RETROSPECTIVE NARRATIVES OF THE BROKERING ROLES ASSUMED BY CHILD MIGRANTS FOLLLOWING RESETTLEMENT.

Rebecca Crutchley

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the University of East London for the degree of professional doctorate in Education.

School of Education and Communities

June 2022

Abstract.

The resettlement practices of (im)migrating communities into Global North countries has long been the focus of academic research. This thesis explores the pivotal role that children play in this resettlement process, through their roles as cultural and linguistic brokers, specifically the extent to which child brokers are exercising agency, and the factors which maximise or constrain this agency within the context of family hierarchies and other societal structures. Using Biographical Narrative Interpretive Method, (Chamberlayne, Rustin and Wengraf, 2002; Wengraf, 2004) the project elicits retrospective narratives from five adults who engaged in myriad brokering roles during their childhood. The research positions (Bio)ecological Systems Theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Bronfenbrenner and Morris, 1998, 2006) as a sociological framework for identifying the macro and micro factors impacting upon children's cultural and linguistic brokering roles. The alignment between the chosen theoretical framework and the BNIM methodology in the context of children's cultural and linguistic brokering roles is a key feature of this research. The research findings indicate that brokering activities take place across a range of formal and informal contexts, with children deploying complex metalinguistic and cultural negotiation skills from an early age and into adulthood. Many of the brokering roles suggest children exercise varying degrees of agency in situational contexts, influencing family practices and contributing to the resettlement process. Retrospective perceptions of these roles reflect shifting interpretations of the challenges and benefits for their families and for the children themselves, mediated by such factors as their age, sense of efficacy, family expectations, duration, frequency and context of the brokering activities. Finally, I critique normative constructions of childhood, and analyse the significance of socio-cultural factors on child brokering practices and their positioning within communities.

The application of Bioecological Systems Theory has revealed the importance of establishing conceptual frameworks for exploring child brokering roles which inform policy and practice across relevant academic and societal contexts.

Keywords: Agency, Belonging, Bioecological Systems Theory, Biographical Narrative Interpretive Method, Child Brokering.

Table of Contents

List of Figures and Tables.

List of Appendices.

Acknowledgements.

I would firstly like to thank the five participants without whose narratives this thesis could not have been written. Thank you for giving your time so willingly and for sharing your experiences with me, particularly during such a challenging period in all our lives.

To my fabulous supervisors, past and present, Dr Jenny Robson, Professor Terri Kim, and Dr Eirini Gkouskou, I cannot thank you enough for your challenge, support and advice. Your commitment to your role, despite the many other pressures placed upon you, has been pivotal to the completion of this project.

Professor Gerry Czerniawski and Professor Jo Finch, thank you for sharing your expertise and wisdom in such an unassuming and humble manner. Your passion for 'democratising' academia and facilitating entry for those of us uncertain whether we belong in its lofty towers, has helped steer me to this point of submission.

To my wonderful colleagues in the Education and Communities team at UEL, you have inspired me in ways too numerous to mention, not least in your dedication to our vibrant student community.

Finally, to my family and friends, especially my sons, Joe and Ben, who I hope to have influenced with my perseverance and dogged determination to complete this thesis. To Ann, Liz, SJ and Debs, my impromptu therapists-no more angst, hurray! To mum, your lifelong resilience reminded me to stay positive, which was not easy in the early stages of the project! To Gerry, for your support during the early stages, many years ago. And lastly, to David, your welcome appearance during the latter stages, and your unwavering

belief that I could do this, encouraged me to keep going, and your nutritious ‘suppers’ sustained me after the long days of writing. Thank you.

Chapter 1. Introduction.

This thesis explores retrospective narratives of the brokering roles assumed by child (im)migrants following resettlement in a Global North context, a term which is explored later in the chapter. This introductory chapter presents the rationale for the choice of topic, the emerging themes, the methodology used to conduct the study and the theoretical framework applied to the analysis of participant data. An outline of each chapter is provided for ease of navigation.

1.1. Rationale for the Choice of Topic.

The motivation to conduct a research study exploring the cultural and linguistic brokering roles of children in (im)migrant communities, was influenced by a range of factors. The initial impetus arose from my observations of a newly arrived Polish child in the nursery where I once worked. At three years old, the child was observed demonstrating the social routines and customs of the setting to her non-English speaking parents. In addition, there were indications from my observations that the child was engaging in practices which enabled her to establish order over her unfamiliar environment, for example following the same rituals each morning, and engaging in discrete tasks which could be completed purposefully without the need for verbal engagement with her peers such as organising key areas of the continuing environment. Such hypotheses drew heavily upon my introduction to the 'new' sociology of childhood during my master's study, which included a module on children's agency. Recognising that children are competent social beings, with the potential to exercise agency in many areas of their lives, as reflected in articles 12 and 13 of the United Nations Convention for the Rights of the Child (UNESCO, 1989), I was keen to explore the extent to which cultural and linguistic brokering activities conferred agency on

children, and the short and long term impacts of engaging in such practices, as viewed from a retrospective viewpoint by those who engaged in such roles as children. In addition, my own experiences living abroad, albeit as a 'sojourner' offered a degree of insight into the stressors of living in a country whose language and social norms differ from one's own, therefore I was particularly interested in how such brokering roles contributed to the resettlement practices of im(migrant) families. Finally, a personal interest in the concept of resilience, defined by Masten (2014, p.10) as, 'the capacity of a dynamic system to adapt successfully to disturbances that threaten system function and viability of development' contributed to the choice of topic for my study. Whilst this definition of resilience emanates from a psychological field of study, my sociological positioning throughout this thesis seeks to identify the societal factors impacting upon child brokering roles child within (im)migrant families following resettlement and beyond.

In order to fulfil the aims of the project, the thesis is framed by the following questions:

- What are the cultural and linguistic brokering roles assumed by children, within their families, during the resettlement process following migration?

- How are these cultural and linguistic brokering roles and their impact on family resettlement perceived from a retrospective perspective?

- How are these cultural and linguistic brokering roles impacted by macro and micro factors operating within the ecological systems occupied by the child and their family?

- How can constructions of children's agency be reflected upon to support understandings of the contribution of children's cultural and linguistic brokering roles to family resettlement?

1.2. Terminology Used in this Thesis.

The terminology used in the study of migration has evolved over time. The use of inverted commas for 'acculturation' reflects the contested nature of the term in contemporary academic literature across multiple disciplines, as discussed further in Chapter Two. This thesis recognises that the language used to describe migrating populations, and the processes they engage in post-migration can be manipulated to suit political or personal agendas, for example the conflating of asylum-seekers, refugees and economic migrants (Griffiths, 2017; Cooper, Blumell and Bunce, 2021). Current rhetoric which insists on the generalised term 'migrants' for those crossing the English-channel is an example of this, since it is impossible to ascertain (im)migrant status until after a claim for asylum has been processed (Refugee Council, 2021). Cooper, Blumell and Bunce (2021) in their review of media depictions of migrating populations across Europe, acknowledge that political rhetoric and media hyperbole has contributed to constructions of (im)migrant communities as threats to economic or national security. It is essential therefore that the terminology used in the thesis is clarified.

The thesis uses the terms (im)migrant and heritage community interchangeably throughout to denote the participants and their families. The term (im)migrant echoes the term used by Arzubiaga, Nogueron, and Sullivan (2009), and acknowledges that the distinction in definition between the terms 'immigrant' and 'migrant' is contingent on assumptions of their settled versus transitory status, and as such fails to recognise the complexity and fluidity of (im)migrants' experiences. For example, whilst it may be the

aspiration of a migrant to re-settle permanently in a new location, thereby reflecting the immigrant definition, there are multiple internal and external attitudinal and structural factors which may preclude this. All but one of the participants in this project were born outside of the UK, migrated here with their families as children, and are now living in England. However, even the participant who had lived in England for over 40 years, referred to the fragility of his settled status, influenced by the recent Windrush scandal (Williams, 2020), reflecting Yuval-Davis' assertion of the transient nature of 'belonging' (2006, p. 204, 2011). It was thus felt that the term (im)migrant reflected the nuanced identities of the participants effectively. The terms heritage and home are used in the thesis to represent the participants' communities and families, consistent with the academic literature. The thesis uses the terms host, mainstream, dominant and receiving communities to define the 'indigenous' British populations into which (im)migrant communities seek to resettle, although I recognise the problematic nature of this term, considering its hijacking by groups seeking to define Britishness according to narrow and discriminatory narratives (Parekh, 2002; SSAHE, 2020). Nevertheless, the terms resonate with those used in the academic literature and serve the purpose of identifying arenas for social, cultural and linguistic dissonance during the resettlement process. Chapter Two proceeds to explore these in more depth. Finally, the terms 'Global North' and 'Global South' are used as overarching terms to denote the destination and departure locations of the participants in the thesis. However, I recognise that these terms are constructed according to specific academic disciplines and are subject to debate, due in part to dynamic political and economic change which rightly refute longstanding orthodoxies of the latter's subservience to the former which reflect reductivist and Eurocentric characterisations (Saavedra and Salazar Perez, 2018;

Strumm, 2020). Thus, for the purpose of clarity, the thesis uses the terms merely to denote the geographical location of the families' departing country and their country of resettlement. The participants' specific heritage country is identified in Chapter Four. Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge that outside of the academic field, post-colonial assumptions of hierarchies between migrating and receiving communities may prevail, thereby contributing to deterministic positioning of (im)migrant families and subsequently impacting upon their resettlement (Bhatia and Ram, 2001; Rukundwa and van Aarde, 2007; Nair, 2017).

1.3. Children as Cultural and Linguistic Brokers.

As discussed below, the resettlement practices of (im)migrant communities are complex, and contingent on multiple host and heritage community influences, and, significantly, individual responses to these influences. Pivotal to the process of resettlement are the children of migrating families, whose access to the social and cultural institutions of the receiving community, predominantly through their school attendance, affords them opportunities to gain linguistic competence and an awareness of the receiving country's norms and customs (Rumbaut, 2015). The gains acquired by children through such socialisation processes are subsequently utilised to support their parents and other family members, through the process of brokering (McQuillan and Tse, 1995; Cline at al., 2011; Bauer, 2012, 2016; Crafter and Iqbal, 2020, 2021).Whilst brokering may be perceived as straightforward interpretation and translation activities between the language of the home and, for example, that of the school, as this study demonstrates, brokering is far more expansive and complex than such definitions allow (Suarez-Orosco and Suarez-Orosco, 2013; Orellana, 2015; Lazarevic, 2016).

In reality, children's brokering roles consist of ongoing, (in some cases throughout adulthood), cultural and linguistic negotiation within a myriad of heritage and host community contexts. These processes pose questions about identity, belonging and perceptions of home, which as my findings suggest, exert influence upon one's sense of self (Yuval-Davis, 2006; Ralph and Staeheli, 2011; La Barbera, 2015).

Despite the complexity and ubiquity of such brokering roles, it is only recently that there has been widespread recognition of their influence on family resettlement (Oblazamengo, Medina-Jimenez and Nazi, 2014; Weisskirch, 2017), and children's development (Orellana, 2003; Dorner, Orellana and Li Grinning, 2007; Dorner, Orellana and Jiminez; 2008). A subsidiary aim of this project, therefore, is to consider a framework for recognising the benefits and burdens (McQuillan and Tse, 1995; Bauer, 2012, 2016; Crafter and Iqbal, 2020, 2021) of such pivotal roles, to enable families and professionals to value the multiple competencies such roles demonstrate and to mitigate against the more challenging aspects, discussed throughout the thesis.

1.4. Age of Migration.

We live in the 'age of migration' (De Haas, Castles and Miller, 2019). Whether families have relocated due to 'forced' migration (a contested term in the literature, as discussed in Chapter Two), economic migration, family re-unification, or due to post-colonial ties, arrival in a new country requires (im)migrating communities to resettle within a new environment. The processes through which this happens have been the subject of debate since Gordon (1964, cited in Zhou, 1997) developed the term, with hypotheses made about the linear trajectory of such 'acculturation' patterns. Such narrow assumptions have subsequently been challenged, (Weinreich, 2008; Schwartz et al., 2010; Rumbaut, 2015) and the complexity of the process for both (im)migrating communities and

receiving communities has been the subject of significant study. Current perspectives from multiple disciplines, including sociology, reject many of the underlying assumptions of traditional and contemporary 'acculturation' theories, favouring an emphasis on constructions of 'belonging' and the 'politics of belonging' (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p.204), as discussed further in Chapter Two.

In the context of this thesis, the research participants' migration pathways include post-colonial drivers, asylum drivers (as defined by the 1951 Geneva Convention) and economic drivers. The pathways span over 60 years and as such reflect differing attitudes towards (im)migrant communities over this timescale. The relationship between prevailing societal ideologies and resettlement practices within migrant communities is critiqued in depth via Bronfenbrenner's (Bio)Ecological Systems theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1986; Bronfenbrenner and Morris, 1998, 2006) in Chapter Three and forms part of the critique of 'acculturation' theory in section 1.5. below. In addition, as discussed in 1.7., the methodology chosen for this project, Biographical Narrative Interpretive Method (BNIM), seeks to identify the role of socio-political contexts and changes therein over time, upon individual responses to shared experiences, such as child brokering in (im)migrant communities. Further information about the pattern of migration pathways in the UK is available in Appendix 2.

1.5. Migration and Resettlement.

Chapter Two includes discussion of the dominant themes and tensions in the academic literature relevant to the thesis, including perspectives on the patterns of migration, the processes of resettlement, belonging and the politics of belonging, representations of child brokering, children's agency and (im)migrant identity. Historically, the drivers impacting upon (im)migrant (community and individual) resettlement processes were

understood to be contingent on multiple factors, for example, reasons for migrating, age at the time of migration, alignment at an individual and community level between the culture and language of the heritage community and that of the receiving community, gender, sexuality, ethnicity and levels of social, economic, and cultural capital prior to migration, including level of education (Bhouris et al., 1997; Bhatia and Ram, 2001; Schwartz et al., 2010; Killian, 2011; Portes and Rivas, 2011; Rumbaut, 2015). Furthermore, (im)migrant communities and individuals therein, including within the same family, are recognised as engaging in different resettlement practices for specific purposes, and 'acculturating' at different rates (Birman and Trickett, 2001, cited in Birman and Simon, 2014). Herein lie the main tensions within the academic fields, namely the extent to which (im)migrating communities have agency to select a *strategy* for resettlement, a process referred to by Weinreich (2008, p.) as 'enculturation', and the degree of societal influences, for example prevailing attitudes from within heritage and host communities, immigration legislation, access to social support and bordering practices (Ager and Strang, 2008; Portes and Rivas, 2011; Yuval-Davis, Wemyss and Cassidy, 2017, 2019). To take legislation as a pertinent example of this, the proposed Nationality and Borders Bill (HM Government, 2021), aims to hasten asylum claims, facilitate faster removal of those deemed illegible for the right to remain in the UK, and deter illegal entry, whilst remaining committed to international agreements on refugee sanctuary and protection. One approach to meeting these objectives is to offer those seeking refuge a four-year interim 'leave to remain' (LTR) status rather than indefinite LTR, a decision which will invariably impact upon their resettlement process (Navas et al., 2007; Refugee Council, 2021). Similarly, the 'Hostile Environment' agenda (Griffiths and Yeo, 2021, p.1), particularly the extension of bordering practices into

professional (health workers, teachers) and societal (landlords) spheres has created divisions between (im)migrant and host communities (Cassidy, 2019; Yuval-Davis, Wemyss and Cassidy, 2017, 2019; SSAHE, 2020).

1.6. (Im)migrant Identity, Home and Belonging.

The themes of identity, home and belonging are significant in this thesis, reflecting the existing literature, which recognises that cultural identity is constructed through engagement in social processes, and is thus in a fluid state of becoming, rather than a fixed inherent trait (Gutierrez and Rogoff, 2003; La Barbera, 2015). Children's cultural and linguistic brokering roles thus influence the forming and reforming of myriad identities, suggestive of selective resettlement processes, and ongoing negotiation between heritage and host expectations and norms (Weinreich, 2008, Schwartz et al., 2010; Killian, 2011). Similarly, the conceptualisation of home as both a physical space and an emotional connection emerges as an inter-related theme (Ralph and Staeheli, 2011) contingent on multiple factors impeding and facilitating (im)migrant cultural identity, and their sense of belonging within host and home communities (Brooker and Woodhead, 2008). Finally, the thesis recognises the distinction made by Yuval-Davis between 'belonging' and the 'politics of belonging' which resonates with my choice of the term (im)migrant as stated in 1.2. (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p.204) and explored further in Chapter Two.

1.7. Research Methodology.

The study uses a social-constructivist paradigm which recognises that experiences are understood through individual interpretation influenced by personal, social and cultural factors (Crotty, 2009; Crafter and Abreu, 2010). To facilitate this positionality, the chosen methodology is Biographical Narrative Interpretive Method (BNIM), an approach to narrative inquiry which elicits life-histories from participants, via open-ended and semi-structured interview inquiry (Chamberlayne, Rustin and Wengraf, 2002; Wengraf, 2004). Participant narratives are subsequently analysed according to content, form and subjectivity, the latter of which is particularly useful when exploring retrospective narratives. The open-ended nature of the initial interview session affords each participant the opportunity to lead the narrative inquiry process according to their own inclusion criteria, thereby reflecting emancipatory methods (Squire et al., 2014; Tamboukou, 2015). Such an approach is deemed particularly appropriate when researching with participants whose experiences may reflect trauma or loss, as was anticipated at the onset of this study. Chapter Four provides further discussion of BNIM, and how it is located within the broader field of narrative inquiry.

1.8. Theoretical Framework.

Reflecting my sociological positioning, the theoretical framework underpinning this thesis is (Bio)ecological Systems Theory (B/EST) (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Bronfenbrenner and Ceci, 2004; Bronfenbrenner and Morris, 1998, 2006), an approach to understanding human development which rests on a set of hypotheses about the direct and indirect contexts, or 'systems' in which such development occurs. Although (Bio)ecological Systems Theory has its roots in Psychology and has been used predominantly to explore child development via interactions within familial contexts

(Kamenopolou, 2016), its sociological application in this thesis is explored through a range of systemic influences, which impact on children's brokering roles in direct and indirect ways, as discussed further in Chapter Three. As will be seen, my application of B/EST aligns closely with resettlement processes and children's brokering roles therein. As noted above, resettlement practices are informed by ideological (Macrosystem), structural (Exosystem) and socio-relational and identity factors within families (Microsystem), with relationships between these factors mediated by child brokers (Mesosystem). A full discussion of the congruence between B/EST and the broader theories of this thesis is provided in Chapter Three. The abbreviation 'B/EST' is used to signify that the thesis has applied the revised model of Bronfenbrenner's initial Ecological Systems Theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Bronfenbrenner and Morris, 1998, 2006) which includes recognition of the biological and dispositional characteristics of the child within the 'settings' in each ecological system. These later revisions emerged following Bronfenbrenner's evaluation of observational research across many disciplines and locates the child as a reciprocal partner in socio-relational Microsystem contexts, therefore reflecting my researcher positionality, which acknowledges the capacity of the child to transform structures, albeit within generational and situational constraints (Giddens, 1984, in Giddens, 2013; Leonard, 2009). Further conceptualisations of children's agency are discussed in Chapters Two and Three.

1.9. Online Research Methods.

Data collection for this research project started after England went into lockdown due to the Covid-19 pandemic. Therefore, all interviews were conducted online via Microsoft Teams, and were recorded with the participant's consent. This switch from face-to face to online data collection offered benefits as well as challenges, as discussed further in

Chapter Four. In brief, the online interviews risked compromising effective relationship building between participant and researcher, were subject to domestic interruption, and, in some cases prevented the observation of non-verbal cues, essential when using narrative inquiry (Pocock, Smith and Wiles, 2021). However, the flexibility offered by the opportunity to conduct the sessions online was invaluable, and although the transcripts from the recordings were frequently unreliable, and required constant re-interrogation, they nevertheless ensured that I was not required to note-take during the sessions and could focus on actively listening to the unfolding narratives.

1.10. Identifying and Mitigating Researcher Positionality.

To mitigate potential bias resulting from my researcher positionality, a short reflective diary was kept at the end of each interview session. Although this is not a requirement of the BNIM methodology, due to the changes made to the way in which the narrative interviews were conducted, in response to the Covid-19 pandemic, it was considered necessary to reflect upon the impact of such changes on the research process, as discussed in more depth in Chapter Four. This journaling was an informal process and did not utilise a specific reflective practice tool. Each entry considered factors affecting the interview process, for example interruptions and the extent to which the participant was able to attend to the session, and the identification of my emotional responses to specific accounts within each narrative, for example, incidents recalled which challenged my assumptions or aroused my concern. As noted by Russel and Kelly (2002), reflective journals are an effective tool for recognising how the researcher's positionality may shape their interpretation of the participant's narrative, therefore examples of such occurrences are included in the discussion of my findings in Chapter Five.

1.11. Presentation of Findings.

Chapter Five presents the findings from the participant narratives. In keeping with the tradition of narrative inquiry, reflected in BNIM methodology, the findings are presented in narrative form. Although the narratives are not analysed comparatively, emerging themes which resonate with existing literature in the field of child brokering are introduced and further critiqued in Chapter Six. A key principle of BNIM is the identification of the impact of dynamic and temporal social contexts on individual responses to similar experiences. A grounded theory approach (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, cited in Chamberlayne, Rustin and Wengraf, 2002) hypothesises emerging theories based on the identified responses. An iterative process conducted through the BNIM investigative panel subsequently re-visits these hypotheses, incorporating alternative possible interpretations. Newly identified themes which contribute to the field are considered in terms of their contribution or challenge to current debates and tensions. The contribution of the BNIM panel, the application of the B/EST theoretical framework and insights from my reflective journal are clearly demarcated in the analysis and presentation of each participant's narrative.

Finally, Chapter Seven concludes with an evaluation of how successfully the thesis has achieved its research aims, recognition of its limitations and identification of implications for future practice. In addition, the effectiveness of the chosen methodology and theoretical framework for meeting the research aims is considered. Thus, I aim to locate the research findings within the academic field and offer a framework for the greater recognition and support for professionals and policy makers working in contexts relevant to the scope of the project.

Chapter 2. Literature Review.

2.1. Introduction.

This chapter critically reviews key concepts, debates and tensions relevant to the research project emanating from the existing literature and research. My literature review encompasses:

(i) discussing the impact of diverse patterns of migration on resettlement, identity and belonging (Bhouris et al., 1997; Navas et al., 2007; Ager and Strang, 2008; Weinreich, 2008, Yuval-Davis, 2006, 2011; La Barbera, 2015).

(ii) exploring and exemplifying the cultural, linguistic and procedural brokering roles of children in (im)migrant families, and their influence upon family resettlement (Hall and Guery, 2010; Suarez-Orosco and Suarez-Orosco, 2013; Bauer, 2016; Orellana and Phoenix, 2017; Lopez, 2019; Crafter and Iqbal, 2020, 2021);

(iii) furthermore, interrogating the perceptions of child brokering roles, reflecting the study's intention to examine the relationship between child brokering activities, and children's agency within the family and broader society, thereby questioning developmentalist paradigms of children and childhood in the context of this thesis (Luykx, 2005; Hall and Guery, 2010; Cline at al., 2011; Orellana, 2015; Revis, 2016, Crafter and Iqbal, 2020, 2021).

As noted in Chapter One, I use the word (im)migrant to include any individual who lives in a country other than the one they were born in. This term includes (im)migrants of any context (refugees, asylum seekers, economic migrants), as distinctions between (im)migrant 'categories' can be problematic and stigmatising (Griffiths and Yeo, 2021).

It is acknowledged that this word has negative connotations due to the way it has been used to scapegoat, exclude, and homogenise communities perceived to be non-native. However, the nature of this research requires a distinction to be made between dominant host communities, and those who arrived in the UK from other parts of the world. The words dominant, receiving, host and mainstream have been used to denote communities and individuals born and raised in the UK, in full recognition that members of such communities may themselves have ancestry born elsewhere, due to the UK's long history of migration (Parekh, 2002). As discussed below, terminology differs across academic disciplines, for example the use of the terms 'forced migrant', diaspora, asylum seeker, refugee, are preferred in some fields, somewhat dependent on the positionality of the researcher. The sociological stance taken in this thesis demands a more expansive choice of term, reflecting my scepticism of fixed (im)migrant categories, in the context of structure-agency fluidity (Giddens, 1982) and echoing discussions expanded on below about the nature of free-choice in the context of migration pathways (Bartram, Povos and Monforte, 2014; Collins and Carling, 2020). All the participants in this research project live in England, thus although there are similarities in the relational processes between legislation, public perception and resettlement in all host communities within the UK context (Bhouris et al., 1997), the specific impact of these relationships will vary according to local implementation within each of the home nations. Appendix 1 offers an overview of UK legislation and policy relevant to the timescale of the thesis. As discussed at length in 2.5., child brokering can be understood to include formal and informal practices undertaken by children (aged under 18) which relay information, social norms, and cultural differences between host communities and (im)migrant families (Lopez, 2019). For a definition of 'agency' the

thesis acknowledges Gyogi's definition (2014), influenced by Ahearn (2001, p.112, in Gyogi 2014, p.1) and Mercer (2012, in Gyogi, 2014), which states that agency is the 'socioculturally mediated capacity to act' contingent on an individual's sense of free will, and their choice to enact this agency through 'participation and action, or deliberate non- action' (Gyogi, 2014, p.2). These terms are critiqued in more depth in the relevant sections of the chapter, acknowledging multiple contested perspectives.

2.2 Patterns of Migration.

Each of the participants in my study either migrated to England, with their families during their childhoods or were born in England shortly after their family's migration. The causes for their family's migration reflect recognised 'push-pull' drivers considered in the academic literature, namely post-colonial ties, family unification, economic opportunity, and seeking sanctuary (Bartram, Povos and Monforte, 2014). The literature review therefore starts with an overview of multi-disciplinary perspectives on migration patterns, culminating in a recognition of the relationship between the motivation to migrate, and the processes of resettlement. According to Suarez-Orosco and Suarez-Orosco (2013), at a fundamental level, migration results from one's inability to lead an economically sustaining life which reflects 'cultural schema' and 'social practices' (Suarez-Orosco and Suarez-Orosco, 2013. p.13) and fulfil one's commitment to family and friends. Migration is thus seen as a 'biosocial response to instability and relative scarcity' (Suarez-Orosco and Suarez-Orosco, 2013, p.13). Similarly, Bartram, Povos and Monforte (2014) explain migration as a reaction to social, political and economic differences between or within nation states. In reductivist terms therefore, migration happens when people seek something they cannot attain in their home nation. Reducing the myriad causes for migration to these basic principles is helpful for a variety of

reasons. Firstly, it removes the unhelpful and misleading distinction between economic migrants, 'forced migrants', environmental migrants, and internally displaced populations. Secondly, it serves to reposition migration as a human response to the universal desire for economic, political and social stability, thereby aligning migrants with native populations and challenging dichotomous 'them and us' ideologies which can characterise the representation of (im)migrant communities in host countries (Bunch, 2015; Tajfel, 1979 in Islam 2014). Finally, it recognises that the 'push-pull' drivers of migration and the channels through which migration occurs, whilst complex and idiographic, can be conceptualised according to basic impulses externally or internally influenced. For some, however, this 'push-pull' model fails to recognise the structural factors which facilitate or constrain such drivers. Van Hear, Bakewell and Long (2020, in Collins and Carling, 2020, p.9) prefer the term 'push-pull-plus', whereby the conditions which facilitate the 'choice' to migrate are acknowledged, for example transport infrastructures, political climate and migration networks. Thus, much of the debate in migration studies rests on the extent to which individuals are perceived as exercising agency in their migration pathways, and the significance of external factors in facilitating this (Bartram, Povos and Monforte, 2014; Collins and Carling, 2020). A lesser studied (im)migrant community, which is worthy of addition to this discussion, is the increasing community of academic migrants, including international students and academics. According to Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) (2020) this specific (im)migrant community has grown steadily since 2016. Currently there are 38, 410 EU academics working in UK universities and 31,785 non- EU, (although specific data on the latter is masked by the conflation of all non-White academics under the BME category, Kim and Ng, 2019). This represents 25% and 20%

of the Higher Education workforce respectively. Similarly, the Office for National Statistic's quarterly report to March 2020, suggests a steady increase in non-EU student applications from 2016, from 120,000 to over 190,000, (although there has been a dip in applications from 2020-21 as a consequence of the Covid-19 pandemic). Although participants in this research did not include representatives from these specific (im)migrant communities, as has been noted, the conflation of (im)migrant groups within media discourse and public perception continues to exert influence upon resettlement practices within such populations. A particularly pernicious example of which is the increase in anti-Southeast Asian prejudice and hate-crime, as a result of the Coronavirus crisis (Ng, 2021; Parveen, 2021).

As alluded to above, much of the scholarly and policy informed discussions around migration focus on the assumed dichotomy between forced and voluntary migration. Such discourses serve to shape how (im)migrants are perceived and responded to in their countries of resettlement. For example, the term 'forced migrant' can enable access to humanitarian support, at the same time as creating unhelpful distinctions between 'deserving' and 'undeserving' (im)migrants, creating borderings (Yuval-Davis, Wemyss and Cassidy, 2017, 2019), which are defined as 'the everyday construction of borders, through ideology, cultural mediation, discourses, political institutions, attitudes and everyday forms of transnationalism' (p.229). An example of which, from the UK context, is the Tier Four visa monitoring requirements for non-EU students from within their academic institution (Immigration Act, 2016, updated, March 2021). The drivers for migration are invariably more complex than these binaries suggest. Bivand-Erdal and Oeppen (2020) assert that migration drivers are located on a continuum between voluntary and forced, contingent on a range of factors including the extent to which

agency is exercised. Their definition of voluntary relies on the extent to which volition, or free choice, operates within a spectrum of multiple possible alternatives or if migration is perceived as the only option to ensure family safety. Using this definition, and drawing upon Nozick's (1974, cited in Bivand-Erdal and Oeppen, 2020) rights-based construction of voluntariness which rests on the existence of infringements to an individual's life, liberty and property which curtail opportunities for acceptable, non-demeaning work, it is evident that the distinction between forced and voluntary migration is less easy to define. Nozick's definition of voluntariness has been criticised for resting on three limited factors which do not sufficiently capture the complexity of the migrant experience. An expansion of Nozick's definition is offered by Olsaretti (1998, cited in Bivand-Erdal and Oeppen, 2020), who, while accepting that voluntary decision making (volition) occurs in the context of viable alternatives, also acknowledges that an individual's willingness to adapt to the lack of alternative also needs to be considered. Finally, Colburn (2008, cited in Bivand-Erdal and Oeppen, 2020) recognises that the perception of acceptable alternatives is subjective and shaped by a range of internal and external factors, for example immigration policy, migration routes, self- efficacy, age, and health. Crucially, this subjective perception of the acceptable alternatives (Bivand Erdal and Oeppen, 2020) can also influence the way in which (im)migrant communities resettle post-migration.

Such reified discourses contribute to socially constructed perceptions of 'reality' which shape policy making and public attitudes, in turn impacting upon the resettlement experiences of migrating communities (Bhouris et al., 1997, Navas et al., 2007; Schwartz et al., 2010), in part because of the ways in which they shape the perspectives and constrain the agency of (im)migrant communities and individuals therein but also

due to the influences on the attitudes of the native populations (Bartram, Povos and Monforte, 2014; Collins and Carling, 2020). Indeed, much of the current literature on 'acculturation' rejects earlier assumptions of its uni-directional pattern (for example, Schwartz et al., 2010) acknowledging the bi-directional interplay between migrant and host communities and identifying diverse mediating conditions which facilitate or constrain resettlement processes. For example, ethnic/cultural/linguistic dissonance between heritage and host communities, global and national geopolitics, legislative contexts, and reception of host communities to (im)migrant groups (Schwartz et al., 2010).When considering the contexts most significant upon (im)migrant resettlement, Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco (2013), echoing Bhouris et al. (1997) identify the legal frameworks of the country of resettlement, economic conditions and workplace opportunities and levels of acceptance and discrimination, including media representation, which they categorise as the 'social mirror' (Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco, 2002, cited in Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orosco (2013, p.13). Such factors are identified by Yuval-Davis (2006), as features of the 'politics of belonging' (p.204), which serve to facilitate or deny participation, citizenship and membership, predicated on imagined borderlines which create 'them' and 'us' dichotomies. Further criticisms of 'acculturation' theory point to the 'artificial nature of the notion of "cultures" as distinct, bounded units harbouring culturally identical citizens' (Waldram, 2009, p.173), thereby challenging assumptions of discrete, fixed strategies for 'acculturation'. Such dismissal of homogenous cultural communities resonates with Weinreich's (2008) and Killian's (2011) critique of traditional 'acculturation' models.

2.3. The Migration Context in the UK.

The UK's social and political history has been characterised by migration (Ford and Lymperopoulou 2018). As has been discussed in 2.2., drivers of migration are complex and varied reflecting myriad push-pull factors which contribute to the resettlement experiences of (im)migrant communities. As will be discussed in Chapter Four, the migration pathways of the participants in this study reflect this driver diversity, united by the almost universally shared experience of migrating to the UK with their families during their childhoods. The aim of this section, therefore, is not to explore these specific migration experiences in depth, rather to consider the general relationship between patterns of migration, resettlement practices and the politics of belonging within the UK context, including the pivotal role of child brokers. This relationship is also considered from a Bioecological Systems Theory perspective (B/EST) (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Bronfenbrenner and Morris, 1998, 2006) in Chapter Three, reflecting my framing of B/EST as a framework for sociological analysis.

Data on migration to the UK can be gathered from a range of sources, including government statistics, refugee and migrant charities, and organisations with an interest in monitoring migration patterns, for example Migration Watch. As such, it can be challenging to ascertain an objective account of the current context. This uncertainty is significant as it reflects the argument made earlier in the chapter regarding the unhelpful distinction between forced and unforced migration and how these categories are represented in datasets (Bivand-Erdal and Oeppen, 2020). It also serves to demonstrate how divergent ideologies underpinning narratives on migration from different stakeholders influence policy, legislation and public attitudes towards (im)migrant communities (Bhouris et al., 1997).

