aspiration and Confidence Loss.

There is a need for EPs working in a consultative manner with schools and families to:

- Explore attachment and relationships within families who have endured periods of separation.
- Discuss family narratives around migration and the reasons for this, as these often differ widely between adolescents and parents.
- Support parents to understand and help their children both academically and socially in the UK.

It is crucial to develop awareness within schools of the emotional journey that adolescents go through during their initial weeks and months in the UK, and how this may impact upon their readiness to learn. Adolescent and parent understandings about the move to the UK were seen to be very different by participants in this study. Adolescents frequently held a degree of resentment towards their parents about their migration, and particularly the deception that had often been involved in their initial move to the UK. Intra-familial issues were a major recurring issue, and one that it would be useful for EPs to be aware of during casework, particularly with recently-arrived families. EPs can work to help establish open communication and mutual understanding within families. Lack of communication, or parents' desire to protect their children by not sharing important information with them, appeared to lead to adolescents feeling anxious and powerless.

Morton and Frith's (1995) Interactive Factors framework for causal modelling is a model that has the potential to be drawn upon by EPs as a way of conceptualising the variety of influences impacting upon migrant children, and the interactions between these. This framework is composed of three levels: biological, cognitive and behavioural, which can be used as a way to deepen understanding of particular developmental or psychological issues. Migrant families will benefit most from support that is both culturally sensitive and coordinated between agencies. Under the current traded services model, it is also important for EPs to ensure that referrals to external professionals are representative of the school population as a whole, and that vulnerable groups, such as refugees and recently-arrived migrants, are not underrepresented.

6.4.1. Exploring attachment and relationships within families who have endured periods of separation

Many participants had to deal with family separation, as the move to the UK was often done in stages, with fathers generally moving first and children sometimes left in the care of relatives, which has the potential to impact on attachment. Research has shown that separation from parents during late childhood and adolescence can have profound effects,

and that attachment is not a static entity that is fixed in infancy, as had previously been considered.

Participants often described feeling very lonely and unhappy, and spoke about initially trying to convince their parents to return to their previous country of residence. EPs could play a role in supporting schools in understanding migrant students' experiences from a psychological perspective. A psychological model that could be employed here is the Kübler-Ross' (2005) model. It appears from participants' accounts that they moved through an initial Denial stage, then progressing through Anger and Depression and on to Acceptance as they began to settle into life in London and became more ready to learn.

Education for parents and adolescents themselves on the process of second language acquisition and the duration of time needed to develop academic fluency may also be useful, as a way of ensuring that expectations within families are reasonable, and do not place undue pressure on adolescents to achieve academically on behalf of their family.

6.4.2. Discussion of family narratives around migration

Many participants spoke about the fact that they had initially been deceived about their move to the UK, having been told they would just be visiting for a holiday. Parents often described this as a way of protecting their children, but it often resulted in teenagers resenting their parents for misleading them. EPs could use consultation approaches to explore these different narratives around migration, and particularly to raise the profile of the child's voice within this, and the importance of them developing a clear and coherent understanding of their migration journey as part of their overall life narrative.

6.4.3. Supporting parents to understand and help their children both academically and socially

Based on the difficulty migrant parents often have in understanding the UK education system and how best to support their children, there is an onus on educational settings to reach out to migrant families, and to increase the level of culturally appropriate contact and liaison with minority groups. Mohamed and Thomas (2017) suggest that this could "include programmes for parents participating in school enterprises, or school forums to foster cultural diversity and communication", and how migrant parents "can be involved in supporting children in schools by assisting them in class, during play or lunchtimes or running group interventions based on life stories" (p. 260). It is also important that translators are also available to facilitate communication between parents and school staff.

It would also be valuable to encourage parents to celebrate and place importance on their cultural heritage as a buffer against discrimination, as research shows that young people without a strong cultural identity can be particularly susceptible to the negative impact of xenophobic abuse. Brittian (2012) suggests that "in societies where some groups are underrepresented in political and social contexts, identification with one's minority group is more prominent" (p. 182). She draws on research by Juang and Syed (2008), which indicates that identifying positively with their minority group gives an adolescent a sense of group affiliation and also maintains their positive identity, as well as research by Ashmore, Deaux and McLaughlin-Volpe (2004), which suggests that this can act as a buffer against discrimination experienced.

6.5. Recommendation Summary for Schools Receiving Migrant Students

The following section summarises some of the key factors for schools to consider.

- To focus initially on supporting the student to feel happy and secure in the school environment, by for example:
    - Using a peer-buddy system, matching the student with another with a similar personality and interests.
    - Providing a key adult that students can speak to for both emotional and practical support.
    - Bringing students and families in to become familiar with the school environment and ask questions before lessons start.
    - Recognising adolescents' lack of choice regarding their migration, and that they may need time and support in order to become ready to learn and integrate into the school community.
    - Encouraging and supporting adolescents in pursuing hobbies and interests outside of academic work, such as through after-school clubs, which bring opportunities for exploration and a non-judgemental context for language learning.

- To avoid ability grouping, as this has been shown to have a low level of impact in general, and to negatively impact upon minority and disadvantaged groups (e.g. Johnston and Wildy, 2016). If ability grouping is employed, home language testing upon arrival combined with information from previous schools should be used to place students in appropriate classes.

- To employ best practice around the teaching of EAL students in whole-class teaching, informed by regular staff training, and combined with specialist teaching support for newer arrivals.

- To prioritise migrant students for referral to external professionals such as EPs, if expected academic or social and emotional progress is not made in their first year in the UK.

- To inform parents about the school routine and functioning of the English education system and how best to support their child. A toolkit produced by Middlesex University (Rodriguez, D'Angelo, Ryan, and Sales, 2016) could be used to support this process on an ongoing basis.

- To provide examples of success and potential role models within a variety of different communities, particularly newer migrant groups, where these may be more difficult to identify.

- To stress the value and importance of students' first language and culture within the classroom and the linguistic and cultural capital it represents. This may mean eliminating language hierarchies within schools and also reducing Eurocentric ideas by raising the profile of, for example, Spanish-speaking Latin America and French-speaking Africa.

- Providing teachers with training to build their confidence in responding to discrimination and xenophobia in the classroom.

6.6. Feeding back to School and IRMO

In order to ensure that this study has an impact at a local level, meetings have been arranged with both IRMO, the Latin American migrant charity that supported this research, and the secondary school in which the interviews took place. The aim of these meetings will be to involve key staff at both a managerial and practitioner level in idea-generation and action planning based on the findings of the current research. I will employ a consultation approach, drawn from my Educational Psychology professional practice, in order to use the resources within the school and charity to plan context-appropriate actions to be taken. Throughout the data-analysis process and production of my thesis draft, I have remained in close contact

with each organisation. As mentioned in Chapter 3, during the drafting of my thesis, I have also planned and delivered a workshop at IRMO for recently-arrived parents on English language acquisition and the emotional experience of migration for children and young people, which drew upon some of the initial findings of this research.

Chapter 7: Evaluation and Critical Review

7.1. Introduction

Spencer and Ritchie (2012) discuss how it is possible to appraise qualitative research by its rigour, its research process, its contribution to knowledge, and its credibility in terms of data analysis, which all influence the believability of its conclusions and claims. In this chapter, I reflect on the research process as a whole, and consider these issues.

7.2. Revisiting Research Aims

The objective of the current research was to explore the life experiences of migrant adolescents from their perspective, using qualitative methods, and with a focus on the influence of migration on identity formation. I feel that it achieved this aim, and that it has been possible to capture the views and experiences of my participants in a faithful and meaningful manner, while also drawing broader conclusions. The process of conducting member reflection interviews also ensured that my analysis was fine-tuned to ensure that it accurately represents the views and experiences of research participants.

7.3. Critical Review and Limitations

It is also important to recognise the range of shortcomings and limitations of the current research.

7.3.1. Participants' language fluency

Although I specified a minimum of three years living permanently in London as a sampling criteria, and I also speak sufficient Spanish to clear up any misunderstandings, there was a wide range of fluency levels evident among my participants. For example, Claudio, Kesi, Hana and Kemina spoke fluent English, whereas Bruno, Karmen, Marc, Samuel, and Kristian experienced difficulty at certain times during their interviews in communicating their ideas clearly.

7.3.2. Developmental readiness to engage with the research topic

There was a wide variety in both the length and the nature of individual interviews. Some lasted well over an hour, with participants showing a keen interest in and ability to engage with the interview guide and to reflect on their experiences and how these have influenced their identity formation and how they see themselves as young adults. Others found this process more challenging to engage with, and interviews remained on more of a superficial

level, focusing on the description of experiences rather than their personal reflections on these and their impact. In these interviews, I did not feel that participants were engaged in the process of active self-construction that I had aimed to achieve. This was particularly true of some of the boys, and this links to previous research on boys entering Erikson's Ego Identity vs. Role Confusion stage later than girls (Klimstra, Hale, Raaijmakers, Branje, and Meeus, 2010). If participants were still within the earlier psychosocial stage of Industry vs. Inferiority, it is plausible that they would have experienced particular difficulty with the parts of the interview guide that were based on inviting participants to reflect on how their personal experiences have shaped their worldview, identity and how they see themselves. One participant, Samuel, tended to deny that his experience of migration or issues around language and culture had any impact on his personal identity, and consequently his ability to meaningfully respond to some aspects of the interview guide was limited.

7.4. Research Strengths

7.4.1. Community relationships

One main positive of this research was the strength of relationships developed throughout the evolution of the project, from two and a half years ago until now. My relationship with IRMO, a migrant support charity, has lasted for the duration of this process, involving regular meetings to discuss my research approach and, for example, share initial findings. The existing relationship between IRMO's director and the EAL mentor at the school where the interviews took place, who is also a member of the Latin American community, ensured that the participants themselves appeared to trust me from the outset. This seemed to increase their willingness to engage with and speak openly with me on a potentially sensitive topic. I had spent time initially discussing my research with the school's EAL mentor in order to develop her engagement with and understanding of the research project, so that this could be passed on to potential participants.

7.4.2. Research tools

Overall, the use of collaborative, visually-based approaches to the interviews themselves proved an effective way of exploring my research questions with adolescent participants. The use of drawing, photographs and other stimuli such as quotes gave participants the feeling that they were engaging in a series of interesting activities, rather than a straightforward one-to-one interview, and I reflected that this variety in approach was particularly effective in maintaining energy and engagement throughout the interviews. Participants themselves also reflected very positively on the role of the interviews in helping them to make sense of their own experiences. Direct quotes on this are included in Chapter 4.

7.5. Researcher Conclusions: Demonstrating Reflexivity

As Willig (2001) highlights, within qualitative research it is important to recognise the role of the researcher and and how their beliefs, values, experiences and interests have influenced the research. The idea of reflexivity is also addressed in Chapter 1 and Chapter 4, and in this section it will be examined with a specific focus on the data collection and analysis process.

It is likely that a different researcher may have elicited a different dataset through either how they were perceived by participants or how they directed questions during the interviews themselves. I noted, upon reflection on my data, that issues of sexual identity, romantic relationships and religion were almost entirely absent from my nine interviews. I concluded that participants may have considered these topics unsuitable for discussion with an unfamiliar adult, and as such, the importance of these topics may be underrepresented in the data I have collected.