2.4. Migration, Identity and Belonging.

As has been noted above, migration impacts upon both individual and social identity. There is further in-depth discussion on multiple identity theories in Chapter Three. However, in order to contextualise the relevance of the theory within the literature review, (im)migration is understood to influence individual and collective identities through the disruption to symbolic markers, (for example, linguistic, religious, cultural) changing professional identities assumed by (im)migrants in host countries, contrasting perspectives on gender roles between (im)migrant and native populations, and competing/conflicting role affinities (particularly for young adolescent (im)migrants) between native and heritage community value systems (Bhugra, 2004; La Barbera, 2015). Tajfel's Social Identity Theory (SIT) (1979, in Islam, 2014) is a useful starting point when exploring the complex process of identity formation within (im)migrant communities, due to its recognition of 'in-group' and 'out group' identities, his overview of Social Identity Theory, Islam (2014) recognises the contribution that the theory has made to understandings of prejudice, discrimination and stereotyping targeted towards 'othered' groups, whilst acknowledging its limitations in explaining the complex psychosocial processes involved in ascribing identity markers to ourselves and others. Such shortcomings of SIT are similarly highlighted by Krzyzanowski and Wodak (2007), who assert that it fails to capture the nuanced and transitional nature of (im)migrant identities which may be fluid rather than fixed. Distinguishing between the concepts of identity and identification, Krzyzanowski and Wodak (2007) argue that (im)migrant identities are in a constant state of 'becoming' associated with a quest for belonging, itself mediated by perceptions of membership, a theme echoed by Yuval-Davis (2006, 2011). Acknowledging established theoretical approaches to understanding fragmented identities (for example Hall, 1996, Antaki and Widdecombe

1998, cited in Krzyzanowski and Wodak, 2007), the authors recognise that the transitory, forming and reforming nature of (im)migrant identities requires broader methodological approaches. For example, 'membership' as a marker of belonging can be defined according to objective thresholds, such as refugee status or citizenship and subjective perceptions associated with individual and collective affinities with native population social norms, linguistic competence in the host language, and socially constructed 'personhood' emanating from social interaction (Krzyzanowski and Wodak, p.98). It is worth revisiting Yuval-Davis' distinction between belonging and the politics of belonging here (Yuval-Davis, 2006). Yuval-Davis' conceptualisation of belonging incorporates social location-and the power relations which influence the status of different social groups; emotional attachment and the selective, fluid reproduction of identification with particular social groups; and the ethical and political values which impact upon how social locations and constructions of identity, at a collective and individual level are valued and judged. Meanwhile, the 'politics of belonging' according to Yuval-Davis, includes contested rights to citizenship, ideologies of nationhood and the 'dirty business of boundary maintenance' (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p.204). These themes are reflected in La Barbera's (2015) discussion of the fluid nature of migrant identification. Citing research from Striker and Serpe (1994), she argues that although membership is associated with alignment with a specific social group, individuals re-ascribe, re-define, and re-construct their identities according to changing social contexts and situations. According to La Barbera, identity is best defined as something that individuals 'do' rather than something they 'are' (Jenkins, 2008 cited in La Barbera, 2015, p.3), a conceptualisation similar to that of Gutierrez and Rogoff (2003), who use the phrase 'repertoires of practice' to recognise the influence of cultural histories on

individual and group identity formation (Gutierrez and Rogoff, 2003, p.19). This latter perspective warns against the homogenisation of specific community groups, for example (im)migrant communities, informed by fixed traits, and advocates for an understanding of cultural identity predicated on engagement in specific cultural activities. Thus, according to Gutierrez' and Rogoff's position, the cultural identity of child brokers is formed not simply through their membership of a specific heritage community, rather through their ongoing engagement with brokering activities, which serve to facilitate access to mainstream institutions and promoting perceptions of belonging. These processes may be complicated for (im)migrant communities due to the ways in which negotiated identities are contingent on ethnic and religious consonance with native populations, reliant on individual and environmental factors which facilitate integration (e.g., linguistic competence and acceptance from the dominant majority) and influenced by the institutional frameworks of the country of resettlement for example immigration legislation and policy and bordering practices (Yuval-Davis, Wemyss and Cassidy, 2017, 2019). Hall (1996) suggested that 'identities are often "positions" imposed upon subjects who knowingly accept that identities are merely "representations" that are always constructed across a "lack", across a division, from the place of the Other, and thus can never be adequate – identical – to the subject processes which are invested in them' (Hall 1996, p. 6, cited in Kim, 2021, pp. 51-2).

La Barbera (2015) introduces another aspect to (im)migrant identity, emanating from her recognition of the liminal space that (im)migrant communities occupy, between their homeland and the land of resettlement. She argues that migrant identities can be characterised by 'not yet belonging here, but no longer there' (La Barbera, 2015, p.3) similar to Hall's description of being 'far away enough to experience the sense of exile

and loss, close enough to understand the enigma of an always-postponed 'arrival' (Hall, 1996, p. 492;, cited in Kim, T., 2010, p. 588). Within this liminal space is the illusive concept of 'home', which according to Mohanty (2003, cited in La Barbera, 2015, p.4) can be defined as a 'geographical, historical and emotional space' and as such can be represented by multiple places. Further, Ralph and Staeheli (2011) define home as both transitory and fixed simultaneously, drawing upon Nowicka's term 'emplacement' to recognise how home is (re)created by the presence of symbolic artefacts and practices (Nowicka, 2006, 2007, cited in Ralph and Staeheli, 2011, p.519). Finally, Antonsich (2010, p.645) uses the term 'place-belongingness', asserting that home is not necessarily a physical, domestic space, but a 'symbolic space of familiarity, comfort, security and emotional attachment', thus resonating with core components of Yuval-Davis' conceptualisation of belonging (Yuval-Davis, 2006, 2011). The role of child brokers in facilitating such 'place-belongingness' is evidenced through their ongoing linguistic and cultural (re)negotiation of in the Microsystems occupied by the family.

Bhugra (2004) offers another dimension to the complexity of (im)migrant identity in his research into psychosocial responses during resettlement in the post- migration period. Acknowledging that migration invariably impacts on aspects of ethnic and cultural identity, Bhugra (2004) recognises the relationship between identity and one's sense of 'self' which, he asserts is contingent on how 'one construes oneself in the present, how one construed oneself in the past, …… and how one aspires to be in the future' (Bhugra, 2004, p.135). This recognition of the transitory nature of self-identity is, according to Bhugra, influenced by range of factors, one of which relates to Hofstede's concept of individualist and collectivist cultures, characterised according to Hofstede by 'I' and 'We' consciousness (Hofstede, 1984, cited in Bhugra, 2004). Taking a developmentalist

perspective, Weisskirch (2017) considers how engagement in brokering activities also impacts upon (im)migrant identities over time, dependent on such mediating factors as brokering frequency, socio-relational factors, and family dynamics. These themes are critiqued in depth in section 2.5. through an exploration of literature relating to the impact of brokering practices upon child and adolescent well-being (Lazarevic, 2016).

Applying a post-colonial perspective, Bhatia and Ram (2001) maintain that linear constructions of 'acculturation' emerging from cross-cultural psychology fail to address the complex and ongoing influence of individual and collective colonial histories on (im)migrant identity, for example through 'parent-child communication, emotions, language and peer-relationships' (Bhatia and Ram 2001, p.2). Furthermore, the authors stress that post-colonial perspectives are essential for understanding the migration experiences of non-Western, non-European migrants, referring to Frankenburg and Manni's acknowledgement (1993, cited in Bhatia and Ram, 2001) of 'race' as a 'signifier' (Bhatia and Ram, 2001, p.7) of (im)migrant population status within host communities. This racial positionality echoes Lacan's construction of the 'other' as an inevitably relational concept (Lacan, 1978, cited in Kim, 2014), whereby group and personal (im)migrant identities are shaped according to the gaze of host communities, which according to post-colonial theory, continue to be influenced by imperialist legacies (Rukuwunda and van Aarde, 2007). Furthermore, according to Sartre, (1956, cited in Kim, 2014), the imposition of the gaze removes the opportunity for individuals to define their own identity, by denying them the freedom to escape the identities ascribed to them from within host communities. However, reflecting La Barbera's (2015) and Bhugra's (2004) acknowledgment of the fluidity of (im)migrant identities, is Bhabha's (1994) construct of cultural hybridity, which he asserts is contingent on

empowerment and agency thus challenging notions of fixed identities. Nevertheless, as has been considered earlier, representations of (im)migrant communities within the media and through legislation, reflecting Macrosystem ideologies and Exosystem structures, continue to shape public perception (Cortes-Gomez, 2020) and serve to maintain ideological 'borders' between 'us' the 'them' (Yuval-Davis, Wemyss and Cassidy, 2017, 2019).

2.5. Children's Cultural and Linguistic Brokering Practices.

Within this thesis, child brokering is acknowledged as a pivotal, yet hitherto under-researched contribution to family resettlement, thereby reflecting the processes discussed above. This section analyses such practices through multiple theoretical lens. It would be useful to start with a definition of brokering which encapsulates the myriad contexts in which such activities take place and acknowledges that child brokering frequently involves more than mere language translation and interpretation. Hall and Guery (2010) recognise that despite examples of child language brokering (CLB) being cited as early as 1913 (cited in Harris 2008), as an area of academic study, the practice has been somewhat invisible until very recently. Harris and Sherwood's 1978 study is commonly cited as one of the first to recognise the role of bilingual children as informal and formal translators and interpreters, acknowledging the linguistic and cultural components of these roles (Harris and Sherwood, 1978, cited in Hall and Guery, 2010). Harris' later (2008) bibliography of language brokering research from across a range of disciplines, introduces many of the themes and debates evidenced in later studies, and reflected in this thesis, for example the tension between the perceived positive and harmful impacts of such roles on children's psychological development, as discussed later in the chapter. It is essential that child language brokering is distinguished from

professional brokering activities, (translating and interpreting undertaken by external professionals, with no prior relationship with the family). According to McQuillan and Tse (1995), this distinction rests on two key differences, firstly unlike professional translators, child brokers are often involved in informal brokering activities which require 'mediating communication' strategies (McQuillan and Tse, 1995, p.195) rather than straightforward language translation. Such metalinguistic competencies may involve the child selecting what and how to translate from the second language to the home language in order to relay socio-cultural norms and values from the host community (and vice versa). This metalinguistic competence is exemplified in Weisskirch's (2017) account of Arab-speaking child brokers in the United States of America, whereby adolescent child brokers translated information from medical appointments in a form sensitive to Iraqi cultural health customs, or where brokers challenged practices within medical appointments which they perceived diminished the dignity of their parents or grandparents. This links to Orellana's (2015) term 'transcultural' (p. 17.) which recognises that brokering is not simply about the language, it is also about recognising the cultural differences, and adapting the linguistic register and vocabulary accordingly.

> Language brokering was a multifaceted and complex set of practices that involved mediating both language and culture in a wide range of situations and relationships. It demanded – and developed – transcultural and translingual skills (Orellana, 2015, p.17).

The second way that child language brokers can be distinguished from professional brokers, according to McQuillan and Tse (1995) is in the power hierarchy which exists between the broker and the person for whom they are brokering. As identified in Crafter

et al.'s research (2015), depending on the context of the brokering situation, children may assume 'cultural identity positions' (p.83), in order to mediate between their parents and mainstream professionals, requiring cultural navigation alongside linguistic competence. These relational aspects have been seen to be crucial in the experiences of child brokers, impacting on their perceptions of the practices, and the degree of agency afforded them from their engagement in them. Weisskirch (2017), asserts that familial relationships are pivotal to the perceptions child language brokers have of their brokering roles, contingent to a significant extent on the collectivist or individualist cultures which characterise their family contexts, echoing Hofstede, (1984 cited in Bhugra, 2004). Other relationships are also significant for the perceptions that child brokers have of their brokering roles, for example Kam and Lazerevic (2014) identified the impact of having on adolescent brokers of having contemporaries who engaged in cultural and linguistic brokering practices. Research from Corona et al., (2012) suggests that parents frequently prefer their children to act as cultural or linguistic brokers, rather than professional translators, due to their understanding of the cultural context of the family. Such reliance on their children as cultural and linguistic brokers may precipitate feelings of powerlessness from parents, as evidenced by Love and Buriel (2007) and Trickett and Jones (2007, in Bauer, 2016). Nevertheless, Bauer (2016), echoing Uprichard (2008) identifies the interdependent nature of adult-child relationships during brokering practices, with children assuming cultural mediation roles in contexts necessary for their parents' social integration. As has been noted above, engaging in such cultural negotiation practices shape (im)migrant children's identities, informed in part by the way in which brokering activities are perceived from the perspective of monolingual, White professionals, whose attitudes may be shaped by normative

assumptions of ideal childhoods (Crafter, Cline and Prokopiou, 2017; Crafter and Iqbal, 2021). This recognition that child brokers have of their family's (im)migrant status is similarly identified in Bauer's research (2016), with children developing greater empathy for their parents' experiences during resettlement.

Children may start to engage in language and other brokering activities from a very early age. For example, Harris (1980, cited in McQuillan and Tse, 1995) recalls Swain's (1969-70) research with a bilingual Canadian child who switched between English and French to relay comments from his mother to the researchers during play-based activities, and may continue well into adulthood. Research from a range of academic fields has recognised that the length and frequency of engagement in such tasks can influence the perceptions that children, adolescents and adults have of the process (Cline et al. 2011; Cline, Crafter and Prokopiou, 2014; Weisskirch, 2005, 2017; Bauer, 2016; Crafter and Iqbal, 2021).

Cline et al. (2011) and Cline, Crafter and Prokopiou (2014) explored the role of child language brokers in broad societal contexts and within the UK education context (and is thus worthy of further consideration due to the resonance with the themes and participant experiences from this research). Acknowledging that little research, at the time of writing, had been conducted in this area (itself suggestive of the value placed on the roles of child brokering), Cline et al.'s (2011) research and Cline's later collaborations with Crafter and Prokopiou (2014) offer a useful representation of the types of activities that (im)migrant children in the UK and elsewhere, engage in, their perceptions of these roles, including the perceived challenges and benefits, and other adult/child perceptions. Cline, Crafter and Prokopiou's (2014) research identifies that (im)migrant children's access to the language of the host country and its social norms,

via its education system affords them an earlier introduction to these key mechanisms for resettlement and belonging. Their brokering roles within school may include translating letters, notices, parents' evening information, homework requirements, school reports and so on. Whilst outside of school, brokers may translate and interpret in health care contexts, legal contexts and during day-to-day activities, such as shopping. The findings from Cline, Crafter and Prokopiou's (2014) research in schools confirmed Cline et al.'s earlier research (2011) and suggest a mixed perception of such roles, consistent with research in this field generally. Both adult (parent and teacher) and children's (those who had acted as brokers and those who had not) perspectives were predicated on the context of the brokering activity, the burden of the role, the frequency with which they engaged in brokering activities, and their sense of efficacy and competency. Such findings correlate with research by Weisskirch (2017) which acknowledges that a range of mediating factors serve to position these activities as positive or negative, for example children's sense of their own competence, the expectations placed upon them, and the sensitivity of the brokering context. An interesting finding from Weisskirch's research (2005, 2017) and echoed by Bauer (2016) and Dorner, Orellana and Li Grinning (2007), is the contribution of cultural and linguistic brokering to the development of positive ethnic identity, resulting from the acknowledgment and discussion of shared cultural practices, and the sense that children had of 'giving back' (Bauer, 2016, p. 30). Participant experiences and perspectives of brokering captured in this thesis reflect a similar pattern of diversity as discussed further in Chapter Five. Furthermore, Bauer's research (2016) recognises the impact that brokering can have on children's emerging sense of agency and citizenship, albeit within the constraints of their intersecting positions as children and (im)migrants.

Much, although not all, of the concern regarding the negative impact of brokering is influenced by adult assumptions, underpinned by constructions of the child which remain strongly predicated on their dependence and vulnerability (Mayall, 1994, 2000). Distinguishing between collectivist and individualist cultures, Bhugra (2004) asserts that children raised in the former are more likely to engage in brokering activities for a sustained period of time including into adulthood, and less likely to resent (or even question) the responsibilities placed upon them. The normalisation of such practices in collectivist communities is further explored by Bauer (2016) who positions brokering as an extension of commonplace care-giving roles characteristic of particular families, although, as acknowledged by Crafter and Abreu (2010), it is important not to confer such homogenous characterisations on (im)migrant communities, and recognise instead that cultural identity evolves from multiple factors, not merely membership of a specific ethnic group, thereby echoing Jenkins' reference to identity emerging from 'doing' not 'being' (Jenkins, 2008, in La Barbera, 2015, p.3).

The impact of brokering responsibilities on stress levels amongst child brokers is explored by Lazarevic (2016) and reflects the diversity of opinion identified by other researchers in the field. Whilst Lazarevic acknowledges the potential benefits of brokering roles, many of which are reflected in the literature and research discussed below, nevertheless, she asserts the importance of recognising the potential harm on (im)migrant children's well- being, particularly during adolescence, which is the context for her research. Lazarevic focuses her study on the impact of brokering on adolescent psychological health, and family relationships, recognising that for some young people, brokering responsibilities engendered feelings of stress, embarrassment, guilt and discomfort (Lazarevic, 2016;Weisskirch and Alva, 2002; Wu and Kim 2009).

Furthermore, when exploring the impact of child brokering on family relations, Lazarevic refers to studies conducted with families from Cuban, Israeli and Russian (im)migrant communities which suggested negative impacts, largely attributed to feelings of powerlessness on the part of the parents, similarly recognised by Love and Buriel, (2007) Trickett and Jones (2007, cited in Bauer, 2016) and Corona et al., (2012). The latter's work with Latino adolescents and their families, whilst introducing the term 'familisimo' (Corona et al., 2012, p.795) to reflect the cultural value of child brokering, nevertheless acknowledges parents' feelings of shame and embarrassment at their reliance on their children. Meanwhile, Bauer's term 'adultification' has come to signify the exposure that child language brokers have to contexts beyond their assumed developmental capacity and perceptions of burden and conflict from the broker's perspectives. Roche et al., (2015) revisit these concerns regarding what they refer to as 'parentification,' and suggest that 'communal coping theory' (Roche et al., 2015, in Kam, Guntzviller and Stohl, 2017, p. 10) is a useful model when evaluating those brokering activities which could be construed as beyond the developmental level of the child broker. Communal coping theory asserts that child and parent co-construct meaning from such brokering contexts and work together towards a resolution. The authors acknowledge for such approaches to be effective both parties need to have a shared goal, thus affirming the importance of positive familial relationships as conducive to effective brokering practices. Lazarevic's use of the 'Family Systems Framework' (Lazarevic, 2016, p.80) identifies some of the challenges alluded to by Roche et al. (2015, in Kam, Guntzviller and Stohl, 2017), for example the potential for stress and anxiety when brokering roles are not clearly communicated. While this presents as a challenge to earlier constructions of child brokering as agentic and

reflective of children's autonomy and linguistic-social competence, its significance lies in its usefulness as a practical model for brokering contexts which may threaten such competence, and not to brokering practices in general, which I maintain facilitate children's development across a range of domains as indicated earlier. Belsky (2014, cited in Kam, 2017, p. 11) identifies three family-related dimensions which may influence language brokering practices; these are child characteristics (gender, age, temperament, personality; parent characteristics (as above but including parenting style, language confidence) and social contexts (the specific context of the brokering activity and the social context of the family in general), for example the extent to which they have been able to 'integrate' into mainstream society, via work or education). As indicated in section 2.4., and reiterated in Lazarevic's research (2016), adolescent resettlement and perceptions of belonging can be particularly problematic, with (im)migrant youth negotiating dual identities, and responding to family and peer expectations simultaneously. As has been suggested earlier, the extent to which the responsibility of brokering roles impacts negatively on individual children and their families, is somewhat influenced by their affinities with home and host cultures, a position predicated to some extent by the collectivist or individualist culture of the heritage community (Hofstede, 1980 in Bhugra, 2004). Lazarevic (2016) recognises this in her study, alluding to the mainly positive experiences of adolescent brokers from Chinese migrant communities, who reported a sense of feeling valued by their families when required to engage in these roles. There are also echoes with previous discussions on child agency during brokering activities in Lazarevic's research (2016). Citing research conducted with younger child language brokers (Dorner, Orellana and Jiminez, 2008; Orellana, 2003), she concludes that younger children are more likely to feel a

sense of obligation to take part in such activities and asserts that although these roles enable children to participate in family decision making, ultimately their agency is constrained by traditional hierarchical dynamics (Leonard, 2005, 2009; Orellana, 2003, 2015).

The positive impacts of child brokering were recognised by McQuillan and Tse as far back as 1995, and there has since been a growing body of research which has considered the potential benefits of such roles, for example on children's self-esteem and self-confidence (Bauer, 2016; Orellana and Phoenix, 2017). Bauer's (2016) research resonates with this thesis due to her retrospective inquiry into adult perspectives of child brokering roles, which are framed as both positive (engendering an enhanced sense of independence and responsibility) and negative (stressful and burdensome). Interestingly, Bauer (2012, 2016) reports that the majority of her participants normalised the brokering experiences in the context of caring and 'giving back' (Bauer, 2012, p.31). McQuillan and Tse's (1995) research focused specifically on cultural interaction, cognition and literacy, recognising the socialising role that child brokers played as they transmitted cultural information from school to home, and acknowledging the enhanced self-confidence as their efficacy in these roles improved. Furthermore, McQuillan and Tse (1995) noted the complex metalinguistic skills that child brokers demonstrated, citing Malakoff and Hakuta's (1991, in McQuillan and Tse, 1995) research which outlined the linguistic manipulation involved in translating text from one socio-culturally constructed literacy practice to another (Smith, 1988, cited in McQuillan and Tse, 1995). Linguistic competence is also evident in Ronjat's (1913) research, perhaps the earliest citing of child language brokering, (cited in Hall and Guerri, 2010, p.29). Referring to his own child, aged 4, Rona states 'he shows

remarkable skill as a translator when it comes to finding equivalents to idioms…. It is far more than everyday lexicography; it is excellent intuitive stylistics.' Orellana (2015) identified similar metalinguistic competences in her research, citing the myriad ways children switched between different language forms, 'playing with sounds, meanings and grammars of different languages' (Orellana, 2015, p.18). Finally, Lopez (2019) summarises the contradictory outcomes of child brokering practices, through her comparison between their many positive benefits, including enhanced linguistic competence in both home and host languages, opportunities to develop problem-solving skills, improved academic attainment, and feelings of self-efficacy (contingent on the brokering context and parental response) with the recognition of more problematic concerns, for example the sensitivity and complexity of some brokering contexts, which may induce feelings of stress and lack of competency, alongside deteriorating family relationships due to parental pressure. These problematic outcomes of brokering are also identified in Kam and Lazarevic's research with Latin American adolescent brokers (2014).

Another contribution to the *types* of brokering roles that child language brokers engage in, is again offered by Lazarevic (2016), who uses the term 'procedural' broking (a term also used by Suarez Orosco and Suarez-Orosco, 2013) which, in contrast to linguistic brokering, does not involve translating or interpreting from home to host languages (and vice versa), rather it focuses on the transmission of nuanced cultural norms within native communities. According to Lazarevic, broader definitions of children's brokering roles enables 'a greater understanding of the complexities of brokering and its consequences for psychological development and family dynamics.' (Lazarevic, 2016, p. 79). As summarised by Orellana (2009, p.124) child brokering 'make(s) it possible

for their family to live, eat, shop and otherwise sustain themselves as workers, citizens and consumers in their host country', albeit within the constraints of the 'politics of belonging' (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p.204).

Having the opportunity to capture retrospective accounts of these child brokering activities offered an insight into the extent to which such positive associations were sustained as the participants entered adulthood and reflected on their roles from an adult gaze. Orellana and Phoenix's (2017) research into the changing subjectivities of their participants' experiences of brokering suggest that there was a dissonance between their female participant's sense of self-efficacy, pride and confidence when engaging in these tasks as a child and how she viewed them after becoming a mother and imagining her own child engaging in the same activities-a situation she then perceived as harmful and inappropriate. As noted earlier, the term 'adultifying' has been used to describe this unease adults identify with when reflecting on the sensitive nature of some brokering contexts, translating during medical appointments or at the home office for example (Trickett and Jones, 2007, in Bauer, 2016). However, it is important to recognise that such retrospective constructions may be influenced by the assimilation of dominant, normative constructions of childhood over time (Crafter and Iqbal, 2021).

A relevant digression within the research of child language brokering, due to its resonance with constructions of children's agency, is the acknowledgment of the socialising impact that child language brokering has on family decision making. For example Luykx (2005) challenges the traditional positioning of children as passive recipients of socialisation, and argues that through their language brokering activities, children serve to socialise their families into the language practices of the host community, for example through adults adapting their own language use to facilitate

their children's linguistic choices at home and school, families relocating to areas where their children's linguistic choices will be better served, and adults learning new languages, thereby enhancing their own linguistic competences as a result of instruction (direct or otherwise) from their children. Such socialising influences resonate with Crafter and Iqbal's study into children's positionality during the 'contact zone' (Pratt 1991, cited in Crafter and Iqbal, 2021, p.31), between parents and mainstream community professionals, particularly those suggestive of conflict. According to the authors, children may take 'neutral', 'withdrawing' or 'active' positionalities during such contexts, thereby influencing the outcome of such encounters. Orellana (2015) identifies similar examples of 'transcultural awareness' (p.18), influenced by children's recognition of mainstream community assumptions of 'normalcy and deviance'. Each of the socialising examples cited by Luykx (2005), suggests a possible distortion of adult-child hierarchies emanating from the child's enhanced access to 'literary resources valued by the wider society' (Luykx, 2005, p. 1408). This point is echoed in Gyogi's research (2014), which states that parent-child power relationships can be threatened by children's greater linguistic competence in the dominant language, with English acting as a mechanism through which children negotiate and change traditional hierarchies.

Finally, using a Bourdieusian lens, Revis (2016) uses the term 'cleft-habitus' to refer to the hybrid identities that child language brokers inhabit, asserting that children access the cultural capital of the host community ahead of other family members, echoing Cline et al. (2011, 2014). In agreement with Luykx (2005) and drawing upon Fogle and King (2013), Revis (2016) asserts that the metalinguistic skills of child brokers serve to facilitate the child's selection of family language practices, thereby influencing their

resettlement. Such ‘proximal processes’ (Bronfenbrenner and Morris, 1998, 2006) support the child’s development across various domains as can be seen below.

2.6. Constructions of Childhood and Children’s Agency.

Thus far, the chapter has established the context in which its major theme is located, namely the cultural, linguistic and procedural brokering roles of child migrants within their families during the process of resettlement. I argue that children play a pivotal role in influencing family resettlement reflecting a competence-based model of children and childhood emanating from the ‘new’ paradigm of the sociology of childhood (James and Prout, 1997; Hutchby and Moran-Ellis, 1998), which seeks to capture children’s experiences and make visible their contributions to family and wider society (Qvortrop, 1997). This revised paradigm has been characterised through the identification of children as ‘beings’ rather the ‘becomings’. Hence, rather than children being positioned as incompetent adults in apprenticeship, their lived experiences in the here and now are perceived to be as important (if not more so) than their future selves. Mayall (1994, 2000) frames this within a rights-based paradigm, asserting that we cannot work towards respecting children’s rights unless we hear their voices, and capture their experiences. For Mayall, this requires politicising childhood and recognising the extent to which children ‘may be regarded as agents intersecting with the structures surrounding their lives’ (Mayall, 2000, p.248). An interesting critique of the being/becoming dichotomy comes from Uprichard (2008) who maintains that both statuses are of equal importance during childhood; furthermore, that both adults and children can be defined according to both descriptions, depending on the context. Uprichard (2008) cites the phenomenon of children supporting their parents to master new technology as an example of adult dependence, indicating that family relationships

often reflect interdependence, rather than unidirectional dependence between child and adult. Valdes (2003) summarises that child brokering similarly reflects this construct of interdependency between parents and their children suggestive of Vygotskian zones of proximal development, whereby parents scaffold children's conceptual awareness and children scaffold their parent's linguistic and cultural knowledge. Whilst the brokering activities that children engage in take place within familial socio-relational contexts, the contribution these activities make to family adaptation and integration extends to a wide range of societal contexts (Orellana, 2003; Crafter, Cline and Prokopiou, 2017; Bauer, 2016). Lopez' consideration of child language brokering from within the field of bilingual studies (2019), includes discussion on the opportunities presented for children to demonstrate problem-solving and decision-making skills, asserting that the cost/benefit negotiations they engage in influence family functioning, thus reflecting aspects of Gyogi's definition of agency, predicated on a child's 'socioculturally mediated capacity to act' (Gyogi, 2014, p.2). However, the extent to which such practices emanate from the child's free will, or from the expectations placed on them by adults, (Leonard, 2009) or indeed by differing degrees of family capital (Leonard, 2005) challenges the assumption that they are acting agentically, as discussed below with reference to Leonard (2009) and Sen (2006).

As discussed earlier, the reach of these activities and the significance they assume in family resettlement practices challenges the dominant paradigm of the child as dependent and passive, particularly in Global North contexts and calls into question the role that developmentalist perspectives have had on constructions of childhood (Crafter, Cline and Prokopiou, 2017; Crafter and Iqbal, 2021). As Mayall (1994, 2000) and Oakley (1994) have asserted, children's positioning as appendages to women's minority

status in traditional sociological debate has ensured their status as the last social group to be upgraded (Mayall, 1994). However, since the emergence of the 'new' paradigm of childhood in the 1990s, there has been increasing recognition of the agentic roles played by children both in family and wider societal contexts, for example as carers, as economic contributors, and as is the focus for this thesis, as interpreters, translators and brokers. One of the reasons offered by Hall and Guery (2010) for the invisibility of child language brokering in social research, is this adherence to a construction of childhood which continues to position children as vulnerable and passive. Citing Morrow (1995, in Hall and Guery, 2010, p.37) the authors acknowledge her assertion that 'children are social actors, their activities having implications for the here and now, not merely for the future' echoing the 'beings and becomings' discussion above. Interestingly, much of the debate in the existing literature regarding the invisibility of brokering practices echoes concerns raised within the sociology of childhood regarding children's work in its more general sense. From caring responsibilities within the home, to roles outside of the home which contribute to family finances, Global North paradigms of childhood eschew evidence of children's work thereby reinforcing constructions of dependency and vulnerability. Despite the contributions of researchers such as Solberg (1997) who explores the housework and childcare responsibilities of children in the Scandinavian context, Orellana (2003) who identifies the many domestic and interpretive responsibilities placed on child language brokers, and wider research by Hall and Sham (2007) which reflects the myriad roles child brokers engage in, as highlighted above in Crafter, Cline and Prokopiou's (2017) study, within mainstream non-migrant communities, such 'work' goes largely unnoticed. Earlier research by Cline et al. (2011) and Cline, Crafter and Prokopiou (2014) exploring representations of child

language brokering roles confirms this. Their studies considered perspectives of child language brokering from the position of bilingual children, monolingual (host) children, and teachers. The monolingual children (and in some cases the teachers) were frequently oblivious to the brokering roles of their peers.

According to Leonard's (2009) critique of children's agency, it cannot be assumed, that engagement in such activities confers agency on children in a sustained manner. Referring to the definition of agency offered at the beginning of this chapter, whereby it is conceptualised as an enactment of free will, Leonard (2009) would challenge the assumption that in performing such roles or responsibilities, influential as they may be within their specific context, children are necessarily manifesting agency, since they occur within the context of adult-child power dynamics, and as such are constrained by family hierarchies. Thus, although Leonard recognises the capacity children have to influence societal structures, she argues that 'children act as agents under specific structural conditions' (Leonard, 2009, p.117), which she posits are predominantly generational. Therefore, according to Leonard, although children's actions, for example through their brokering roles, can influence family and wider institutional structures, they are influenced by such structures in return, 'so that structure nor action exist independently, rather both are interrelated' (Leonard, 2009, p. 115), resonant of Giddens 1977, in Leonard, 2009). In the context of cultural and linguistic brokering, children's volition, is predicated by the expectations placed on them by adult family members and other adult professionals present. Thus, although children's brokering skills may structure and influence the outcome of the brokering context, ideological and developmental norms continue to constrain their agency beyond the situated brokering context. Nevertheless, Leonard argues that such constraints do not render children's

agency as meaningless. Furthermore, Luykx (2005) and Gyogi (2014) argue that although children's brokering activities are conducted within discrete and specific contexts framed by adult-child hierarchies, nevertheless their role as 'socialising agents', demonstrated through such behaviours as choosing between home and host country language use across a range of contexts can have far reaching impacts on adult decision- making processes and linguistic practices within the family. Indeed, despite Leonard's reservations regarding the structural constraints on children's agency, notably their lack of political representation, nevertheless, she recognises the capacity of children to 'transform structures' (2009, p.117). Children's re-structuring of family language practices constituting a relevant example. Such 'arenas of action' (Hutchby and Moran-Ellis 1998, p.9, cited in Oswell, 2013), certainly reflect children's *social competence*, which, according to Hutchby and Moran-Ellis should be something that children seek to acquire independently rather than it being conferred on them by adults.

An additional model to consider when critiquing children's agency is the Capability Approach of Sen (2006) which distinguishes between 'agency freedom' and 'agency achievement'. Thus, simply having the competence and opportunity to act agentically, for example in a specific brokering context, is insufficient if agency is not achieved in a meaningful and tangible manner. For this to be the case, according to Sen (2006), agency is contingent on the extent to which the activity has influence for the child herself and others (her family), and the degree to which she herself attaches value to the activity. This distinction is problematic in the context of adult-child hierarchies whereby brokering activities may be influenced by familial needs and expectations of compliance or contribution. There are clear similarities between Leonard's and Sen's construction of agency, with Sen's definition of 'critical agency' (Sen, 2002, in Hart and Brando,

2018) contingent on the child's capacity to distort traditional ideological paradigms, resonating with Leonard's recognition of children's political representation as a pre-requisite for sustained and meaningful agency (Leonard, 2009). A useful approach to discerning the level of intrinsic value of such activities from the child's perspective, is to consider developmentalist perspectives (Kam, Guntzviller and Stohl, 2017; Weisskirch, 2017), which recognise that conformity to these expectations diminish as children enter adolescence. Whilst I acknowledge the limitations Sen's model (2006) places on children's agency, nevertheless the capacity of children to influence family resettlement practices is evident in the existing literature on children's brokering practices, as demonstrated below.

2.7. Child Brokering and Resilience.

As has been discussed above, much of the academic research exploring child language brokering and its impact on family resettlement recognises the relationship between these roles and children's self-efficacy, self-confidence and well-being (Cline, Crafter and Prokopiou, 2014; Dorner, Orellena and Li-Grining, 2007; Dorner, Orellana and Jiminez, 2008). Such relationships reflect concurrent research into children's resilience, a focus of academic debate within the fields of psychology, sociology and anthropology. Resilience is defined as the capacity to adapt positively despite exposure to adversity (Garmezy, 1971; Masten, 2014). Initial research into resilience conceptualised it as a set of inherent personality traits subsequently summarised by Shiner and Masten (2012) as the 'big five' (extraversion, neuroticism, conscientiousness, agreeableness and openness to new experiences). Such identification of personality characteristics reflects the significance of the 'person' aspect of Bronfenbrenner's 'Person-Process-Time-Context' model (Bronfenbrenner and Morris, 1998, 2006), and the impact of this on the socio-

relational features of child brokering practices. More recent research acknowledges that the capacity to demonstrate resilience in the face of challenge requires an interplay between internal traits, neurobiological response (Obradovic, 2012) and crucially, when considering its relationship to resettlement within (im)migrant communities, social and environmental factors, including individual and community social, economic and cultural capital (Sime and Fox, 2015). For example, research from O'Toole Thommessen and Todd (2018) exploring the resettlement experiences of child refugees in England and Denmark comments on the significance of social support, particularly within the school system on children's positive adaptation. This recognition of the significance of the education arena reflects Fazel et al.'s (2012) study into the adaption of Unaccompanied Asylum-Seeking Children (UASC), across a range of high-income countries. Despite reservations about the contested definition of 'acculturation', the authors conclude that children and young people with low social support (at school and within their neighbourhood) were more likely to experience depression than their counterparts with greater access to such support. Indeed, their research resonates with Ager and Strang's (2008) framework in its conclusion that opportunities for greater alignment between host and migrant communities is 'probably protective' (Fazel et al., 2012, p.276). Citing research from Kovacev, 2004 and Geltman, 2005), Fazel et al. (2012) acknowledge that integration and participation within the host community, whilst maintaining the home culture contributes to greater psychosocial adaptation. Fazel et al.'s research (2012) is particularly helpful at identifying individual, family and community factors which facilitate successful resettlement for (im)migrant communities, for example, opportunities to safely maintain cultural practices and beliefs in the host community and the capacity to harness community resources. Such factors,

Yuval-Davis would argue, are increasingly bordered according to political and ideological notions of citizenship and belonging (Yuval-Davis, 2006, Yuval-Davis, Wemyss and Cassidy, 2017). Although their research focused predominantly on unaccompanied asylum seeking children's experiences, Fazel et al.'s (2012) findings are further acknowledged by Sime and Fox's (2015) study exploring social capital in (im)migrant communities, and earlier research from Seccombe (2002) who criticises the construction of resilience as an 'individual disposition or family trait or community phenomenon' (Seccombe, 2002, p.24) and asserts that positive adaption needs to be considered within the context of structural deficiencies within society and in recognition of the impact of unequal economic policies upon vulnerable families and communities.

As suggested earlier there has been little research to date exploring the specific role that child brokering practices have on family resettlement, or on children's self-reporting of resilience specifically. However, as has been demonstrated above, findings from a range of studies (McQuillan and Tse, 1995; Cline et al, 2011; Cline, Crafter and Prokopiou, 2014; Bauer, 2016; Orellana, 2003; 2015) suggest that children's self-efficacy and self-confidence can be strengthened when engaging in brokering roles (although there are mitigating factors which enhance or constrain this). Such findings resonate with resilience research from Masten (2014), Boyden and Mann (2005) and Bolger and Paterson (2003) all of whom recognise that structural factors interplay with individual personality traits, including recognition of children's internal locus of control whereby 'children with high levels of internal control believe that their own attributes or actions bring about their success or failure' (Bolger and Paterson, 2003, p. 159), reminiscent of Crafter and Iqbal's research into children's positionalities, cited above (Crafter and Iqbal, 2020). Dercon and Krishna (2009) take this point further when they state that

individuals who have high levels of internal control 'figure out ways of exercising some measure of control even in situations where there are limited opportunities and many constraints' (Dercon and Krishna, 2009, p.141). Such findings from the field of resilience echo many of the constructions of children's agency discussed in 2.6., which recognise the complex cultural navigation roles child brokers engage in. Overall, it could certainly be argued that cultural and linguistic brokering activities reflect the processes identified by Dercon and Krishna (2009) and as such child brokers have the potential to contribute significantly to their family's resettlement.

2.8. Conclusion.

This chapter has explored the existing literature on child brokering practices within the context of family resettlement, post-migration, identifying the myriad forms that brokering can have, from language translation and interpretation, to cultural negotiation and the communication of social norms. As has been discussed, the pivotal influence of such brokering activities, has not always been evident, and there remain divisions in the literature as to the harm or benefit of such practices upon children themselves. Similarly, the extent to which child brokering confers agency on children, is also subject to academic debate. Whilst I recognise the significance that such practices have on family resettlement, and on children's development across a range of domains (including social, emotional, cognitive and linguistic), I align myself with Leonard's (2009) reservations about children's agency during brokering activities, which, she claims is situated according to adult-led agendas and constrained by generational and societal structures. This position reflects Sen's (2006) criteria, which distinguishes between agency freedom and agency achievement, linked, in part, to concepts of intrinsic motivation. Such motivation, I would argue cannot be discerned within

hierarchical familial structures and the expectations of children therein. However, Luykx's (2005) assertion of the socialising role that children play in influencing family language practices is undeniable when considered alongside research by Revis, (2016), Gyogi (2014) and Hall and Guery (2010).

These brokering practices have been explored within the context of family resettlement post-migration. The impact of children's cultural and linguistic brokering practices upon the resettlement of (im)migrant families, has to be considered within a relational context whereby the influence of legislative frameworks, public perception and media discourse are understood as interdependent factors of significance, shaping the formation of collective and individual (im)migrant identities. Such identities are fluid, in states of 'becoming' and responsive to changing relationships across different domains (Bhugra, 2004; Yuval-Davis, 2006, 2011; Krzyzanowski and Wodak, 2007; La Barbera, 2015). Although host communities are influential in positioning (im)migrant populations in such domains, this thesis recognises that both individually and collectively, opportunities remain for (im)migrant populations to engage in dynamic, fluid resettlement processes, contingent on ethnic heritage, gender, education level, and linguistic competence and immigration status. Children's roles in supporting such choices, lies in their ability to bridge home and host community Microsystems, reflected in Revis' (2016) term 'cleft-habitus' (Revis, 2016, p.6). The themes introduced in this chapter will be further explored through a Bioecological Systems Theory lens in Chapter Three.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework.

3.1 Introduction.

Chapter 3 provides a detailed rationale for the choice of Bioecological Systems Theory, (B/EST) (Bronfenbrenner, 1975; 1977; 1979; 1986; Bronfenbrenner and Ceci, 1994; Bronfenbrenner and Morris, 1998 and 2006) as the overarching framework for analysis of the participants' narratives. Additionally, other relevant theoretical perspectives will be considered in terms of their location within Bioecological Systems Theory and the influence they have on family resettlement post-migration, including on the brokering practices of children.

3.2. Bioecological Systems Theory.

Reflecting my positioning throughout this thesis, as elucidated in my ontology and epistemology below, my utilisation of Bronfenbrenner's Bioecological Systems Theory as a tool for sociological analysis permits a flexible model for analysing the ways in which children's brokering practices are influenced by micro and macro factors, both directly and indirectly. As noted in Chapter One, Ecological Systems Theory had its roots in Psychology, evolving as an approach to understanding child development from an interactional perspective, predicated on family-child relational dynamics, particularly within domestic settings (Bronfenbrenner 1979; Kamenopoulou, 2016). As the multiple dates and bracketing suggest, (Bio)ecological Systems Theory and its application as a research tool in social science evolved as a consequence of reflection and re-conceptualisation over time, initially emanating as a challenge to the dominance of psychological perspectives of child development and asserting the significance of environmental and biopsychosocial factors. As noted, subsequent iterations of the theory acknowledge the interplay between biopsychological factors within the child, and socio-relational influences within the environment, via the Person-Process-Context-

Time relationship (PPCT) (Bronfenbrenner and Morris, 1998, 2006). For the aims of this thesis, it is the flexibility offered by the balanced consideration of macro and micro environmental influences alongside recognition of the heterogeneity of individual development which align with my social-constructivist paradigm. The later revisions to Bronfenbrenner's theory strengthen his assertion of the bi-directional interplay which characterises interactions within the child's Microsystem, as will be discussed later in the chapter. Moreover, the recognition that Bronfenbrenner affords the child's role in such interactions within their Microsystems, and more crucially, as a mediator through the Mesosystem, resonates with a key sociological theme throughout this thesis, namely the child's positioning as competent and capable (James and Prout, 1997; Hutchby and Moran-Ellis 1998; Mayall, 1994, 2000), whose actions impact on interactions between occupants of the various systems, and are influenced by such interactions in return. The tensions inherent in such interactions, particularly during sensitive or conflictual brokering contexts (Crafter, 2020, 2021), and the extent to which children exercise agency in such situations is critiqued further in Chapters Two and Six (Luykx, 2005; Sen, 2006; Leonard, 2005, 2009; Revis, 2016).

The foundations of Bronfenbrenner's theory posit that the child's lived experiences, and their subsequent development reflect their response to, and influence upon, a set of direct and indirect systems, categorised as 'settings'. Referring to Lewin's 'life space' or 'psychological field' (Lewin, 1931, 1935, 1951, cited in Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p.23) settings are simultaneously conceptualised as physical spaces where face to face interactions can take place through roles, activities and interpersonal relationships, for example in the Microsystem, and additional contexts wherein the developing person is not an active participant but which nevertheless exert influence on their development,

for example in the Exosystem (see Figure 3.1). Interactions between these settings occur via a Mesosystem.

Bronfenbrenner's definition of development is worth revisiting here, due to its resonance with the themes of this thesis.

> Human development is the process through which the growing person acquires a more extended, differentiated and valid conception of the ecological environment, and becomes motivated and able to engage in activities that reveal the properties of, sustain or restructure that environment at levels of similar or greater complexity in form or content.

(Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 27)

Thus, it is argued in this thesis, that children's linguistic and cultural brokering activities reflect an active engagement with the *multiple* settings within their environment, becoming more complex over time, and impacting on their development across a range of domains, including cognitively, linguistically and socially (Dorner, Orellana and Li-Grining 2007; Guery and Hall, 2010; Lopez, 2019).

Child brokering occurs within the Microsystem (at home, school and wider societal contexts) and via the Mesosystem (*between* home, school and wider societal contexts) as the child navigates the socio-relational interactions of different settings. In addition, as indicated in the definition above, Bioecological Systems Theory acknowledges indirect influences via the Exosystem, where consistent socio-cultural norms are reproduced, for example the parental workplace, the school and the health centres, the Macrosystem where the underlying ideologies influencing settings within the Exosystem are located (for example socio-economic and political exigencies, social

norms and customs, paradigms of childhood) and the Chronosystem, (the changing ideologies and internal/external transitions, and how they are perceived, over time). For example, a widely accepted position in the sociology of childhood, a position upheld in this thesis, is the acknowledgement that childhood is a socially constructed phenomenon which changes according to time, place and socio-cultural conceptualisations of the child (Uprichard, 2008; Wyness, 2019), thus resonating with the social-constructivist paradigm underpinning the methodology used in this project. Bronfenbrenner's model reflects this, by considering how changing constructions of childhood emanate from diverse and dynamic ideologies contingent on temporal and locational factors. Similarly, perceptions of (im)migrant communities are shaped by shifting ideological perceptions, as will be seen later in the chapter. Finally, as this thesis has elicited retrospective narratives from its participants, the relevance of evolving subjectivities over time is particularly pertinent. Figure 3.1 and the definitions below offer a representation of Bronfenbrenner's Bioecological Systems Theory, illustrating the relational location and significance of each 'setting' and their application to the specific themes of this thesis.

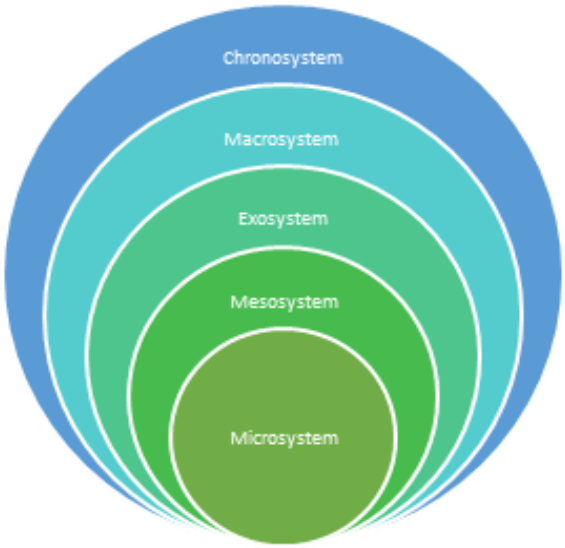

Figure 3.1. Bioecological Systems Theory Applied to this Thesis

Microsystem: This contains the settings which directly influence the child, including home, school, health centres and neighbourhood settings. Brokering activities take place predominantly in this system.

Mesosystem: This system reflects the relationships between settings within the Microsystem and between the Microsystem and other systems. The child plays a key role in navigating these relationships through their brokering practices.

Exosystem: This system includes indirect settings which influence the child's lived experience, for example, the local education authority, welfare services, immigration agencies. Socio-economic and political priorities, for example bordering practices (Yuval-Davis, Wemyss and Cassidy, 2017), influence how these systems impact on the child and the brokering roles they engage in, thereby contributing to the family's resettlement.

Macrosystem: This system represents the socio-economic/ political ideologies which shape legislation, policy, media representation and public attitudes. It operates as an indirect influence on child (im)migrants and their families. The Hostile Environment (Griffiths and Yeo, 2021) is an example of a Macrosystem ideology which is disseminated via bordering practices (Yuval-Davis, Wemyss and Cassidy, 2017, 2019) in the Exosystem.

Chronosystem: This system reflects both changes over time (across all the systems) and during specific transitions in a child's lived experience. As such it reflects developmental aspects of the child broker role and evolving attitudes to immigration during different historical periods.

Bronfenbrenner's name has become synonymous with Bioecological Systems Theory. However, it is important to recognise that other theorists were experimenting with ecological approaches to the exploration of human development, for example, Albersch (1983, cited in Bronfenbrenner, 1979), Plomin and Daniels (1987, in Bronfenbrenner, 1979) and Gottlieb (1991, in Bronfenbrenner, 1979). It is not within the scope of this chapter to explore the conceptual differences in these approaches, yet it is important to acknowledge that Bronfenbrenner drew upon the research of his contemporaries in successive iterations of his theory. Indeed, much of his reflection arises from a critique of Bioecological Systems Theory's use and misuse in multiple research studies. Such reflections provoked further interrogation of the approach, which add to its rigour as a tool for understanding human development.

As explained, Figure 3.1 demonstrates how the 'nested' systems of interdependent settings hypothesised in Bronfenbrenner's1979 publication, advocate an environmental approach to researching children and families which acknowledge direct and indirect social contexts. Throughout this work, Bronfenbrenner (1979) critiques previous studies purporting to have used ecological research designs which, while recognising environmental influences on human development, only occasionally explore the 'proximal processes' which operate in these different environmental contexts (Bronfenbrenner 1979). For example, many of the studies explored in his chapter on the Microsystem explore correlations between social class and attachment relationships (Bronfenbrenner 1979, pp 132-209) without illuminating the processes which may influence this correlation. Conversely, discussion of Ogbu's research (1974 cited in Bronfenbrenner, 1979, pp.250-253) exploring neighbourhood deprivation and school-home engagement is offered as an accurate representation of a bioecological research

methodology. Finally, his chapter on the Macrosystem includes an example of Luria's 1976 research into the impact of the Soviet Union's cultural revolution on cognitive processes within urban and agrarian communities in a range of geographical locations, which although fascinating as a study into the influence of rapidly changing socio-political ideologies on human cognition and identity, fails to engage in subsequent research to illustrate the influence of such ideologies over time, thereby neglecting the impact of the Chronosystem (cited in Bronfenbrenner, 1979, pp. 261-263).

Reflecting on these shortcomings, Bronfenbrenner re-emphasises the relevance of *process* in later manifestations of his theory, subsequently labelled Bioecological Systems Theory, (Bronfenbrenner and Morris, 1998, 2006) as discussed below.

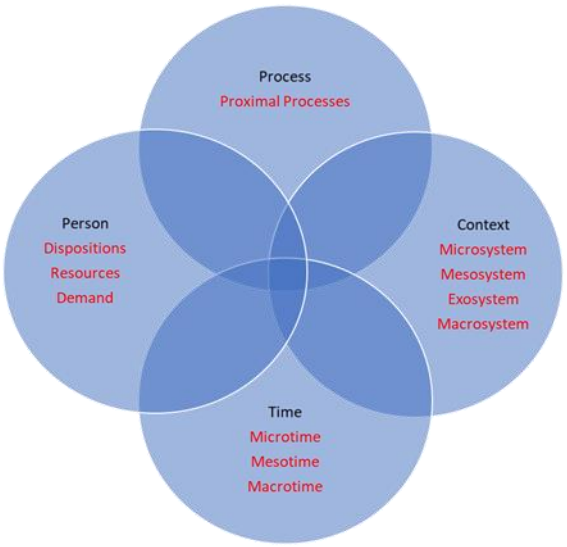

Figure 3.2 Person-Process-Context-Time (PPCT), adapted from Bronfenbrenner and Morris, (1998).

In response to his self-reflections from earlier experiments with Ecological Systems Theory, Bronfenbrenner's later representations of the theory (1998, 2006) re-

emphasised the bio-psychosociological influences on human development, which he posits occur via the interdependent relationship of Person-Process-Context-Time, (PPCT) the third and most widely known of which has been introduced above. As can be seen, the conceptualisation of the PPCT model developed prior to the introduction of the Chronosystem to the 'context' system of Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory.

Discussion of this PPCT relationship initially emerges in the form of two 'propositions', in Bronfenbrenner's 1998 article with Morris. According to Proposition 1, proximal processes and their significance for human development are positioned as 'progressively more complex reciprocal interactions between an active, evolving bio-psychosociological human organism and the persons, objects and symbols in its immediate external environment' (Bronfenbrenner and Morris, 1998, p.996). Proposition 2, meanwhile, recognises that the 'form, power, content and direction' of these processes is contingent on person characteristics, direct and indirect environmental factors, and change and continuity over time (Bronfenbrenner and Morris, 1998, p.996) as illustrated in Figure 3.2. Thus, in the context of (im)migrant children's brokering activities post-migration, the proximal process of cultural and linguistic brokering is influenced by the child's personal characteristics, which Bronfenbrenner and Morris (1998, p.995) categorise as dispositions (for example introversion/extraversion), resources (bioecological skills, competence and knowledge) and demand (requirement to engage in a given environmental context) the context in which the brokering occurs, both proximal and distal, (informed by direct and indirect influences), and the impact of developmental transitions within the child, for example emergent adolescence, and changing ideologies towards and within (im)migrant

communities over time. This latter influence, conceptualised in Bronfenbrenner's later iteration of his theory, as micro, meso and macro time (incorporating continuity/discontinuity, duration and frequency, and generational time sequences respectively) is evident, although not necessarily explicitly, in existing research into child brokering practices. In short, it demonstrates a recognition that proximal processes, in this case brokering, are informed by dynamic developmental, relational and societal changes. Nash, for example (2017), identifies the significance of both family expectations and specific brokering contexts on perceptions towards these roles, thereby echoing the PPCT influences, whilst Crafter and Iqbal (2020) consider how these roles are informed by children's perceptions of mainstream professional attitudes towards brokering, representative of broader ideological narratives within the Macrosystems of Global North societies. Furthermore, Crafter and Iqbal's use of the phrase 'contact zone' (Pratt, 1991, cited in Crafter and Iqbal, 2020, p.32), recognises the potential for conflict in some brokering contexts, and identifies the shifting identity positions children adopt in order to mediate between their parents and other adults, discussed further in Chapter Two. Of particular consideration for this thesis is the resonance of the PPCT model, and Bioecological Systems Theory more widely, to constructions of the child, evolving from the 'new' sociology of childhood, (James and Prout, 1997; Hutchby and Moran-Ellis 1998; Mayall 2000), specifically the recognition of children's agency during brokering contexts. This relationship is explored further in 3.4.

A criticism of research claiming to utilise Bronfenbrenner's framework is an over-reliance on earlier iterations of the approach, as demonstrated in the nested systems model in Figure 3.1. and insufficient acknowledgement of the importance of later

revisions, reflected in the PPCT model (Figure 3.2.) (Christensen, 2016). This thesis acknowledges that a major intention of Bioecological Systems Theory (and its subsequent development) is lacking in this project, namely its application and critique as a research design. While this project has not utilised Bioecological Systems Theory as a research methodology, nevertheless, its suitability as a framework for analysing participant narratives rests on the relevance of earlier and later representations of the theory to the themes of the thesis, particularly the relevance of the Chronosystem and its role in identifying changing subjectivities over time, a crucial consideration when eliciting retrospective narratives, and the positioning of the child as a bridge between two communities via the Mesosystem.

A further criticism is the assertion by Watling-Neal and Neal (2013) that rather than being 'nested' Ecological Systems are 'networked', and as such comprise 'cells' of multi-directional influential relationships. In this model systems do not sit inside each other with lesser/greater levels of direct/indirect influence, rather they operate as a system of relationships. The dynamic, fluid nature of resettlement and children's brokering roles therein, as discussed in Chapter Two are dependent on evolving, reciprocal attitudes and interactions between heritage and host communities and, I argue, reflect a networked rather than a nested model (Weinreich, 2008; Killian, 2011; Portes and Rivas, 2011). However, whether the systems are nested or networked, their influence on the role of child brokers in the post-migration period, as evidenced via the PPCT relationship, is evident.

The remainder of this chapter will thus consider the particular way in which these systems can be used to inform our understanding of the contexts and 'proximal processes' (Bronfenbrenner and Morris, 1998) of child brokering in (im)migrant

communities, drawing upon other relevant theoretical concepts referred to in the literature review. In order to achieve this, each of the systems will be explored individually.

3.3. Application of the PPCT Model.

3.3.1. The Microsystem.

Applying the PPCT model to each of the contextual settings indicated in Figure 3.1., necessarily starts with the Microsystem, where proximal processes are more frequent, direct and sustained. As noted above, the Microsystem is not a single location or setting, rather it refers to the dominant spaces which the child (and family) occupy which exert direct influence on the child's development and lived experiences, and crucially for this thesis, in which the child also asserts influence. The extent to which the child's actions are agentic in the Microsystem is discussed at length in the literature review, however it is worth revisiting the research from Revis (2016) in this regard which identifies the agentic role of child language brokers, as an example of the influence that children may be perceived to have in their Microsystem, albeit within the structural constraints of their 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1977, cited in Revis, 2016, p.5) and contingent on levels of social capital within the family, (Bourdieu, 1986, cited in Leonard, 2009). Revis' adoption of Bourdieu's term 'cleft-habitus' (Revis, 2016, p.6) to represent the 'tensions and contradictions' inherent in these brokering roles is discussed briefly in 3.6, and in more depth in Chapter Two.

3.3.2. The Mesosystem.

As noted above, and echoed throughout this thesis, child brokers demonstrate sophisticated meta linguistic, cognitive and social interaction skills as they navigate between different Microsystems (McQuillan and Tse, 1995). Bioecological Systems

Theory refers to this mediation between the different systems as the Mesosystem, and whilst Bronfenbrenner recognises the role that children may have in these negotiation processes, research cited in his introduction to the theory focuses predominantly on adult interactions, for example school and home relationships across social class or racial divides. Children's invisibility in the Mesosystem reflects their historical absence (Qvortrop, 1997; Mayall, 2000) in many other social and political domains, a phenomenon which gave rise to the development of the new paradigm of childhood within the social sciences, which this thesis espouses (Qvortrop, 1997; James and Prout, 1997; Mayall, 2000; Uprichard, 2008).

Although the role of child brokers as mediators within the Mesosystem is evident in literature and research discussed in Chapter Two, the extent to which these roles confer agency is the subject of debate (as seen above), contingent on the extent to which children have the capacity to choose the context of the brokering activity. Such tensions reflect the dichotomy between participation and protection rights upheld in the UNCRC (UNESCO 1989), whereby children's vulnerabilities are balanced against their right to contribute to decisions which impact upon them.

Sen's Capability Approach is another useful tool for assessing how these brokering roles reflect children's agency (Sen, 2004, in Sen 2006). Sen distinguishes between 'agency freedom' and 'agency achievement' (Sen, 2003, p.46, in Sen 2006). Thus, having the freedom to act agentically is only relevant if agency is achieved. To achieve agency, according to Sen, children would 'achieve goals with influence beyond oneself and that one has reason to value' (Hart, 2007, cited in Hart and Brando, 2018, p.295). Using this definition, it could be assumed that child brokering roles do indeed reflect their agency, particularly in terms of the influence these roles have on the children

themselves and their wider family in the Microsystem settings. However, in order to meet the second aspect of this criteria, it would need to be evident that children value these roles intrinsically, rather than as the result of expectations placed upon them by adults (such expectations themselves being contingent on socio-political assumptions within wider society, located in the Exosystem and Macrosystem). Following from Gutierrez' and Rogoff's (2003) recognition of cultural history and its role in shaping the practices that children engage in, which in turn serve to confirm their cultural identity, it is problematic to identify the point at which family expectations have assumed inherent value for the child. Thus, this sense of value may emanate from their emerging self-identity, or the extent to which children perceive that engaging in brokering roles facilitates entry into the social contexts necessary for their enculturation. The use of the term enculturation is significant here, as it alludes to Weinreich's (2008) recognition of (im)migrant community and individual 'agency' following resettlement, rather than become passively subsumed into the norms of the host society. However, as argued by Yuval-Davis (2006), multiple social, political and bordering factors impact upon the capacity for (im)migrant communities and individuals therein, to act agentically post-migration, as they begin the process of belonging (Krzyzanowski and Wodak, 2007; La Barbera, 2015). From a developmental perspective, in the case of child language brokers, strategies which facilitate this may change over time, with adolescent brokers less accepting of these roles if they conflict with fluid emotional attachments and identity signifiers, thereby reflecting the significance of Chronosystem influences (Lazarevic, 2016).

3.3.3. The Exosystem and the Macrosystem.

As both Figures 3.1 and 3.2 illustrate, the Exosystem includes multiple settings which do not directly impact on the child's development, yet exert influence, for example their 'parents workplace, parents' social networks and community influences' (Bronfenbrenner, 1986, p.728), whilst the Macrosystem reflects the consistent reproduction of 'the subculture or the culture along with any belief system or ideology underlying such consistencies' (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p.26). Despite successive visual representations of Bioecological Systems Theory positioning each system in the theory as a distinct concentric layer, it was not Bronfenbrenner's intention for these systems to be perceived as independent of each other (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Indeed, he refers to the consistent way in which the prevailing ideologies and values held by specific cultures are manifest in each of the other systems of his framework (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p.258). It is therefore unhelpful to consider the impact of the Exosystem system in isolation from the Macrosystem, as the latter informs the reproduction of operations and processes within the former. For example, it is impossible to consider the impact of successive immigration legislation on the resettlement experiences of (im)migrant communities without recognising the influence of socio-political, economic and geopolitical ideologies underpinning such legislative frameworks. As discussed by Griffiths and Yeo (2021), the Hostile Environment agenda, (reflected in policy from 2012) and consequent 'deputising' bordering practices, described below (Griffiths and Yeo, p.3) reflect an ideological positioning which has informed a raft of multidisciplinary working parties (Hostile Environment Working Party; Inter-Ministerial Working Group on Migrants' Access to Benefits) whose impact has been felt at both individual and societal level, the latter through the obligation placed on public servants (health professionals, police officers, school leaders) to monitor

(im)migrants' immigration status. Such 'deputisation', according to Griffiths and Yeo (2021, p.3) risks conflating undocumented migrants as 'unlawful'. Furthermore, it creates division between (im)migrant and host communities, for example selective checks on immigration status by employers and private landlords suggest racialised bias (Yuval-Davis, Wemyss and Cassidy, 2017, 2019), with 44% of private landlords claiming they would not lease property to those who 'appeared to be immigrants' (Shelter, 2016, cited in Griffiths and Yeo, 2021, p.15). Whilst there is insufficient scope within this chapter to analyse the impact of the Hostile Environment on (im)migrant communities, suffice it to say that the relationship between the ideologies in the Macrosystem and the impact on settings within the Exosystem is significant to the themes of this thesis.

3.3.4. Chronosystem.

The relevance of the Chronosystem to the themes of this thesis are three-fold. Firstly, changing ideologies within the Macrosystem, are reflected in the implementation of legislation and policy via public institutions and perceptions towards (im)migrant communities in the Exosystem. Secondly, developmental transitions impacting on personal characteristics influence child brokers' perceptions of these brokering roles within the Microsystem, for example during adolescence (Kam and Lazarevic, 2014). Finally, these dynamic subjectivities are evidenced in the retrospective narratives of the research participants. As has been considered earlier, legislative structures impacting upon im(migrant) communities, including as a migration-drivers (see Appendix 2), are shaped by socio-political, and economic exigencies, such as labour shortages and geo-political treaty commitments, for example membership of the European Union. Such structures are subsequently modified over time according to domestic priorities and

political change (Griffiths and Yeo, 2021), with corresponding shifts in public perception towards (im)migrant communities, informed by media narratives (Philo, Briant and Donald, 2014; Cortes Gomez, 2020). The Chronosystem may also reflect changing perceptions of children's competence, within and between heritage and host communities over time, as discussed further in 3.4. Additionally, as Orellana (2003) and Martinez, McClure and Eddy (2009, cited in Lazarevic, 2016) have identified, as children seek to become more autonomous during adolescence, prompting questions of self-identity and affiliation with host versus heritage communities, their willingness to engage in brokering activities may decline. Finally, as noted by Bauer (2012) and Orellana and Phoenix (2017), when adults who engaged in brokering roles as children reflect on these practices retrospectively, they may be constructed according to multiple re-interpretations. Bauer's research (2012), for example, identified how children (re)position these activities from various moral standpoints, whilst Orellana and Phoenix (2017) identified the impact of parenthood on the (re)conceptualising of childhood brokering activities.

3.4. Bioecological Systems Theory and the Sociology of Childhood.

The sociological positioning influencing this thesis is most evident in its recognition of children as competent, capable 'beings' who have the right to be involved in decisions affecting them (UNCRC, article 12, UNESCO, 1989) and whose actions as cultural and linguistic brokers impact upon family resettlement processes (McQuillan and Tse, 1995; Luykx, 2005; Bauer, 2016; Crafter, 2020), although as has been suggested above, the extent to which these impacts can be construed as agentic, another dominant theme in this thesis, is contested in the literature (Leonard, 2009). Locating such constructions of childhood within Bioecological Systems Theory requires recognition of how the

constituent factors of the PPCT influence perceptions of childhood competence in individual families, and within wider heritage and host communities. For example, Bauer (2016) and Crafter and Iqbal (2020, 2021) acknowledge that brokering activities within some families are framed as an extension of familiar care-giving roles commonly practiced in some cultural groups (Solberg, 1997). Socio-cultural constructions of childhood emanate from multiple sources, reflecting the diverse ways in which it is experienced, and how these experiences change over time (Norozi and Moen, 2016). Woodhead, (2013) asserts that developmentalist perspectives of childhood position children as 'becomings' (Woodhead, 2013, p.144), with the implication that only upon reaching adulthood will they possess the competencies required to contribute fully to society. One only has to revisit the literature on children's brokering to recognise the limitations of such developmental perspectives (Luykx 2005; Orellana, 2009; Crafter, Cline and Prokopiou, 2017). James' and Prout's (1997) framework for 'constructing and re-constructing childhood' (p.1), offers an alternative to developmentalist traditions which have dominated constructions of childhood, particularly in Global North societies. Their 'emerging' paradigm (James and Prout, 1997, p.8) recognises the importance of challenging biological maturity as a key indicator of children's competence, and advocates for greater recognition of class, ethnicity, and gender variables in children's lived experiences, which shape how they are perceived in their family and wider society. Furthermore, the paradigm asserts the active role that children play in the construction and interpretation of their experiences, including through the myriad brokering roles they engage in. To situate the sociological paradigm of childhood within Bioecological Systems Theory, involves recognition of the socio-relational dynamics in the Microsystem of the family. This is dependent on

ethnocultural factors (Morrow, 1994; Weisskirch 2017) and constructions of childhood within other Microsystem contexts, such as health and education settings (Crafter, Cline and Prokopiou, 2017; Crafter and Iqbal, 2021). Furthermore, the manner in which the 'social category of childhood' (Norozi and Moen, 2016, p.78) is influenced by prevailing ideologies within the Macrosystem, through media representation and advertising (Philo, Briant and Donald, 2014) and reproduced via the Exosystem, reflected in age-related legislation and developmentalist school structures, demonstrates how pertinent Bioecological Systems Theory is to sociological paradigms of childhood. Finally, the shifting constructions of childhood over time reflect the influence of the Chronosystem over all other systems within the Bioecological Systems Theory (Aries, 1982; Jenks, 2004, in Norozi and Moen, 2016). Despite the recognition of the new paradigm of childhood within the field of sociology, evidenced by significant academic attention to this topic (Morrow, 1994; Mayall, 2004; Qvortrop, 1997; James and Prout, 1997; Hutchby and Moran-Ellis 1998; Mayall, 2000), it must be recognised that constructions of childhood which challenge existing hierarchical dynamics within families, and more broadly, can create tension, including in the context of children's brokering, whereby parents may feel threatened by their children's greater linguistic competence (Love and Buriel, 2007; Lazarervic, 2016; Lopez, 2019). Conversely, children may feel ambivalent about assuming authoritative positions in contexts where their status is ordinarily inferior to that of the adults present (Crafter and Iqbal, 2020).

3.5. Bioecological Systems Theory and Epistemic Power.

Section 3.5 introduces the relationship between ideological influences in the Macrosystem, which are reflected in practices within the Exosystem, for example in public institutions, and which may serve to influence brokering activities, amongst

(im)migrant populations. The prevailing ideological perspectives which influence cultural norms and reproduce social hierarchies are reproduced, according to Bourdieu, (1977, 1979, cited in Schwartz, 2013) through manifestations of symbolic power embedded in societal institutions including political regimes, educational systems, media discourse and legislature. There are myriad factors contributing to the formation of such ideological perspectives, including socio-economic and political objectives, perceived national security concerns, geopolitics and post-colonial legacies, many of which have been considered in Chapter Two. The scale and focus of this thesis do not permit further interrogative critique of each of these influences, therefore this section identifies the processes through which such ideologies are formed, building on discussions earlier highlighting the interdependent relationship between the Exosystem and Macrosystems. Schwartz (2013) in his exploration of Bourdieu's contribution to sociological conceptions of social relationships draws upon Lukes' (2005, cited in Schwartz, 2013) analysis, referring to the embedded yet invisible 'patterns of thought, basic assumptions, linguistic terms and categories and social relationships which shape how individuals go about their daily lives' (Schwartz, 2013, p.6). The author discusses the three distinct ways in which power is conceptualised in Bourdieu's work, which resonate with the themes of this thesis in several ways. For example, power as represented in the forms of capital (social, economic, cultural and symbolic) is denied (im)migrant communities, through immigration policies, public perception, bordering practices and linguistic hierarchies, which constrain agency and reproduce economic and social inequalities, thereby maintaining cultural hegemony (Gramsci 1891-1937, in Bates, 1975). Furthermore, the 'legitimation' of power (Schwartz, 2013, p.6) is evident through the reproduction of prevailing ideologies in media discourse, legislative

frameworks and education systems. Relating this interpretation of Bourdieu's theory to child brokering as a tool to support family resettlement post-migration, and referring back to Bhouris et al. (1997), these brokering practices reflect (im)migrant children's internalisation of implicit and explicit expectations for assimilation within specific domains, in order to gain access to public life, and gain a sense of belonging (see 3.7.). This bias (Bhatia and Ram, 2001) towards biculturalism as a means to integration, reproduces the specific ideologies identified by Bhouris et al. (1997). An example of such internalised 'patterns of thought' which is particularly relevant to this topic, not least because of the Global South heritage of the majority of its participants is the persistent legacy of 'post'-colonial perceptions in Global North countries (Bhatia and Ram, 2001; Nair, 2017). The use of inverted commas here reflects my alignment with academics from a range of disciplines, who challenge the assumption that colonial categorisations of Global South communities ended once the colonisers departed (Rukundwa and van Aarde, 2007; Nair, 2017). Indeed, the continued presence of reductivist and homogenised assumptions about Global South communities remains a focus of critique across many academic disciplines. Strumm (2020) for example, challenges relational dynamics in social work projects based in Global South locations which continue to position local project workers as 'beneficiaries' of the 'expertise' of Global North partners, (Strumm, 2020, p.175). Such discussions of epistemic power are reflected in conceptualisations of the 'politics of belonging' and bordering practices which exclude (im)migrant communities and individuals therein, from accessing mainstream services (e.g., housing, health, employment), contingent on autochthonic notions of citizenship, which can be summarised as 'I was here before you.' (Yuval-Davis, Wemyss and Cassidy, 2017, p.231). Such bordering practices reflect notions of

epistemic power through the maintenance of hegemonic control over the criteria for participation and entitlement. Yuval-Davis' analytical framework for the 'politics of belonging' (2006, p.204) offers a useful example of how Macrosystem ideologies are disseminated through Exosystem practices of bordering, and impact on (im)migrant family resettlement practices, through the threats to perceptions of belonging, 'belonging tends to be naturalized and to be part of everyday practices. It becomes articulated, formally structured and politicised only when it is perceived to be threatened' (Yuval-Davis, Wemyss and Cassidy, 2017, p.230).

3.6. Bioecological Systems Theory and (Im)migrant Identity.

The relationship between Bioecological Systems Theory and identity formation within (im)migrant communities, emanates from the influence of 'othering' and discriminatory assumptions held by host communities towards (im)migrant communities, and the impact of such assumptions on children's developmental processes and their socio-relational interactions within the different environmental systems, as suggested above. Chapter Two explores the complex processes shaping the development of (im)migrant identity in depth, suggesting that (im)migrant ethnic identity is fluid, contextual and in a state of constant 'becoming' (Kryzynawoski and Wodak, 2007; La Barbera, 2015). Revis (2016) expands the discussion further, recognising that child brokers develop a 'cleft-habitus' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p.16 cited in Revis, 2016, p.6), a form of hybrid identity, simultaneously embodying the host community's societal norms and engagement with host community linguistic practices, combined with their exposure to heritage community norms and values within the home. As such, child broker identity is informed by (and impacts upon) familial relationships and peer influences in the Microsystem, which in turn are shaped by in-out group dichotomies in the Exosystem,

(Tajfel, 1979 cited in Islam, 2014) reflecting social, cultural and ideological beliefs in the Macrosystem. Such beliefs shape resettlement practices within and between (im)migrant and host communities and are subject to developmental and temporal transitions within individuals, families and societies over time.

3.7. Conclusion.

This chapter has provided a justification for the use of Bioecological Systems Theory as a framework for analysing the participant's retrospective narratives of their roles as cultural and linguistic brokers. The contribution of internal and external factors within the networked systems of Bioecological Systems Theory has been explored via the PPCT model, recognising the biopsychosocial factors, socio-relational considerations and ideological influences on children's myriad brokering roles.