During my analysis, I also noted how perhaps my own political and social views may have influenced participants during the interviews. By demonstrating that I personally identity with the label "migrant", and based on my choice of research topic, evident interest in the experiences of recently-arrived migrants in schools and ability to speak Spanish, it is likely that participants may have inferred my belief in multiculturalism and opposition to the UK's decision to leave the EU. "Brexit" became a frequent topic of discussion, despite not being initially raised by me, or included in the interview guide. There may then have been a tendency for participants to particularly emphasise the negative consequences of "Brexit" in relation to racism and xenophobia as a way of appealing to my interests. This may also have been the case during the analysis, where creating a compelling story through amplifying these negative experiences may have fit unconsciously with my views on the EU referendum and the impact of current government policy around migration. Efforts were made to reduce the impact of this process by engaging in supervision, and inter-coder reliability checks.

7.6. Reflections on Theoretical Framework

Erikson's psychosocial theory provided a useful lens for interpreting my findings, allowing me to place them in the context of an established developmental theory. This was particularly helpful, for example, in interpreting how reduced freedom during adolescence, lack of mastery of the English language and experiencing discrimination might impact on the identity development of migrant adolescents. These were all topics that Erikson addressed either directly or indirectly in his work, and without his theory it would not have been possible to

place these various findings within a theoretical context regarding their impact on identity formation.

In other areas, such as interpreting the impact of migration on identity formation in terms of family division and other traumatic experiences, and also in navigating a multicultural background, Erikson's work was less helpful, as due to the largely mono-cultural sample on which his theory was built, he did not address these topics directly. Here, theory from narrative psychology and more recent work on ethnic and bicultural identity formation from researchers such as Phinney et al. (2001) was drawn upon to interpret findings. The use of Erikson's broad theoretical framework which did not narrow down identity into component parts such as ethnic identity, national identity or cultural identity in framing my research and interview guide, meant that participants were free to focus upon the aspects which were most salient to them and ignore others. This came with the disadvantage of not being able to comment in detail on each of these factors, which are particularly pertinent to migrant adolescents. There is a risk that through taking this more universal approach, and interpreting participants' experiences through the lens of a theory which is not based on a diverse sample, that some richness in their particular experiences is lost. In addition, due to interviews only taking place at one particular point in time, and the small sample size, it was not possible to draw on the developmental nature of Erikson's theory to describe changes in identification across adolescence at an individual level, or to make meaningful comparisons across younger and older participants.

This research contributes to theory in the area of identity formation from an Eriksonian perspective by articulating the manner in which migration can disrupt the process of identity formation by, for example, reducing opportunities for exploration and placing adolescents within an unfamiliar environment where their lack of language skills provides a barrier to successfully completing the key developmental tasks of adolescence. In particular, it appears that migrant adolescents do not have the same opportunities as others for a psychosocial moratorium, a period of reduced responsibility to consider their future goals, as Erikson considered when establishing his original theory. Instead, they tend to remain focused on gaining competency in the basic literacy skills that non-migrant adolescents will generally have mastered during late childhood, in Erikson's Industry versus Inferiority developmental state.

Without this moratorium, Marcia (1994) proposes that an individual will either develop a foreclosed identity, without exploration, or a diffuse identity, in which an adolescent is

unwilling to make any commitment, based on feeling that they have not had the opportunity for any period of exploration or choice-making. Both are associated with negative psychological outcomes (e.g. Cakir 2014), and Marcia highlights in particular how although a "foreclosed" individual may appear to have the benefits of a strong identity, this strength is less able to cope with external forces and events in a person's life. Based on this finding, it is particularly important that schools provide opportunities for exploration and the consideration of a range of possible life paths for migrant adolescent students, and avoid reducing opportunities through either a blinkered prioritisation on English language learning, or the placement of recently-arrived students in subjects that are deemed to provide less short-term academic challenge, but may also limit academic and career choice in the medium term. Although an absolute prioritisation of English language acquisition above all else may be appropriate for younger children and adults, during adolescence, there exists a developmental need for exploration, in terms of independently seeking and experimenting with alternatives within an adolescents' environment.

Chapter 8: Conclusions and Contribution to Knowledge

8.1. Conclusions

The current research provides an understanding of the experiences of students of Latin American heritage in London, an under-researched migrant group, in the context of a post-EU referendum societal context. Very little was known academically about the experiences of this group prior to my research being conducted. As such, this thesis provides a contribution to knowledge in this area by articulating the key themes that underpin the experiences of recently-arrived Latin American migrants and the implications of these for education professionals. Previous research had identified that migration has the potential to disrupt the process of adolescent identity formation, and the original contribution of my research is in terms of articulating the mechanism by which this takes place by drawing on the perspectives of adolescent migrants themselves.

Following my pilot study, which explored parents' experiences, my initial thinking was that uncertainty in national identity was a principal contributing factor to identity formation difficulties in migrant adolescents. However, as highlighted in Chapter 5, a much more complex picture emerged, with issues of national identity conflict given quite a low level of priority by research participants. Instead, factors such as anti-migrant discrimination experienced, lack of freedom, experience of loss and family separation, and difficulties navigating cultural and linguistic differences underpinned the challenge of successful identity formation for migrant adolescents.

My argument is that schools and the education system at large need to be aware of the potentially disruptive influence of migration on adolescent identity formation, and be responsive to and actively challenge both global and local negative discourses around migration, in order to allow migrant adolescents to develop positive bicultural and transcultural identities in the UK. The idea of "under the radar" discrimination is one that emerged strongly during the current research – prejudice and negative stereotyping based particularly on accent and recency of arrival to the UK, rather than on ethnicity, heritage, or country of birth.

Teachers will need support in this area, and current research shows that racist and xenophobic abuse is increasing in UK schools (Busby, 2017) as well as in wider society, and that many teachers do not currently feel well-prepared and competent in dealing with these

issues (Show Racism the Red Card, 2016). EPs are well-placed to provide important support to schools in this area.

There is also a need for a consistent induction and assessment approach for newly-arrived students across London boroughs, identifying psychological and learning needs, as well as strengths and interests upon arrival. The current research, building on prior research by Yampolsky, Amiot, and Sablonnière (2013), illustrates that just being of multicultural heritage does not mean an individual accrues any benefits from access to multiple cultures, and that it can in fact be problematic psychologically. To achieve integration of multiple cultures, the process of identity formation must be navigated carefully and with support within an environment that enables this. Specific interventions may need to be put in place for migrant adolescents, with the aim of promoting the balanced construction of young people's intercultural identities.

There is a picture of untapped potential in recently-arrived migrants, both from a psychological and an academic perspective, with the possibility for initial difficulties, but benefits in the longer term, provided appropriate support is provided. It is important for parents and migrant families to work together in order to achieve this, but my research has demonstrated that many adolescents perceive that their parents do not have a good understanding of their experiences or how best to support them, both from a psychological and an academic perspective. Direct parental or community involvement inside schools can help to establish continuity across the various aspects of an adolescent's life and ensure that parents are informed about how best to support their children in the UK.

8.2. Directions for Future Research
The current research highlights the influence that the experience of international migration has on the process of identity formation among adolescents. A quantitative approach to exploring some of the issues raised in this research could be of value. This could, for example, use standardised measurements of identity formation such as the Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (Grotevant and Adams, 1984) to either prove or disprove my hypothesis that migration in adolescence reduces opportunities for exploration and moratorium in Latin American migrants and that this has the potential to have a negative impact on psychological wellbeing.

It may also be useful to explore further the prevalence of racism and xenophobia in schools, particularly within multicultural environments in the UK, and to examine teachers' feelings of

competence in responding to this type of behaviour within a complex multicultural environment.

As Brittian (2012) suggests, "studies that examine the presence of identity from a single time point are addressing an instance of identity and not the development of identity" (p. 190). As such, a longitudinal approach would be useful as part of a conceptualisation of identity as a developmental process, evolving within a given societal context. It may be possible to follow up with certain participants involved in this study in order to track their identity development over time.

My research tools, outlined in Chapter 4, could also be employed to explore the migration experiences of secondary school students from other communities, in order to identify significant differences or similarities across various communities.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Guide

Introduction to Project

Thank you for agreeing to speak with me. I appreciate your time. This interview will take about one hour, but you may stop the interview at any point. First of all, to explain again the aims of this research project and why I am speaking to you today:

There is currently a lack of research and understanding of the experiences of migrant teenagers in the U.K. and especially how moving to a new country makes a difference to how young people see themselves and make sense of their world.

I am a Trainee EP, and I work in schools with children and young people and I'm very interested in finding out about your experiences so that I can work with schools to help their students to have a positive and enjoyable time in school and reach their potential as learners.

Introduction to Interview

I would like to have a discussion with you over the next hour or so. The purpose of this conversation is to talk about your personal experiences of migration and its impact.

I'd like to remind you that this conversation will be audio-recorded. This will help me to give you my full attention now and return to our conversation later to make sure that I represent your views accurately. The interview is confidential, you will not be identified from the individual interview, and only myself and my supervisors will have access to this recording, which I will also type up while listening back to it. I will also be writing a report based on the things I find out, and you will receive a short version of this if you want it.

 If you want me to stop at any time, just let me know. Is this okay with you?

1. Photo Sharing

Photo Sharing: The interviewer will initially demonstrate themselves with a personal example of a photo taken before and after their migration. The interviewer will then ask the participant to place two photos of themselves side by side, one from before and after they

moved to the U.K. If the participant has not taken photos to the interview, they will be asked to recall two specific memories.

Question Prompts:

- Tell me about how you felt at each of these moments.
    - What do you feel you have gained based on your move to the U.K.?
    - What do you feel you have lost based on your move?

- How have you changed personally between these two moments?

2. Identity and Wellbeing

In this part of the interview, the interviewer will explore how identity issues impact on participants' wellbeing and mental health. The interviewer will present the participant with an A3 piece of paper with the child's name at the centre and four concentric circles around it. Participants will be asked to think of all the people and things that influence how they feel about themselves, and place them within the circles below. They will be at the centre and the aspects that are most important will be placed in the closer concentric circles, with those less important positioned further away.

Question Prompts

- Why is this important?
    - How does this contribute to your identity / sense of who you are?
    - Do any of these people act as a role model for you?
    - Participants may be asked to visually represent how they feel on a scale between different aspects of their identity, for example in terms of Britishness, home country/parents' home country identity, religion etc.

3. Moving to London

Question Prompts:

- Tell me about when you first heard that you were moving to London.
    - What are some of your first memories of the city?
    - Did you have any say in your parents' decision to move?

- What is the main change that this move has brought about for you personally?
    - Has there been anyone or anything that has been helpful in dealing with these?

- How did it feel to start school in the U.K.?
    - What were your hopes for the future, once you started school?
    - How do you feel as a student of a migrant/Latin/Spanish speaking background in your school?
    - Are there any particular issues experienced by students who share your background which you feel are different to other minority groups?

4. Language Learning

This part of the interview will explore children's experiences of English language learning and how these impact on their identity formation.