Additional theoretical perspectives relevant to this thesis, post-colonialism (Bhatia and Ram, 2001; Nair, 2017) epistemic power and forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1984, in Schwartz, 2013; Bunch 2015), and (im)migrant identity (La Barbera, 2015; Tajfel, 1979, in Islam, 2014) have been considered with particular consideration to their location within Bioecological Systems Theory. A more discursive interrogation of these theories is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Chapter 4. Methodology.

4.1. Introduction.

This chapter explores the ontological and epistemological positions underpinning the methodology used to complete my project exploring the roles children play as linguistic and cultural brokers during the process of resettlement. The chapter also considers the key debates and tensions in narrative research methods, justifies the choice of Biographical Narrative Interpretive Method (Chamberlayne, Rustin and Wengraf, 2002; Wengraf, 2004) when conducting retrospective narrative inquiry and considers the specific challenges presented by the Covid-19 pandemic when implementing this particular approach.

The research methodology can be defined as the 'strategy, plan of action, process or design lying behind the choice and use of particular methods' (Crotty, 2009, p.3). This somewhat instrumentalist definition alludes to many of the key processes involved in educational research. However, it is the 'choice and use' aspect which is the subject of the initial focus of this chapter, thereby revealing the intended alignment between the research focus and my epistemological position.

4.2. Ontology and Epistemology.

According to Denzin and Lincoln (1998, p.2), there have been five key historical moments which situate research within particular paradigms, originating with the positivist tradition at the start of the 20th century, followed by the emergence of the interpretive approach towards the end of the century and culminating in post-modern and post-structuralist approaches which characterise more contemporary approaches. The positioning of my research methodology within this spectrum is explored throughout this chapter. The research process can thus be seen to be influenced by

epistemological questions about how knowledge is constructed, as stated by Maynard (1995, p.10, cited in Crotty, 2009, p.8), who opines that '(it) is concerned with providing a philosophical grounding for deciding what kinds of knowledge is possible and how we can ensure they are adequate and legitimate'. A further criterion which may be particularly relevant to the methodology utilised in this project, could be 'why is this knowledge important?' With this question, I am alluding to the emancipatory possibilities of narrative research methods and their capacity for harnessing the experiences and knowledge constructions of potentially silenced social groups, for example, children from (im)migrant communities.

The study reflects an interpretivist paradigm predicated on the belief that knowledge is constructed through the interpretation of experiences and the meaning attached to them, both at the time of their occurrence and retrospectively (Robson, 2002; Crotty, 2009) In the context of my topic, this position assumes that the participants' perceptions of their cultural brokering roles and the impact on family resettlement processes are constructed through individual and collective interpretation, framed by the prevailing societal norms existing in the host community at the time. The research thus conforms to a social constructivist epistemology, whereby social phenomena are 'culturally constituted' (Hammersley, 2008). The narrative accounts represented in this study reflect the experiences of five participants over several different time periods, (ranging from 1960s to early 2000s) and as such are inevitably influenced by the social, economic, temporal and political contexts in which those experiences took place. In addition, the participants' cultural heritage, social class, gender and ethnicity can also be seen to influence their experiences and the meanings they have attached to these experiences. (Riessman, 1990, 1993) This phenomenon and its resonance with

Riessman's construction of representation in narrative research will be explored more explicitly later in this chapter and throughout Chapter Five.

4.3. The Narrative Turn and Theoretical Underpinnings.

Hyvarinen (2010) identifies four key narrative turns which emanate from the influence of Russian formalism in literary theory, particularly Propp's Morphology of a Folktale (1928, cited in Mishler, 1989) and its focus on narrative structure and form within this literary tradition and proceed to post-modernist critiques of the tyranny of dominant discourses through quantitative 'grand narratives' (Hyvarinen, 2010, p. 75). Citing key critics of positivist methodologies including Lyotard, Foucault and Derrida, Hyvarinen suggests that a key moment in the shift towards narrative inquiry as a research method in social sciences was the acceptance of narrative as form in its own right, rather than as a conduit towards greater understanding of a specific phenomenon. As such it necessarily rejected realist perspectives and asserted the significance of counter narratives whose subjectivities revealed multiple realities and experiences. Goodson and Gill (2011) situate the narrative turn within the context of a renewed philosophical focus on the relationships between self, other and community (p.18), and stress the importance of 'narrative identity' as an important theme in the application of narrative inquiry in the social sciences, whose roots they trace back to the Chicago School, specifically, Bulmer's (1984) analysis of Thomas and Znaniecki's ' The Polish Peasant in Europe' (1918-1920, cited in Goodson and Gill, 2011, p. 19). The positioning of narrative as a universal feature of human experience (Barthes, 1966, in Goodson and Gill, 2011) encouraged its acceptance as a tool for qualitative research. For example, Gee (1985, p.11 in Mishler 1989) asserts that the 'primary way human beings make sense of their experience is by casting it in narrative form' (Mishler, 1989, p. 68).

Given the influence of literary studies to the emergence of narrative inquiry in social sciences, it is perhaps inevitable that early attempts to develop a framework of analysis relied on socio-linguistic approaches, many of which prioritised different aspects of Halliday's triad of linguistic function, (1985, in Mishler 1989) which recognises textual function, ideation function, and interpersonal function. The application of narrative inquiry across several academic disciplines ensures that approaches to narrative analysis afford lesser/greater significance to each of these functions. Furthermore, as the field of narrative inquiry has evolved, the influence of positivist paradigms on narrative analysis has lessened, such that the emphasis placed on textual function which characterises Labov and Waletsky's (1967) approach and the 'six categories of fully formed narrative' (Labov and Waletsky, 1967 in Mishler, 1989, p.80) has shifted to a greater consideration of interpersonal functions as evident in Riessman's work (1990, 1993).

This move away from positivist influences is similarly recognised by Andrews (2000, cited in Tamboukou, 2015) who acknowledges the shift towards approaches which recognise the influence of 'cultural environments and subjective experience' (Andrews, 2000 in Tamboukou, 2015, p. 38). The extent to which this shift is evident is somewhat contingent on the academic field in which the narrative inquiry is situated, for example, sociologists and anthropologists may focus predominantly on the ideation and interpersonal functions of the narrative, whereas socio linguists may favour Labov's procedural method (1972b, 1982 cited in Riessman, 1993) to analyse the linguistic form of selected clauses and seek temporal coherence. Educationalists may be seen to fit between a variety of academic fields leading to a balance of emphases from across the social science disciplines. My own research leans towards the sociological position which I believe values the empowering potential of narrative inquiry, particularly in its

respect for the agency of the participant to choose how and what to include (and what to omit) from their experience. Indeed, within this position the significance of silence is acknowledged and respected as an agentic right of the participant. For example, Charmaz (2002, 2004, cited in Kawabata and Gastaldo, 2015) claims that researchers must acknowledge silence as well as spoken words to look for the implicit meanings of responses. Further, her research refers to the cultural significance of silence, and its influence on representation within narrative inquiry, which will be considered further in section 4.5. Thus, sociological perspectives recognise the socio-cultural context within which the narrated experience (of linguistic and cultural brokering) occurs, and the relational dynamics between participant and researcher. That is not to say that the form of the narrative is ignored, rather that in the sociological tradition, there is greater respect afforded to the co-construction of narrative, through individual and collective interpretation via social-relational processes and recognition of the performative identities of teller and tellee (see section 4.5.). This interpersonal dimension of narrative inquiry does not appear to be of such significance in socio-linguistic models of narrative form analysis (Labov and Waletsky 1967; Labov 1972b, 1982, in Mishler 1989) with its emphasis on semiotics and semantics (Mishler, 1989; Hyvarinen, 2010). The issue of narrative co construction is of particularly relevance in my own research as can be seen further in the chapter when I explore the process (and challenges) of participant selection. Narrative co-construction recognises the significance not only of the relationship between narrator and audience but also the social context of both the narrative and its re-telling (Riessman, 1993).

4.4. Definitions and Tensions in Narrative Research.

It seems necessary at this stage to explore some definitions of narrative, and to clarify how the terms are utilised in this project. For the purposes of my own research, I have used the term 'narrative inquiry' as an umbrella term to incorporate any research methodology which seeks to elicit narrative accounts as a means to exploring and gaining an understanding of participant experience of a particular phenomenon. As has been seen, different approaches focus on different aspects of the narrative. Similarly, how narrative is defined and conceptualised is subject to philosophical and ideological debate and tension.

Polkinghorne (1991) defines narrative as a story embedded in a social context, asserting that researchers are interested in both the product and the process of storying. Squire et al. (2014) also acknowledge the significance of context, recognising that personal narratives reflect the contemporary and historical socio-political realities in which they are situated. This position reflects Riessman's definition which also acknowledges the many forms (guises) that narrative can take, recognising that chronology and sequence are often absent from personal narratives (Riessman, 1993). Riessman's construction of narrative is a departure from earlier conceptualisations notably Agar and Hobbs (1982) whose emphasis on coherence (global, local and themal) suggests a formulaic structure. Riessman also appears to take issue with the conflation of narratives as stories, commenting that the linguistic features associated with the latter are frequently missing from the former (Riessman, 1993). According to Riessman, narratives are often unbounded accounts of habitual occurrences (occasionally hypothetical) rather than descriptions of single events. As is evident in this project, participant accounts of linguistic or cultural brokering experiences rarely followed an ordered chronology,

rather the events recounted appeared to be recalled depending on their recalled significance, hence my own position aligns closely with that of Riessman (1993).

Similarly, Ricouer (1992) recognises the way in which multiple events and experiences can be plotted to form a unified story, or narrative which gives it a dynamic identity. The temporal aspects of narrative are of particular importance to Ricour who asserts that every story reflects two sorts of time; the successive series of indefinite incidents, and the told story which is configured according to 'integration, culmination and closure' (Ricouer, 1992, p.22). The way in which this perspective has been incorporated into the BNIM approach will be discussed in sections 4.8. and 4.9.

Despite these distinctions in definition, narrative researchers are in agreement that the methodology offers opportunities for in-depth explorations of individualistic and idiographic experiences. Although it has this core principle at its centre, there is variation in how narrative inquiry is conducted ranging from semi-structured interviews to single question provocations such as those used in BNIM, as explained below. As discussed previously, the approach used by the researcher to elicit a narrative account has an impact on its production, (Mishler, 1989), thus this aspect of the interview process and its impact on the study will be considered in more depth below.

Goodson and Gill (2011, p.22-23) offer a useful summary of different forms of narrative inquiry, citing life history, oral history, case history, biographical narratives and 'testimonio'. More recent examples include video narratives, artefact/document analysis, and art-based approaches. (McBrien and Day, 2012; Del Valle, McEarchern and Sabina 1999).

According to Connelly and Clandenin (1990), echoing Mishler (1989), narrative inquiry involves simultaneous narration and analysis, i.e., narrative refers to the way in which a story or experience has been structured by the narrator, and how it has been interpreted by the researcher. It is thus dialogic and co-constructed, with the identities of both participant and researcher impacting on the narrative's production. The relative influence of both actors in the narrative's co-production is contingent on several factors, outlined below, but the potential for participant-led narratives positions narrative inquiry as an emancipatory research approach which empowers potentially marginalised communities to communicate their experiences (Squire et al., 2014) hence its attraction to social science scholars. Undoubtedly the extent to which narrative approaches are fully emancipatory is constrained by a number of factors, not least the interaction order between researcher and informant (Goffman 1956). Berger (2013), for example reminds us that even during narrative interviews where only a single prompt is given to elicit the sharing of a narrative, the informant may communicate their story with a predetermined assumption of what the researcher already knows about their experiences and, more importantly what the narrator assumes the researcher expects to hear (Jovchelovitch and Bauer, 2000). Indeed, one of the criticisms of the approach is the difficulty in eliciting authentic accounts (Witzel, 1982, cited in Jovchelovitch and Bauer, 2000). Retrospective accounts, such as those gathered for this topic may be particularly susceptible to this accusation, relying as they do on recollections of experiences where the informant is at the centre of the narrative, and where the reflecting back is undeniably influenced by their self-perception at the time of the event itself and at the time of the telling of the event. This was evident in Orellana and Phoenix's account (2017), of childhood brokering roles at four different periods in their narrator's life. The

subjectivity with which the participant recalled her childhood experiences reflected changes occurring in her adult life, most significantly becoming a parent herself. The issue of successive subjectivities is recognised in BNIM and is one of the key stages of analysis (see section 4.8.2.).

4.5. Reliability and Representation in Narrative Research.

As can be seen above, criticisms of the reliability and validity of narrative inquiry reflect an assumption that confirming the accuracy of narrative accounts should be singular aim of such approaches. However, inconsistences or subjective perspectives which may be perceived as threats to authenticity, can also reveal complex social and psychological influences on how the informant has constructed meaning from their experiences and as such can enhance the richness of the narrative rather than invalidate it (Squire et al., 2014). How the participants choose to represent their story is contingent on a range of internal and external factors, including the relationship between the researcher and the participant. For many narrative researchers (Riessman, 1990, 1993; Squire at al., 2014; Tamboukou, 2015), this relationship invariably leads to a co-constructed narrative. Goffman's (1956) work on dramaturgy is useful here; his definition of the 'interaction order' offers a lens through which to view the interaction between teller and tellee in the cultural 'establishment' (Goffman 1956, p. 56) of the research interview, specifically the ways in which both actors perceive their roles in this situation. As will be seen in section 4.7., although attempts were made to mitigate against the 'Hawthorne' effect (Landsberger, 1958), it is possible that four of the five participant' roles as students and the researcher's role as lecturer impacted on how the narrative was both told and interpreted. Riessman (1993) offers an equally valuable framework for understanding how narratives may be fluid rather than fixed according to

the context in which they are told, which recognises the importance of the audience (in her terms the 'reader') and the extent to which their own interpretation shapes the narrative, thus alluding to the double hermeneutic (Giddens, 1982) whose roots lay in Heidegger's influence on phenomenological research approaches. Riessman's model (ibid) reflects her rejection of definitions of narratives as coherent linear stories which can be replicated and re-told devoid of context. Instead, she recognises that narratives are influenced by the teller's 'attendance' to specific aspects of the experience they are narrating, how the narrator chooses to 'tell' the experience, how this experience is subsequently transcribed and analysed by the narrator's audience (in this case the researcher), and how later readers of the narrative may insert their own interpretation. In short, the same experience can be narrated in different ways and with different emphases, even by the same narrator. Thus, narrators and audiences work together to construct and perform narratives, not necessarily intentionally but, as Goffman asserts as an inevitable outcome of the social relationship between the two and the identities they choose to bring to the interview context. Crucially, Squire et al. (2014) remind us to reflect upon the gender, race, and class hierarchies which may impact on these identities, and the extent to which these identities are fixed or arise from the relational context of the research interview itself (Butler, 2006). Similarly, to counter the criticism of accuracy (regardless of the value it does/does not hold for narrative researchers) the BNIM approach offers key events contained within a narrative up to scrutiny by a panel of informed observers (Chamberlayne, Rustin and Wengraf, 2002; Wengraf, 2004). As such, the panel process mitigates potential researcher bias by inviting alternative hypotheses of the participant narratives, whilst reiterating the co-

construction of theoretical interpretation of child brokering practices, thereby affirming the ontological and epistemological stance of the researcher.

4.6. Researcher Positionality.

As alluded to above, key aspects of the research process are influenced by the relationship between both parties, particularly during the narrative interview. One particular impact is the positionality of the researcher, and the extent to which this shapes their interpretation of the participants' narratives. As indicated earlier, there is a sociological paradigm influencing my research, which acknowledges the co-construction of narrative, and seeks to optimise opportunities for under-represented voices to be heard, in this case adults whose childhoods involved sustained engagement in linguistic and cultural brokering on behalf of their families. Viewed from within the discipline of the sociology of childhood, these roles reflect 'generagency' (Leonard, 2015), the manifestation of child agency within traditional generational structures. The term generagency as a reflection of Leonard's earlier critique of fixed conceptualisations of adult/child structures (2009) builds on Gidden's theory of 'structuration' (1982) which suggests that the dichotomous relationship between structure and agency is problematic, asserting instead that established structures (in this case generational hierarchies) have the potential to be transformed by children's agentic behaviours, albeit within situational constraints, (Leonard, 2009). Accordingly, it is essential that my alignment with the concept of generagency and its theoretical underpinnings, informed by my chosen research focus, my professional role, and my prior experiences in the early childhood sector do not overly influence my interpretation of the participant's narratives. Indeed, as both Qvortrop (1997) and Leonard (2009) would argue, children's agentic behaviours emanate from adult-child power

relationships, thus whilst linguistic and cultural brokering behaviours may influence family functioning in very specific contexts, the extent to which generational hierarchies are distorted or transformed in a sustained or permanent manner will be contingent on a range of internal and external dynamics. According to Berger (2013), 'insider' or 'outsider' identities may shape the researcher positionality and impact upon the co-construction of narrative, and interpretation of participant narratives. For example, she reflects on the temptation to interpret the experiences of Israeli immigrants to the USA through the 'lens of my own experience' as an 'insider' to that shared phenomenon (p.5). By contrast, her 'outsider' perspective when researching with survivors of domestic abuse, prevented her from fully appreciating the masking strategies such survivors use to avoid conferring emotional harm on their interviewers (Berger, 2013, p.6).

Although I have no personal experience of permanent migration, I have lived overseas for extended periods in countries where I did not have a competent grasp of the language, hence I have a limited understanding of some of the challenges of integrating into a different cultural context. For example, during the late 1980s, I lived for a year in France, and despite being relatively versed in the language, the more subtle linguistic and cultural nuances which characterise societal norms often caused confusion and misunderstanding. A more comparable experience would be the three years I spent in Russia in the early 1990s. With no prior knowledge of the language and its Cyrillic alphabetic system, I was frequently reliant on others, and regularly frustrated in my attempts to complete everyday functions.

In the UK, my former role as an early year's teacher in an east London Children's Centre attended by many (im)migrant families offered me the opportunity to observe the

interactions between children and their parents and the pivotal role played by the former in the resettlement of the latter. Observing these brokering roles confirmed my construction of children as competent beings capable of actively influencing their social worlds through their brokering behaviours as discussed earlier (Qvortrop, 1997; Mayall, 2000; Leonard, 2009). Finally, the student demographic at my current institution includes a high percentage of students who are from (im)migrant backgrounds, including many who arrived via 'forced' migration, which led me to consider the longer-term impact of their linguistic and cultural brokering roles.

It was vital therefore that a high degree of reflexivity was utilised during the interview processes with each participant and in the subsequent analysis of their narratives. A key reflexive strategy used in the project was a reflective journal which was initiated at the start of the data collection period and completed immediately after each session. The journal identified my emotional responses, the assumptions I had started to make, and the impact of practical concerns (interruptions or distractions on the part of the participant or the researcher). My role as a lecturer (despite the measures introduced to mitigate the impact of this) also needed to be considered, for example were there indications that participants were choosing to recount aspects of their experiences according to pre-conceived assumptions about my expectations as an early childhood studies lecturer? These concerns were also noted in the reflective journal. As Gergen (2001) notes, researchers cannot objectively distance themselves fully (if at all) from their research subject and as outlined above, the sociological stance which influenced my choice of topic, methodology and analysis reflected a positionality borne from personal and professional experience. Russell and Kelly (2002) recognise that reflective journals can support the researcher to identify their 'individual subjectivities and belief

systems' (p.2) while Jasper (2005) asserts that reflective journals offer an insight into the researcher's journey throughout their own project. Meanwhile, Ha Cho (2020) distinguishes between reflective journals used as primary data sources, and those used to demonstrate the reflexivity of the researcher during the project, as was the case with this thesis. Chapter Five demonstrates how the journal entries contributed to the data analysis.

4.7. Participant Sampling.

As has been discussed throughout this chapter, the research aimed to elicit the voices of social groups who may hitherto have been underrepresented in previous studies of the brokering processes used during resettlement in the context of migration, hence the need for a purposive sampling criterion with fixed criteria (Robson, 2002). Facilitating children who were engaged in these experiences to share their stories reflected my construction of children as key agents in the resettlement process due in a large part to the advantages conferred on them by their exposure to the school system and its role in reproducing social and cultural norms (Bauer, 2012) and crucially as a facilitator of English language acquisition. Indeed, the original study aimed to utilise some of the approaches outlined above in McBrien and Day (2012) to encourage their perspectives of the brokering roles they engaged in within and on behalf of their families. However, access to children and families where these dynamics were present proved considerably challenging. Many of the agencies and community groups working with people from migrant communities worked with transient and vulnerable families who were recent arrivals to the UK and as such lacked sufficient exposure to the English education system to meet the criteria for inclusion in the project, whilst those whose clients had settled in the UK were no longer accessing their services on a regular basis and as such

were difficult to trace. As indicated in the introduction, these challenges steered me towards a retrospective study, and to the BNIM approach specifically, with its particular recognition of the ways in which participant subjectivities shift over time. In theory, this amendment to my original project offered greater exposure to participants who met the criteria for inclusion due to my position as an academic at an institution with a high number of potentially eligible participants. However, I was keen not to compromise my position as lecturer and to risk dominating the co-construction process described above (Goffman, 1956; Mishler 1989). I also considered that restricting myself to students at higher education institution may cause my data to be skewed by an over-representation of participants who had attained a particular level of education and/or status. To address this dual dilemma, significant efforts were taken to recruit participant from wider social groups and from Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) in locations which were likely to include cohorts of participants who met the criteria for inclusion. Alas, this too proved challenging, (with the exception of one participant) leading to a further pragmatic ethics amendment which allowed for the recruitment of participants from my own institution providing they were not currently enrolled on any of the programmes I taught on. My final criteria, based on a purposive sampling model was as follows:

- Adults who arrived in the UK (or another Global North) as children (at any age under 18) with their families as a migrant (via any pattern of migration)
- Adults whose families arrived in the UK as migrants but who were themselves born in the UK
- Had exposure to the education system in the host country

- Had a significant or continued role (during childhood) as a linguistic and/or cultural broker across a range of contexts.

Table 4.1. Participant Sampling.

Eugene (male aged 65)	Arrived in the UK from Grenada in 1960 aged 7, through post-colonial ties. Although both parents spoke English, the subtleties and nuances of the language and other social norms required cultural brokering/translation from an early age.
Joy (female, aged 34)	Arrived in the UK from Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), in 1991, aged 5, through family re-unification. Had a significant role as translator/broker for extended family members throughout childhood and adolescence.
Nimo (female, aged 23)	Nimo's family arrived in the UK, in early 2000s as part of an asylum-seeking family fleeing the civil war in Somalia, although Nimo was born in England, in 1997. She had a significant role as a translator throughout childhood/adolescence and into adulthood.
Isabella (female 24)	Arrived in the UK from Spain, aged 14, in 2012, due to economic migration. Has had an ongoing language/cultural brokering role throughout adolescence and into adulthood.
Aaliyah (female 25	Arrived in the UK from Pakistan in 2006, aged 10, through post-colonial ties. Has had a significant role as cultural/ language broker during childhood, adolescence and into adulthood.

As evident from the table, the majority of the participants were young females, who arrived in the UK with their families through various patterns of migration within the last 30 years. Despite this commonality, their perceptions of their cultural and linguistic brokering roles reflect diverse perspectives, which are discussed further in chapters Five and Six. The sole outlier (Eugene) had a less significant role as a linguistic broker and was engaged in cultural brokering activities. His age and gender, add a useful counter balance to the predominantly young, female, university-student narratives and, to a certain extent mitigate one of the primary shortcomings of purposive sampling, namely, that participant narratives may not fully represent the spectrum of experiences of the targeted community (Temple and Moran, 2011), although it should be recognised that BNIM does not require participant samples to be representative of specific communities (Chamberlayne, Rustin and Wengraf, 2002). Nevertheless, although Eugene was not drawn from the same demographic as the other participants, he was degree educated so his capacity to challenge the homogeneity of the sample is limited. I would argue, however, that the scope of this thesis does not permit such an expansive perspective. Furthermore, the purpose of narrative research methods, as indicated earlier is not to draw conclusions about the experiences of a specific social group, rather to gain an understanding of how individual experiences are shaped, interpreted and understood within the context of established theories and frameworks and in response to their situated realities (Riessman, 1993; Chamberlayne, Rustin and Wengraf, 2002; Chamberlayne, Bornat and Wengraf, 2003; Moen, 2006).

The data that was subsequently generated, although reflecting some similarity of experience (as shall be seen in Chapter Five), also revealed the heterogeneity of the immigrant experience, thereby fulfilling one of the key aims of narrative inquiry which

is to offer a voice to communities at risk of marginalisation, 'othering' or being viewed according to pre-conceived, homogenous perspectives (Squire et al., 2014; Tamboukou, 2015). The distinct temporal and socio-cultural contexts in which the participants engaged in brokering activities can nevertheless reveal pervasive influences on how these experiences are understood (both at the time and retrospectively) and the significance of direct and indirect influences on a child and his/her family's social context (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; 2004; Bronfenbrenner and Morris, 1998, 2006). As has been discussed earlier, narrative methods facilitate an in-depth exploration of the story (the content) and the narrative (how the story is told) (Godson and Gill, 2011). However, as will be discussed below the BNIM approach offers the opportunity to explore a potential third dimension, which is particularly relevant to retrospective accounts such as this, namely the changing subjectivities through which a participant recounts their narrative (Abrahao, 2012; Orellana and Phoenix, 2017).

4.8. Biographical Narrative Interpretive Method (BNIM).

This section of the chapter offers a rationale for the choice of the Biographical Narrative Method (BNIM) (Chamberlayne, Rustin and Wengraf, 2002; Wengraf, 2004), which acknowledges the relative influences of the preceding debates and seeks to justify this specific approach in terms of its relevance to the aims of the study. As will be seen the approach is underpinned by key debates and tensions extant in the field of narrative research. This bricolage approach, which builds on approaches to narrative from earlier researchers in the field of narrative inquiry offers researchers a degree of flexibility within a structure characterised by fidelity to established principles of narrative inquiry.

A primary decision to use BNIM as the narrative inquiry method of choice was in many ways a response to the concerns associated with retrospective narratives as indicated

above (Abrahao, 2012). Wengraf (2004) advocates multiple interpretations of the participant's account, referred to in BNIM as the Biographical Data Chronology (BDC). A clear distinction is made in BNIM methodology between the 'lived life' and the 'told life' (Chamberlayne, Rustin and Wengraf, 2002, p.8), in recognition of the ways in which the participants representation of their life history may change over time. Thus, as is common with other narrative methods, in addition to analysing the content of the narrative, BNIM researchers also analyse the 'telling of the tale' (referred to in BNIM as the 'teller-flow analysis') in other words, how the narrative was told. However, BNIM adds a third element which is the analysis of the 'successive states of subjectivity' (SSS), (Wengraf, 2020, p.30) whereby changes in how the informant perceives or narrates their experiences and how they demonstrate their construction of meaning over the course of the inquiry are also identified as discussed below. To some extent, this addresses both the question of authenticity (offering as it does a transparent insight into potential subjective perspectives which can be explored during later sessions -see below for an outline of the process) and an opportunity to gain further appreciation of the impact of memory and recall upon retrospective accounts (Abrahao, 2012) Finally, as detailed below, limitations on the assumptions of the researcher are generated by the BNIM Panel (Wengraf, 2020, p.38) which requires the researcher to qualify and justify their interpretation of the informant's narrative via the iterative process used in the BNIM panel. An explanation of the terms used in BNIM is provided in Appendix 3.

4.8.1. The BNIM Process.

The BNIM approach has been used across a range of academic disciplines (Chamberlayne, Rustin and Wengraf, 2002; Corbally and O'Neill, 2014) although there

are concerns that the fidelity of the process, which is perceived by some as quite prescriptive has not always been honoured (Wengraf, 2002). For this research project it was considered vital to remain true, as far as possible to the specific stages of the approach, as these reflected the aims and subject of the project so closely, most notably the recognition of the dynamic subjective perspectives which may impact on retrospective accounts. To this end, I attended a three-day training course in March 2020 on the BNIM method led by its main founder and advocate, Tom Wengraf, (2004). This intensive and interactive course was invaluable as an insight into the BNIM methodology and its applicability to my own project, with opportunities for flexibility in its adoption providing essential features of the research design were maintained. It should be stated at this point that the approach itself has undergone many revisions, and key terminology has been modified. The terminology used in this thesis derives predominantly from Wengraf's (2004) publication, rather than his more recent informal revisions.

The BNIM process involves collecting data from a maximum of three narrative interviews (referred to as sub-sessions- SS) with each participant, the first of which (sub-session one- SS1) is an unstructured account of a specific event or series of events over the life course prompted by a 'single question aimed at inducing narrative' or SQUIN (Wengraf, 2004, p.xxii). The SQUIN used in my research (as is common in BNIM) was sufficiently open to ensure participants relayed the full range of the roles/responsibilities they had engaged in as cultural and linguistic brokers and offered the possibility for them to comment on any other activities they engaged in which suggested a manifestation of their agency (Mayall, 2000; Luykx, 2005; Sen, 2006; Gyogi, 2014; Leonard, 2009). It was envisaged that this would also empower them to

choose where and how to begin narrating their story and would capture the gestalt of their experiences, (Polkinghorne, 1995, cited in Savin-Baden and Van Niekerk, 2007). The SQUIN was:

> '*Tell me about your experience of supporting your family as a child following their migration to the UK'*.

During this first session the interviewer aims to remain silent allowing the participant to choose what to include and what to omit from their 'story' and how to convey their experience(s), hence its appeal for social scientists aiming to hear often silenced voice (Squire et al., 2014; Tamboukou, 2015). The narrated account elicited from the first interview is thereafter referred to as the Biographical Data Chronology (BDC) (Wengraf, 2004, p.xxi). The second interview (sub-session two- SS2) is akin to a semi-structured interview whereby only questions relating to the specific content of the BDC are permitted, thereby honouring a key principle of narrative inquiry, which is that it is participant-led. A third and optional interview (sub-session three- SS3) may also take place which seeks to clarify broader contextual information (for example, political, social, economic factors impacting on the participant experience). This thesis did not require sub-session three interviews for any of the participants, which is discussed further in 4.9.

4.8.2. Data Analysis Using BNIM.

As can be seen from table 4.2 below, the first stage of analysis involves segmenting the BDC gathered from SS1 and confirmed through further verification from SS2 into a series of discrete events which are collated chronologically. This process is known as the Biographical Data Analysis (BDA) and includes presenting a series of hypotheses about the BDC to a panel of academics who have knowledge of the chosen field for

scrutiny, discussion and validation. A grounded theory approach (based on the work of Glaser and Strauss, cited in Chamberlayne, Rustin and Wengraf, 2002, p.8) is used to identify theoretical constructs emerging from the data which are subsequently interrogated to permit consideration of alternative interpretations via the BNIM panel. As such, the process addresses criticisms regarding the reliability of narrative inquiry. Stage two (Wengraf, 2020, adapted from the earlier 2004 work), involves analysis of the textual features of the narrative, reminiscent of Labov and Waletsky's 1967 model, (in Mishler, 1989) whereby the socio-linguistic features of text are analysed, incorporating features such as description, augmentation, evaluation, reporting, and generic/typical/particular incident narratives (Wengraf, 2020, adapted from 2004 publication). This process is referred to as the 'teller flow analysis' (TFA) (Wengraf, 2004, p.17). For example, in this project, it was hypothesised that the manner in which the story was told may reflect internalised belief systems about the resettlement process, including assumptions about the attitudes of receiving societies towards the participant's family and wider community (Bhatia and Ram, 2001; Rohman et al, 2006; Weinreich, 2008; Schwartz et al, 2010). Finally, the BDC is further scrutinised according to what Wengraf refers to as the 'successive states of subjectivity' (2020, p.23). This final analysis seeks to identify changing perspectives in the way in which the story is told. The purpose here is not to challenge the participant on potential contradictions, rather to recognise and reflect on the impact of temporal change to narrative accounts, some of which may reflect internal changes within the participant themselves (of which they may/may not be aware) and others which may reflect dynamic socio-political change. As explored by Orellana and Phoenix (2017) retrospective accounts can reveal the dynamic nature of narrated experiences as a result of temporally changing identities.

This final stage reflects Riessman's (1993) and Mishler's (1989) concept of representation and recognises the fluidity of narrative accounts, and the extent to which they are produced through a process of co-construction contingent on the interview context, or what Goffman (1956) would describe as the research establishment, participant/researcher identities and other temporal, cultural and ideological factors.

Table 4.2. Stages of the BNIM Process.

Biographical Data Analysis	**Teller Flow Analysis**	**Successive States of Subjectivity**
The biographical data is chronologized and sorted into 'chunks' of information. Key episodes or events are identified and 'text-sorted', according to the form of language used (see Appendix 3 for more detail).	The way the story is told is analysed with a focus on semantic features, such as description, augmentation, evaluation, reporting, and particular or typical incident narratives. The extent to which successive aspects of the narrative confirm or contradict previous comments is considered and shared with the panel.	The way in which the participant changes their subjectivity towards all or aspects of the experience being narrated is identified and analysed. Hypotheses are considered for the changing subjectivities and shared with the panel.
Panel Initial insights, analyses and hypotheses from the three- stage process are shared with a panel of academic colleagues and professionals familiar with the cultural/linguistic		

brokering practices of child migrants. This process aims to strengthen the validity of data analysis, mitigate against researcher bias and enhance data validity. An iterative process, informed by grounded theory approaches is used (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, cited in Chamberlayne, Rustin and Wengraf, 2002).

4.9. Application of The BNIM Process in this Thesis.

4.9.1. Overview.

Section 4.8 has offered a general introduction to the staged process for eliciting and analysing participant narratives using the BNIM methodology. The process will now be considered with specific reference to this thesis. As mentioned earlier (1.9.), the Covid-19 pandemic required both sub-sessions for each participant to be conducted online via Microsoft Teams. Ethics paperwork was therefore re-drafted, approved and re-distributed to the five participants, informing them of the required changes, reiterating their right to withdraw from the research, and seeking confirmation of their continued involvement. Once confirmation was received, dates for sub-session one (SS1) were arranged with each participant, individually. Since the semi-structured interview questions for sub-session two (SS2) emanate solely from the testimonies shared in SS1, sufficient time for the analysis of the transcript from SS1 was required before SS2 meetings could be scheduled. The average time between each sub-session was 4-6 weeks. However, participants' sessions overlapped, that is, SS1 with Joy took place in the interim period between Eugene's sessions.

At the start of each of the SS1 interviews, participants were reminded of the theme of the research, their right to withdraw, and permission was sought to record the session. The open-ended methodology was revisited, and efforts were made to ensure that

participants felt comfortable and relaxed, for example, they were offered the opportunities for breaks at any time and were offered the option for having their cameras off or on. As noted in section 4.12., although I was concerned about the implications of this, notably the difficulty in observing non-verbal behaviours and the risk to establishing rapport with the participants, it was also important to acknowledge the unease that the participants may experience from the online interview, a phenomenon I had observed from the switch to online lectures at the start of the pandemic. Both Joy and Nimo elected to have their cameras off for both SS1 and SS2. In order to mitigate the risks to the participant/researcher relationship, my camera remained on throughout both sub-sessions with all participants, enabling them to observe my attunement to their unfolding narratives. The manner with which each participant responded to the online interviews, and to the BNIM methodology more generally is considered in the introduction to their narrative in Chapter 5. Due to the open-ended nature of SS1, and the idiographic questions in SS2, participant narratives varied significantly in length as discussed in Chapter 5, for example, ranging from 90 minutes (Eugene) to 20 (Isabella), for SS1.

4.9.2. Transcription from Sub-session One.

As noted above, the BNIM process includes analysis of the entire narrative - its 'gestalt'- (Rosenthal 1993, cited in Breckner and Rupp, 2002, p.294), how the narrative is conveyed over the course of the sub-sessions and the participants' changing subjectivity towards their narrative during its retelling. Although there is the opportunity for three sub-sessions in BNIM methodology, only two sub-sessions per participant were conducted for this project. However, for sub-session two, semi-structured interviews (see Appendix 5) were used to extend my understanding of contextual factors

underpinning the narratives told during SS1. As discussed in 4.3, whilst the identifiers of these processes are specific to BNIM, they reflect authentic and established processes within the narrative inquiry tradition, for example Labov and Waletsky's (1967, in Mishler, 1989) sociolinguistic analysis, and participant and researcher representation (Riessman, 1993; Mishler, 1989).