Question Prompts

- How was the experience of learning English for you?
    - How is it different to express yourself in English compared to your Spanish?
    - What do you lose / gain when moving from one language to another?
    - What was helpful or unhelpful in this process of learning English?

5. How I See Myself and How Others See Me.

The interviewer will prompt the participant to make two drawings, one representing 'How I See Myself' and the other representing 'How Others See Me.' This is an activity adapted from Awan (2007).

Question Prompts

- Can you think of some words to describe how you see yourself?
- Can you think of some words to describe how others see you?

6. Response to Quotes

Participants will be presented with the following quotes on individual sheets of A4 card, and asked to say how they feel about each one, in order to explore further their thoughts on 'Latino/Latin American' identity and their identity as 'migrants' more broadly.

"He is Peruvian, but now he says he is Spanish. When I ask if he is Peruvian, he says, no, I am Spanish. He says - 'my papers... show me any papers I have from Peru. I don't have a Peruvian

passport, so I am Spanish.' When we left Peru he was three and now he is almost thirteen years old, so he has been away from Peru for almost 10 years. And when I speak about going to Peru, he says 'No'."

A Peruvian mother in Brixton, speaking about her son (This quote was taken from the pilot phase of this research project).

"I want to live in a city where immigration is seen as a source of strength."

A French artist who now lives in England.

I think my Latino culture has equipped me with a different point of view than the rest of my counterparts, and seeing things from a different angle has helped me a lot. I feel very proud of my culture, of my Latino heritage.

Colombian author / journalist, who lives in the United States.

7. Wider Thoughts

- In your view, who are the important people that need to understand the issues, and that I should share my findings and report with?
- Is there a message that you would like me to be able to share with, for example, your parents, your teachers or the Prime Minister?

Participants will then be asked if they have any other experiences or thoughts that they would like to share before finishing the interview.

Post Interview Debrief

Reiterate the nature of the project and their right to withdraw consent. Let participants know that if they have anything they would like to follow up on, they can arrange a follow up meeting with me in the month following the interview by speaking to a key person in school.

Appendix B: Participant Information Sheet

Institute of Education

Participant Information Sheet

Who am I?

My name is James Gilsenan. I am from Ireland and I am in the process of training to become an Educational Psychologist at University College London. Educational Psychologists work in schools and colleges with children, young people and their families and teachers to find ways of supporting them. As part of my qualification, I am doing some research about a topic I am really interested in, and I would like to ask you to take part.

Information Sheet

To help you make a decision about taking part, I have written this information sheet to help you to understand why I am doing this research, and what your part will be. If anything is not clear or you have some questions that I haven't managed to answer, please let someone at your school know and they can get in touch with me.

What is the Study about?

I am doing this research so that I can learn from the experiences of young people who have moved to the UK from another country, in order to learn more about how this experience has impacted upon them, and how this has made a difference to how they see themselves.

What will happen if you take part?

If you are interested in taking part, but have some questions you would like to ask, I will arrange a time to meet to discuss these first to help you come to a decision. If you are sure you want to take part, you will need to sign a form to state that you wish to be a part of the study and have a longer interview with me.

During the interview, I will ask you some questions and we will have a conversation about your experiences. You will have the opportunity to talk about as much or as little as you want. I would like to ask you questions to find out your views about school, friends and how things are going for you at the moment. Our conversations will last up to one hour. I am interested in what you think, so there are no right or wrong answers, and you only have to talk about the things that you feel comfortable with.

Will I be recorded? How will the recordings be used?

When we meet for our one-to-one interview, I will record our conversation using a voice recorder. I may write a few notes to remind me of important things. The recording will be used to help me to remember our conversation afterwards.

Will doing the research help you?

Hopefully you will find taking part in the research interesting, and will enjoy talking to me about your thoughts and experiences. By taking part in the research, I also hope that learning about how things have been for you, will help schools to support young people who have had similar experiences to you.

Confidentiality

All of the information I collect will be kept confidential. This means that you will not be able to be identified by anyone else. To make sure of this, you will be given a false name so that you cannot be recognised in anything I write. You can choose this name if you wish.

What will happen at the end of the research?

The research will go into my research report. This report will be examined by my tutors at the UCL Institute of Education, and made available for other people studying at university to read. It is possible that at a later date, it may be published somewhere else, for example in a book.

Thank you for taking the time to read this information and considering taking part in my research!

James Gilsenan

Trainee Educational Psychologist

This Participant Information Sheet has been adapted from one used by McLean (2016).

Appendix C: Participant and Parent Consent Form

Interview - Student Consent Form

If you want to take part in the study and are willing to answer some questions about yourself and your experiences of moving to the UK, then please complete this form. All you need to do is tick the boxes that apply to you.

1. I have looked at any information about the project and I understand what it is about.

   YES ☐ 🙂   NO ☐ ☹️

2. I understand that I can stop talking about something if I want to

   YES ☐ 🙂   NO ☐ ☹️

3. I understand that I do not have to answer any questions if I do not want to

   YES ☐ 🙂   NO ☐ ☹️

4. I understand that what I say will be kept private unless what I say puts someone else or myself in danger

   YES ☐ 🙂   NO ☐ ☹️

5. I understand that I can change my mind about taking part if I want to.

   YES ☐ 🙂   NO ☐ ☹️

6. I agree to take part in the research

   YES ☐ 🙂   NO ☐ ☹️

Participant name:

Participant signature:

Interview - Parent Consent form

My name is James Gilsenan and I am in the process of training to become an Educational Psychologist at Lewisham Local Authority.

Thank you for considering for your child to take part in my research project on the experiences of adolescents of migrant backgrounds in London schools.

I would like your permission to talk to your child for approximately one hour, at school during the school day. I will ask them a little bit about their experiences at school and how their background and life experience has influenced how they see themselves.

Anything they tell me which I write as part of my research will be anonymous.

Please read the information sheet attached for more details.

Please sign this letter at the bottom in the space provided and return it to XXXXXX by XXXXXXXX if you are willing for your child to take part.

Thank you very much,

James Gilsenan
Doctorate of Educational Psychology
UCL Institute of Education

I **DO** give permission for my child to participate in this study.

Your name

Your child's name

Your child's form teacher

These Consent Forms have been adapted from those used by Mohamed (2012).

Appendix D: Interview Codes

Atlas.ti, the computer programme used for data analysis, did not allow for the export of a full transcript with associated codes. Instead, codes, with the associated excerpts from one of the transcripts is included in Appendix D. "Coding" refers to the code, and "Content" refers to the excerpt from the transcript which was coded. The full transcript of this interview is included in Appendix F.

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47 Quotations:
💬 **1:1**

Codings:
○ Fear of the English language.

Content:
I was really scared. Because of the language

💬 **1:3**

Codings:
○ Fear of the English language.

Content:
It was 'cos of the language and I was kinda pretty old and I knew I was gonna have to do my exams, so yeah

💬 **1:4**

Codings:
○ Loss of confidence based on language.

Content:
I think… emm, I lost my confidence. Because it's a new language and the accent. Like, the accent. `

💬 **1:5**

Codings:
○ Change perceived as the gathering of experience.

Content:
Hmm, I don't think I've changed. It's just that I get more knowledge from my experiences. Like, the experience of moving from one country to another. Like, you learn more stuff

💬 **1:6**

Codings:
○ Educational achievement as a route to social acceptance.

Content:

If you're not good in school, people are going to see you in some kind of way, and that will make you as well. That way, that's going to make you feel a type of way about yourself

💬 **1:7**

Codings:
○ Educational achievement as a route to social acceptance.

Content:

ecause, you need education because if you're not good in your education, then people are going to say 'oh, you're dumb, you need to start studying more' and people will tell you stuff about yourself that you wouldn't like to hear, and yeah

💬 **1:8**

Codings:
○ Authority and guidance from family.

Content:

My family won't lie about me. If they see that I'm doing bad, then they will tell me straight away. They'll be like 'you need to fix up.' They're the ones that encourage me to do stuff and of course I need them to tell me what I have to do and what I don't have to do.

💬 **1:9**

Codings:
○ Language mix within the family.

Content:

With my Mum and my grandparents in Spanish, and my cousins in English

💬 **1:10**

Codings:
○ Friends as an influence on identity and behaviour.

Content:

Your friends will influence you. It depends on what kind of friends you have, If you have bad friends they will make you do bad stuff and make you change how you are. I know this seems typical of a young child to just change because of their friends. But I think it's true because, people change depending on who they hang around with. If they're good people they will help you and support you, but if they're the wrong people they will make you feel less. Yeah like they will make you feel not worth it and stuff and make you do things you don't want to do.

💬 **1:11**

Codings:
○ Friends as an influence on identity and behaviour.

Content:

When I came to St. Gabriel's I decided to have a smaller circle of friends. And it has done me good because my friends are the ones who encourage me to do revision… they do revision with me every day. Yeah.

💬 **1:12**

Codings:
o Friends as an influence on identity and behaviour.

Content:
It was really hard. Because in primary school, in Y5, I got put in the worst class. So I think I decided to hang around with them and that made me become a rude person, in a way.

💬 **1:13**

Codings:
o Teachers as an influence on identity and aspirations.

Content:
ometimes it depends on the teacher. If you have a rude teacher and doesn't do anything and you just see them sitting down and (inaudible) like that you might think 'the teacher is really lazy, maybe when I'm older I want to be like her and do nothing.' But then, if you have good teachers they will influence you to work hard and achieve something.

💬 **1:14**

Codings:
o Teachers role in broadening horizons.

Content:
But your teachers, they will always make sure that they will put you in something after school that will help you.

💬 **1:15**

Codings:
o Experience of dividing and uniting family unit.

Content:
I think I'm much happier with my Mum. I was upset to be leaving my friends and family… well, my uncle and aunty, but I was happy because I missed my grandparents and I wanted something better for my Mum.

💬 **1:16**

Codings:
o Experience of dividing and uniting family unit.

Content:
I was really happy. I saw my grandparents, and it was really nice. We watched movies and it was nice. I thought that they would forget about me, but they didn't, so I was happy.

💬 **1:17**

Codings:
o Parental strictness restricting adolescent freedom.

Content:
o, I didn't have any choice. My Mum is really strict, so you don't have any say in the house. So until you're 16, 17, you don't have any say in the house. That's Latino parents – they're very strict.

💬 **1:18**

Codings:
○ Peer support seen as a positive.

Content:
I think it was more the support of the little girl that was helping me, and my teachers, because they were helping me as well.

💬 **1:19**

Codings:
○ Withdrawal English lessons seen as a positive.

Content:
Yeah it was a positive thing. Yeah, because there were more Spanish people who didn't know how to speak English with me, so I was comfortable.

💬 **1:20**

Codings:
○ Fear of the English language.

Content:
I was really scared. I was freaking out inside. I was really scared to go to school

💬 **1:21**

Codings:
○ Loss of confidence based on language.

Content:
I'm still like that now (laughs). So I don't think I'm going to overcome this fear because I'm still scared. I was just upstairs and I was thinking 'oh my God, the interview is going to go wrong and oh no I can't do this I can't do this.' Yeah.

💬 **1:22**

Codings:
○ Slight tension between English and Spanish-speaking peer groups.

Content:
Most of my friends speak English. Some of them speak Spanish, but I don't really hang around with the Spanish people in my school. Maybe it's cos I never see them. And when I do see them I'm like 'hello' and they're like 'hello.' I don't really see them in the playground.

💬 **1:23**

Codings:
○ Feeling of isolation from Latino community.

Content:
Sometimes when I'm going past and I see someone coming I'm like 'hello' but I'm still shy even though I speak Spanish and they speak Spanish, I'm still shy to approach them.

💬 **1:24**

Codings:
○ Loss of confidence based on language.

Content:
Even with my own people, I'm still shy!

💬 **1:25**

Codings:
○ Self-consciousness speaking in English.

Content:
Oh because in Spanish I speak quicker. So it's quicker to get to the point. In Spanish it's easier because I know most of the words. In English it's hard because sometimes you have to think about 'what am I going to say and is it going to sound right and do I know how to pronounce it' because if I don't know how to pronounce it I will stay quiet and I won't say anything.

💬 **1:26**

Codings:
○ Perception of unrealistic expectations in English language learning.

Content:
People say 'oh, you've been here so many years you should know all the words by now.' But sometimes they don't even know it themselves and I think it's hard whether you speak Spanish or not… you still have to figure out the words you're going to use.

💬 **1:27**

Codings:
○ Advantages seen in learning English.

Content:
Well, before I used to like it because my Mum didn't understand. My Mum didn't understand English so when she used to tell me what to do I used to complain in English. But now yeah, it's fine. And I think English has helped me because you need English anywhere. If you were to apply for a job and you speak two languages, I think they will want you more than the person who only speaks one language… nowadays there's different cultures, different languages so I think it will help you out if you speak two rather than one.

💬 **1:28**

Codings:
○ Peer support seen as a positive.

Content:
Umm, my friends. Well, the only girl I was friends with. For four months I only had one friend because she was the only one who spoke Spanish. In my year. In the other years I was too scared to approach the people who spoke Spanish. So I think that friend because when we had to do something, she would explain what every word means so yeah, that helped me. And, I think that's it basically.

💬 **1:29**

Codings:
○ Pressure to learn English seen as detrimental.

Content:

think something that didn't help was when teachers used to put a lot of pressure on me to learn English soon. Like, oh, you need to go home and study English because you have your SATS next year. Yeah so I think the pressure that teachers put on you. That wasn't really helpful.

💬 **1:30**

Codings:
○ Pride in the achievement of learning English.

Content:
Umm, if I was to draw that… (drawing/laughing). I think I would say that I was brave enough to climb the mountain. Because you need bravery and to take the risk to just move to a different country and a different language so it's like I climbed the mountain and I finally made it. Yeah.

💬 **1:31**

Codings:
○ Educational achievement as a route to social acceptance.
○ Pride in the achievement of learning English.

Content:
think it was this year. When I started to do my mock exams and I got good grades I was like, I've made it.

💬 **1:32**

Codings:
○ Family seen as more important than friends.

Content:
There's times when you misbehave but at least I don't make my Mum sad or disappointed about me, so… I'm happy. As long as my Mum is happy and my family is happy then it's alright because friends you can have them anywhere and everywhere. I don't need to have friends in school. Most important is my family.

💬 **1:33**

Codings:
○ Accent seen as the key marker of difference and target of ridicule.

Content:
Or sometimes people feel like they have to comment about things that you do or your accent. Like, my accent. Everyone talks about my accent. Everyone. My teacher's don't say it in a rude way but there's people in my school, especially the Year 11s who always have to say something about my accent. They know I don't like it, but they still do.

💬 **1:34**

Codings:
○ Discriminaton disguised as jokes and banter.

Content:
. So, even though it's a joke, 'banter' as they say it, sometimes they say it too, too rude and it's not a joke.

💬 **1:35**

Codings:
○ Discriminaton disguised as jokes and banter.

Content:
Oh my gosh, if I told you the things that they say… oh you need to go back to your country, you need to get out. That's what they tell me. I'm like, that's rude and they're like 'it's a joke, it's a joke' But as much as it's a joke, I wish they didn't say it because it's rude.

💬 **1:36**

Codings:
○ Importance seen in maintaining a positive image in public and being seen as fitting in.

Content:
When I'm out in the world I don't want to be the type of person where people are saying 'what is that girl doing?' So when I'm out, I'm being a very nice girl – helpful and polite so I think that people outside of school think that I'm a nice girl and that they're comfortable with me because I'm a kind person. So yeah, I don't judge people outside of school and things like that, so I think everyone outside of school has a positive opinion.

💬 **1:37**

Codings:
○ Conflict seen between Spanish and Latin American identity.

Content:
oung people that come from their country in South American to Spain, or just go to the UK but with a Spanish passport… they think that their papers define where they're from. But I don't think that's good because you should always tell people where you were born. It's the place that you're from. I don't really like when people that were born in Colombia, or Ecuador or Peru are telling people 'yeah I'm Spanish, I was there, so I'm Spanish.' No, you're not from Spain, you are from the place you were born. So yeah, I think this is very true, that it's really true.

💬 **1:38**

Codings:
○ Conflict seen between Spanish and Latin American identity.

Content:
In South America, countries are not that rich. They're not as advanced as there countries, so maybe that's why they're ashamed to say that they're from that place. Yeah, so that's what I think. And I feel sorry for the mother because her kids shouldn't be trying to hide the place that they come from. You should always be proud of where you're from.

💬 **1:39**

Codings:
○ Discrimination and anti-migrant sentiment seen as hidden.

Content:
Because, people think that immigrants they come here to take our jobs and even though the English people say 'oh, we don't say that.' It's true that they do. Deep inside they do say that and sometimes when you watch the news, the message, the moral is that immigrants are coming to take our jobs

💬 **1:40**

Codings:
○ Media seen as creating anti-migrant feeling.

Content:
And the media has an influence, so if the media say something and it's in the news, people will be influenced by it and spread the word and it gets to us, people saying 'oh they're gonna come and take our jobs. And they don't see the things that we do as well. We also help the country to develop, but they just don't see it that way.

💬 **1:41**

Codings:
○ Media seen as creating anti-migrant feeling.

Content:
I think it's just the media. Nobody though about it until they started saying it in the media. Donald Trump is now saying that immigration is a big problem and that we need to stop that, so that also influences people.

💬 **1:42**

Codings:
○ Sense of pride in Latino identity.

Content:
Hmmm, that's a good one because yeah, it's a different culture like, completely different so the things that we do, eat, watch are good… we don't have to be ashamed of ourselves and we can influence people when they see us. They can learn about us in the same way that we learn about them. So I think it's good. It's true that you see things from a different point of view being Latina

💬 **1:43**

Codings:
○ Parental strictness restricting adolescent freedom.

Content:
as parents in Europe they give their children more liberties and in SA there is no liberties for children. Here they trust the children more, but in SA there is no trust – you have to be at home straight away after school. Yeah.

💬 **1:44**

Codings:
○ Sense of pride in Latino identity.

Content:
No, I'm just happy that she's proud of her culture, because a lot of Latinos now try to hide their culture and act like it's ok, I'm not from that country I'm from England now. I'm living in England and I'm going to act like I have no heritage, no background. That's mostly teenagers, nowadays.

💬 **1:45**

Codings:

○ Pressure to learn English seen as detrimental.

Content:
Don't put too much pressure on us. Don't pressure us. Because putting pressure on us will just stress us out and if you put a lot of pressure there's gonna be a point where someone's gonna cry and just say 'I can't do this anymore.' Yeah, too much pressure, I dunno, it's just too much.

💬 **1:46**

Codings:
○ Additional translation tasks for parents adding to sense of pressure.

Content:
It's basically because parents also ask you to go and translate for them and be like 'yeah you need to translate this, you need to help me do this and that.' Don't pressure us because school is already a lot of pressure so please relax.

💬 **1:47**

Codings:
○ Media seen as creating anti-migrant feeling.

Content:
Don't only show negative things about us, South Americans. Or yeah, don't put negative stuff in people's heads because we don't only do negative stuff. We do positive stuff. But it's never, never on the news. Yeah.

Appendix E: Original Coding to Theme 4: Discrimination and Difference

The image below illustrates the original 16 interview codes that were clustered, through a process of thematic analysis, to form Theme 4: Discrimination and Difference. The value under the "cassette tape" icon indicates the number of individual quotes linked to that code across the nine individual interviews. The 16 codes making up this theme were clustered into the five subthemes outlined in Chapter 5. These focus on topics of discrimination in school, discrimination in the local community, the impact of the EU referendum, the centrality of accent, and the importance of having an understanding peer-group context in giving confidence to speak.

		Name				Comment
◇	○	Accent seen as the key marker of difference and target of ridicule.	8	0	2	
◇	○	Awareness of ethnicity and difference from others.	2	0	2	
◇	○	Awareness of negative impact of Brexit.	8	0	1	
◇	○	Awareness of negative perceptions from others.	2	0	1	
◇	○	Direct discrimination experienced in schools	11	0	1	
◇	○	Discrimination and anti-migrant sentiment seen as hidden.	1	0	1	
◇	○	Discriminaton disguised as jokes and banter.	3	0	1	
◇	○	Importance of Spanish-speaking peer-group in initial months.	2	0	2	
◇	○	Issues with immigration rules experienced.	3	0	1	
◇	○	Media seen as creating anti-migrant feeling.	3	0	1	
◇	○	Other Latinos as core element of friendship group.	3	0	2	
◇	○	Peer support seen as a positive.	2	0	2	
◇	○	Perceived positive attitude to immigration in the UK.	2	0	1	
◇	○	Perception of discrimination in wider society.	11	0	1	
◇	○	Positive example of dealing with discrimination and prejudice.	2	0	1	
◇	○	Sport as a way to integrate and build social ties.	6	0	2	
Result: 16 of 116 Code(s)						

16 codes clustered to form Theme 4: Discrimination and Difference
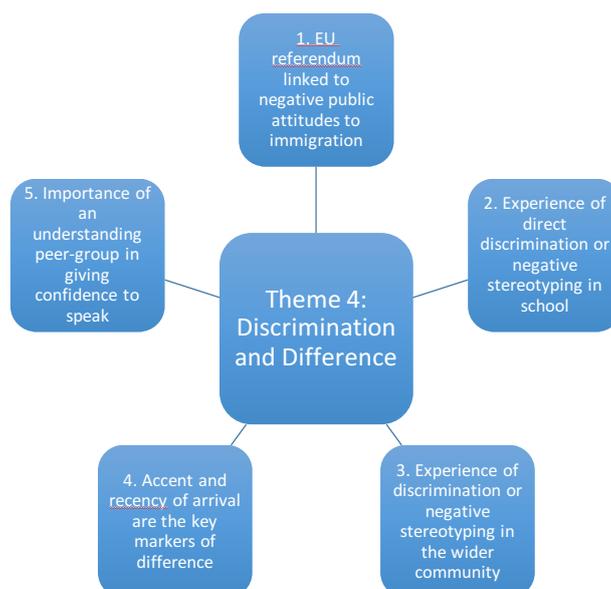
Theme 4 and five subthemes. These were defined based on clustering the 16 codes described above

Appendix F: Full Interview Transcript

1

2

3   JG: OK. Emm, alright. So there's a few different activities, some of them will be just writing, some of them…

4

5   (Introduction activity on researcher's migration experience – not transcribed.)