Where possible, transcription of the narratives from each participant's SS1 session started immediately after the session took place. Initial reflections on the session were recorded in the informal reflective diary (see section 4.6.). The transcript from the Teams recording was subsequently downloaded and referred to whilst I re-listened to each recorded interview. The limitations of the Teams transcript, which often misrepresented the comments from the participants, required repeated re-listening/re-viewings of the participants' interviews to ensure I transcribed verbatim their individual testimonies from both sub-sessions.

The full transcripts from SS1 were presented in tabular form, as exemplified in Appendix 4. Subsequent columns in the table identified the tone, hesitancy, and semiotics of the testimonies, and the shifting subjectivities towards the testimonies during the participants' retelling of their experiences, particularly useful for retrospective accounts. Specific examples of such shifting subjectivities are identified in the discussion of each participant's narrative in Chapter Five.

4.9.3. The Text-Sort Process.

Following the transfer of each transcript to the table, where it was positioned alongside the Teller-Flow-Analysis (TFA) and the Successive States of Subjectivities (SSS), the text-sort process was initiated. As discussed above, this involves identifying both the semantic form of passages of the narrative, and key incidents which appear significant

to the participant, either due to repeated revisiting, the manner and tone in which these incidents are recalled, or the impact that these incidents have on the direction of the narrative, for example when new experiences introduced. Specific examples of such are included in the discussion of each narrative in Chapter Five. BNIM identifies the following categorisations for the text-sort process: description, argumentation, evaluation, report, generic incident narrative (GIN), particular incident narrative (PIN), or typical incident narrative (TIN), each of which are defined in Appendix 3. The participant's transcripts were colour-coded according to these categories. Such categorisation reflects hermeneutic case reconstruction (Rosenthal, 1998, cited in Wengraf, 2002, p.243), whereby the analysis seeks to identify how events were experienced, and to acknowledge changes in how the participant recounts the events across the course of the sub-sessions. As previously noted, a key element of BNIM methodology is the distinction made between the 'lived-life' and the 'told-life' (Chamberlayne, Rustin and Wengraf, 2002, p.8).

4.9.4. Transcription from Sub-session Two.

Following this initial analysis of the narratives, and the identification via the text sort process of the significance of key incidents in each participant's testimony, questions which seek to explore the narratives further were developed, inevitably specific for each participant, as exemplified in the discussion of each participant's narrative in Chapter Five and presented in Appendix 5. As noted earlier, the average time period between data elicited via the SQUIN in SS1 and the scheduling of SS2, where further exploration of the narrative was conducted was approximately 4-6 weeks,

Sub-session two (SS2) interviews were also conducted online via Teams and recorded with the participant's permission. Responses to the questions from SS2 from each

participant were transcribed in full and compared alongside the transcripts from SS1, in order to identify confirmation or contradiction with the data from SS1. In keeping with BNIM methodology, truncated sections of the transcripts from both SS1 and SS2, referred to in BNIM as the Biographical Data Chronology (BDC), were collated and recorded in chronological order, for ease of discussion at the panel meetings. The selection of information from each narrative for presentation at the panel reflects both methodological and pragmatic consideration. The text-sort process identified aspects of the narrative which appear significant to the participant, as outlined above which were revisited via the semi-structured interview questions in SS2. In addition, the text-sort process identified themes emerging from the existing literature and, perhaps more significantly, introduced previously uncaptured experiences. For example, it was assumed that the reiteration of previous testimonies following further exploration in SS2 further reflected the significance of the experience for the participant, justifying its inclusion for consideration at the BNIM panel. Moreover, where there were differences in how experiences were recalled, such examples were also presented at the BNIM panel to enable multiple perspectives on the potential reasons for such differences to be considered. Examples of both phenomena are provided in the presentation of participant data in Chapter Five.

4.9.5. The BNIM Panel Meetings.

The primary purpose of the BNIM panel is to scrutinise the researcher's initial interpretation of the data from each sub-session, and offer alternative hypotheses, thereby mitigating, as far as possible, the impact of researcher positionality. In short, it offers the opportunity for scrutiny of the researcher's initial analysis of each participant's narrative, reflecting aspects of a grounded theory approach (Glaser and

Strauss, 1967, cited in Chamberlayne, Rustin and Wengraf, 2002). The selected passages in the BDC were numbered (for ease of identification in the panel). Passages which were selected from the transcript from SS1 were identified in black font and interspersed with passages from the SS2 in blue font, so it was evident which had evolved organically from the SQUIN, and which represented participant responses from the semi-structured interviews.

Each BDC was subsequently presented at one of two online BNIM panel meetings. Ordinarily, BNIM methodology would require the BDC and the teller-flow analysis (TFA) from both sub-sessions to be analysed separately, to reflect the distinction made between the lived-life and the told-story. However, the timescale of the project and the availability of the panel members could not accommodate this, therefore they were presented concurrently, albeit with the different sub-sessions clearly identified, as described above. Each panel meeting was attended by the same three academics who have knowledge and/or experience of migration, children's agency or narrative methodologies. The process for selection of panel members initially involved an email 'call-out' across the university for colleagues with research experience or knowledge of the topics relevant to the thesis. It should be recognised that although such requests were issued after the immediate impact of the Covid-19 pandemic had started to subside (April-June, 2021), the longer term influence on academic workloads, combined with a challenging redundancy process which saw the departure from the institution of two colleagues with significant expertise in this area, may have contributed to the lack of response to these invitations. Subsequently, panel members were approached directly based on their academic and personal alignment with the aims of the thesis. Thus, one of the panel members was an established advocate for children's rights and had direct

personal experience of migration to the UK, another had used BNIM methodology in her own research practice, albeit from a psychoanalytic rather than a sociological perspective, and the final panel member had an academic knowledge of globalised childhoods via module leadership experience, combined with significant community engagement in such issues. Panel members were sent an overview of the BNIM methodology and the participant BDCs prior to the meeting and were invited to identify themes emerging from each participant's BDC which they considered particularly significant. This was a pragmatic decision, reflecting my sensitivity to the time-commitment involved in attending and contributing to each of the panel sessions. Both panel meetings were conducted online via Microsoft Teams and were recorded, with the panel members' consent. The panel meetings lasted ninety minutes and two hours respectively. Transcripts from the online meetings were subsequently analysed to identify key themes emerging from the group discussions, and, crucially, to acknowledge panel member contributions which challenged my prior hypothesis or offered previously unconsidered insights. Such reflections are explored in relation to each of the participant narrative findings in Chapter Five. Transcripts from both BNIM panel meetings are provided in Appendices 6 and 7 accordingly. To summarise, the contribution of the panel was highly significant in introducing hitherto unconsidered elements of the participants' narratives, as discussed more fully in Chapter Five.

However, as discussed below, whilst such scrutiny fulfils the purpose of the panel as a 'mitigator' for the researcher's positionality, each of the panel members' interpretation of the participants' data is shaped by their own position. Thus, whilst the process offers multiple possible alternative hypotheses, there is the risk of such hypotheses being overly speculative (Jones, 2003). It was crucial therefore that the contributions of the

panel, whose hypotheses evolved from truncated extracts of the whole narrative, albeit those identified as significant via the text-sort process, and revisited during SS2 interviews, did not *lead* the analysis, rather offered scope for further interrogation of my own assumptions. As such, the hypotheses offered by the panel members were subsequently considered, after each panel meeting, alongside a revisiting of the recordings and the transcripts from each participant's SS1 and SS2 interviews. The impact of such iterative re-visiting is outlined in the discussion of each participant's narrative in Chapter Five.

4.10. Critique of BNIM.

Despite the suitability of Biographical Narrative Interpretive Method for my research aims and positionality, it is not without its shortcomings. Among these is the process for analysing the textural structure of the narrative which has been criticised for its rigidity (Jones, 2003). Terminology for these processes has changed over time, an indication of the dynamic and evolving nature of the methodology, as influenced by successive applications of the approach in different fields in recent years. (Jones, 2003; Chamberlayne, Rustin and Wengraf, 2002; Corbally and O'Neill, 2014). For example, its recognition of the fluidity of participant subjectivities evidenced in the teller-flow analysis has encouraged its use in psychodynamic research, (Buckner 2005). While this aspect of the approach was useful for the retrospective narratives of my participants, such fluid subjectivities might be reflective of potential 'transference' from a psychoanalytical perspective (Buckner, 2005; Frogget and Chamberlayne, 2004). Such applications of BNIM are not necessarily problematic. However, they did raise uncertainties regarding my lack of expertise in recognising this phenomenon in the participants' narratives. To some extent these concerns were mitigated by the inclusion

on my BNIM panel of two colleagues with psychoanalytical backgrounds, one of whom had used BNIM in her own research. Additionally, the textual sequentialization tool (Wengraf, 2004) utilised during the hypothesising process by the BNIM panel has been criticised by Jones (2003) for its rigidity, and constraint on intuition. Finally, although the panel's hypothesising is recognised for its mitigation of researcher bias, it is challenged for being time consuming and speculative, producing multiple possible interpretations of the narrative (Jones, 2003).

Such criticisms can be countered by reiterating that the aim of BNIM, as with other narrative research, is not to establish the 'truth' of a participant account, rather to understand how such narratives have been shaped by personal and contextual factors. Thus, rather than drawing conclusions about the homogeneity of (im)migrant resettlement processes, and the role of child brokers, therein, BNIM is used to identify types of responses to similar experiences and in part to recognise the interplay between agency and structure and social situations, reflecting Gidden's concept of 'structuration' (Giddens, 1984, cited in Chamberlayne, Rustin and Wengraf, 2002, p.9). The emergence of divergent views on such factors, which are informed by the panel members' experiences and expertise, promotes the production of a multi-faceted representation of participant narratives. Whilst the iterative, inductive process reflected in the BNIM panel aims at challenging the hypotheses emerging from initial analysis of the participants' narratives and alludes to grounded theory approaches (Glaser and Strauss 1967, cited in Chamberlayne, Rustin and Wengraf, 2002), the scale and scope of this thesis precludes the formation of new theoretical knowledge. Further large-scale, multi-disciplinary research would be required to apply and confirm emerging theoretical suppositions. Nevertheless, some key features of grounded theory were evident in the

BNIM methodology used in this thesis, namely, the simultaneous collection and analysis of data, identification of emerging themes, recognition of social processes, and re-interpretation of initial hypotheses (Noble and Mitchell, 2016).

4.11. Methodological Challenges and Ethical Considerations.

Social research with live participants, necessarily requires key ethical principles are followed, as stipulated in the British Educational Research Association (BERA) documentation (BERA, 2018). The five principles agreed by the Academy of Social Sciences in 2015, have been adhered to throughout this project (BERA 2018). These are to ensure that social science research reflects the experiences of different communities, that participant privacy, autonomy and dignity is upheld, that integrity and transparency is evident in research design and implementation, that researchers recognise their responsibilities in 'conducting and disseminating their research' and that research 'aims to maximise benefits and minimise harm' (BERA 2018, p.4). Concerns regarding reliability and validity within narrative research methods have been explored throughout the chapter, whilst strategies for mitigating researcher positionality have been considered specifically in section 4.6. However, it is also important to outline the procedural ethical processes followed to demonstrate compliance with the principles alluded to above. Ethical approval was sought and received from the University research ethics committee, and amendments were submitted to the same, as required (see below). Regulatory online assessments demonstrating researcher competence of ethical procedures, including data management regulations were completed prior to the research commencing. All paperwork to be distributed to participants and gatekeepers was submitted for approval prior to distribution and permission was sought from the committee for the dissemination of recruitment materials within the university campus,

and at other HEI sites, where appropriate. This included participant information documents, including how data from the interviews will be stored, how confidentiality and anonymity would be assured, the limitations on this, (Robson, 2002, p.71), and the right of withdrawal; informed consent forms, and de-briefing documentation, the latter of which included information on local and national support groups for (im)migrant communities, in recognition of the potential recall of sensitive memories during the narrative interview process (BERA, 2018, p.20). Finally, approval was sought from each of the Deans of School at my current institution to facilitate the distribution of recruitment material on the university's virtual learning environment. Although a further key principle of ethical social research is to facilitate representative access to participation (Fisher and Anushko, 2008), the necessity of purposive sampling for this project precludes this, (see section 4.7). Furthermore, BNIM methodology typically involves small participant samples due to the in-depth nature of its narrative inquiry, and whilst the 'sociobiographies' (Wengraf, 2002, p.309) seek to inform understandings of social processes, identifying typicalities in small-scale studies is recognised as problematic (Wengraf, 2002, p.13).

Within a week of returning from the three-day BNIM course, and with the first participant poised for their first 'interview', the UK went into national lockdown as a result of Covid-19. Soon afterwards, the University's ethics committee confirmed that all fieldwork data collection would need to be gathered via the institution's adopted online platforms, Microsoft Teams. This required the re-writing, re-approval and re-distribution of participant information documents, informed consent forms, and post-completion information (BERA, 2018, p.21) Transferring to an online platform created both challenges and opportunities for my research project. Crucially, it risked

jeopardising the researcher/participant relationship, which is key to effective communication of the narrative, particularly when exploring potentially sensitive topics. I was concerned that many of the interpersonal, interactive behaviours which serve the dual purpose of establishing trust, reassurance and confidence between researcher and participant and offering an insight into the emotional responses of the participant at various junctures in their retelling, would not be easily conveyed via an online tool, and thus risking a key principle of narrative inquiry (i.e. of creating an emotionally secure space for participants to share their narrative) and in some instances this proved to be the case (Dodds and Hess, 2020). For example, both Joy and Nimo asked for their videos to be turned off during both of their interviews. I speculated that the concern lay behind their unease with the researcher being able to repeatedly view and review the participant's body language and facial expression once the interview had concluded. However, out of respect for participant agency (and in alignment with the emancipatory nature of narrative methods), the participants' preference was honoured. It was envisaged that this commitment would secure the participant's trust which was more conducive to the elicitation of an authentic narrative, than being able to observe their non-verbal interpersonal behaviour. In hindsight, I believe this was the correct decision. The limitations of not being able to observe Joy and Nimo were mitigated to some extent by me retaining my video so that they could observe my responses, as evidence that their accounts were being listened to and acknowledged. However, this decision does raise questions about the extent to which I was able to identify the full extent of the participants' representative identities during their narration of their brokering experience (Riessman, 1993; Mishler, 1989). Although this could be perceived as raising issues of validity, these concerns were, to some extent, mitigated by the

opportunity to revisit the participants' responses during the second interview (sub-session two). As noted earlier and captured in Table 4.2, the three-part process of analysis inherent to the BNIM approach, coupled with the hypothesising process offered by the panel discussion addresses common concerns raised about validity within narrative research methods, and aligns with the multi-layered approach advocated by experienced narrative researchers. As Meraz, Osteen and McGee (2019, p.2) recognise, 'locating deeper meaning in a narrative story requires going beyond what was said to include analysing how and to whom the story was told.' Aside from the practical challenges arising from the switch to online methods detailed above, there was the ethical question of continuing with the research at all. Townsend et al. (2020), for example, question the legitimacy of continuing field research during a time when participants may be facing considerable stress and uncertainty. To this end, the revised communications distributed to all participants following the switch to online process, reiterated their right to withdraw, and explained in full, the changes to how the research would be conducted. Only one participant was unable to continue with the project due to factors related to the pandemic thereby reducing the sample size from six to five.

A further challenge of the online approach was that, perhaps inevitably, the participants were participating in the sessions from their family home, so there were occasions where despite the sessions being booked in advance and negotiated to meet the participants' own routines and commitments, they were distracted by domestic events which impacted on the flow of the narrative to some extent (Dodds and Hess, 2020).

Despite these challenges, online interviewing offered some distinct opportunities. Removing the need to travel, source venues for the interviews, and accommodate other commitments (for example, the researcher's own teaching responsibilities) meant that

there was greater expediency in organising the first and second interviews for each participant. The loosening of boundaries between work and non-work time, which the pandemic has encouraged allowed for a greater flexibility when co-ordinating the timing of the sessions. As cited earlier, initially I had anticipated that the automatic transcription facility embedded in the software adopted by UEL for online conferencing would facilitate a swifter transcription process. However, due to both the inaccuracy of this facility and its inability to reflect tone, hesitation and other non-verbal cues, this facility was abandoned in favour of traditional transcription processes, which together with video or audio recordings provided richer data from the interviews. The transcription process, thus followed the usual, approach of scribing verbatim the words, pauses, utterances and tone (Bailey, 2008).

4.12. Conclusion.

This chapter has offered an overview of the evolution of narrative inquiry as a research method and its suitability for my research project. My rationale for a detailed account of narrative inquiry and its scope across many academic disciplines was to demonstrate its versatility and, more importantly its emancipatory potential when researching with participants who are potentially under-represented in academic research. As was noted throughout the chapter, the increase in the use of narrative research methods reflects its evolving popularity. However, due to the diverse way in which it is interpreted and applied, I felt it was essential to identify how the specific approach used in my project (BNIM) evolved from and resonates with key ‘moments’, features and principles of the narrative inquiry trajectory. The BNIM processes which have been described above, may have somewhat idiosyncratic terminology, but the essence of each stage of the process is grounded in and affected by influential figures, debates and tensions within

the broader narrative inquiry canon, thus any application of the approach needs to acknowledge the roots from whence it came. The chapter has also highlighted some of the challenges of engaging in narrative research using retrospective accounts and attempted to counter some of the accusations levelled against narrative approaches, specifically, the potential for 'unreliable narrators' (Sternberg and Yacobi, 2015). Finally, the chapter has acknowledged the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on the narrative research process and considered ways in which threats to the validity of the participant responses were acknowledged and addressed. These will be considered again to some extent in Chapter Five.

Chapter Five: Research Findings.

5.1. Introduction.

Chapter Five explains the process for analysing the data from each participant utilising the three stages of the Biographical Narrative Interpretive Method (BNIM) and explores the themes emerging from each of the narratives viewed through the lens of Bioecological Systems theory (B/EST) (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Bronfenbrenner and Ceci, 1994; Bronfenbrenner and Morris, 1998 and 2006) and with reference to existing literature in the field.

The narratives have been presented sequentially, that is, in the order in which the sub-sessions took place. In order to respect the idiographic nature of each of the narratives, they have been considered in isolation, rather than comparatively. This conforms to narrative enquiry tradition, and to BNIM methodology, whose aim is to identify the types of individual response to dynamic social, political and historical contexts (Wengraf, 2002). However, inevitably, due to the ubiquity of child brokering practices within (im)migrant communities (Orellana, 2003; Cline et al, 2011; Bauer, 2016; Lopez, 2019;) similar themes have emerged from the analysis of each participants' narratives. These themes are explored in depth in Chapter Six. Each participant's vignette is presented in narrative form, to replicate the methodology used to elicit the data.

The overarching theoretical perspective informing the analysis of each narrative is Bioecological Systems Theory, as stated above and discussed in Chapter Three. However, secondary theoretical positions, relevant to the aims of the thesis have been considered during the analysis of each narrative, for example the 'new' sociology of childhood (James and Prout, 1997) and children's agency (Gyogi, 2014; Revis, 2016) 'generagency' (Leonard, 2009; 2015) forms of capital within (im)migrant communities,

(Bourdieu, 1994 in Revis, 2016; Seccombe 2002), resettlement processes, (Bhouris, 1997; Navas et al., 2007; Weinreich, 2008; Ager and Strang, 2008; Schwarz et al., 2010; Killian, 2011; Rumbaut, 2015) (im)immigrant identity (La Barbera, 2015; Bhugra, 2004) home and belonging Ralph and Staeheli, 2011; Woodhead and Brooker, 2008) and 'post'-colonial legacies (Bhatia and Ram, 2001; Nair, 2017). The location of these secondary themes within Bioecological Systems Theory is discussed further in Chapter Three. There is insufficient scope to explore these subsidiary themes in depth, hence they are considered only in relation to their influence upon child brokering and family resettlement practices within the different 'settings' of Bioecological Systems Theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

5.2 Data Analysis Process.

A detailed discussion of the BNIM process is provided in Chapter Four. This section thus serves as a short reminder of the stages of data analysis. The BNIM process includes analysis of the entire narrative (its 'gestalt', Rosenthal 1993, cited in Breckner and Rupp, 2002, p.294), how the narrative is conveyed (the Teller-Flow Analysis) over the course of the interviews (labelled sub-sessions-SS- in BNIM terminology), and the participants' changing subjectivity towards their narrative in each of the sub-sessions (Successive States of Subjectivity). Although there is the opportunity for three sub-sessions in BNIM methodology, only two sub-sessions per participant were conducted for this project, as explained in Chapter Four.

5.3. Summary of Key Themes.

Although the methodology used in this thesis reflects an underpinning social-constructivist paradigm, whereby experiences are interpreted through a combination of personal history, socio-cultural, and political influences (Robson, 2002; Crotty, 2009),

nevertheless, a key principle of BNIM is to recognise the social situation through which experiences are framed, and to identify 'types' of responses to these situations (Wengraf, 2002; Breckner and Rupp, 2002). Therefore, common themes emerging from each of the participant narratives have been acknowledged and are discussed further in Chapter Six. Thus, whilst the participants' 'lived lives' (Breckner and Rupp, 2002, p.292) were narrated according to their unique life-histories, each one reflected similar concerns and tensions arising in the literature. A dominant theme emerging was that of (im)migrant identity, particularly the relationship between language and identity, and the significance of belonging, both within their heritage community, and through gaining access to the host community through resettlement practices. The impact of cultural and linguistic brokering activities in the short and long-term, and the broad scope of such practices upon the lives of the participants was also a significant theme. Questions of power hierarchies, changing family relationships, cultural norms and expectations, and manifestations of children's agency also emerged as important areas for exploration. Finally, the retrospective narratives reflected shifting perspectives towards the participants' brokering roles which challenge normative constructs of childhood competency, which, as a major theme relevant to my positionality, is critiqued in depth in Chapter Six. As noted earlier, the manner and extent to which these themes were evident in each of the participants' narratives reflects a range of personal, socio-cultural and political factors, as discussed individually below. Analysis of the participants' testimonies is presented in narrative form to align with the methodology used in the project. A summary of the participant sample is provided in Chapter Four.

5.4 Eugene.

Eugene was the only male participant, the significance of which is considered further in chapter 6. Aged 65 and a Windrush generation migrant with Grenadian heritage, Eugene arrived in the UK aged seven. Although Eugene trained as a lawyer to which he attributes the development of his cultural identity, the majority of his career was spent in the Trade Union movement, and although he has now retired, he is still engaged in community activism which is the route through which he responded to my call for participants. Initially, I had reservations about the suitability of Eugene for a study on child brokering emanating in part from my early identification of brokering as merely a language translation activity. However, as I engaged with more of the existing literature, it became apparent that brokering was much broader in scope than mere translation practices, echoing Orellana's term 'transcultural' (Orellana, 2015, p. 17). Furthermore, Eugene's testimony aligned with other subsidiary themes in the thesis, notably identity and belonging. Eugene was similarly apologetic for what he appeared to consider his lack of fit with the aims of my thesis. Nevertheless, he recounted his biography in response to the SQUIN ('Tell me about your experience of supporting your family as a child following their migration to the UK'), assuredly and with few moments of hesitation, during the 90-minute open-narrative session. Eugene's narrative reflected his engagement with his political and post-colonial identity. His response to the SQUIN starts with a reminder of the context in which (im)migrants from the Caribbean arrived in the UK:

> So, I am from Grenada, one of the Caribbean countries under the control of British Imperialism… my parents preceded me, my mother and step-father left, I think in 1955 to come to Britain, there was an invitation, I understand from the British government to help in the post-war reconstruction of Britain, and they, along with tens of thousands, if not hundreds of thousands of Caribbean people,

> young people, left their respective countries and came…… After a while I was sent for and I arrived, I think on 10th September 1960 in Southampton.

Eugene's narrative is scattered with knowledge of his colonial heritage, and the experiences of Caribbean immigrants, brought into sharp focus by the Windrush citizenship question from November 2017 (Griffiths and Yeo, 2021). He recognises that his parents and their contemporaries who migrated to the UK in the 1950s had expectations that were not realised upon arrival:

> They were not coming as far as they were concerned to a hostile place, they were to some extent coming home.

He extends his position on the conflict between expectation and reality by saying:

> The shock of coming home was a big problem, because to retain Empire, to retain control of a stolen land, a stolen people, you have to convince stolen people that they belong to a greater thing…and they would have learned all about English history, not the history of ourselves, and without that history, you think you are coming to somewhere equal.

Appendix 2 offers a short history of some of the pathways of migration to the UK which serves to contextualise the participant life-histories. Although he had lived in the UK for over 50 years, engaged with mainstream societal norms via education and employment, raised a family and made an economic contribution via taxation and national insurance returns Eugene's narrative suggests he is conflicted about his British identity:

> I view myself, I don't want to sound like a poster boy for Theresa May, being a citizen of the world……. when we return to Grenada…. we are called 'the English' [laughs].. I don't feel English, I am British, I feel British, the idioms of Britain, the very low-level comedy, the bit of passive aggression [laughs], I can't say why I don't feel English. I feel very comfortable in Britain at the minute, but there is a bit of me that says, like in Nazi Germany, things could switch, and you have to be ready for switching.

His testimonies echo research from Rohman at al. (2006) on 'discordant acculturation' (Rohman et al., 2006, p.683) which acknowledges the combined influence of host and

heritage community attitudes in shaping perceptions of threat. This sense of fragility could also reflect the influence of the Windrush citizenship scandal of 2017 (Griffiths and Yeo, 2021) and reflect the transient nature of 'belonging' (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p.204).

As indicated earlier, Eugene's experiences of brokering were different from the other participants, as his family's first language was English, thus he was not required to translate between two distinct languages. However, his narrative illustrated the myriad forms that brokering may take, for example through ongoing cultural (re)negotiation between home and host contexts (Weinreich, 2008; Schwarz et al., 2010; Schwartz et al., 2011; Killian, 2011). Arriving in England aged seven, his response to his exposure to societal norms of 1970's Britain, through his entry into the school system (Rumbaut, 2015), reflect his confusion with the linguistic practices of his contemporaries. Attending a *'*melting pot*'* school, in West London, he recalls misunderstanding many of the idioms and phrases used by his White British peers. Combined with *'*snatches*'* of conversations about racism, which he overheard from his parents and their contemporaries, these misunderstandings occasionally led to conflict:

> Although I spoke English, and my contemporaries spoke English, the idioms, the accent and the phrasing, and the gestures used led to confusion on both sides and led to aggression [laughs] on my part. I remember, er… I just didn't understand Cockney and so I found that everywhere I went my contemporaries *were saying* "whatcha, mate", which I just did not understand, and so I quickly took the view that it was an insult.

Extracts such as this from Eugene's narrative satisfied my concerns regarding his suitability for the project, as they reflect the broader cultural renegotiation practices that (im)migrant children engage in to gain access to mainstream institutions, in this case his primary school.

Eugene recounts instances of attempting to explain to his mother the nuances of tone, intent, and meaning in seemingly banal phrases which she would interpret literally, for example 'what's your problem?'. As above, these examples reveal the lifelong strategies adopted by members of immigrant communities as they navigate the cultural and linguistic landscape of the host country (Weinreich, 2008; Schwarz et al., 2010; Schwartz et al., 2011; Killian, 2011).

> My mother and step-father could read and write, but when I have looked at some of their letters recently, erm, it was not what I would say, the most well-written, so I understand that they did not maybe understand the nuances used in language here, that ability to navigate the subtleties of language here….. an example I would give to anyone from abroad, when a British person, White, Black, Chinese, someone who was born in Britain, who has lived here for a long time, says "sorry", after you trussle (sic) them, they are not apologising to you [laughs], they are actually telling you, in some cases to "F off", and in some cases "what do you think you're doing?"

Eugene's identification of the vagaries of the English language and the impact that these have on (im)migrant resettlement reflects key themes of belonging and identity, which were evident in the literature (Krzyzanowski and Wodak, 2007; La Barbera, 2015) and discussed by the panel (see below).

> Someone saying, "may I help you?", isn't offering you their help…. Or someone saying, "must you go now?" means look, you've stayed long enough!

As identified by Bauer (2016) and Rumbaut (2015), Eugene recognises the benefits of arriving in a new country as a child, and his exposure to such subtleties from an early age:

> And so, I think it is impossible if you arrive in a country as an adult to learn the language properly, because there are very, very subtle idiomatic, erm, use of language that you don't really understand.

> What I do know is I learnt this almost by osmosis, by the time I was 10 or so, I got on Ok at school with my mates, by this time, I had stopped punching them in the face [laughs].

However, despite acknowledging the advantage that his early and consistent immersion into the nuances of the English language offered him, Eugene is keen to stress that the opportunity to position himself as a 'socialising agent' (Luykx, 2005, p.1406) were constrained by family hierarchies which restricted the capacity of children to question adult authority:

> Anyone who is older than you, you had to show respect to, so it meant you kept your backside quiet, you did not point out issues, you did not challenge, you did not point out in any way anything that could humiliate.

This family hierarchy is demonstrated by his mother's insistence that Eugene felt from his mother to listen to the BBC Home Service as a means to acquiring linguistic competence, and to facilitate becoming *'*citizens of this country and citizens of the Commonwealth'.

> One thing I would say was helpful to me was the insistence, erm of my mother in particular that I listened to the BBC Home Service, now Radio 4. She would say " you have to learn to speak like these people, because we are going to be here, we are going to be in this country, we are citizens of this country, we are citizens of the [erm] Commonwealth and colonies", so I listened to Radio 4, and I found it actually very interesting, so I would say that Radio 4 or the BBC Home Service contributed to my education.

This positive outcome of his mother's insistence for his engagement with mainstream cultural institutions offers a good example of Eugene's shifting subjectivity during the course of sub-session one (SS1). He later refers to this insistence as *'*brainwashing*'* and laments the distance it created between himself and his Grenadian/Jamaican peers:

> There is one surprising thing, which is that my mother may have made a mistake in wanting me to speak like someone from the Home Service…. And erm, I feel a bit disadvantaged by not going into Grenadian because each language has its

> own accent, its own idioms, its own references and I have left Grenadian too long and I was brainwashed by my mother to do so and I looked down on people who spoke Grenadian, because I thought, "learn English mate, you're here in this country, what are you doing speaking in that accent."

This alienation he feels from his Grenadian culture is further demonstrated when he comments.

> And to a certain extent, I was teased by my Grenadian friends who spoke in a Grenadian accent…… I think the situation now, is that people do that thing that linguists call "code switching", when in a group of people from your own country, you speak 'Yardie' or Grenadian, expect me, I can't do it, I can only speak Grenadian when I am angry or when I go back to Grenada and stay for a while.

Simultaneously, Eugene acknowledges that he reverts to received pronunciation to regain status if he perceives he is being demeaned by White people in social contexts, for example the mocking Caribbean accent described above:

> And I found that when I was in a workplace, people would put on a sort of Caribbean accent and I recognised it clearly as an attempt to demean and it would drive me into being the John Humphries of the group, speaking very posh English-I did not know how to handle it.

Eugene's reference to the term 'code-switching' here suggests a working knowledge of the processes bilingual children engage in when navigating dynamic linguistic contexts. Although the term traditionally refers to swapping between two distinct languages, rather than switching linguistic register, the relevance of the term to the underlying theme of the language and identity reflects the way in which Eugene perceives himself to be alienated from both his host and his heritage community. His response to the experience of being demeaned in the workplace reflects his metalinguistic awareness, and cultural capital, much of which he attributes to being left in the library as a child whilst his mother worked and developing a lifelong love of literature.

> The other thing she insisted, probably for cheap babysitting, was that I went to the library every day and that fostered my love of reading, I love reading.

He concludes that he welcomes the use of 'Yardie' by his own children, and their contemporaries, including his children's White peers, as an indication of the connection between language use and positive cultural identity (Bhugra, 2004) a relationship he appears to feel the lack of in his own experiences.

> I am proud of them speaking 'Yardie', I am really proud… I find that wonderful, because it gives a strength-here is something that is yours.

This recognition of the relationship between linguistic hierarchies and self-identity reflects key themes in post-colonial literature, (Fanon, 1952, reprinted 2021), and is discussed further in Chapter Six.

An interesting and hitherto unconsidered reflection arising from the panel was the 'intersectionality' (Crenshaw, 1991) of (im)migrant communities. Eugene was perceived, by the panel, as privileged in comparison to other migrant communities, due to his colonial ties, the migration drivers which brought his family to the UK *('*invited by the Government'), and his relative knowledge of language and some societal norms. The influence of migration histories on resettlement practices, may reflect pre-migration status, for example level of social, economic and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1983, cited in Schwartz, 2013), impetus for migrating, and age at the time of migration (Bhugra, 2004; Bartram, Povos and Monforte, 2014; Rumbaut, 2015; Collins and Carling, 2020; Bivand-Erdal and Oeppen, 2020), considered further in Chapter Six. Whilst I recognise the existence of different levels of privilege (Seccombe, 2002; Portes and Rivas, 2011; Sime and Fox, 2015,) that (im)migrant communities may possess, the acknowledged racism directed towards Caribbean communities despite their role in post war reconstruction (Parekh, 2002; Brannen, Eliot and Phoenix, 2016), culminating in recent

events within the Windrush community (Griffiths and Yeo, 2021) challenges assumptions about the gains his heritage conferred. Certainly, his descriptions of his home environment belie assumptions of material privilege.

> I shared a fold-up bed with my uncle, the kitchen was in the passageway and the bathroom was shared between four or five families.

Despite these earlier privations, Eugene later acknowledges the economic, social and cultural gains he, and extended family members (and their descendants) have benefited from, largely due to their capacity to access higher education, gain professional employment and enter the housing market, opportunities which are denied migrants with uncertain or transitory citizenship status, as discussed by Yuval-Davis, 2006, 2011). However, he acknowledges that for many of his contemporaries such benefits resulted from specific strategies:

> This meant that Caribbean families had to find their own accommodation… by working hard, by doubling up our jobs, by sharing properties and buying house jointly in places which were once considered undesirable (referring to housing policy which favoured White families for council accommodation, until 1963).

Whilst Eugene claims that during his childhood he did not experience overt racism, he was aware that it was a feature of his parents' experience:

> I had heard about racism and that Black people were being insulted, I picked this up from backstage conversations that my parents had with their friends.

Therefore, when false assumptions about his heritage were made during media depictions of the Congolese war for independence, which reflected post-colonial attitudes of homogenisation towards non-white populations (Bhatia and Ram, 2001; Nair, 2017), Eugene acknowledges that his assumption of the racist intent of such reductivist comments emanated from snatches of conversations he'd overheard between his parents and their contemporaries:

> Another aspect of my early school years, was that there were things happening as Britain retreated from empire, an as other European countries retreated from empire, and people started asking me 'what part of the Congo are you from?' (Eugene offers short summary of the Congolese War of Independence from Belgium) …. And, again, I felt this was an insult, although I had never heard of the Congo..

During the course of SS1, with complementary insights from sub-session two (SS2), Eugene's narrative traces further evidence of the emergence of his cultural identity, influenced largely while studying for his law degree, but also by the increasing representation of Black popular culture. He cites public figures such as Mohammad Ali, whose Black pride contrasted with hitherto harmful, reductivist caricatures of Black culture, for example his paraphrasing of Ali's comment, 'why should I as a black man fight for the white man against the yellow man?' which contrasted sharply with Lance Percival's televised appearances 'using a hotch-potch Caribbean accent which my work-mates would copy'.

This developing cultural identity could be seen as the starting point for Eugene's shifting subjectivity towards his mother's insistence that he immerse himself into mainstream English as discussed above.

A similar shifting subjectivity is evidenced when Eugene acknowledges that his willingness to engage with conveyors of mainstream culture such as the BBC, emanated from a desire to 'sound White' and recalls 'praying to be White'. When revisiting this theme during SS2, he recalls that this desire extended to his wanting to join the Royal Navy, which he was discouraged from in favour of pursuing a law degree, identified as a high-status profession, which justified the sacrifices made by his mother following her migration to Britain. He does not regret this career choice (despite not pursuing it long-term) due to the insights it offered into racial (in)equities, culminating in the emergence

of his racial/cultural identity and his shifting perspective towards his earlier assimilationist practices (Striker and Serpe, 1994, cited in La Barbera, 2015; Tajfel, 1979, cited in Islam, 2104; Bhugra, 2004; Bhugra and Becker, 2005; La Barbera, 2015).