6

7   So what I'd like you to do…. I'd like you to think of two moments. One moment before you moved to the U.K.

8   and one after. Imagine those moments in your head. And I'll give you a second to think of those.

9

10   KX: OK

11

12   JG: Do you have them in your head?

13

14   KX: Yeah, yeah, yeah

15

16   JG: Alright

17

18   KX: So should I talk about it?

19

20   JG: Yeah, well, so tell me about the first moment anyway. The first moment before you moved. Tell me how you

21   felt at that moment.

22

23   KX: I was really scared. Because of the language. I remember myself in the airport and I was crying a lot because

24   I was leaving all my family behind. My cousins, my aunties, my friends, so all of them came to see me at the

25   airport. And I was really sad. I was sad, but at the same time in my belly I was, I dunno, I was feeling sick. It

26   wasn't sick, but it was sick scared. You know when you don't want to do something, but you have to do it? It

27   was 'cos of the language and I was kinda pretty old and I knew I was gonna have to do my exams, so yeah.

28

29   One moment now would be yesterday. Because yesterday I applied for my work experience and I got accepted in

30   St. Thomas' Hospital. Yeah, everything's good and I got good marks in my mock exams… yeah, that's the two

31   moments.

32

33   JG: So, the second one was a positive moment, moving from being quite scared to feeling like you are more

34   settled here?

35

36   KX: Yeah

37

38   JG: OK. And what do you feel you've gained from your move to the U.K.? What are some of the things on the

39   positive side?

40

41   KX: Emm… I learned how to speak English. I've got loads of friends in school. So, that's a positive because

42   those are the main languages that you need. It's more experiences as well and stuff, you have more knowledge

43   about everything. Emm… and gained more friends. Which is good because you have people to support you.

44   Many more adults to support you, so that you can do anything and yeah…

45

46   JG: And are there important things that you feel like you've lost in making that move?

47

48   KX: I think… emm, I lost my confidence. Because it's a new language and the accent. Like, the accent. `

49

50   JG: And yeah, I have a little activity to look at that a bit more later in the interview…

51

52   And how do you think that you've changed personally between those two moments?

53

54   KX: How I've changed?

55

56   JG: Hmm, if at all.

57

58   KX: Hmm, I don't think I've changed. It's just that I get more knowledge from my experiences. Like, the

59   experience of moving from one country to another. Like, you learn more stuff about… like sometimes you have

60   to do stuff even if you don't want to. You have to take the risk.

61

62   JG: Hmm, ok. And that kind of sets you up? (Nod). Alright, the next thing I have is… I want us to look at this

63   piece of paper. Can you just write your name in the centre? OK, perfect.

64

65   And, is that name short for a longer name or…

66

67   KX: No, that's my name.

68

69   JG: I haven't heard it before. Is it a common name in Ecuador?

70

71   KX: No, I don't think so (laughs).

72

73   JG: I've never seen it, but I've never been to Ecuador. I've been to Mexico and Colombia. I have the most

74   normal name.

75

76   OK, so what this activity is about is I've got you in the centre and I've got four different levels, closer and further

77   away from you. I want you to think about some of the most important people or things that make up how you feel

78   about yourself. It can be anything. Like, it could be all people or things, or whatever comes to mind as the most

79   important parts of how you feel about yourself. With the most important close to your name, and as they get less

80   important, further away. Does that make sense?

81

82   KX: Yeah

83

84   JG: Would you rather tell me and for me to write (nods), or…

85

86   KX: I think what makes me is my family, education, because education… If you're not good in school, people

87   are going to see you in some kind of way, and that will make you as well. That way, that's going to make you

88   feel a type of way about yourself. It goes, family, education.

89

90   JG: And do family and education go on the same level, or is one more important than the other?

91

92   KX: No, it's as important as my family.

93

94   JG: OK, and can you explain what you said about people seeing you in a certain way because…

95

96   KX: Because, you need education because if you're not good in your education, then people are going to say 'oh,

97   you're dumb, you need to start studying more' and people will tell you stuff about yourself that you wouldn't like

98   to hear, and yeah…

99

100   JG: So it's a way that people make judgements about you?

101

102   KX: Yeah

103

104   JG: OK. And how do your family influence how you feel about yourself?

105

106   KX: My family because they're always… they will never lie to you about how they feel about you. That's my

107   opinion. My family won't lie about me. If they see that I'm doing bad, then they will tell me straight away.

108   They'll be like 'you need to fix up.' They're the ones that encourage me to do stuff and of course I need them to

109   tell me what I have to do and what I don't have to do.

110

111   JG: How do you say 'fix up' in Spanish? It seems like a very English phrase! (laughs).

112

113   KX: Fix up? Umm… I don't know. Sometimes I struggle with my Spanish now.

114

115   JG: And do you speak to your parents and your family only in Spanish, or…

116

117   KX: With my Mum and my grandparents in Spanish, and my cousins in English.

118

119   **10:00**

120   JG: Alright. Are they the only ones you think should go in there, or is there any others.

121

122   KX: I think those are the only ones.

123

124   JG: So then, is there anything that's a little less important?

125

126   KX: Emm, I think it's the people I hang around with. Friends, maybe.

127

128   JG: We can say both, so friends and people you hang around with (writing)

129   OK. And tell me about your friends.

130

131   KX: Your friends will influence you. It depends on what kind of friends you have, If you have bad friends they

132   will make you do bad stuff and make you change how you are. I know this seems typical of a young child to just

133   change because of their friends. But I think it's true because, people change depending on who they hang around

134   with. If they're good people they will help you and support you, but if they're the wrong people they will make

135 you feel less. Yeah like they will make you feel not worth it and stuff and make you do things you don't want to

136 do.

137

138 JG: And how was that process of making friends for you? Did you go to a school in London before St. G's or

139 straight to St. G's?

140

141 KX: Yeah, primary school.

142

143 JG: How many years did you spend in primary school?

144

145 KX: Emm… two.

146

147 JG: So in year 5?

148

149 KX: Yeah.

150

151 JG: And how was that process then, of finding the right people to hang around with?

152

153 KX: It was really hard. Because in primary school, in Y5, I got put in the worst class. So I think I decided to hang

154 around with them and that made me become a rude person, in a way. When I came to St. G's I decided to have a

155 smaller circle of friends. And it has done me good because my friends are the ones who encourage me to do

156 revision… they do revision with me every day. Yeah.

157

158 JG: So, you changed between 5 and 6, and 7. So what year are you in now?

159

160 KX: Year 10.

161

162 JG: Is there any others that you would like to put in there, or as a little less important?

163

164 KX: Less important… Hmm… Less important… I don't know… I think my teachers. Because, teachers are like

165 your friends as well. But you don't really hang around with them all the time. So it does influence how you are

166 more than your friends. Because, with your friends, you talk to them every day and you hang around with them

167 every day, but with your teachers, just lessons. Sometimes it depends on the teacher. If you have a rude teacher

168 and doesn't do anything and you just see them sitting down and (inaudible) like that you might think 'the teacher

169 is really lazy, maybe when I'm older I want to be like her and do nothing.' But then, if you have good teachers

170 they will influence you to work hard and achieve something.

171

172 JG: OK, and is there anything else that we could put down? Things that have a bit of an influence on you and

173 how you see yourself, but not so much.

174

175 KX: Hmmm, I can't think of anything. Yeah, I can't think of anything.

176

177 JG: And is there anything else you'd like to say about this activity before we move on?

178

179 KX: No, but ummm, just with teachers, they also make you do after school clubs. Even your parents don't make
180 you do things after school. That will also influence you in who you are, or what you do. If your parents tell you
181 to go straight home, then you don't have the chance to do anything bad or anything that comes into your mind.
182 But your teachers, they will always make sure that they will put you in something after school that will help you.
183
184 JG: And what are you involved in, extracurricular?
185
186 KX: Emm… I have English intervention, Maths intervention, Triple Science intervention. I do homework club
187 sometimes. I do fitness club, I do concert band. And I do cadets.
188
189 **15:00**
190 **JG: That sounds like quite a bit, like you're busy most evenings. OK, shall we move on from this activity?**
191 **(nod). In this part of the interview I'm going to ask you about your process of moving to London. So, first**
192 **of all, can you tell me about when you first heard that you were going to be moving to the U.K.? Do you**
193 **remember that moment?**
194
195 KX: I was happy, because I didn't really enjoy myself… I enjoyed myself a lot in Barcelona because it was a
196 really nice place and I had a lot of friends but at the same time, I love being with my family. I think family comes
197 before friends. And my grandparents were living in the U.K. with my Mum. I knew that my Mum couldn't raise
198 me and my sister by herself because she worked all day. And I didn't want my little sister to grow up in a place
199 where she doesn't have a Mum to be there. I know, I used to take care of her, but it was just hard to come from
200 school straight away and run to see my sister and stuff like that. I think I'm much happier with my Mum. I was
201 upset to be leaving my friends and family… well, my uncle and aunty, but I was happy because I missed my
202 grandparents and I wanted something better for my Mum.
203
204 JG: How long had you been in Barcelona?
205
206 KX: 3 years.
207
208 JG: OK, and what are some of your first memories of here? Did you always live in Lambeth or South London?
209
210 KX: Lambeth, yeah.
211
212 JG: So what are some of your first memories of this area?
213
214 KX: I think I loved it. Because, it was during winter and it snowed on that day and it was the first time. Well, not
215 the first time, the second time that I saw snow. I was really happy. I saw my grandparents, and it was really nice.
216 We watched movies and it was nice. I thought that they would forget about me, but they didn't, so I was happy.
217
218 JG: So you felt kind of welcomed here?
219
220 KX: Yeah
221
222 JG: And did you have any say in your decision to move? Did you have any choice?
223

224   KX: No, I didn't have any choice. My Mum is really strict, so you don't have any say in the house. So until

225   you're 16, 17, you don't have any say in the house. That's Latino parents – they're very strict.

226

227   JG: So you do what you're told and get on with it. But it sounds like, luckily, you were ok with what was going

228   to be happening.

229

230   Emm, and what do you think is the main change that moving here has brought about for you?

231

232   KX: The climate, and the language. That's the big change. Because in Barcelona it can be a bit cold, but not cold

233   like here, so I was a bit shocked with the weather. It was never sunny.

234

235   JG: So the next question is about what helps you with some of those things. So, with the weather, not much can

236   help you I suppose (laughs) but with the language, has there been anyone or anything that's been helpful in

237   dealing with that difficulty?

238

239   KX: When I came to London, I applied for a school and I did the application form as soon as I came, and a

240   school came up really fast. And when I was there, people were really nice. We were young, there was no need for

241   anyone to be rude to you. So, I had to buddy up with someone that was Colombian. So, she helped me and I had

242   extra lessons in English. I think it was more the support of the little girl that was helping me, and my teachers,

243   because they were helping me as well.

244

245   JG: And did you get taken out for extra lessons, or how did that work?

246

247   KX: Yeah, I got taken out. Or sometimes the teacher used to put a translation underneath so that I knew what…

248

249   JG: What you were supposed to do?

250

251   KX: Yeah

252

253   JG: And how did you feel about getting taken out for extra language lessons? Was it a positive or…

254

255   KX: Yeah it was a positive thing. Yeah, because there were more Spanish people who didn't know how to speak

256   English with me, so I was comfortable.

257

258   **20:05**

259

260   JG: OK, because you weren't the only…

261

262   KX: Yeah, I weren't the only one.

263

264   JG: OK, so in general, how was that experience of learning English? Can you try to rewind back 5 years and tell

265   me about some of the stages that you feel you went through in that time. From the first moment where you were

266   really scared.

267

268   KX: I was really scared. I was freaking out inside. I was really scared to go to school and what I used to do the
269   most was put CBeebies on the TV. It used to help a lot. Believe me, it helps. (laughs). It helped a lot. I think
270   Cbeebies helped me. I think the other thing that helped me the most is going to the library, taking out books and
271   translating it. And sometimes my Mum… my Mum is really strict. So, she used to print out pages of verbs and
272   things like that and she used to put a translation next to it and make me learn it. Any every day I had to do a page.
273   And watching Cbeebies while memorising all these words, that helped, yeah.

274

275   JG: And how long do you think it took you for that feeling of being really scared to leave? By the end of primary
276   school was that starting to fade, or did you still feel like that?

277

278   KX: I'm still like that now (laughs). So I don't think I'm going to overcome this fear because I'm still scared. I
279   was just upstairs and I was thinking 'oh my God, the interview is going to go wrong and oh no I can't do this I
280   can't do this.' Yeah.

281

282   JG: Because when I hear you speak I can tell the London accent (nods). So you've obviously started to lose
283   maybe some of the accent that you had when you arrived and started to take on a bit more of how people speak
284   around here, no? (laughs). So when do you think that started to happen?

285

286   KX: When I moved from primary school to secondary school. Because that was a big change. Even though I
287   didn't speak the language that well, that was a big change. Because everyone's a bit older now and you spend
288   more time with your friends. My friends are nice (laughs), but they're just really funny and I think they influence
289   the way I speak.

290

291   JG: And do most of your friends speak Spanish as well, or speak English and different languages, or only
292   English?

293

294   KX: Most of my friends speak English. Some of them speak Spanish, but I don't really hang around with the
295   Spanish people in my school. Maybe it's cos I never see them. And when I do see them I'm like 'hello' and
296   they're like 'hello.' I don't really see them in the playground.

297

298   JG: And why do you think that is?

299

300   KX: I don't know, maybe it's because of the weather (laughs)

301

302   JG: Explain that to me.

303

304   KX: It's cold

305

306   JG: OK, so you go outside, but you think that they stay more inside?

307

308   KX: Yeah definitely. More inside. Like when sometimes I walk past on the corridor they're all in this room or
309   the other room and most of the Spanish people just hang around in the room. Sometimes when I'm going past
310   and I see someone coming I'm like 'hello' but I'm still shy even though I speak Spanish and they speak Spanish,
311   I'm still shy to approach them.

312

313   JG: OK

314

315   KX: Even with my own people, I'm still shy!

316

317   JG: OK, so at the moment, do you feel more confident in English or in Spanish?

318

319   KX: Umm, I don't know, I think in Spanish better.

320

321   JG: Is it then maybe with the switching from English to Spanish with these people then, that you feel a bit more
322   conscious?

323

324   KX: With the people I think I'm more confident.

325

326   JG: Which people?

327

328   KX: Like, the Spanish people.

329

330   JG: OK

331

332   KX: But then with my friends, because no one speaks Spanish among my friends, so I can't really switch up the
333   language when I'm talking to them because they won't understand.

334

335   JG: OK, so how is it different expressing yourself in English, compared to expressing yourself in Spanish?

336

337   KX: Oh because in Spanish I speak quicker. So it's quicker to get to the point. In Spanish it's easier because I
338   know most of the words. In English it's hard because sometimes you have to think about 'what am I going to say
339   and is it going to sound right and do I know how to pronounce it' because if I don't know how to pronounce it I
340   will stay quiet and I won't say anything.

341

342   JG: And is there anything then, that you think you lose when you speak in English, that you would have been
343   able to communicate in Spanish?

344

345   **25:05**
346   KX: If I was speaking in Spanish, I would express myself in more detail. But in English, more basic simple
347   explanation about myself and how I feel. Because sometimes you have to figure out the right words. People say
348   'oh, you've been here so many years you should know all the words by now.' But sometimes they don't even
349   know it themselves and I think it's hard whether you speak Spanish or not… you still have to figure out the
350   words you're going to use.

351

352   JG: Yeah, and it is also a long process to acquire another language.

353

354   And is there anything that you gain in speaking English? Maybe something that you like about speaking in
355   English compared to speaking in Spanish.

356

357 KX: Well, before I used to like it because my Mum didn't understand. My Mum didn't understand English so
358 when she used to tell me what to do I used to complain in English. But now yeah, it's fine. And I think English
359 has helped me because you need English anywhere. If you were to apply for a job and you speak two languages,
360 I think they will want you more than the person who only speaks one language… nowadays there's different
361 cultures, different languages so I think it will help you out if you speak two rather than one.
362
363 JG: Yeah, and there's more contact between different parts of the world in general. So, what was most helpful?
364 You mentioned Cbeebies, the library and your mother, but was there anything else that helped in that process of
365 learning English?
366
367 KX: Umm, my friends. Well, the only girl I was friends with. For four months I only had one friend because she
368 was the only one who spoke Spanish. In my year. In the other years I was too scared to approach the people who
369 spoke Spanish. So I think that friend because when we had to do something, she would explain what every word
370 means so yeah, that helped me. And, I think that's it basically.
371
372 JG: Was there anything that was unhelpful? So something that people said you have to do if you want to learn
373 English, but you thought, nah, that's not helping me.
374
375 KX: I think something that didn't help was when teachers used to put a lot of pressure on me to learn English
376 soon. Like, oh, you need to go home and study English because you have your SATS next year. Yeah so I think
377 the pressure that teachers put on you. That wasn't really helpful.
378
379 **28:20**
380 JG: **Alright so the next activity I have is a drawing one. How do you feel about that?**
381
382 KX: I don't mind, I like drawing. I like it, but I'm not good at drawing.
383
384 JG: And with this it's more about the ideas and the discussion, rather than the quality of the drawing itself, but it
385 kind of links to something that you said at the start about how you see yourself and how others see you. So, I
386 want you to make two sketch drawings. On one, will be… we'll leave that for now but it will be about how
387 others see you. But, first of all, how you see yourself. This drawing is going to be about how you see yourself. So
388 I'll give you a few minutes just to sketch it out and then we can talk about it.
389
390 KX: Umm, if I was to draw that… (drawing/laughing). I think I would say that I was brave enough to climb the
391 mountain. Because you need bravery and to take the risk to just move to a different country and a different
392 language so it's like I climbed the mountain and I finally made it. Yeah.
393
394 JG: And when did you realise that you'd made it. Was there a time during those years when you felt like ok, now
395 I've made it?
396
397 **30:00**
398 KX: I think when my English was more fluent.
399
400 JG: And how long did that take, or can you remember any moment where you felt like, ok, if I can do this, then
401 now I've made it.

402

403 KX: I think it was this year. When I started to do my mock exams and I got good grades I was like, I've made it.

404

405 JG: OK, so the mock exams was the moment. Is there anything else you'd like to tell me about how you see

406 yourself?

407

408 KX: I see myself as a happy person so… because I'm happy about myself and how I turned out to be. Because

409 my Mum raised me well. I don't do bad stuff. There's times when you misbehave but at least I don't make my

410 Mum sad or disappointed about me, so… I'm happy. As long as my Mum is happy and my family is happy then

411 it's alright because friends you can have them anywhere and everywhere. I don't need to have friends in school.

412 Most important is my family.

413

414 JG: OK, and is there anything else you would like to add to this?

415

416 KX: No, I think it's done.

417

418 JG: So the next one is how you feel other people see you. And there might be different drawings for different

419 groups of people, or one in general.

420

421 KX: (drawing). I think this would be it basically. That sums up my school basically.

422

423 JG: OK, explain this.

424

425 KX: So there are all these people who feel like they have to comment about things you say or you do. Or

426 sometimes people feel like they have to comment about things that you do or your accent. Like, my accent.

427 Everyone talks about my accent. Everyone. My teacher's don't say it in a rude way but there's people in my

428 school, especially the Year 11s who always have to say something about my accent. They know I don't like it,

429 but they still do. There's always people putting me down. In a type of way. Sometimes I do good in my exams

430 and school, but sometimes I don't do good and you don't need people to be commenting about how you do. If

431 you've done something wrong then, you've done it. Get over it. But there's always people that are going to have

432 to bring it up again and again. And now I dyed my hair. So I know there are people that are going to be talking

433 about my hair. So, even though it's a joke, 'banter' as they say it, sometimes they say it too, too rude and it's not

434 a joke.

435

436 JG: So, tell me about some of the things people say about accent.

437

438 KX: Oh my gosh, if I told you the things that they say… oh you need to go back to your country, you need to get

439 out. That's what they tell me. I'm like, that's rude and they're like 'it's a joke, it's a joke' But as much as it's a

440 joke, I wish they didn't say it because it's rude.

441

442 JG: And is there a difference between school and outside school? In the world that isn't within these walls. Do

443 you think that if you were to make another drawing for that, would it be similar or would it be different?

444

445 KX: I think, emmm…

446

447 JG: So it could be London as a whole, or England as a whole, or just Lambeth.

448

449 KX: Oh my gosh, I can't even draw stick men. I think, people. When I'm out in the world I don't want to be the

450 type of person where people are saying 'what is that girl doing?' So when I'm out, I'm being a very nice girl –

451 helpful and polite so I think that people outside of school think that I'm a nice girl and that they're comfortable

452 with me because I'm a kind person. So yeah, I don't judge people outside of school and things like that, so I

453 think everyone outside of school has a positive opinion.

454

455 **35:35**

456 JG: OK, and it seems that you work a little bit to make sure that that happens.

457

458 KX: Yeah

459

460 JG: Alright then. Is there anything else then, that you'd like to add to this one before we move on?

461

462 KX: No, nothing.

463

464 **35:51**

465 JG: OK, so we've reached the last activity now. So this one uses quotes. So I have some different quotes that I

466 want to show you and just get your opinion on. So I'm not going to introduce them too much. But, underneath it

467 tells you who said them. So, I want to get your thoughts on them. So, the first one, came from the research that I

468 did last year… (explanation, not trancribed)

469

470 KX: (Reads to herself). Ohhhh, that is a big problems now. Because, I don't know why, but young people that

471 come from their country in South America to Spain, or just go to the U.K. but with a Spanish passport… they

472 think that their papers define where they're from. But I don't think that's good because you should always tell

473 people where you were born. It's the place that you're from. I don't really like when people that were born in

474 Colombia, or Ecuador or Peru are telling people 'yeah I'm Spanish, I was there, so I'm Spanish.' No, you're not

475 from Spain, you are from the place you were born. So yeah, I think this is very true, that it's really true.