> It was important to show the Grenadian's back home that moving here [Britain] had been a good move.

This recognition of the 'returning migrant' narratives is considered by Horst (2011) and discussed further in Chapter Six.

This importance of demonstrating the positive outcome of resettling in Britain is similarly evidenced in SS2 in response to the question*: '*You mention that Caribbean families migrating to the UK thought they were coming 'home' and then towards the end of the interview you say that some people dream of returning home. Can you say more about your use of the word 'home' here?'

> If someone calls from Grenada, she (Eugene's wife) may say "someone from home is calling you" and yet when I am there, I'm like "I can't wait to get home, it's too hot for me here".
>
> I'm thinking of the Caribbean families who return home and build homes with many rooms, and facilities and large verandas, and the rationale behind this is to show that the sacrifices of migrating to the UK and the hardship of living and working in the UK were worth it, that they have something to show for it.

However, should his British citizenship be revoked (as indicated earlier), Eugene asserts that he would not return 'home' to his birth country, but to America, thus while he refers to both Grenada and England as 'home' during his narrative, his preference for America suggests a distancing from both:

> I have no desire to return to Grenada…. if America would have me, I would go there, if it all turns to shit in England.

Interestingly, one of the panel members perceived America as another example of Eugene's hierarchical positioning of Black culture, suggesting that he may position

American Black culture as superior to that of his heritage culture, as discussed below. Unfortunately, it is not within the scope of this thesis to explore these presumed assumptions more fully. Suffice it to say, that a contributory factor to Eugene's preference could be the recognition of his alienation from Grenadian society, due to being 'othered' (Lacan, 1978, cited in Kim, 2014) in this context also:

> Even when I go back to Grenada, everyone knows that I'm an English man because there are certain things that go with the language, such as movement and speech patterns.

A final theme, relevant to my positionality in this thesis, emerging from Eugene's narrative is that of children's agency and family power dynamics. An aspect of this that I had not previously considered, which arose during my initial analysis and further discussed at the panel, is the impact of colonialism on family structures, in this context within Caribbean families. Although Eugene had recalled explaining some of the idiomatic peculiarities of English to his mother, he asserted that it would not have been acceptable for him, as a child, to correct or question his mother's language use. Eugene's own interpretation of this family dynamic, is that it is a replication of colonialist hierarchies, whereby power taken from indigenous communities, through colonisation, is transferred to power-relations within the family (Bhatia and Ram, 2001; Rukundwa and Van Aarde, 2007; Falicov, 2016):

> In order to make sure that people of African descent living in Grenada after enslavement was abolished, were still able to be controlled, you had a to create a kind of hierarchy, both outside of the family and within the family.

There is insufficient scope within this chapter to explore this position further, although it is worth recognising that the impact of colonialism on family hierarchies has been the focus of academic debate, (Fanon, 1952, 2008; Chakravorty Spivak, 2010; Morris,

2010). Furthermore, it contributes to existing perspectives of the influence of socio-cultural factors on constructions of the child (Sorin, 2005; Smidt, 2013).

In summary, the themes of language, identity and belonging dominate Eugene's narrative. His brokering roles, whilst different from traditional language interpretation and translation practices, nevertheless indicate language negotiation and manipulation throughout his childhood and into adulthood and reflect how metalinguistic competence facilitates access to mainstream social and cultural institutions, and influence perceptions of belonging (Yuval-Davis, 2006; La Barbera, 2015). Furthermore, the constraints on children's agency, as identified by Sen (2006) and Leonard (2009) are evident in Eugene's narrative.

5.4.1. Contribution of the BNIM Panel to Analysis of Eugene's Narrative.

A principal outcome of the panel discussion was the repeated cultural re-negotiation that Eugene has engaged in over his life-course, reflecting changing perceptions of and attitudes towards immigrant communities, reflected in B/EST directly in the Microsystem, and indirectly via the Macrosystem, Exosystem and Chronosystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Bronfenbrenner and Ceci, 1994, Bronfenbrenner and Morris, 1998 and 2006). These shifting perceptions appear to be keenly felt by Eugene, whom the panel, confirming my own interpretation, recognised as being concerned with language hierarchies, identity and perceptions of belonging or alienation. However, the pervasive nature of cultural re-negotiation in the experiences of migrant communities had not been fully appreciated prior to the panel discussion, hence my initial reservations about his suitability for the study. This confirmation from the panel was therefore reassuring and confirmed my analysis of the relationship between metalinguistic competence and access to mainstream social and cultural institutions.

Thus, the insights from the panel members, particularly those relating to cultural renegotiation served to broaden the definition of brokering, from one which was characterised by language translation and interpretation to a wider acknowledgement of cultural (and societal) negotiation activities (Hall and Sham, 2007; Orellana, 2009, 2015).

> It seems like he's brokering his culture continually from his childhood through his middle age to his old age. He's brokering cultural meanings and their social and political contexts, so although he may not be brokering for his parents, he seems to be brokering lots of cultures continually.
>
> *(*BNIM panel member, 2021, see Appendix 6)

Discussions from the panel suggest that Eugene's analysis of these family dynamics further reflect his interest in hierarchies, previously evident in his language use, identification of 'home' and early desire for status and acceptance. This insight from the panel was useful as a tool for further reflection upon the way in which Eugene's perception of his cultural identity indicated conflict and unease. Revisiting the full transcript, from both sub-sessions, I concluded that whilst linguistic hierarchies were acknowledged, and occasionally manipulated by Eugene, his recognition of the alienation he felt from losing his Grenadian language competence, combined with the positive perspective through which he viewed the cultural identity of subsequent generations, as evidenced by their language choices, reflected a more balanced appreciation of different language forms than the panel acknowledged.

The panel did, however, acknowledge and affirm my analysis of Eugene's conflicted identity suggesting that this is an inevitable outcome of the immigrant experience, the result of constant re-negotiation in response to social and political narratives, for example the 'Hostile Environment' (Yuval-Davis, Wemyss and Cassidy, 2018, 2019;

Griffiths and Yeo, 2021). The contributions from the panel thus confirmed my initial analysis of the impact of Eugene's evolving cultural identity, and ongoing engagement, (personal and professional) with the post-colonial experiences of Caribbean immigrant communities on shaping his narrative.

5.4.2. Application of B/EST to Eugene's Narrative.

When applying B/EST (Bronfenbrenner and Ceci, 1994; Bronfenbrenner and Morris, 1998 and 2006) to Eugene's narrative, there are clear examples of each of the systems having an impact, directly or indirectly on his childhood experiences through to adulthood and beyond. The early acquisition and valuing of cultural capital reflects an internalisation of ideologies relating to status, identity and hierarchy, whilst changes to such values during the course of his lifetime mirror changes to such ideologies over time, demonstrating the Chronosystem's significance. Latterly, media and popular culture representation, both limiting and empowering, influenced his emerging Black identity. However, within the Microsystem, his linguistic register distances him from his heritage culture, whilst simultaneously being manipulated by Eugene to regain status within mainstream community contexts.

Finally, applying the Person-Process-Context-Time model from Bioecological Systems Theory (see Chapter Three for more detail) (Bronfenbrenner and Morris, 1998), it is evident that the cultural renegotiation and identity transitions experienced by Eugene draw upon a strong disposition for acceptance and belonging, an urgency to assimilate (at least, initially) and gain access, via cultural institutions, to a range of resources to facilitate this, in both direct and indirect contexts. Furthermore, the developmental, relational and societal factors shaping the 'proximal processes' (see Chapter Three) are

indicated via the successive subjectivities towards his mother's 'brainwashing' and his conflicted cultural identity.

5.4.3. Journal Reflections on Eugene's Narrative.

My reflective journal entry following the conclusion of both sub-sessions with Eugene, acknowledges the extent to which he appears to have an academic knowledge of many of the themes and concepts relevant to the thesis emanating from his higher education studies, professional role and community activism. The context of both sub-sessions thus reflected an assumption of a shared understanding of key themes and may reflect prior consideration of such topics. This is not necessarily problematic, although it may imply an 'abstracted' narrative. The shifting subjectivity evidenced in Eugene's contradictory perspectives towards his linguistic skills in English and Grenadian, may have been influenced by his admission of having had a very troubling relationship with his mother, which may have influenced his later subjectivity towards the pressure he felt to adopt British values and customs, exacerbated by the Windrush crisis (2017) in Griffiths and Yeo (2021), which questioned the citizenship of Caribbean immigrants with similar experiences to Eugene.

5.5. Joy.

Joy is a 36-year-old female originating from Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), who arrived in the UK as a child, in 1991, aged five. A mature student who had recently completed her studies at University of East London, Joy, lives in London with her two sons aged 9 and 13. From an early age, she engaged in brokering activities for her immediate and extended family. Joy's brokering activities reflect traditional definitions of the role(s) (Harris and Sherwood, 1978, cited in Hall and Guery, 2010; Orellana, 2003; Cline at al., 2011; Cline, Crafter and Prokopiou, 2014; Crafter and Iqbal, 2020,

2021), for example translating at parent-teacher conferences, speaking on behalf of her family members at hospital appointments, on phone calls to the housing office, and during regular social activities:

> Imagine, Rebecca, I'm there with the teacher, and she's asking me to translate for my family….. and making phone calls and being called on to translate letters for my uncles.

In addition, Joy was frequently called upon as a young child, to accompany family members on visits to the passport or visa office, being responsible for navigating the public transport system from one side of London to another:

> The only feeling I can remember is the noise of them going to the Home Office, waking up at like four, five 'o' clock, having to stand in the queue.

Joy's brokering activities continued through her adolescence and into adulthood, reflecting panel members' recognition of the 'exhausting', pervasive and on-going nature of cultural brokering (see 5.6.1). Her subjectivity towards these brokering roles shifted during the course of sub-session one (SS1) and in response to further exploration in sub-session two (SS2), see below. In alignment with much of the literature (Belsky, 2014, cited in Kam, Guntzviller and Stohl, 2017; Weisskirch, 2017), as a young child Joy did not challenge the expectations imposed on her by family members:

> I used to think, oh I've been asked to do this…..I used to think it was something I had to do, because if I didn't do it there was no-one else who would do it for them.

However, as she entered adolescence there appears to be a growing resentment, particularly as other family members her age, with similar levels of exposure to the host community norms were not requested to engage in such roles. The resentment Joy felt, was reflected in the agitated tone with which she communicated this frustration.

> I used to find it really annoying, why do I have to do it, why me, when I have got cousins older than me?

Contributing to this resentment appears to be an expectation from Joy that her family members should commit to learning English, rather than relying so heavily on their children to translate for them:

> Like, to me, I feel that if you have been in the country for like over 10 years, personally, you should be able to understand, you should be able to respond.

When reflected upon through a Bioecological Systems Theory lens, this resentment could also reflect Joy's tacit acceptance of the expectations within factions of mainstream communities for (im)migrant communities to integrate through acquisition of English, thereby illustrating the role of legislation, media and public attitudes in shaping the experiences and perspectives of immigrant populations (Parekh, 2002; Navas, at al., 2007). This resentment was revisited during SS2 when I asked about the expectations placed on her by her extended family:

> Well, I think as a young child, I don't think I felt anything, you know? I mean, I don't think I felt like "oh my gosh, why do I have to do this?" I think it was more, like, I am just helping..
>
> 'But then when I became a teenager, that's when I started thinking, like ok, why do I still have to do this, you know? I mean, we've been I this country for a while now, I mean surely you should be able to speak English, but that wasn't the case.

I interpreted this suggestion of Joy's apparent alignment with host community expectations, as an example of epistemic power (Bourdieu, 1979, cited in Schwartz, 2013; Bunch, 2015). Similarly at the panel it was referred as 'internalised oppression' (Freire, 1970, cited in Tappan, 2006) and resonates with Fanon's colonial model (1961, reprinted 1991), echoed by Memmi (1974, reprinted 2021) whereby Joy, originating from a former colony seeks to gain affirmation from the dominant community through

cultural and linguistic integration, and expects family members to commit themselves similarly. Such considerations also evoke 'good migrant vs bad migrant' dichotomies, suggestive of Memmi's distinction between colonised populations who acquiesced with colonialism, affording them greater status and privilege, and those who maintained heritage traditions and customs. These themes are discussed further in Chapter Six.

> I still ask myself why is it, you know, that they can't speak English fluently, and then I start to compare, well you know so and so's mum, or I know someone's Auntie who's come to the country and immigrated after you, but they can speak better English than you, yeah.

From a developmentalist perspective, such frustration towards family members may signify Joy's emerging adolescent identity, as she attempts to reconcile her heritage identity with the expectations and behavioural norms of her peers (Tajfel, 1979, in Islam, 2014; Belsky, 2014, in Weisskirch, 2017). The exasperated tone and repetition of phrases used by Joy in response to these demands for her brokering skills signifies the burden that she felt the roles to be, commensurate with research from Lazarevic (2016), Weisskirch and Alva (2002) and Wu and Kim (2009).

> When is this going to stop, when will it stop?
>
> And sometimes with these meetings, you'd go on one day and they'll give you another appointment for maybe three days or in a week's time, so you're just thinking, oh my gosh, no way, and it's not just the translation, it was also like the travel, the directions.

Furthermore, the 'non-normative' childhood brokering experiences Joy (and to some extent her cousins and wider family members) may positioned Joy at odds with her contemporaries (Crafter and Iqbal, 2020, 2021) leading to feelings of alienation. Certainly, she compares the brokering roles she had as a child with the more 'laid-back' childhood her own children experience:

> If I compare my children's childhood to like me and my cousins, like, me and my cousins who came from the Congo, we were expected to do certain things but with my own kids, it's like they're laid back, it's like, we were obliged to do it, but they're not obliged, and yeah, you know, I am not sure if I could put my kids through that..

Despite Joy's seeming rejection of the expectations placed on her, evidenced by her frustration with family members' reliance on her brokering competencies, there are also indications, retrospectively, of her pride in navigating these contexts effectively. She acknowledges that in comparison to her cousins, she was perceived as intelligent, competent, and confident with a good sense of direction:

> I think, the problem was I used to talk a lot, I mean, a lot and they thought I was clever because you only need to take me somewhere once and I will remember the route…. So, they would say "you're the best person, you know where the home office is" or "you speak much more clearly than them" (Joy's English-speaking cousins).

This representation of brokering as both burdensome and empowering was discussed at length on the panel (see 5.6.1). Joy's recognition of the competencies she was perceived to have by family members and her pride in her maturity challenged her earlier reflections and their resonance with research from within the field (Lazarevic, 2016; Weisskirch and Alva, 2002 and Wu and Kim, 2009). This retrospective analysis demonstrates the value of the identifying shifting subjectivities during the 'telling of the tale' using BNIM methodology.

> I feel like I must have been very mature, I must have been considered a mature child.

Despite such opportunities for exerting agency, nevertheless there is evidence of Joy's recollections of feeling overwhelmed by the roles expected of her:

> So, if they had an issue with housing, I would have to call to chase up, like from the age of 5 to my teenage years….. [for example] waking up at 5 and going to the home office in Croydon and waiting in the queue, going back for another

> appointment 3 days later….and it wasn't just the translating, it was the directions, getting them to the place.

Joy's narrative confirms the findings from (Rumbaut, 2015) which position children as pivotal figures in their family's resettlement process. For Joy, her role as a broker was explicitly acknowledged:

> "Well, Joy, I have a letter, I don't quite understand", and I'm thinking, you've been here 15 years, surely you should be able to speak… "you (Joy) know English fluently", and I remember, I thought it's like they waited for me to start school so I can start speaking English in order for me to help them.

Conversely, Joy's extended family's apparent reluctance to gain English language skills, could reflect their fear of cultural identity loss (Bhugra and Becker, 2005), through assumptions of declining linguistic proficiency in the mother tongue. Furthermore, the different resettlement patterns demonstrated by Joy and her extended family resonates with research from Portes and Rivas (2011) and Rumbaut (2015) who identify the significance of ethno-identities, discussed further in Chapter Six.

One of the challenges with retrospective narratives is the difficulty in ascertaining the extent to which recollections accurately reflect the responses felt at the time of the events described. Similar to the findings from Orellana and Phoenix (2017), viewed through her parental lens, Joy would be concerned to impose such a level of responsibility on her own children. My assumption during the initial analysis of Joy's transcripts from sub-session one and sub-session two, was that this shifting subjectivity reflected contemporary constructs of children as vulnerable and in need of shielding from adult-world realities (Love and Buriel, 2007; Tricket and Jones, 2007, cited in Bauer, 2016) and that such adult hindsight compromises the authenticity of testimonies of childhood experiences. The significance of the Teller-Flow analysis (Wengraf, 2004) is worthy of brief mention here, ahead of further discussion in Chapter Six. As she

recalled these more complex and challenging brokering activities, Joy became increasingly animated and exasperated, suggesting that recalling these events provoked a strong emotional response (Habermas, 2019).

5.5.1. Contribution of the BNIM Panel to Analysis of Joy's Narrative.

Interestingly, the panel identified a potential significance in the fact that her own children were not conversant in Joy's home language of Lingala, therefore they would not have her dual language competence. Perhaps more importantly, this difference in linguistic ability may reinforce the suggestion of Joy's internalised oppression (Tappan, 2006), and a keenness for her children to assimilate into mainstream culture (Fanon, 1961, 1991; Memmi, 1974; 2021; Bunch 2015). However, a simpler interpretation is that, as both her sons were born in the UK, their connection to their heritage identity has been 'diluted' by their exposure to an English-speaking environment at home and school. Revisiting Joy's responses to SS2, this interpretation is confirmed with reference to her older son, although the reason why she did not maintain the Lingalan language within the home was not forthcoming, and may indeed reflect assimilationist ideologies (Bhouris et al., 1997):

> He's been born into a family that was already speaking English, why would he? Yeah, there's me, I'm able to communicate in Lingala, so I'm able to translate, yeah, but my son would not be able to do that.

One of the criticisms of the BNIM panel process is that interpretations of data can be speculative, rather than fully representative of the participant's authentic experience (Jones, 2003) as told during the two sub-sessions. Therefore, although the panel's suggestion of the influence of internalised oppression may indeed underpin both her frustration with her family members' expectations, and her children's mono-linguality, after revisiting the transcripts I concluded that there was insufficient evidence from the

sub-sessions to confirm this. Further research with a broader participant group would be worthwhile in this regard. Further discussion of the limitations of the BNIM panel are presented in Chapter Seven.

A final consideration from the panel which reflected my initial comparison with Cline et al.'s (2014) work with child language brokers in school, was the suggestion that Joy's conflicted position towards her brokering roles, described as both burdensome and beneficial reflects the invisible, low status recognition such roles have within mainstream communities. Cline et al.'s research (2014) revealed the ubiquity of such brokering practices amongst (im)migrant children in schools, yet such activities were relatively unknown to non-migrant children and some school staff. Furthermore, as Crafter and Iqbal have identified (2020), (im)migrant children demonstrate a sensitivity towards how these child brokering roles are perceived within mainstream professional contexts, with (mainly) White, monolingual adults positioning the practices as 'transgressive'.

The panel discussed at length the agency demonstrated by Joy in her narrative, evidenced by the multiple linguistic, cultural and procedural brokering responsibilities placed upon her, which reflect many of the tensions and debates identified in the literature. My analysis concluded that her agency was confined to the situated contexts of her extended family's demands (Leonard, 2005, 2009), and further, that there was scant evidence of Sen's criteria for agency achievement (Sen, 2006), as demonstrated through her evident resentment at some of the responsibilities imposed upon her. However, referring to Joy as *'*the holder of the magic key*'* (BNIM panel meeting 1, Appendix 6) one panel member asserted that her brokering roles demonstrated the potential for such practices to restore power (im)balances between adults and children

(Mayall, 2000; Valdes, 2003; Uprichard, 2008). Whilst Joy herself reflects on the status afforded her, due, it would seem, to a combination of her linguistic competence and outgoing personality, nevertheless I would argue that such distortions of hierarchies are situationally constrained. Revisiting the transcripts, there was little suggestion from Joy that the traditional adult-child hierarchical relationships were influenced outside of the brokering practices she engaged in. Furthermore, concerns over the impact of such distorted hierarchies upon parental perceptions of 'powerlessness' are reported by Lazarevic (2016) and Trickett and Jones (2007, cited in Bauer, 2016).

5.5.2. Application of B/EST to Joy's Narrative.

Analysing Joy's narrative through a Biological Systems Theory framework (Bronfenbrenner and Ceci, 1994; Bronfenbrenner and Morris, 1998 and 2006), a key consideration is the way in which constructions of the 'good migrant' are formed through media, public perception and legislation. The latter inevitably defines migrant status, for example from asylum seeker to refugee, thereby impacting on the extent to which some migrant communities gain access to mainstream contexts, such as the workplace or higher education. Portes and Rivas (2011) make the distinction between cultural and structural perspectives on resettlement, the former relating to attitudes and beliefs from within migrant and mainstream communities, and the latter referring to structure within society which serve to marginalise immigrant communities on the basis of race, ethnicity and language. Joy's frequent visits to the passport and visa office reflects the ongoing influence of such legislative structures, indicated in Ager and Strang's framework (2008) and recognised by Bhouris et al. (1997) and Suarez-Orozco and Suarez Orozco (2013). More significantly for Joy is the way in which expectations about conformity from within mainstream communities, conveyed via legislation, media

and public attitudes, infiltrate the mindset of migrant populations creating divisions between and within migrant communities and mainstream populations (Rohman et al., 2006; Weinreich, 2008), and are suggestive of the awareness that (im)migrant children have of how their brokering practices are perceived (Crafter, Cline and Prokopiou, 2017).

Applying the PPCT model from B/EST theory to Joy's narrative, it appears that her development was influenced in childhood and adolescence by the brokering roles she engaged in. Her pride in her maturity, represented by the responsibilities she was afforded, can be seen to reflect Proposition 1 from Bronfenbrenner and Morris' (1998) work which identified the significance of increasingly progressive interactions between individuals and their environment (Bronfenbrenner and Morris 1998, p.996). However, her dispositions towards these roles shift over time, resulting in increasingly problematic relationships between herself and family members when engaging in these 'proximal processes' in a range of Microsystem contexts. Furthermore, influences from Macrosystem ideologies, reinforced via Exosystem structures, for example immigration legislation requirements, reflect aspects of institutionalised oppression whereby Joy's construction of integration prioritises alignment with assumed host community expectations, evidenced through English language competency.

5.5.3. Journal Reflections on Joy's Narrative.

On reflection, Joy's resentment at the roles she was expected to engage in was reflected in her animated tone of voice and evident frustration at the demands placed on her. It is possible that this echoes her subsequent comments about the unsuitability of such activities for children, compared to normative constructs of childhood roles or the fact that many of the activities were for extended family members-rather than direct family.

In contrast, when reflecting on the benefit outcomes of her brokering practices, there was evident pride when she recollected on the assumptions made about, her competence. It appeared to be the first time she had considered these roles from such a perspective. The tone and delivery of Joy's re-telling of her narrative was relaxed and colloquial, as evidenced in the quotations above which suggests she felt comfortable in sharing her experiences, although she did choose to switch off her camera for both sub-sessions. Despite this, there was a familiarity between the two of us in the session, (she frequently referred to me by name, for example), which may explain the ease with which her emotional responses were conveyed.

5.6. Nimo.

Nimo's family migrated to England in the 1990s, after fleeing the civil war in Somalia, although she herself was born in the UK, in 1997. Having completed her studies at University of East London, at the time of the interviews Nimo, now aged 23, was working as a teaching assistant at a local primary school, supporting the class teacher with the transition to online learning. The demands of this adaptation to an alternative pedagogical approach meant that Nimo was only available for both sub-sessions on a Saturday morning, hence these were conducted from the family home. As will be seen, Nimo's narrative includes reference to the ways in which the resettlement patterns of children born in the UK, and those born in the country of heritage reflect different social and cultural patterns of adaptation (Rumbaut, 2015), although this varies according to socio-economic status which in turn moderates access to mainstream contexts, such as education and employment. The role of self-identity and the extent to which this is aligned with host and heritage community is also significant, as discussed further in the Chapter Six (Portes and Rivas, 2011). Although the brokering roles to facilitate her

parents' resettlement were initially performed by her older siblings, who were born in Somalia, Nimo took over these responsibilities when her siblings left home and she continues to broker between school and home for her younger brother. This phenomenon of brokering apprenticeship was similarly identified in Bauer's research (Bauer, 2016).

> So, when you're young, you're like this is normal, my mum does not speak English, my sister is coming into school.. but as I got older, perhaps towards secondary school, I had to do those roles myself and it was like, wow this is difficult, I can't just explain to my mum, she would not really understand how important this trip is.

This also reflects the role that parents have as 'gatekeepers' of children's brokering roles, which assumes greater relevance during considerations of children's agency in Chapter Six. Nimo's brokering roles reflect traditional definitions of brokering, as discussed above (Harris and Sherwood, 1978, cited in Hall and Guery, 2010).

> If she [Nimo's mum] wanted to ask the teacher anything, she'd be like, Nimo, ask him why the reading record is not signed, ask him why the book has not been changed….

Although she acknowledges a mild level of anxiety during some of her brokering activities, for example explaining the importance of a school trip, there is no indication from SS1 or SS2 that she resented the expectations placed on her. Rather, she recognises that her parents had no option but to rely on her and it was perfectly *'normal'* for her to support them. Her perspective on the burden vs benefits dichotomy is summarised thus:

> I feel like there's lots of sides to it… you can look at if positively and think yeah, this really intellectually helped the child grow up fast, have a better understanding of the language, or you can think they're too invested in adult things and they're not invested in their own childhoods.

Similarly, the shifting perspectives towards brokering that are identified in the literature as child brokers enter adolescence (Rumbaut, 2015), did not feature in Nimo's testimony. A key explanation for this could be the reference she makes to the ubiquity of the brokering practices amongst her immediate friendship group, echoing Cline et al.'s research (2011, 2014). Nimo grew up in an area of east London with a high (im)migrant population, thus for her, language and cultural brokering activities were characteristic features of her and her contemporaries' experience.

> There was a lot of non-English speaking parents in my school because it's east London, and there's a lot of ethnic minorities, so my friends were also doing the same as me, and we can laugh at it now.

The significance of having peers who also engaged in brokering activities was identified by Kam and Lazarevic (2014) as a contributory factor towards child broker's perceptions of these roles.

Throughout her school years and continuing into her younger siblings' school years, much of the brokering that Nimo engaged in related to translating the norms and customs of the British education system, for example, the significance of extra curricula events, such as school trips, and the importance of social friendships, alongside academic attainment. Initial analysis following my transcribing of SS1 and SS2, identified such brokering as socio-cultural navigation, reminiscent of Orellana's term 'transcultural' (Orellana, 2015, p.17). An example of this from Nimo's narrative was her experience of choosing how to convey information from the school (about her brother and sister) to her parents:

> Because you ask yourself, how accurate is this information that I am translating because I have an opinion on what the teacher is saying… that whole conversation is not going to get translated… my parents will get a watered-down version so they know what they need to know and are not caught off guard.

The cultural negotiation evident here, positions Nimo as highly agentic in this specific context, as discussed further in Chapter Six. Her metalinguistic skills and sensitivity to the cultural nuances of this brokering context, combined with her wish to protect her parents, suggests a reversal of the adult-child dynamic, although not necessarily in the 'adultification' sense suggested by Trickett and Jones (2007, in Bauer (2016, p.24) with its assumption of burden. Her cultural awareness demonstrates Rumbaut's (2015) recognition of the ways in which children have access to the social norms of mainstream institutions ahead of their parents. An interpretation presented at the panel meeting revolved around the issue of negotiations of trust and the fluidity of adult-child hierarchies, reflective of Uprichard's (2008) definition of co-dependency (see 5.7.1).

Another key theme emerging from Nimo's narrative was the concept of home and belonging. As mentioned in the introduction to her narrative, Nimo works as a teaching assistant (TA) in a primary school and was keen to convey the importance of representation of ethnic minority staff in multi-ethnic educational contexts, citing the excitement displayed by a young child when he realised that Nimo had the same Somali heritage as himself:

> It's crazy that there are still some people who are learning to integrate into, you know, British society, but you know it happens, and that's why I feel like representation and all that is very important, because like in class, I have this bracelet… like a blue bracelet with a white star on it, like the Somali flag, and one of my students was like "oh Miss, I have one of those", and I was like "really?" And they're like, "are you Somali?" and I'm like, "yes, I am Somali", and they're like, "I'm Somali too, and it's like that excitement in my student's voice…. I didn't have anything like that.

Reflecting on the lack of such representation in her own schooling, her narrative demonstrates how communities have changed over her lifespan, with first generation immigrants now accessing the workplace in ways that may not have been possible for

their parents' generation. For example, in 2020, 15% of the school workforce (across state primary and secondary sectors) described themselves as an ethnic minority, compared to 11% in 2010 (DfE, 2021). This evidences the Chronosystem from Bronfenbrenner's B/EST framework (Bronfenbrenner and Morris, 1998 and 2006) reflecting the impact of global migration patterns, and related Exosystem structural shifts, informed by changing ideological perspectives in the Macrosystem, towards the integration of (im)migrant communities, for example the introduction in 1999 of the Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant (EMAG), subsequently mainstreamed in 2011 into the general school funding allocations (House of Commons Library, 2015). Appendix 2 provides an overview of (im)migration legislation and policy covering the life-histories of the participants in this study. In relation to post-migration resettlement, such ideological and attitudinal change signifies the extent to which (im)migrant communities are influenced by and capable of exerting influence upon mainstream populations, as recognised by Weinreich (2008) and Rumbaut, (2015). Thus, Nimo's presence as a TA, (now training as a teacher) serves as an example of how mainstream institutions can be influenced by, and not merely an influence upon, (im)migrant populations. These reciprocal influences are represented in B/EST via the Mesosystem. The role of the child as a mediator in the Mesosystem (Christiansen, 2016) is evident in the above examples from Nimo's narrative, and discussed further in Chapter Six:

The significance of representation as a pre-requisite for a sense of belonging is a dominant theme in education, particularly in the early years. Brooker and Woodhead (2008), for example, refer to Bourdieu's phrase 'like a fish in water' (Brooker and Woodhead, 2008, p.4) to reflect a child's need to participate, engage, feel safe, and welcomed. Referring to Honneth's term 'recognition' (emanating from Mead's

interactionist theory), Brooker and Woodhead (2008, p.5) stress the importance of recognition of the child's heritage community. The use of such terminology in Nimo's narrative suggests that she has gained an academic knowledge of such themes, and from a retrospective position, she can recognise the relevance of these during resettlement processes, as seen below during her discussion on the influence of symbolic markers on her sense of home in London:

> I still see families trying to integrate into, you know, British society, and that's why I feel like representation… is very important.

The importance of such markers on positive self-identity and (im)migrant sense of belonging is reflected in Bhugra (2004), Brooker and Woodhead (2008) Watzalawik (2012) and Ibrahim (2016), the latter's research on multilingual children's fixed and hybrid identities reflecting many of the themes Nimo identifies. Such emotional attachments are also reflected in Yuval-Davis conceptualisation of belonging (Yuval-Davis, 2006).

Nimo's reflections on her sense of belonging take an interesting turn when she recalls the experience of moving to a new neighbourhood. Although the community was ethnically diverse, she recounts perceiving a lack of empathy towards her family's arrival, which she attributes, although not explicitly, to immigrant community 'hierarchies', reminiscent of the categories suggested by the panel in relation to Eugene's narrative (5.5.1.)

> So even though they may not have been White British….. they have lived in England a long time [3 or 4 generations], but it's like they did not have the same struggles [as her family] because someone else had had it for them….so they're very adapted, and almost unaware, maybe it's privilege of theirs… I can't explain it into words, but you can sense that we can both look at each other and be aware that neither of us are British but it's like there are degrees of being British.

Later in her narrative, Nimo acknowledges that

> As we've got older and they see that we're contributing back to our society, there's a bit of social respect, but I still think they see my mum as socially isolated.

These extracts illuminate many themes relating to identity, belonging and ongoing cultural renegotiation as discussed further in Chapter Six. There are also suggestions of internalised oppression with Nimo's reference to the contribution to society her family were now perceived to be making (Freire, 1970, cited in Tappan, 2006). For the purposes of this thesis, these passages from Nimo's narrative serve to highlight the crucial role that child brokers play as conduits between multiple Microsystems in their families' lives, referred to as 'contact zones' by Pratt (1991 in Crafter and Iqbal 2020, p.31). In B/EST, (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) such Mesosystem observations and interactions would traditionally be attributed to adults, for example during parent-teacher meetings linking home and school. Within the context of child brokering, these mediation practices are conducted by children. However, as has been suggested above, the extent to which such practices confer agency is contested, (Leonard, 2009; Sen 2006), as discussed in Chapters Two and Six.

Towards the end of her SS1 narrative, Nimo refers to Somalia as 'back home', despite acknowledging that she was born in the UK and rarely travels to her parents' birthplace. This reference was explored further in SS2, with Nimo claiming to have 'unintentionally' used this phrase, a claim questioned by the panel.

R. (SS2): 'When you were referring to your bracelet of the Somali flag in sub-session one, you described it as an item from "back home", and I am interested in whether you

feel that you have two homes, or whether you still feel that your home is in Somalia, or if it's now in England, or whether you see them both as home?'

> So, while I am back home [in Somalia], did I have that "oh my god, this is home" feeling? No, but I did have a "oh but these are my people", like you know I don't know how to describe it, it's like we speak the same language, like this is where I belong. Is it home? That's debatable, because I feel like home is where you see, you know, home is where you have your routines and where your mum is.

Such reflections echo research from Ralph and Staeheli (2011) and Mohanty (2003, cited in La Barbera, 2015) about home as both a fixed physical space and a fluid, liminal perception (see Chapter Six for further discussion). A significant factor in Nimo's association of both Somalia and London as 'home', related to the retention of symbolic markers (Watzalawik, 2012; Bhugra, 2004) which enable her family and the broader Somali community to continue to practice heritage norms and customs:

> I haven't had to compromise my culture or religion because London is a diverse city, it's easier to integrate, and even though I'm a minority here, there's (sic) places where I'll be even more of a minority.

Her parents' maintenance of their home language (and their intention to return to Somalia in due course) reflects the significance of such identity signifiers and reinforce Rumbaut's (2015) recognition of generational differences in identity formation and echo Antonsich's term 'place-belongingness' (Antonsich, 2010, p.644).

Nimo acknowledges such differences when she contrasts her parent's attitude with what she assumes are the attitudes of her own generation:

> But then I feel would my generation go back home, like our parents want to go back home, I don't think so, but that's because we've integrated better, and because our parents left their families, their homes and everything to come here, we didn't leave anything, we were always here, if that makes sense.

Nimo's assertion that maintaining the symbolic markers which reflect her ethno-cultural identity have facilitated her sense of belonging in the UK, challenge outdated models of 'acculturation' which suggested that migrant integration would be achieved predominantly through assimilation to host community norms, particularly linguistic competence (Gordon 1964, cited in Zhou, 1997). Whilst acquisition of English may facilitate access to mainstream community contexts and institutions (Ager and Strang, 2008), Nimo's narrative suggests that her sense of belonging rests on the maintenance of heritage traditions which Tadmor et al. (2009) in Schwartz et al. (2010) claim facilitates greater psychological adaptation, albeit contingent on a range of internal and external factors, as discussed further in Chapter Six. Furthermore, there remains a strong sense of allegiance to her heritage country, with her '*saluting*' the Somalis who have returned to Somalia to rebuild the country:

> But a lot of people, a lot of young people are going back home to invest in, but I feel like you have to have a long-term plan, but I salute the people that do because someone's got to go back and make it better.

The role that Nimo had in brokering cultural norms and language practices between home and host communities, reveal the multiple identities that migrant children draw upon in diverse contexts from childhood through to adulthood, thereby reinforcing discussions from the panel which recognised brokering as broader and more complex than terms such as translating and interpreting might suggest. Furthermore, the fluidity inherent in the concepts of home and belonging resonate with the analytical framework for belonging and the politics of belonging constructed by Yuval-Davis (2006, 2011).