476

477 JG: And why do you think that some people do that?

478

479 KX: Sometimes, people are ashamed of where they're from. In South America, countries are not that rich.

480 They're not as advanced as these countries, so maybe that's why they're ashamed to say that they're from that

481 place. Yeah, so that's what I think. And I feel sorry for the mother because her kids shouldn't be trying to hide

482 the place that they come from. You should always be proud of where you're from.

483

484 JG: And the reason that I wanted to show that to some children and teenagers was to see… parents and children

485 can have very different ways of seeing the world, so I wanted to show it to some younger people, to see… does

486 this happen or not.

487

488 (Introduces next quote).

489

490 **40:00**

491 KX: That actually explains my situation now. Because, people think that immigrants they come here to take our
492 jobs and even though the English people say 'oh, we don't say that.' It's true that they do. Deep inside they do
493 say that and sometimes when you watch the news, the message, the moral is that immigrants are coming to take
494 our jobs. And the media has an influence, so if the media says something and it's in the news, people will be
495 influenced by it and spread the word and it gets to us, people saying 'oh they're gonna come and take our jobs.
496 And they don't see the things that we do as well. We also help the country to develop, but they just don't see it
497 that way.
498
499 JG: Is there moments when you felt that this kind of message was at its strongest? Maybe when you felt that
500 people were making these kind of comments often or…
501
502 KX: People need to see that immigrants are a source of strength. I think that's what they need to get into their
503 minds. Because at the moment…
504
505 JG: If we made a scale at moment with 'source of strength' as 10 and what you said about 'taking our jobs' etc.
506 at zero, where do you think we are right now? From your perspective?
507
508 (confusion about the scale) (then placed herself low on scale).
509
510 And why do you think this is?
511
512 KX: I think it's just the media. Nobody thought about it until they started saying it in the media. Donald Trump is
513 now saying that immigration is a big problem and that we need to stop that, so that also influences people.
514
515 JG: OK, and in terms of your identity. What word would you use to describe the broader group that you come
516 from? In the U.S., they often say 'Latino' but maybe less here?
517
518 KX: No, we always say Latino, that's what we say.
519
520 JG: Emm, and we have one more quote – this is from a Colombian author.
521
522 (reading)
523
524 KX: Hmmm, that's a good one because yeah, it's a different culture like, completely different so the things that
525 we do, eat, watch are good… we don't have to be ashamed of ourselves and we can influence people when they
526 see us. They can learn about us in the same way that we learn about them. So I think it's good. It's true that you
527 see things from a different point of view being Latina, as parents in Europe they give their children more liberties
528 and in SA there is no liberties for children. Here they trust the children more, but in SA there is no trust – you
529 have to be at home straight away after school. Yeah.
530
531 JG: And do you think that's true for all, for both boys and girls?
532
533 KX: Boys and girls, yeah.
534
535 JG: OK, did you have any other thoughts on this?

536

537 KX: No, I'm just happy that she's proud of her culture, because a lot of Latinos now try to hide their culture and

538 act like it's ok, I'm not from that country I'm from England now. I'm living in England and I'm going to act like

539 I have no heritage, no background. That's mostly teenagers, nowadays.

540

541 JG: OK, the last thing that I wanted to ask is… (explanation, not transcribed)

542

543 I wanted to ask if there is a key message that you would like to share, first with your teachers from your

544 perspective. Something that's important.

545

546 KX: Don't put too much pressure on us. Don't pressure us. Because putting pressure on us will just stress us out

547 and if you put a lot of pressure there's gonna be a point where someone's gonna cry and just say 'I can't do this

548 anymore.' Yeah, too much pressure, I dunno, it's just too much.

549

550 JG: So it could be more positive maybe…

551

552 What about for your parents?

553

554 KX: Trust us more. Give us more liberties, please. And don't put so much pressure. Because parents also put too

555 much pressure on on. It's basically because parents also ask you to go and translate for them and be like 'yeah

556 you need to translate this, you need to help me do this and that.' Don't pressure us because school is already a lot

557 of pressure so please relax.

558

559 JG: And what about for the Prime Minister, Theresa May?

560

561 KX: Theresa May… I wouldn't even know what to say to her – I don't know. Hmm.. I'm not sure.

562

563 JG: So you, as a migrant or as someone from Latin America, if you had to tell her something about that

564 experience, what would it be?

565

566 KX: It was really scary. Really, really scary. It's not an easy thing. Please, please, please, help the Latinos

567 because it's really hard. It's really hard to apply for housing and stuff like that. So, please help us.

568

569 JG: So if you could give a message to the media, what would it be?

570

571 KX: Don't only show negative things about us, South Americans. Or yeah, don't put negative stuff in people's

572 heads because we don't only do negative stuff. We do positive stuff. But it's never, never on the news. Yeah.

573

574 JG: So I've finished now… is there anything else that you'd like to share, that is important to you but that we

575 haven't covered?

576

577 KX: I just wanted to say good luck and you're very nice.

578

579 JG: Thank you.

580

581   (Explains the purpose of the research and confirms consent and the possibility of the participant following up the

582   interview.)

Appendix G: Images from Interview Activities

Primary School Teacher

Parents + brother

Cousin   Little Sister

Music

Daughter of Dad's friend (Doctor)

4.

3.   Teachers, after-school clubs.

2.   Friends + people I hung around with

1.   Family

Education
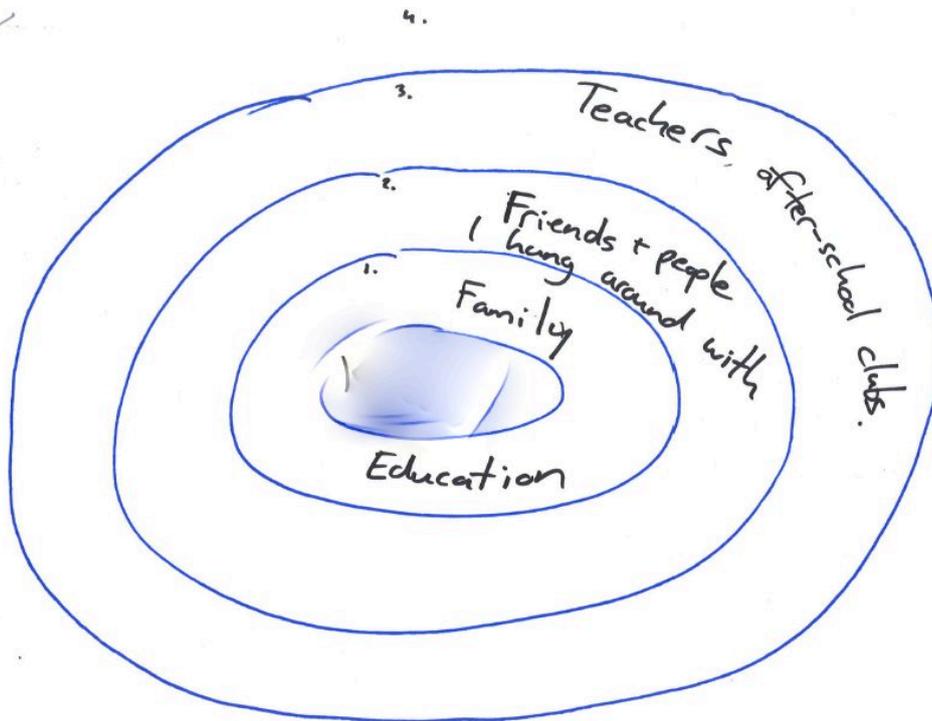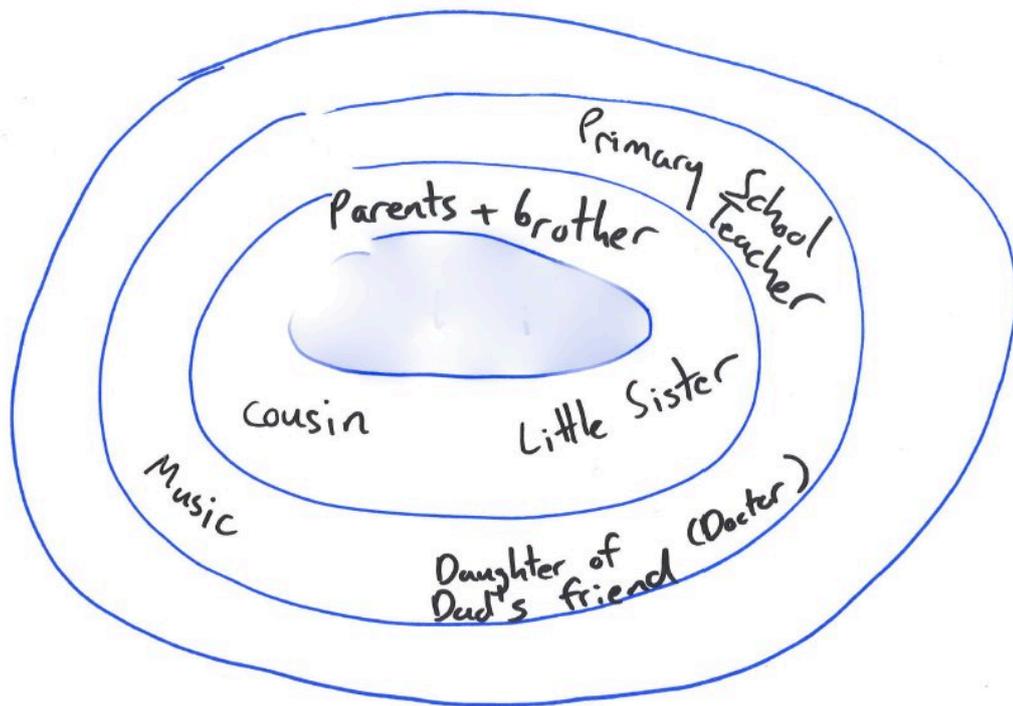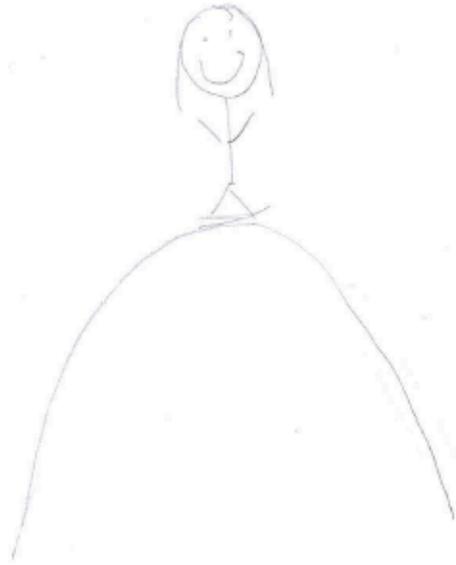
How I See Myself

- Brave
- Mock exams was the moment.

How Others See Me

• Lots of comments about accent etc.

How I see myself

Confident

Respectful

Good student

Strong

How others see me

→ disrespectful

→ Naugthy

→ Not very good with education
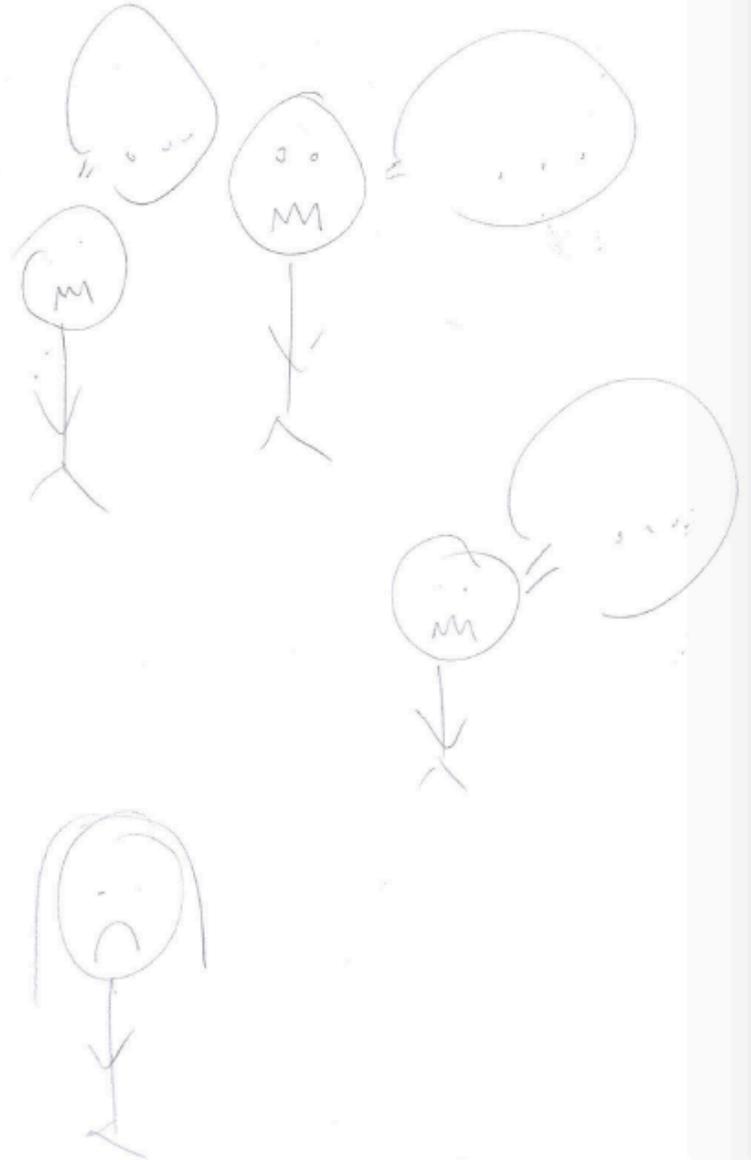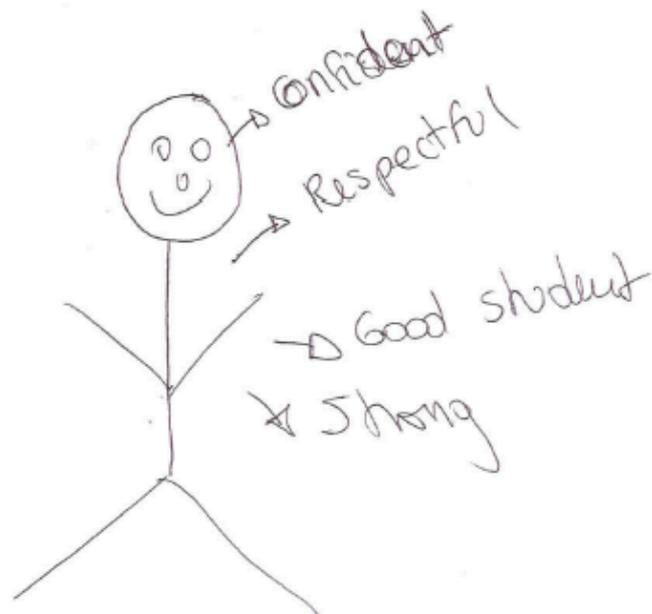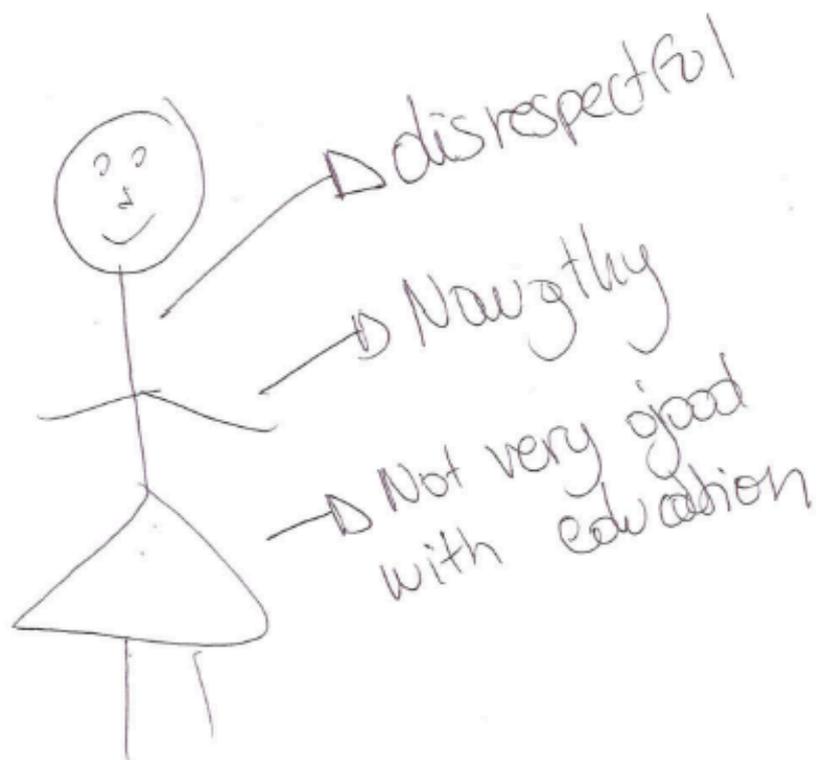
Appendix H: Recording Sheet from Member Reflection Interview
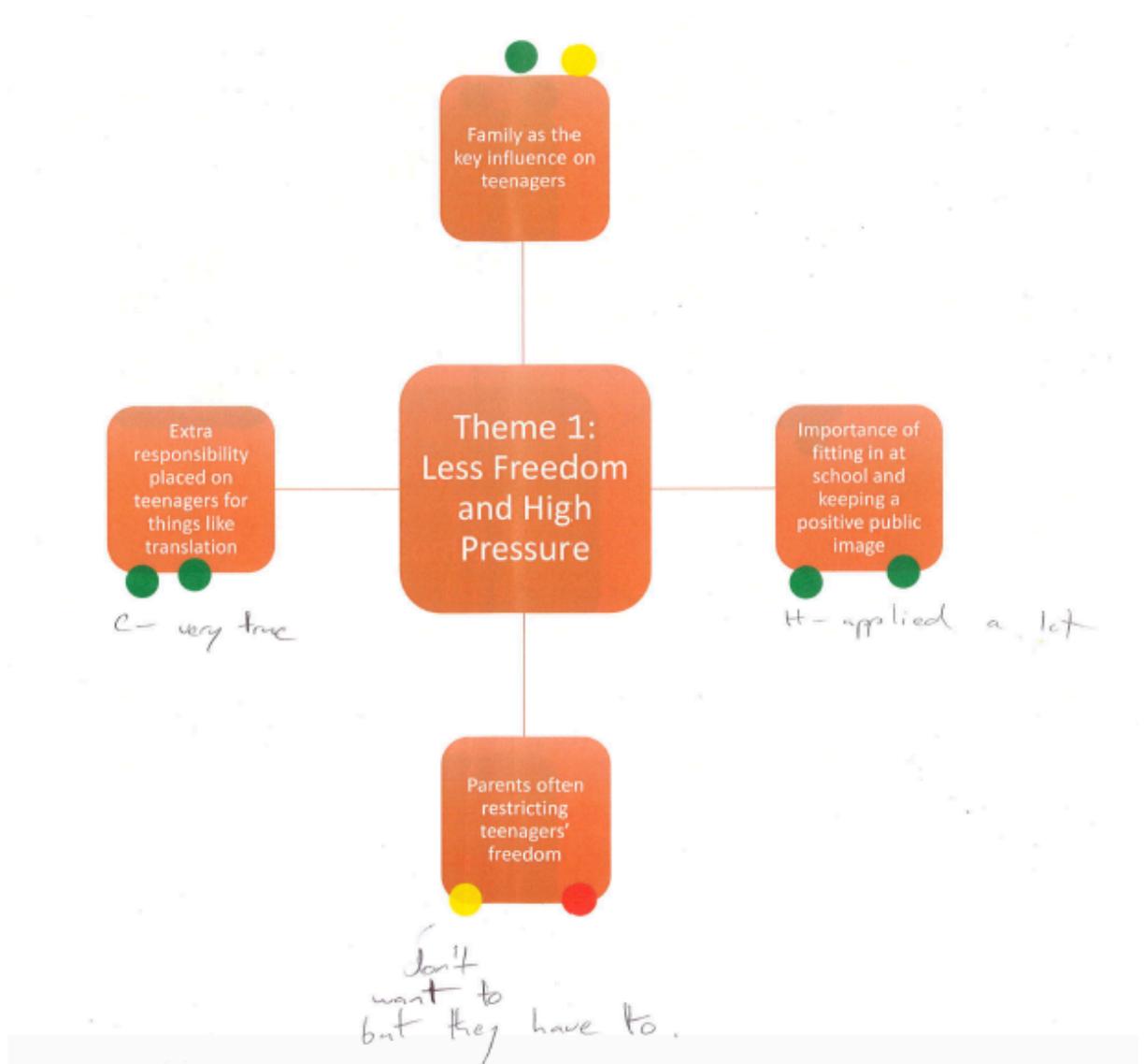
Appendix I: Ethical Approval Letter

Institute of Education

UCL

27 March 2017

Dear James,

RE: Ethical approval

I am pleased to inform you that your research project **'Exploring adolescent migrants' experiences of international migration and its impact on identity formation'**, for the year two research project on the Doctorate in Professional Educational, Child and Adolescent Psychology, has been given ethical approval. If you have any further queries in this regard, please contact your supervisor.

Please note that if your proposed study and methodology changes markedly from what you have outlined in your ethics review application, you may need to complete and submit a new or revised application. Should this possibility arise, please discuss with your supervisor in the first instance before you proceed with a new/revised application.

Your ethical approval form has been logged and will be uploaded to the UCL IOE database.

Good luck with your data collection.

Best wishes,

Lee

Lee Rensimer
Programme Administrator
Doctorate in Professional Educational, Child and Adolescent Psychology
Psychology & Human Development
UCL Institute of Education