5.6.1. Contribution of the BNIM Panel to Analysis of Nimo's Narrative.

During discussion of the cultural mediation roles that Nimo demonstrated, particularly when conveying the norms and expectations of the education system in the UK, the

panel referred to the contested nature of trust in Nimo's relationship with her parents. This specific term had not featured in my initial analysis, although I had recognised the shifting power dynamics between herself and her parents.

Revisiting the transcripts, it was evident that different layers of trust were visible in Nimo's narrative, reflecting changing positions towards her competency and reliability (Sen, 2006; Leonard, 2009). For example, although her parents were wary of trusting Nimo and/or her school to stay safe on a residential school trip, (the social importance of which was repeatedly explained to them) they had no option but to trust her to translate for them in other, often quite challenging contexts, for example during a visit to the GP to discuss her mother's intimate health concerns.

> So, for example my mum had a bad hip for a long time, and I was like "let's go to the doctor", and I am having to describe her pain, and you have to remember, that my Somali is not on point as my mum, her mother tongue is fresh, so it's quite difficult, and there's the doctor thinking, "isn't she too young to be doing this?"

Such fluctuating examples of power relations between parent and child reflect concerns about the distortions to established family hierarchies felt by some (im)migrant parents when transferring responsibility to their children, (Love and Buriel, 2007; Trickett and Jones, 2007, cited in Bauer, 2016), and confirm Leonard's (2005, 2009) reservations about using the term 'agency' to describe children's brokering engagements, due to the restricted contexts in which this agency is exercised (Luykx, 2005; Gyogi, 2014). Furthermore, Nimo's assumption of the doctor's reaction to her brokering role reflects Crafter and Iqbal's (2020, 2021) identification of children's sensitivity to how their child brokering practices are perceived by mainstream processionals.

Other discussions emerging from the panel, reflected on Nimo's description of her family's developing integration into their local community confirming my initial analysis that there is a suggestion from Nimo that her family were accepted into their neighbourhood as they were perceived to be *'*giving something back*'* (BNIM panel 2, Appendix 7). However, there was some scepticism about her recognition of the influence of symbolic markers on her sense of belonging, with panel members querying how ubiquitous this experience might be for immigrants with different levels of privilege, particularly those with fragile or temporary migrant status. Nimo herself had alluded to the different layers of belonging experienced by non-White communities, as cited above. It was at this point that it was suggested that having a non-White panel member with experience of migration to the UK from a former colonial nation would offer greater insight into the experiences of the majority of the participants and support further analysis. Attempts had been made to ensure this, by general email invitations across the faculty and through other academic networks, and by direct invitation to colleagues who would fit the criteria, but workloads and additional commitments could not facilitate this. Nevertheless, the contributions from the panel instigated a revisiting of the transcripts and further scrutiny of relevant sections of Nimo's narrative. However, no new insights were identified. Furthermore, the significance of representation in narrative research was reiterated, in the sense that although contributions from the panel can identify 'blindspots' in the researcher's own analysis, they should not question the validity of the manner in which the narrative is represented in its retelling (Riessman, 1993; Squire et al., 2014)

5.6.2. Application of B/EST to Nimo's Narrative.

Applying the thesis' theoretical framework, (B)EST, to Nimo's narrative, her role as a mediator in the Mesosystem between multiple Microsystems is evident through her brokering activities. The mediation skills required to convey information from the school to the home environment in culturally sensitive ways demonstrates the relevance of context, personal disposition and familial relationships to brokering practices, as identified by Nash (2017). Additionally, her emerging cultural identity, and recognition of heritage and host community norms is reinforced through her reflections on the experiences of other (im)migrant communities in her workplace. For example, Nimo acknowledges the presence of greater ethnic representation in school, compared to her own experience, suggestive of attitudinal and structural change in the Macrosystem and Exosystem, and pointing to (the) bi-directional influences between of (im)migrant and host communities (Bhouris et al., 1997; Rumbaut, 2015). Her conceptualisation of home as a liminal space between heritage and host community contexts, reveals how identity is a process of 'doing' rather than 'being' (La Barbera 2015) informed by self-ascription, community values (reinforced via symbolic representation and daily practices), and 'othering' (Lacan, 1978, in Kam and Lazarevic, 2014; Bunch, 2015). The impact of prevailing and dynamic mainstream and heritage community ideologies within the Macrosystem and the Chronosystem upon (im)migrant identities is discussed further in Chapter Six.

5.6.3 Journal Reflections on Nimo's Narrative.

It was clear from both sub-sessions with Nimo that she had a scholarly knowledge and understanding of much of the literature relevant to identity, belonging and representation, due the ease with which she employed academic terminology. This

knowledge elicited some perceptive insights framed by her specific life history, thereby resonating with Riessman's (1993) and Squire et al.'s 2014) acknowledgement of how the relational context of the retelling shaping how the narrative unfolds. Thus, Nimo used terminology, she knew that I, as the 'audience' to her narrative would be familiar with. Retelling her experiences to an audience unfamiliar with the academic themes underpinning her perception of identity, may cause the same experiences to be re-told in a different way, thus reflecting the way in which narratives are co-constructed by the relationship dynamics of the context of retelling. The opportunity to explore Nimo's own experiences in more depth was to some extent hampered by conducting the interviews online, with Nimo home-based, and where the issue of domestic interruptions occasionally halted the flow of the narrative. Such limitations are considered further in Chapter Seven.

5.7. Isabella.

As the only White, European (im)migrant in the study, Isabella's narrative offers a contrast to the accounts from the other participants. Isabella arrived in England from Spain, in 2012 at the age of 14. Her parents had previously emigrated from Ecuador to Spain, (where she was born), thus this was their second re-location from their country of birth, for which Isabella attributes her father's reluctance to learn English. At the time of the narrative interviews, Isabella, aged 23, was mid-way through her studies, combining these with her parenting responsibilities for her 2-year-old daughter.

Throughout Isabella's narrative, there is evidence of her desire to integrate and learn English as rapidly as possible, including her avoidance of Spanish speaking friends:

> I just wanted to speak English all the time, because I meet some people there and they were all English so I need to speak English all the time and that's when I could see… "oh wow, you can speak English now".

From a developmental perspective (Portes and Rivas, 2011; Rumbaut, 2015; Weisskirch, 2017; Titzman and Michel, 2017), her age at the time of arrival in the UK is significant. No longer wholly reliant on her parents, and requiring affirmation and acceptance from her peers, this drive to learn English would facilitate Isabella's entry to the institutions occupied by her fellow students. However, it is also evident from her narrative that acquisition of English via access to the education system was necessary for her family's resettlement too:

> She [Isabella's mother] wanted me to speak to the attendants in the supermarket, and I was like "well what can I say, I don't know what to say".

Isabella's testimony reflects the anxiety she felt being asked to interpret for her family in other contexts too, via phone calls to utility companies and during a particularly difficult incident when the house she and her family were sharing with friends was visited by the police:

> My mum said to me "tell them [the police] we're looking for a house, and we cannot go now as we have nowhere to go", and I was like, "but, but, but, but", it was quite traumatic for me.

Hence her desire to gain a command of the language appears to be predicated on her need to reduce such feelings of anxiety. Isabella's tone of voice and animation as she recalled this experience reflected the stressful nature of this encounter. Isabella recognised that her parents had no choice but to rely on her for translating, and there is little evidence from her narrative that she resented this, despite her adolescence and the anxiety she felt about getting it wrong. Such anxiety during brokering contexts between parents and professionals echoes retrospectives research into child brokering from

Bauer (2016) and the vignettes explored by Crafter and Iqbal (2020) whereby children assume multiple positionalities in order to reduce conflict and assert control over the brokering experience, discussed further in Chapter Six. In Isabella's experience, the potential for conflict, for example in the 'contact zone' (Pratt, 1991, cited in Crafter and Iqbal, 2020, p.31) between parent and teacher was mitigated by the presence of Spanish speaking staff who were able to act as interpreters, at least during formal events.

> So, when they host parent's evening, I remember we had a Spanish teacher, and he would be there with my mum and dad.

Cultural brokering was also a key theme in Isabella's narrative. For example, when revisiting some of the examples of brokering she continues to engage in now, during SS2, she recalled being required to explain the expectations of the Early Years centre attended by her brother, resonating with Brooker's (2002) work exploring cultural capital within ethnic minority communities attending pre-school.

> Yeah, so for example, my little brother in nursery, you know the EYFS, (Early Years Foundation Stage) here they make you learn numbers and letters, and stuff like that, and my brother didn't speak English very well when he came here, so he started nursery and they told me what he needs to learn and how my mum can help, and I needed to explain this to my mum.

Similarly, she reflects on the conversations she had with her parents about choosing her options at GCSE, and her career choices pending her application to study at university.

> Because in year 10, they make you choose…… and I told them (her parents) that it had to be based on what I wanted to do in the future.

The example of brokering cited by Isabella, although evidently requiring linguistic interpretation, reflect the broader, cultural navigation roles assumed by children and young people in their efforts to support the resettlement of their family in their new environment and introduce them to some of the social norms of the institutions occupied

by the child (Orellana, 2015; Bauer, 2016). Having such responsibilities throughout her adolescence appear to have contributed to her sense of pride in her success at navigating the linguistic and cultural differences between her previous life in Spain and her experiences in England:

> I'm proud of myself, I did that when I was a young age, so yes, I mean I am proud, I mean it made it hard, but it was good for me to learn a new language and new opportunities as well.

A perhaps neglected concern impacting upon positive resettlement experiences for migrants from South European or Global South countries is the significance of the seasonal weather patterns, which in Isabella's experience was exacerbated by being forced to wait several months in the winter for a school space to become available:

> I mean I say like, now I think I had depression or something, because I was the whole day at home, and the non-stop rain, and like, it goes dark at three or something.

Isabella's tone is quite animated here and although she laughs briefly at the end of this statement, its inclusion in her narrative suggests that whilst such differences may appear superficial, for Isabella, they contributed to her sense of alienation and nostalgia for her homeland:

> My brother went home because of it, and I told my mum, "I'm going to go back too, but she was like, no, you're staying here, you're only 14."

It is possible that her urgency to acquire English afforded her some degree of control over her own integration into a strange and foreboding environment (Weinreich, 2008). This rapid acquisition of English as a tool for establishing mastery over her new environment echoes research from the field of resilience studies which emphasise the role of children's 'locus of control' even in situations where such control may be constrained (Dercon and Krishna, 2009, p.141). Such situated manifestations of agency

were subsequently extended to facilitate her parent's resettlement, evidenced by their reliance on Isabella (see below). Contested perspectives regarding the agency involved in these cultural and linguistic brokering roles are discussed further in Chapter Six. However, it is worth acknowledging Isabella's age here (14), as a contributory factor in constructions of her competence. As discussed in Chapters Two and Six, such assumptions of young children's competence (and situated agency), challenge developmental psychology's positioning of children as dependent, vulnerable and passive (James and Prout, 1997) and echo Uprichard's (2008) and Bauer's (2016) arguments that such positions are context-specific and located on a continuum within childhood and adulthood. Thus, both are dependent on the other at particular points in their life histories. Parental dependence on their child brokers through the resettlement process offers a prime example of this.

The pivotal role that Isabella had in the various Microsystems her family occupied, appeared to strengthen her relationship with her parents.

> To be honest it's much, much better than before, before it was like, you know parents speak with their kids a little bit, but after we came here, they speak to me so much more… and now we can even joke and speak to ourselves about something funny.

Acknowledging that as a mum herself now she was regarded with more respect than may otherwise be the case, nevertheless she concluded that during her adolescence, her parent's reliance on her brokering skills facilitated the development of stronger and more equal relationships between them. Furthermore, she suggests that her status in the family has been enhanced because of her capacity to make decisions on their behalf:

> They always say at home, you're the one making the rules, if you say this, we're going to do this because you say it.

This transference of power from parent to child, as indicated above, is a key theme in this research, and is discussed in the context of contested constructions of children's agency in Chapter Six. In addition to the benefits that her brokering activities appear to have had on her relationships with her parents, Isabella, was able to identify specific benefits for herself:

> It gave me confidence, because I used to be a shy person and I'm proud of myself, that I did that (brokering) when I was a young age, it was hard, but it was good for me to learn a new language and get new opportunities.

Furthermore, her parents granted her greater freedoms than she had been allowed in Spain, which she attributes to living in a large city rather than a small village,

> Here, you can go out and you don't know anyone so you can do what you like without anyone criticising you.

The family's relocation from a small rural community to a large urban environment appeared to offer advantages for Isabella, granting her a degree of anonymity and facilitating a greater degree of permissiveness from her parents, perhaps also influenced by the maturity required to engage in brokering activities (see above). It also serves to challenge Hofstede's (1984, cited in Bhugra, 2004) assumption that shifting from a collectivist culture to an individualist culture is necessarily problematic. In Isabella's experience, the removal of community visibility was liberating.

Isabella's comments on the extent to which her English has improved and the pride she feels towards her own integration into an English-speaking world, particularly as a university student, are recounted alongside recognition of her loss of Spanish:

> Sometimes I get confused, and because now I am speaking English almost the whole day, so when I need to translate for my mum, it's like "oh I don't remember how do you say this?" …and it's quite weird that sometimes when I want to speak in Spanish, it's like I can't remember how to do it.

However, there is little indication from the way this is communicated in the narrative that this is felt as a significant loss.

5.7.1. Contribution of the BNIM Panel to Analysis of Isabella's Narrative.

When presented to the panel, Isabella's narrative prompted some discussion around the urgency she felt to learn English, with panel members questioning the impact that this had upon her heritage identity, and the potential distance this created between herself and her family (Portes, 1997; Portes and Rivas, 2011). Although this generational disconnect is a theme identified in the literature (Rumbaut, 2015), revisiting Isabella's transcripts revealed no suggestion that her relationship with her parents had become more distant due to differences in their English language competence. Indeed, Isabella was keen to stress how her relationship with her parents had been strengthened through their reliance on her English-speaking skills and cultural brokering practices. There was no suggestion, as identified in the literature, (Love and Buriel, 2007; Corona et al., 2012; Lazarevic, 2016) that her parents felt diminished by their reliance on their daughter. Nevertheless, Isabella did make reference to her detachment from her home language, as noted above.

Later, during the panel meeting, there was a suggestion that Isabella may have felt obligated to present herself as well-adjusted to her new environment in order to demonstrate to her parents that their decision to migrate to the UK had been justified. Brannen, Elliot and Phoenix (2016) explored similar themes from the perspectives of Irish and Caribbean immigrants' experiences, whilst Nowicka (2014) considers the ways in which 'success' is constructed from Polish (im)migrant perspectives. Concerns were raised by the panel, that she may feel 'guilty' that her parents had been left behind in terms of their understanding of English customs, for example with the contexts cited

above. These concerns had been identified after my transcription of SS1, and questions about her relationship with her parents were posed to Isabella in SS2, only for Isabella to confirm the amelioration of her relationship with her parents as previously stated.

The reference from the panel to 'family narratives' whereby children internalise the narrative of positive outcomes arising from the sacrifice of migration 'choices' is discussed further in Chapter Six.

Finally, it was suggested by the panel that the relative closeness of customs and norms between Spain and England facilitated the transition between home and host cultures, with speculation about the role of migration drivers (notably the distinction between forced and voluntary migration) on resettlement motivation and practices. As noted in section 2.3 of the literature review, such distinctions can be misleading (Bartram, Povos and Monforte, 2014; Bivand-Erdal and Oeppen, 2020). It was not the intention of this project to explore participant migration trajectories in detail, the focus being on children's brokering activities post-migration. However, these brokering roles are an integral part of the processes used by families to gain access to mainstream communities, which are in turn influenced by attitudes towards re-settlement (Schwartz et al., 2010; Weinreich, 2010).

5.7.2. Application of B/EST to Isabella's Narrative.

Reflecting on the PPCT model of Bioecological Systems Theory (Bronfenbrenner 1979, Bronfenbrenner and Morris, 1998, 2006), the dispositions exhibited by Isabella, appear to reflect a desire for acceptance and belonging amongst her peer group, evidenced by her urgency to learn English. In addition, as suggested by the panel, she reflects on the requirements placed on her by her family to facilitate their access to, and understanding of, mainstream Microsystem contexts, for example education and housing provision.

Thus, her role in the Mesosystem, represents procedural, cultural and linguistic brokering responsibilities (Orellana, 2003; Lazarevic, 2016). Although further interrogation of the more challenging brokering contexts, for example the incidence with the police, would offer greater insight into this event, (whilst also creating additional ethical challenges), nevertheless, there are emerging resonances here with Crafter, Cline and Prokopiou's research (2017) which identified how (im)migrant children's sensitivity to mainstream professional's perceptions of non-English speaking (im)migrant communities influenced their brokering practices.

Such perceptions reflect prevailing ideologies towards these communities within the Macrosystem, manifested via practices in the Exosystem. Finally, the socio-relational factors inherent in the PPCT model (Bronfenbrenner and Morris, 1998, 2006) are reflected in Isabella's recognition of the improved relationship between herself and her parents, contingent, in part, on the value they place on her brokering skills and the decision-making responsibilities subsequently afforded her.

5.7.3. Journal Reflections on Isabella's Narrative.

The reflective journal entries following Isabella's sub-sessions express frustration at the many interruptions to the online interview process, resulting from the domestic setting, and Isabella's requirement to attend to her child's needs. These interruptions halted the flow of SS1 and possibly curtailed more detailed responses to the semi-structured interview questions in SS2. Both sessions felt slightly rushed, and I was mindful of the imposition of the processes upon Isabella's daily routines and care-giving responsibilities.

Furthermore, my personal reflections after SS1 included my recognition of the similarity between Isabella's apparent desire for control of her new environment via her

urgency to learn English and my observations of (im)migrant children in the nursery, appearing to establish 'order' over their routines by engaging in repetitive daily tasks, such as tidying the art area, an observation which, in part, stimulated my interest in this research topic.

5.8. Aaliyah.

Aaliyah arrived in the UK from Pakistan, in 2006, aged ten, with her mother, a single parent and her older brother, aged eleven. She engaged in language and cultural brokering roles from this age and continues to advocate for her mother, for example with visa applications and passport renewals now that the latter is resident in Pakistan. At the time of the interviews, Aaliyah was living in the UK, completing her studies online and caring for her three-year-old son. Her mother, the usual provider of child-care, had recently returned to Pakistan prior to lockdown, and was unable to return due to the travel restrictions in place at the time. Hence, both sub-sessions with Aaliyah took place during her son's afternoon naps, this being the only time she had available, the implications of which are considered in section 5.8.4.

Aaliyah was keen to demonstrate the contribution that her brokering had had on her family's resettlement and although she acknowledged some challenging brokering situations, she was overwhelmingly positive about the impact such activities had on her own development, citing improved vocabulary, rapidly acquired English and enhanced organisational skills (McQuillan and Tse, 1995; Orellana and Phoenix, 2017). Aaliyah 'quantifies' the culmination of these brokering benefits when she states:

> I think I did quite well in terms of moving my way and getting on the pathway step by step……from being a child with no English to here I am now, studying at degree level.

Aaliyah's narrative was perhaps the most interesting in its use of retrospective reflection, eliciting much consideration, from my initial analysis and during the panel meeting, on the framing of her narrative. Such relentless positivity suggested a self-narrative which encouraged Aaliyah to recognise solely the beneficial impacts, for herself and her mother of her translating and interpreting responsibilities (Brannen, Elliot and Phoenix, 2016). These reflections led to further probing in SS2, to ascertain if the 'burden' of brokering identified by Love and Buriel, (2007) and Trickett and Jones (2007, cited in Bauer 2014) had been felt by Aaliyah. During SS2, in response to the question, 'you told me in the first interview about the many different activities that you engaged in to support your mum, and I was wondering if there were any challenging or difficult experiences that arose*?'* Aaliyah recalled some isolated occasions where she lacked confidence in her ability to translate specific phrases from English to her home language:

> I guess that there were in translating, that sometimes I wasn't confident myself in terms of my English and it was hard trying to explain to mum.

However, these recollections were followed with further assurance as to the opportunities such roles offered her:

> It was also beneficial because I was trying to be an independent child, and to help my mum, so becoming more mature was beneficial.
>
> I think I built my confidence, the more I learnt English, the more that motivated me and I was passionate about learning more and building my vocabulary.

Despite this simplification of what would invariably have been a complex process of education, second language acquisition, integration, and exposure to first language models (Mehmedbegovic and Bak, 2017), it is evident that Aaliyah attributes much of

her success to the specific brokering roles she had as a child, echoing Malakoff and Hakuta's findings (1991, cited in McQuillan and Tse, 1995).

> So, for my mum, I would be the first for her to call and you know, help out and translate, if it's appointments at school, everything even up to the point where I had to apply for like documentations, application forms….. so having to learn English was beneficial as I could help my mum out…. And I think I built my confidence and as I learnt English that motivated me, and I was passionate about learning more and building my vocabulary…. And I actually did do well with my GCSEs….and I think it was because I was able to interact with people and building up my English and it helped me increase my vocabulary.
>
> So, I think it was quite a difficult time at the beginning when I first came to the UK…. it was quite an achievement for me as well as my family because I was able to be a guider and a supporter for my mum.

Later in her narrative, Aaliyah proceeds to assert further quantifiable benefits gained from these brokering roles, namely the money saved from not using professional translators:

> Instead of giving like £800 (to a professional translator), she would give like £50, just to check that I had done it the right way. At first, I was anxious, ok, I might be wrong, but I knew she still had confidence in me.

Similarly, she states that her childhood brokering activities afforded her the ability to multi-task as an adult:

> You have these capabilities and you can use your own initiative…. having to juggle can be stressing at times…but it's better than sticking to just one thing.

In addition, Aaliyah believed that her commitment to supporting her mother to gain access to mainstream community contexts instilled in her a desire to support other families like her own, inspired in part by witnessing formal translators on the few occasions they were called upon:

> She had a space in her room, like an office and she used to fill in application forms, and I remember thinking "oh I could be that person, I could help vulnerable people….and be there for people who need it like my mum did."

This positioning of brokering as 'giving back' reflects Bauer's findings (2016, p.31) which explored how adults re-frame their brokering roles according to broad moral categories.

It appears evident from Aaliyah testimony that she felt empowered by these brokering activities, reflecting research by Luykx (2005), Fogle and King (2013) and Revis (2016), exploring children's roles as socialising agents for family language practices:

> I felt proud to help my mum…. it's a big responsibility, but I would feel more happy to do it myself than my mum having to rely on someone else to do it.

The (re)framing of her brokering experiences also hinted at the ubiquity of such experiences for children from similar cultural backgrounds to herself, evidenced by Aaliyah's assertions of the normality of such practices from within her own community, and her recognition of how these would be perceived by mainstream populations, including myself.

> So, this is not normal for you, coming from a Western culture, whereas me, coming from the other part of the world, it's something that's a norm there, but not a norm here, so for me it's quite normal to be counted as responsible at a young age.

She thus compares these brokering activities to the domestic chores that would be the norm amongst her cousins in Pakistan, positioning them as an extension of children's contributions, often economic (Boyden and Mann, 2005; Taefre, 2014) to family life, which as she cites above, are commonplace in many Global South communities.

This positioning of brokering as an extension of the traditional care-giving roles assumed by children from specific (im)migrant communities is considered by Orellana

(2003, 2009), Bauer (2012, 2016) and Crafter and Iqbal (2020, 2021), and challenge normative assumptions regarding 'ideal' childhoods, as considered further in Chapter Six.

Aaliyah was the only participant who referred explicitly to the possible gendered nature of the brokering practices she was relied upon to engage with:

> I felt I had the responsibility, unlike my older brother…. Like he's busy, like you know how boys are, they go out and about, and they do their own thing, I don't want to call it 'stereotyped', but in a way I feel like this was the case.

Nevertheless, she does not appear aggrieved that the responsibility fell solely to her as she states:

> 'I am proud that I was handy to my mum.'

Furthermore, I was wary of imposing Global North assumptions of gender representation in brokering practices on Aaliyah's representation of her experiences.

5.8.1. Contribution of the BNIM Panel to Analysis of Aaliyah's Narrative.

Discussions at the BNIM panel identified suggestions that Aaliyah was the least conflicted in her dual identity. This was an interesting interpretation and challenged my initial reflection that Aaliyah was defensive about her filial sense of duty and may have felt the need to present her experiences of brokering as predominantly positive to combat assumptions that I might view them through a 'normative' lens, underpinned by Global North ideologies of 'good' childhoods. However, the panel perceived her comments as indicative of her pride in such practices. Reviewing her transcript from sub-session one independently after the panel, their more positive interpretation was evidenced by frequent references to her pride at being in a position to support her mother:

> I helped my mum a lot more [than her brother], but I was still happy to, and you know, if I wasn't there, where else would she go? I don't want her to go outside and beg people…. If someone else did it, I would feel ashamed, me being the child of my mother why couldn't I do it?

It was clear therefore that while her sense of filial duty was significant, she also gained satisfaction from the brokering practices, predicated on the contribution that her brokering had upon her mother's ability to access services. In addition, it was evident from her testimony that she recognised the benefits of such practices on the development of her own skills.

It was suggested by a panel member that the dominance of female participants in my research confirmed Aaliyah's allusion to the gendered nature of cultural and linguistic brokering in (im)migrant families. As noted in Chapter Four, however the participant sampling for the project drew predominantly from education and communities' students at my current institution where there is a high female demographic which may serve to explain the gender bias. Nevertheless, such over representation of female to male brokers has been identified elsewhere, for example in Cline at al.'s (2011) and Cline, Crafter and Prokopiou's (2014) research. In addition, it has been recognised in the literature that the roles undertaken by children during family resettlement are divided along gender lines with girls traditionally taking on more of the brokering roles identified in this thesis, and boys taking on more practical tasks (Orellana, 2003; Qin, 2006).

5.8.2. Application of B/EST to Aaliyah's Narrative.

When considering the relevance of B/EST to Aaliyah's account, the socio-relational significance of the brokering context was apparent, as outlined in the 'Person' and 'Process' aspects of the PPCT model, whereby the process of brokering is mediated by

the dispositions and attitudes of those involved. Aaliyah proudly reflected on her filial responsibility to support her mother's integration to mainstream British society, a position informed by her close fidelity with her heritage culture. Acknowledging that her neighbourhood was inhabited by many families of a similar cultural heritage to her own, Aaliyah's narrative alluded to the ways in which positive cultural identity is contingent on the maintenance and reproduction of heritage norms and traditions, for example religious worship and linguistic practices (Ni Raghallaigh and Gilligan, 2010) thereby reinforcing the influence of multiple Microsystems. However, she also recognises the 'transgressive' interpretation of her brokering practices from within mainstream populations, representative of assumptions of normative childhoods within the Macrosystem.

5.8.3. Journal Reflections on Aaliyah's Narrative.

Aaliyah's sub-sessions were subject to similar interruptions as Isabella, although she presented as much more engaged in the process, reflecting the positive associations she had with the roles that she had assumed in her childhood (and continues to engage in), and the benefits she identified as resulting from such brokering activities, particularly her academic achievements. Aaliyah was happy to keep her video on during the interview, and I was able to witness her demeanour when sharing her pride at her achievements, and her contribution to her family's resettlement, which confirmed her positive framing of such experiences. Nevertheless, the interruptions resulting from the domestic context for conducting both sub-sessions did affect the flow of the narrative with occasional re-visiting of previous statements from SS1 in SS2. The reflective journal also notes that Aaliyah's representation of her narrative indicated a pride not only in her achievements and the impact she considered them to have had on herself and

her family, but also at being invited to share these for the purpose of my research. Such expressions of pride should also be considered in the context of the teacher/student relationship, for example Aaliyah's keenness to have fulfilled her assumed expectations as a research participant for a member of staff at her institution.

> You tell me if there is anything more you have to ask, if I have not clarified anything, I am, you know more than happy to help you out with your research…like I was sharing my story, and I'm just pleased that it has helped you with part of your research, and I am looking forward to seeing it, because I have never had this… I guess this is my first time as a research participant.

5.9. Conclusion.

This chapter has presented the findings from the analysis of each participant's sub-sessions as independent narratives. The process for analysing the narratives has been explained, and the extent to which my initial hypotheses were challenged by the BNIM panel discussions has been recognised. The application of B/EST to the analysis of each of the narratives has sought to demonstrate the relevance of this theoretical framework to the aims of the thesis as discussed in more depth in Chapter Seven. Emerging themes, and their resonance with the debates and tensions within the existing academic field have been identified and are discussed comprehensively in Chapter Six. There is brief reference to the suitability of the BNIM methodology, where pertinent to the participant narrative whilst a more expansive reflection on this is provided in Chapter Seven.

Chapter 6. Discussion.

6.1. Introduction.

As stated in Chapter Five (5.3), it is not the intention of BNIM, or of narrative research methods more generally, to draw specific comparisons between the participant life-histories, although BNIM does seek to identify 'types' of responses to social situations (Breckner and Rupp, 2002; Wengraf, 2002) Therefore, this discussion critiques the combined themes emerging from the narratives, rather than comparing the idiographic representation of these themes within each participant's experience of brokering.

6.2. Breadth of Brokering Experiences.

It was evident from analysis of the narratives that definitions of brokering which refer only to informal translation and interpretation practices between two languages are insufficient in reflecting the nuanced, cultural mediation roles that children engage in. The brokering experiences captured in this thesis reflect the processes identified by McQuillan and Tse (1995), Orellana (2003, 2009, 2015), Cline at al. (2011), Cline, Crafter and Prokopiou (2014) and Lopez (2019) whereby children select what and how to convey socio-cultural norms from the host community to the family, through judicious language use. Thus, children's brokering roles are distinguishable from the activities of formal translators due to the concurrent requirement to convey information in culturally sensitive ways (Hall and Sham, 2007, cited in Cline et al., 2011). Nimo's example of rehearsing how to convey the tone of a letter home to school in a manner which would have meaning for her family is a reflection of this and echoes Nash's vignettes (2017) of the brokering roles of (im)migrant children from Arab heritage communities in the USA. For example, Nash (2017) recounts the experience of an Arab-American adolescent translating a medical prognosis to his mother, whilst simultaneously re-framing the diagnosis to ensure it reflected cultural perspectives of ill

health. Furthermore, evidence from Cohen et al. (1999, in Cline et al., 2011) and Corona et al. (2012), suggests that families may prefer using child brokers compared to external translators due to the former's familiarity with the domestic context. The multidimensional nature of brokering practices is categorised by Kam and Lazarevic (2014), according to four typologies, language, cultural, procedural, and media, the first three of which were evident in the participant narratives. For example, many of the brokering practices described refer to the participants' explanations of idiomatic phrasing, intonation, and societal norms, such as appropriate social conventions, thereby justifying the importance of expansive definitions which recognise and value the complexity of such responsibilities, for example Eugene's interpretation of cockney idioms. Orellana (2003, p.27) uses the term 'para-phrasing' to represent the various ways children deploy their English language skills during purposeful and targeted brokering activities, suggestive of their potential agency in such brokering contexts, as discussed further below. In addition, Joy's role of delivering family members to appointments through her navigation of the transport system, Nimo's attempts to explain the value and purpose of school trips and Isabella's responsibility for explaining the expectations of the education system indicate the procedural brokering roles, defined by Kam and Lazarevic (2014) and confirmed by Lazarevic (2016). The socio-relational processes required for these roles, expertly demonstrate the Person-Process-Context-Time model (PPCT) inherent to B/EST (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Bronfenbrenner and Morris, 1998, 2006). As recognised by Belksy (2014, in Weisskirch, 2017); Titzman and Michel, (2017), and reinforced by Crafter and Iqbal (2021) such processes are contingent on the 'characteristics of the parents, characteristics of the child and characteristics of the social context' (Titzman and Michel, 2017, p. 13). Missing from

Titzman and Michel's construction, is specific reference to how such activities are perceived from the perspective of mainstream, monolingual professionals, and child broker's sensitivity to such perceptions, recognised by Cline at al., (2011) and Crafter, Cline and Prokopiou (2017), and indicated in Isabella's encounter with the police. These perceptions shape how children position themselves in the brokering practice, as discussed further in 6.4.

6.3. Gendered Aspects to Brokering Practices.

The gendered nature of cultural and linguistic brokering roles is identified by Orellana (2003) who acknowledges the larger contribution to brokering (and other domestic care-giving roles) made by girls compared to boys, 71% to 58% (Orellana, 2003. P.34). According to Qin (2006), such gendered representation may be the result of girls' greater availability, due to restrictions on their activities outside of the home within some cultures. As acknowledged in Chapter Five, the bias towards female participants in my sample reflects the demographic of the institution from whence the majority of participants were drawn. For Aaliyah, the brokering activities were perceived within her cultural heritage as an extension of the domestic responsibilities expected of female children and although alluded to, gender stereotypes were not challenged. In addition, for both Nimo and Joy, there were older or same age female family members available to take on these responsibilities, yet the participants perceived that they were chosen due to various personal skills and attributes, for example English language competence, confidence and maturity, reflective of the dispositions strand of Bronfenbrenner's PPCT model, as it plays out in the Microsystem. As cited above, Qin (2006) and Suarez-Orozco and Qin (2006) have explored the differences in the resettlement practices deployed by male and female (im)migrant children and recognised similar cultural

expectations which served to both constrain and facilitate (im)migrant resettlement. Thus, according to Qin (2006), whilst the weight of responsibility for family resettlement, including through brokering may fall more commonly to girls, the benefits afforded them, cognitively and socio-emotionally, were represented in higher grade averages and reduced exposure to toxic environments, (Qin, 2006, p.12). Such benefits were echoed in the retrospective testimonies of three of the female participants in this thesis, Nimo, Isabella and Aaliyah. So, although there is a clear gender bias in the participant group for my research, the significance of this is beyond the scope of this thesis and would be worthy of subsequent study. Furthermore, from my sociological positioning, I am wary of imposing Global North assumptions about gender representation in cultural and linguistic brokering practice upon communities who, as Aaliyah illustrates, derive a pride and fulfilment from such responsibilities.

6.4. Benefits and Burdens of Brokering.

Consistent with the existing literature (Love and Buriel, 2007; Trickett and Jones, 2007, cited in Bauer 2016; Cline et al., 2011; Cline et al., 2014; Kam and Lazarevic, 2014; Lazaravic, 2016 and Revis, 2016), the participants' testimonies suggest that there are both benefits and challenges arising from engagement in brokering activities, in the short and long term. The narratives in this thesis appeared to focus more significantly on the benefits with comparatively few references to anxieties arising from the expectations placed upon them, although the retrospective nature of the narratives should be taken into account here, as discussed in 6.7. The pride in their own personal and academic development co-existed alongside their sense of efficacy and empowerment in supporting their families to navigate societal and legislative structures which risk marginalising (im)migrant communities (Yuval-Davis, 2006; Ager and

Strang 2008; Navas et al., 2007; Killian, 2011). This was particularly evident in Aaliyah's narrative. As considered in Chapter Two, such perceived benefits reflect definitions of resilience, which are posited on the capacity of individuals to harness internal and external resources to navigate challenging situations (Rutter, 1987; Masten 2014). There are also suggestions of the 'big five' personality types, listed in Chapter Two which are associated with higher levels of resilience (Shiner and Masten, 2012, p.510). The long-term positive impact of these responsibilities was evident in improved relationships with their parents, particularly in Isabella's and Aaliyah's testimony; the development of values suggestive of their commitment to social justice demonstrated in Aaliyah's narrative and the empathy Nimo expressed for (im)migrant communities continuing to struggle to 'integrate'. Corona et al.'s (2012) research with Latin American adolescents and their parents uses the term 'familisimo' (Corona et al, 2012, p.795) to represent the cultural value of brokering within these communities, suggesting that such practices align with traditional expectations of family care-giving, and as such, are normalised by child and adolescent brokers, evidenced strongly in Aaliyah's narrative. Bauer (2016) draws similar conclusions, with her recognition that child brokers become apprenticed in 'kinship-care' (Bauer, 2016, p.22) from an early age. Whilst acknowledging the potential burdens of child brokering practices, Bauer advocates for the location of such roles on a 'care-continuum' (Bauer, 2016, p.33), which challenges the vulnerability of child brokers and focuses on the heterogeneity of their experiences. Another key benefit identified by my participants, particularly Isabella and Aaliyah, was the impact of brokering on their academic achievement, specifically their English language skills reflective of Dorner and Li-Grining's (2007) research which identified gains in child brokers' reading test scores, in grades five and

six. Further benefits were acknowledged by Lopez (2019) who cited the improved academic attainment of bilingual children, and their capacity to develop knowledge of idiomatic language forms through their engagement in brokering activities. Additionally, the financial contribution of childhood brokering activities, a hitherto under-researched area in the academic field, was cited by Aaliyah as a positive outcome for her family. Although such monetary benefits have rarely been considered there have been attempts to quantify the various contributions made by child brokers, for example, in Orellana (2003). Despite the recognition of the beneficial outcomes, nevertheless, it was also evident that the type and duration of brokering activities exerted stress and anxiety, damaging some family relationships and sowing feelings of resentment. For example, Shen and Dennis (2019) point to the increase in family conflict resulting from the frequency of adolescent brokering, reflected in Joy's narrative. Lopez' (2019) identification of the contradictory outcomes of brokering experiences points to the feelings of stress felt by child brokers in contexts where they felt unprepared or unsure of their linguistic competence, as reflected in Isabella's anxiety when she first arrived in the UK, or where parental expectations were heightened. The relationship between brokering and family resettlement processes was evident in the participant's recollections of their efforts to support family integration within mainstream contexts, echoing Guan, Nash and Orellana's (2015) findings which point to the enhanced awareness amongst child brokers of how (im)migrant communities are perceived by host community populations, thus resonating with Crafter, Cline and Prokopiou (2017). Such awareness can strengthen or challenge (im)migrant children's ethno-identity (Weisskirch, 2005; Bhugra, 2004), as seen in this research. However, as recognised by Kam and Lazarevic (2014), negative perceptions of brokering, particularly during

adolescence, can be mitigated if they are perceived as common (im)migrant experiences, thereby normalising brokering roles, and constructing them as valued cultural practices. Such challenging of my assumed Global North positionality was observed in Aaliyah's narrative. In their reframing of the 'parentified child' (Crafter and Iqbal, 2021, p.1), the atypical childhoods experienced by child brokers (Crafter and Iqbal, 2021) were explored from the perspective of changing family relationships. The authors' emphasis on the (Microsystem) contexts in which these practices take place, allude to Exosystem influences such as the 'hostile environment' (SSAHE, 2020; Griffiths and Yeo, 2021) and the perception of brokering from amongst other adults in authority, for example teachers and health care professionals, suggestive of normative assumptions about the parent-child dyadic present in the Macrosystem. Whilst acknowledging the concerns about reversed family hierarchies (Gustafsson, et al 2019, cited in Crafter and Iqbal, 2021; Shen and Dennis, 2019), the authors also recognise how brokering roles are positioned as an extension of care-giving roles characteristic of collectivist communities (Hofstede, 1984, cited in Bhugra, 2004; Bauer, 2016), a positioning elucidated clearly in Aaliyah's narrative and reflective of Corona et al.'s (2012) and Bauer's (2016) research cited above. The complexity of assessing the impact of brokering practices on children and adolescents is acknowledged in this thesis. It is evident that there are multiple mediating factors which influence the brokering experience, and which inform children's perceptions. For example, as Kam and Lazarevic (2014) assert, a key indicator is the extent to which brokers feel confident in their brokering competencies, and the degree of commonality between their brokering practices and the experiences of their peers. The latter serves to 'normalise' myriad brokering practices, (Orellana, 2003; Cline at al., 2011; Crafter and Iqbal, 2020), for

example in Nimo's narrative. However, when children or adolescents feel a lack of efficacy during their brokering responsibilities, poor emotional health may result, with acculturative stress and impaired cognitive functioning subsequent outcomes, (Lopez, 2019). Finally, it is important to recognise the influence of retrospective positioning of children's brokering roles as captured in this thesis, which according to Bauer (2012) may be subject to moral shaping and re-casting. Such influences are discussed further in 6.7.

6.5. Brokering and Children's Agency.

The concept of children's agency is synonymous with the principles underpinning the sociological re-construction of childhood, a key focus of this project (James and Prout, 1997). Oswell (2013) reflects on a broad range of constructions of agency which have greater or lesser resonance with the themes of this thesis. Perhaps the most relevant, is Hutchby and Moran-Ellis' concept of children's social competence which is manifest in myriad 'arenas of action' (Hutchby and Moran-Ellis, 1998, p. 9, cited in Oswell, 2013, p.53). Hutchby and Moran-Ellis, refute suggestions that social competence is conferred on children by adults, rather they assert that it is something that children 'work at possessing in their own right, the display of which is an active agentic achievement' (Hutchby and Moran-Ellis, 1998, p. 14, cited in Oswell, 2013, p.54). This definition of agency predicated on children's social competence in specific contexts reflects the brokering roles engaged in by children effectively. However, such definitions should also pay heed to the caution evident in Leonard's (2009) work. As discussed in Chapter Two, Leonard identifies limitations on the agentic significance of children's brokering roles, recognising that as they are context-specific, they cannot be assumed to challenge normative constructions of children outside of the contexts in which they occur, where

‘parents may wield all of the power in the house’ (Bauer, 2016, p.10). This position is confirmed by the terms ‘adultification’ and ‘parentification’ (Trickett and Jones, 2007, in Bauer, 2016), which suggest children are temporarily occupying roles associated with adults, rather than being perceived as having inherent competencies. According to Crafter et al., (2015) and Crafter and Iqbal, 2020, 2021), in Global South communities, such roles may not be delineated between adults and children, thus care must be taken not to apply Global North constructions, as echoed in Aaliyah’s testimony. Regardless of whether the brokering roles are perceived as ‘adultification’ or as natural extensions to the filial contributions to family life expected of children within specific communities, the extent to which they confer agency beyond the situated brokering practice evidently remains a contested tension in the field. For example, Luykx (2005) and Gyogi (2014), point to the socialising role that language competencies play within (im)migrant families, citing the influence that child brokers have in shaping family language practices through their ability to select from two (or more) communication choices. The application of such metalinguistic selectivity across myriad social contexts and the control that children have therein, challenges Leonard’s (2009) position which locates child agency, during brokering practices, within discrete, specific contexts, largely predicated by adult demands or expectations. The breadth of decision making and problem solving required by child brokers, across multiple contexts is recognised by Lopez, (2019) reaffirming the necessity of expansive multi-dimensional definitions of brokering which encompass the many opportunities children have for exercising influence over social situations as evident in the testimonies of the participants in this thesis, for example Nimo’s re-framing of information from the school regarding her brother’s attainment. How children choose to position themselves during specific

brokering activities, could also be viewed through an agentic lens. Crafter and Iqbal refer to the term ‘contact zones’ (Hermans, 2001a, 2003; Pratt, 1991, cited in Crafter and Iqbal, 2020, p. 31) to identify the numerous ‘positions’ adopted by child brokers which contribute positively and negatively to the brokering experience and reveal complex sensitivities reflecting self/othered identities. Aaliyah’s positioning of herself as a ‘guider’ for her mother reflects such role identification. As the authors acknowledge, child brokering activities frequently take place in contexts where there are unequal power relationships. Children may therefore need to advocate for their parents whilst mediating the broader social context of the (im)migrant and host community relationships. The socio-linguistics required may include shaping or adjusting communication between both parties in the brokering situation, reflective of their position as ‘conflict avoiders, neutral brokers or active brokers’ (Crafter and Iqbal, 2020, p. 35). The role assumed by children has the potential to impact upon the brokering context in both positive and negative ways, suggestive of their capacity to exert influence on this lived experience. However, Crafter and Iqbal (2020) reflect Leonard’s caution (2009) of acknowledging the discrete contexts in which such manifestations of agency occur. Finally, Bauer, (2016) conceptualises agency in child brokering activities according to the latter’s capacity for positioning children as ‘active citizens-being actively engaged in society’ (Bauer, 2016, p.32). The dynamic and context-specific positionalities assumed by children in different brokering contexts reflects this definition, as do the examples of brokering cited by the participants in this study, evidenced by the negotiated trust afforded them across many social situations, and, perhaps more pertinently, their actions in response to this transferral of responsibility.

Such positionalities resonate with the PPCT model from B/EST (Bronfenbrenner and Morris, 1998, 2006), which acknowledges the contribution of personal dispositions and characteristics to socio-relational processes across a range of contexts and is reflective of how brokering contexts themselves are shaped by developmentalist paradigms and persistent ideologies within the Macrosystem, manifested by legislative structures in the Exosystem. For example, the 'hostile environment' rhetoric (SSAHE, 2020), has the potential to invoke attitudinal shifts towards (im)migrant communities, extended through the deputization of bordering practices to mainstream professional contexts (Yuval-Davis, Wemyss and Cassidy, 2017, 2019). As such, children's brokering roles in such contexts become ever more challenging and potentially conflictual. Isabella's encounter with the police is suggestive of this.

6.6. Child Brokering and Family Hierarchies.

As has been seen above, the question of children's agency as exercised during brokering practices, remains subject to academic debate. Similarly, the extent to which children's assumption of power within specific brokering contexts, distorts family hierarchies and challenges normative assumptions of childhood recognises conflicting positions. Despite the reinforcement of cultural traditions of 'care-giving' encapsulated in the term 'familisimo' above (Corona et al., 2012) children's brokering practices including those evidenced in the research cited above with Latin American adolescents, also generated negative responses from parents and carers, who described feeling ashamed and embarrassed at their dependency on their children. Wu and Kim (2009) and Lazarevic (2016) noted similar parental anxiety about their reliance on their children's linguistic competence. Excluding Eugene, who perceived his limited ability to challenge adult power dynamics as evidence of the reproduction of colonial hierarchies into the

domestic arena, there was little evidence from the participants that their families shared these concerns. Indeed, Isabella's narrative suggested her parents were happy to transfer this responsibility to their daughter. Although the scope of the thesis precludes detailed discussion of Eugene's interpretation of the family dynamics preventing him from challenging his mother's authority, his experience is recognised in both academic and fictional literature. For example, Washaly (2021), in his review of Ngozi Adichie's novel Purple Hibiscus (2012), identifies evidence of Fanon's recognition of inculcated colonial hierarchies in family relationships, which the latter argues reflect the imitation of colonial oppression (Fanon, 1952, reprinted 2008, in Washaly, 2021). Linguistic hierarchies are also noted in Washaly's review, another dominant feature of Eugene's narrative and a key theme in post-colonial studies (Fanon, 1952; 2008; Anyokwu, 2011, in Washaly, 2021). However, for the majority of the participants, such power dynamics were not evident in the narratives. Indeed, the gratitude expressed by their parents and the surrendering of decision-making responsibilities is more suggestive of the shared family experience of brokering, epitomised in communal coping theory (Kam, Guntzviller and Stohl, 2017).

6.7. Brokering, Identity and Belonging.

The relationship between language and identity emerged as a significant theme in this project. Linguistic competence in English enabled the participants and, through them their families, to gain access to mainstream Microsystems, via brokering practices in the Mesosystem, thereby facilitating family resettlement (Weinreich, 2008; Portes and Rumbaud, 2005; Killian, 2011), and promoting the construction of multiple, fluid identities (Bhugra, 2004; La Barbera, 2015). Additionally, the participants' roles in navigating their family's integration are consistent with Luykx (2005) and Revis'

(2016) assertion that children act as 'socialising agents' (Luykx, 2005, p.1408), whose English language proficiency confers situated degrees of power, distorting constructions of childhood identities, albeit in restricted contexts as discussed above (Gyogi, 2014; Leonard, 2009). The sense of empowerment reflected in some of the participant narratives is suggestive of the emergence of positive self-identities resulting from their metalinguistic competencies. However, such fluid linguistic practices, including code-switching (Crystal, 2003) can serve to locate (im)migrant children in liminal identity 'spaces' where there is a risk of isolation from their heritage community, whilst not fully accepted within all host community contexts (Portes, 1997; Portes and Rivas, 2011). This sociolinguistic nature of brokering activities was evident across the participants' narratives, requiring them to demonstrate knowledge and competence of semantics and semiotics, when conveying information between different cultural contexts, for example Nimo's and Isabella's translation of the culture of classroom. Such 'transcultural' brokering (Orellana, 2015) serves to reinforce the participants' hybrid identities, suggestive of the 'cleft-habitus' status described by Revis, (2016). Furthermore, as a symbolic marker which denotes allegiance to one's heritage community, linguistic preference can act as deterrent to integration for (im)migrant populations whose selfhood is predicated on their ethnic and cultural identity (Weinreich, 2008). Emerging from theme of language and identity, was the suggestion of language hierarchies. In Eugene's narrative, his linguistic competence in English was initially perceived as a cultural asset, a tool he used as defence against ridicule and discrimination; whilst the loss of his Grenadian language skills served to alienate him from his Caribbean contemporaries, thereby evoking La Barbera's phrase 'not yet belonging here, but no longer there' (La Barbera, 2015, p.3). Identity construction

within (im)migrant communities is complex, with language use just one representation of the multiple identities inhabited by children from such communities. As reflected in the BNIM panel discussions, the participant's fidelity with, and resistance to, host and heritage norms reflect the ongoing and pervasive practice of cultural (re)negotiation manifested through their brokering responsibilities. La Barbera's conceptualisation of identity as emanating from the engagement (or disengagement) in myriad cultural contexts, rather than inherent fixed traits is worth recalling here (La Barbera, 2015). The definition is further echoed in Crafter and Abreu's examination of 'sociocultural coupling' (Crafter and Abreu, 2010) whereby children construct identities through the culmination of knowledge and meaning gained from multiple social situations, represented in B/EST as Microsystem settings. Reflecting on Wenger, (1998 cited in Crafter and Abreu, 2010, p.3) and Duveen (2001, cited in Crafter and Abreu, 2010, p.4), the authors recognise that constructions of identity which evolve from children's engagement in socio-culturally informed contexts, are inevitably influenced by children's sense of self, and by the identities ascribed to them by others, which may serve to explain the positionalities they assume during more challenging or sensitive brokering contexts. The participants in this research demonstrated an awareness of such ascribed identities, whilst recognising how interpretations of their brokering roles may be influenced by dominant narratives of 'good' childhoods (Crafter and Iqbal, 2021). In some cases, this recognition of normative interpretations of such roles, appears to reinforce their allegiance to their heritage identity as noted by the panel, as demonstrated explicitly in Aaliyah's narrative.

It is perhaps inevitable, for a thesis exploring the role of cultural and linguistic brokering in (im)migrant resettlement practices, that the themes of home and belonging

surfaced as discussion points, as an extension of identity theory. Alluded to above, the construction of one's identity involves recognition of host and home community expectations, represented through engagement in routines and practices necessary for integration, for example brokering. The extent to which engagement in such processes enables a sense of belonging or the identification of a sense of home, is influenced by multiple internal and external factors. Thus, although one's sense of belonging may be subjective, it is defined socially (Ralph and Staeheli, 2011, p.523) and is contingent on issues of legitimacy and acceptance from within host and heritage communities, as evidenced in Eugene's narrative. Home can be simultaneously positioned as 'sedantrist and mobile' (Ralph and Staeheli, 2011, p.518), emanating from recognition of its relationship to perceptions of place, identity and belonging. Such a definition challenges constructions of home as 'fixed, bounded and enclosed' (ibid, p.518), and draws upon the notion of home as a state of becoming (La Barbera, 2015). Nowicka (2006, in Ralph and Staeheli, 2011; Nowicka, 2007), refers to the term 'emplacement' in her construction of the concept of home, characterised by the existence of people and artefact which may be temporally location-bound, yet capable of emplacement elsewhere. The symbolic markers alluded to by Nimo, would sit within this category. Thus, the resonance of such fluid notions of home with the post-migratory experiences of the participants and /or their families is evident, particularly in Nimo's narrative, eliciting concepts of belonging and acceptance in both heritage and host communities (Yuval-Davis, 2006; Yuval-Davis, Wemyss and Cassidy, 2017).

6.8. Brokering and Resettlement.

The themes identified above in 6.5. are inextricably linked to the dynamic, ongoing, renegotiation practices during resettlement processes and the micro and macro factors

influencing such practices post-migration, one of the main research questions for this thesis. The narratives reflected examples of how resettlement and the 'politics of belonging' (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 204) into host country contexts was experienced by the participants and their families, including through the myriad brokering roles of children, which extend beyond simple language translation and interpretation practices, as discussed above. The ongoing and pervasive nature of cultural renegotiation within (im)migrant communities reflects challenges to traditional uni-directional 'acculturation' theories (Gordon, 1964, cited in Zhou, 1997) which assumed that assimilation would occur naturally as (im)migrant populations adopted the social and cultural norms of the receiving society. Rather, the concept of 'enculturation' (Portes and Rumbaud 1996 and 2005; Weinreich, 2008; Schwartz et al., 2010; Schwartz et al., 2011; Killian 2011) emerges as a more accurate representation of the participants' experiences, echoing Portes and Rivas (2011) cultural and structural distinctions which serve to facilitate and constrain im(migrant) resettlement practices. Thus, where it was necessary for the participants to integrate, for example in an education context, to access health care or to confirm immigration status, the participants' families relied on them to broker this integration, and in some cases continue to do so. There are indications of Ager and Strang's (2008) and Navas et al. (2007) models here also, in the recognition that resettlement requires the navigation of multiple constraints and the capacity to harness resources conducive to the process (Seccombe, 2002; Bottrell, 2009). Furthermore, as Yuval-Davis, Wemyss and Cassidy argue (2017), this capacity is contingent on constructions of participation, entitlement and autochthonic notions of citizenship. In summary, the extent to which the participants' families were able to negotiate such Microsystem contexts was contingent on multiple factors, including their

migration pathways, familiarity with cultural norms, linguistic competence, ideological and structural constraints. As has been seen, children's cultural and linguistic brokering practices support family navigation of many of these factors. Finally, the capacity to retain and reproduce symbolic cultural markers was recognised by three of the participants as crucial to their integration, thereby reinforcing Bhabha's position (1994) that cultural identity is negotiated at the 'interstices' of communities (Bhabha, 1994, p.2) and echoing work from Ni Raghallaigh and Gilligan, (2010) which recognised the importance of retaining heritage traditions as a coping strategy for unaccompanied asylum-seeking children in Ireland. It should be stressed however, that such symbolic cultural markers are not fixed identifiers of community membership (Gutierrez and Rogoff, 2003; Waldram, 2009).

6.9. Retrospective Perspectives of Brokering.

The narratives presented in this thesis reflect retrospective accounts of children's brokering experiences. A more detailed discussion of the limitations of retrospective narratives is included in Chapter Seven. However, as the BNIM methodology was specifically chosen to identify successive subjectivities evident in the participant narratives, it is necessary to summarise these here, with reference to relevant literature. Each of the participants reflected on their childhood brokering experiences from an adult perspective, and identified opportunities and burdens afforded them through their engagement with these practices. Whilst it was clear from the narratives that there were brokering contexts which elicited feelings of stress, anxiety and resentment, there was also recognition of the short and long-term benefits of such practices, through their childhood and as adults, for example maturity and organisational skills, evidenced particularly in Isabella's and Aaliyah's narratives. However, there were reservations

expressed regarding the impact of such practices on children more generally, with participants alluding to the loss of childhood, and the 'adultification' necessitated by such brokering activities. There are several possible ways to interpret these 'protective' retrospective perspectives. Firstly, the position of those participants who were now parents themselves resonates with Orellana and Phoenix's (2017) research with a Latin American participant whose reflections on her own brokering practices suggested a reluctance to burden her own children with such roles, despite being generally positive about her own brokering engagements, reflected in Joy's narrative. Additionally, where participants have lived in England since childhood, their inculcation of dominant paradigms of 'ideal' childhoods may contribute to their construction of brokering as non-normative, possibly transgressive (Crafter and Iqbal 2020). Furthermore, the participant's positioning of their brokering experiences as positive and beneficial, is suggestive of Bauer's retrospective research (2012), which identified the moral influences framing reflections on childhood brokering roles, with participants identifying themselves as 'good, honest, ethical and well-behaved' (Bauer, 2012, p.205), reflected in Aaliyah's narrative. This retrospective (re)framing was identified as a 'family narrative' during the second BNIM panel meeting, with panel members suggesting that Isabella, in particular, may have been sensitive to the importance of reassuring her parents that their 'choice' to migrate had had a positive outcome, evidenced in her successfully acquiring English competence and navigating the education system of their new country (Nowicka, 2014). Such narratives were also evidenced in Eugene's reference to Caribbean migrants who returned 'home' and evidenced the benefits of emigration through building new homes, which demonstrated 'how far we come' (Horst, 2011, p.31). In contrast, Nimo's reference to her parent's

desire to return to Somalia, suggests disappointment of this implied dismissal of the gains afforded the wider family through their parent's struggles – 'it all feels so temporary'. As recognised by Brannen, Phoenix and Elliot (2016), im(migrant) narratives of their migration experience may be shaped by multiple internal and external factors, including perceptions of self-efficacy and agency, and recognition of parental sacrifice and economic gains. Finally, in alignment with the sociological positioning throughout this thesis, and with consideration of the B/EST framework, it is helpful to acknowledge the context in which this retrospective research project was conducted, that is, during the socio-political narrative of a 'Hostile Environment' for (im)migrant communities (SSAHE, 2020) and in the shadow of the Windrush crisis (Williams, 2020). For example, the narratives were peppered with references to the ways in which brokering facilitated their own and their families' integration into mainstream contexts or expressed frustration at family members' reluctance to 'assimilate' as was the case in Joy's narrative. This is not to denigrate or refute the validity of the participant narratives, in recognition of the representative nature of each of their 'stories', (Riessman, 1993; Squire et al., 2014), but to acknowledge the influence of prevailing ideologies within the Macrosystem on the interpretation of experience. Further large-scale research would be required to identify the extent to which such speculative hypotheses can be justified.

6.10. Conclusion.

This chapter has considered the themes emerging from the participant narratives, and the extent to which they reflect the tensions and debates within the literature and research in relevant academic fields. The extent to which the research project has

answered its principal research questions, and the implications for further research is discussed in more depth in Chapter Seven.

Chapter 7. Conclusion.

7.1. Introduction.

This thesis has explored the retrospective narratives of adults who participated in cultural and linguistic brokering practices within (im)migrant families during their childhoods, including the contribution to family resettlement, and the perceived impacts of such roles, from a retrospective viewpoint. The research questions used to meet the aims of the thesis were as follows:

- What are the cultural and linguistic brokering roles assumed by children, within their families, during the resettlement process following migration? The thesis identified a broad range of cultural and linguistic brokering roles undertaken by children, many of which have continued into adulthood, and encompass more than straightforward interpretation and translation activities. The breadth and scope of these roles are discussed in Chapter Six (6.2.) and reflect complex metalinguistic and cultural negotiation skills.

- How are these cultural and linguistic brokering roles and their impact on family resettlement perceived from a retrospective perspective? One of the distinctive features of this project is its use of Biographical Narrative Interpretive Method, (Chamberlayne, Wengraf and Rustin, 2002; Wengraf, 2004), in particular the methodological analysis of shifting subjectivities over time. The participant narratives reflected much of the current literature in this regard, with brokering activities positioned as both beneficial and problematic (Baur, 2012, 2016, Gyogi, 2014; Lazarevic, 2016; Crafter, 2020). Although this is a small-scale project and caution must thus be maintained to avoid misleading extrapolation of the data, the majority of the participants focused predominantly on the positive

gains afforded them from these activities. For example, improved English language competence, enhanced organisational skills, greater maturity and increased empathy for children and families facing similar barriers to integration. Such retrospective positions are reminiscent of Bauer's work (2012) which identified the reframing of brokering practices according to moral categories and is suggestive of the pride associated with such childhood responsibilities.

- How are these cultural and linguistic brokering roles impacted upon by macro and micro factors operating within the ecological systems occupied by the child and their family? As evidenced by the research findings in Chapter Five and discussed throughout Chapter Six, children's brokering roles are influenced by socio-relational, attitudinal and structural factors operating within every system of Bioecological Systems Theory. From the influence of socio-relational factors within the family, to the positioning of child brokers in (im)migrant families within mainstream societal contexts, child brokering practices are shaped and understood according to dynamic ideological factors.

- How can constructions of children's agency be reflected upon to support understandings of the contribution of children's cultural and linguistic brokering roles to family resettlement? The findings indicate that children play a pivotal role in supporting family resettlement, through the 'transcultural' (Orellana, 2015, p.17) and metalinguistic brokering roles they engage in. In this respect, they can be seen to be acting agentically, according to Gyogi's (2014, p.2) definition which constructs agency according to children's 'socioculturally mediated capacity to act'. However, such agency is situational and limited to

the specific context in which the brokering roles occur (Leonard 2009) and the extent to which they freely choose to engage in such activities, (Sen, 2006). Furthermore, children's agency is constrained by the prevalence of childhood paradigms which continue to position children according to generational hierarchies (Uprichard, 2008; Leonard, 2009). As recommended below, conceptual frameworks which recognise the metalinguistic and transcultural competencies of child brokers are necessary at both practitioner and policy level, across health, educational and other relevant domains, in order for children's contributions to family resettlement to be fully valued and acknowledged. Furthermore, competence-based models of children's cultural and linguistic brokering roles would support the identification of brokering contexts which promote cognitive, social and emotional gains for child brokers, and those which risk overwhelming children's sense of efficacy and compromising family relationships (Corona et al, 2012; Lazarevic, 2016).

To this end, I believe the project has achieved its aims, albeit within the limitations discussed below, and with many avenues yet to be fully explored.

7.2. Application of Bioecological Systems Theory.

Bioecological Systems Theory (B/EST) (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Bronfenbrenner and Ceci, 1994; Bronfenbrenner and Morris, 1998 and 2006) was used as the overarching framework for analysing the participant narratives and exploring the location, within systemic theory, of dominant themes. The alignment between my positioning of B/Est according to sociological perspectives and children's cultural and linguistic brokering roles was evident throughout the thesis, and enabled consideration of other theoretical perspectives in relation to the micro and macro influences on perceptions of these roles

from a retrospective viewpoint. Although the scope of the thesis, did not permit detailed interrogation of each of these influential themes, nevertheless, situating such themes as identity construction, post-colonialism, and epistemic power within the relevant 'setting' of B/EST sowed the seeds for subsequent exploration of the manner and extent of such factors upon children's brokering roles specifically, and resettlement processes more generally. In addition to the alignment between B/EST and the central research questions, there was significant overlap between the theoretical framework and the chosen methodology. This alignment is a distinctive feature of the research and offers further opportunities as a combined framework for exploring broader social phenomenon. For example, a significant aim of BNIM is to recognise the historical context in which participants life histories are located (Breckner and Rupp, 2002; Wengraf, 2002). Similarly, as has been seen in the discussions of B/EST, historical change evident in the Chronosystem is reflected in shifting Macrosystem ideologies, relayed via Exosystem structures, and impact upon socio-relational processes in the Microsystems, which are subsequently negotiated by child brokers in the Mesosystem. The sociological positioning of B/EST in this thesis is thus evident in the re-framing of Bronfenbrenner's theoretical framework and its congruence with my social-constructivist paradigm, and the chosen research methodology as discussed in depth in Chapter Three.

7.3. The Biographical Narrative Interpretative (BNIM) Methodology.

There were similar positive outcomes regarding the use of BNIM as the methodology deployed to conduct this thesis. The staged process of analysis which incorporates consideration of content, form and representation, reflects key process of narrative inquiry as discussed in Chapter Four. It was essential to ensure that the idiomatic and

frequently changing terminology used in BNIM was located with the narrative inquiry tradition, due to the limited application of BNIM in sociological or educational research, and the dominance of particular voices, for example Wengraf (2004) and Chamberlayne, Rustin and Wengraf (2002). Nevertheless, despite initial reservations, the suitability of the approach, particularly when eliciting retrospective narratives is evident in the identification of shifting positionalities of the participants. A key principle of BNIM methodology is the distinction made between the 'lived life' and the 'told story' (Chamberlayne, Rustin and Wengraf, 2002, p.8) in recognition of the impact of the 'mutating structure and culture of a society' (Wengraf, 2002, p 313) on representations of participant narratives. Therefore, having the opportunity to interrogate such historicization (Wengraf, 2002, p.313) via the presentation of the BDCs to the investigative panel reflected both the underlying social-constructivist paradigm, and the B/EST theoretical framework. Indeed, the panel proved highly effective at identifying and challenging researcher hypotheses and was a powerful tool to support a broader understanding of the macro and micro influences on retrospective perspectives of child brokering activities. Thus, as noted in Chapter Five, although BNIM does not use comparative analysis in its interpretation of participant data, an underpinning philosophy of the approach is to identify typical responses to social situations, identifying aspects of structure and agency, thereby reflecting structuration theory (Giddens, 1984, cited in Chamberlayne, Rustin and Wengraf, 2002, p.9) and resonating with the sociological positioning of Bioecological Systems Theory throughout the thesis. A limitation of the BNIM panels convened for this project, which becomes more evident in the analysis of the narratives, is the lack of a panel member representative of one or more of the heritage communities of the research participants. Although one of

the panel members had experience of migrating to the UK, from another European country, and I have experience of living and working as a 'sejourner' for an extended period of time in a non-English speaking country, there was no one on the panel who could speak to the experience of 'othering' resulting from visible differences, or emanating from fidelity to faith practices which are contrary to established and accepted religious norms in Britain (Bhatia and Ram, 2001; Cornelius, 2002, cited in Schwartz et al., 2010). Attempts to mitigate this concern between panel one and two were unsuccessful, and the pragmatic decision was taken to avoid jeopardising the availability of the current panel members and delay the completion of the panel process. In hindsight, this was the correct decision. However, in subsequent research using BNIM, I would prioritise convening a panel which reflected the participant sample more closely, to mitigate against researcher 'blindness' (Luft and Ingrams, 1955, cited in Holmes, 2019, in Darwin Holmes, 2020).

7.4. Limitations.

This was a small-scale study reflecting the retrospective brokering experiences of four female participants and one male participant. Four of the participants have Global South heritage, with one of the four born in the UK. None of the participants arrived in the UK as 'forced migrants' themselves, although this was the experience of one of their families. A fifth participant had European heritage. All participants are based in London. Due to the small sample size, it is not appropriate to draw broader generalisations from these narratives, regarding the experiences of other (im)migrant children and their families, particularly those based outside of the urban context, where the potential to retain heritage identities may be constrained thus the processes of resettlement could be different. Furthermore, it is essential to recognise the

heterogeneity of (im)migrant experiences, rather than collude with essentialist, reductivist perspectives. In addition, although a methodology was chosen which sought to mitigate the challenges associated with retrospective accounts (Abrahao, 2012), as the successive subjectivities revealed, the recollection of experiences from childhood may be subject to the influence of the adult gaze (Bauer, 2012). Similarly, the utilisation of the BNIM panel process, whilst seeking to confirm or challenge my hypotheses, and make visible my positionality was problematic due to its speculative nature. However, I value its significant contribution to the identification of emerging themes. Thus, although panel members' contributions were invaluable at contesting the assumptions arising from my subjective perspectives, they inevitably emanated from the positionality of the panel members themselves, thereby compromising their usefulness as a validation, or hypothesis checking tool (Jones, 2003). It should be remembered, however, that as with other forms of narrative inquiry, BNIM methodology does not seek to expose a universal truth emanating from participant narratives. Rather, the approach seeks to consider the heterogeneity of participant responses to social and environmental influences. Furthermore, although patterns of response may be evidenced, Wengraf (2002, p.315), warns against seeking 'typicalities' or 'meta-narratives' when analysing data from BNIM narrative inquiry which risk losing the individual case history, and which fail to acknowledge the significance of representation in narrative research. As recognised by Squire at al., (2014), participants and researchers co-construct narratives together, not necessarily intentionally but, as an outcome of their social relationships and the identities present in the interview context. Crucially, Squire et al. (2014), argue for ongoing reflection of the class, gender and race hierarchies influencing these identities, including the extent to which such identities are fixed or

emerge from the relational context of the research interview itself. The individual positionality of panel members and the speculative nature of the process is thus less problematic when framed as a strategy for identifying multiple interpretations of participant experience.

Due to challenges securing participants for the project, alluded to briefly in the methodology chapter, the pool from which the participants were drawn was rather narrow, all but one were students at my institution, albeit not those I was currently teaching. Eugene, the outlier, had trained as a lawyer and worked in local government. This creates several limitations. Firstly, it suggests that as university students, and as a graduate, they had achieved an above average level of education, suggestive of successful integration into the British education system. Therefore, their experiences cannot be assumed to represent those of (im)migrant populations more generally. Secondly, although none of the students had undertaken studies specific to the topic of migration and resettlement, they had been exposed to some of the themes arising from globalised childhoods. This includes Eugene, whose legal studies had instilled an interest and awareness in racial inequalities arising from post-colonialism. This emerging scholarly knowledge invariably influenced the participants' responses, evidenced through the occasional use of subject-specific terminology, although it would be impossible to ascertain to what extent. This knowledge may have ensured the participants were able to respond more fully to the semi-structured interviews in sub-session 2, reflecting their assumptions about what I hoped to elicit from the questions posed. Invariably, this impacts upon the representation of their narratives, constructed not only by what they choose to include or omit, but on the socio-relational dynamics between participant and researcher, thereby epitomising the significance of developing

trustful relationships between researcher and participant, which facilitate openness and minimise power hierarchies, such as the one posed by my role as a university lecturer, as argued above by Squire et al., (2014).

The final limitation arose from this commitment to relationship building. The necessity of conducting the interviews online due to the Covid-19 pandemic, while offering some benefits, such as greater flexibility in scheduling the sessions, nevertheless created significant constraints. These have been considered in depth in Chapter Four and at the end of each participant's narrative in Chapter Five and relate to the extent to which the participant was free from domestic (or other) distractions and the choice they exercised in having their video on or off, thus limiting both the potential for the identification of non-verbal communication and its potential significance, and the ability to for me to establish eye-contact and other gestures to develop rapport.

7.5. Further Recommendations.

As has been demonstrated, children's brokering roles incorporate a wide range of activities, beyond mere translation and interpretation practices. Furthermore, they are pivotal to the resettlement of the wider family, not simply during childhood but in the longer term. Yet the significance of such roles remains largely unrecognised outside of the field of study, or (im)migrant communities (Cline at al., 2011, Crafter, Cline and Prokopiou, 2014). Whilst concerns about the 'adultification' of childhood (Tricket and Jones, 2007, cited in Bauer, 2016) and the distortion of parent-child hierarchies have been expressed by professionals relying on child brokers (Wu and Kim, 2009; Crafter, 2021), recognition of the benefits afforded by children's engagement have been less forthcoming outside of the academic context. This is despite increasing evidence of the positive social and cognitive impacts of metalinguistic dexterity, particularly

bilingualism on children's development (Hakuta and Diaz, 1985 cited in Portes and Rivas, 2011).

As noted above, it is evident therefore that a conceptual framework for understanding the expansive brokering roles that (im)migrant children engage in is needed, for practitioners, researchers, and policy makers across relevant disciplines. Participatory research approaches which position children as competent beings at the centre of such processes, enacted within a children's rights paradigm is thus recommended for further research in this field. The successful application of Bioecological Systems Theory (Bronfenbrenner and Morris, 1998; 2006) as a sociological framework in this thesis, and its alignment with Biographical Narrative Interpretive Method, suggests that flexible methodologies which recognise and privilege the agentic role of child language brokers (and the generational structural constraints which preclude children's agency) would be most effective at addressing concerns of the adultification of such roles (Bauer, 2012; 2016). As has been seen, the contexts in which brokering practices occur and the socio-relational, cultural and developmental factors inherent within them, impact significantly on how these roles are perceived by children, albeit retrospectively in this study. It is essential therefore that future research in this field takes such factors into account and elicits the experiences of child brokers in 'present time' to ascertain how such experiences can maximise perceptions of self-efficacy and empowerment and minimise anxiety and conflict. Furthermore, within school, health and other relevant contexts, where child brokering is most commonly conducted, strategies which mitigate the risk of harm, for example the exposure of children to sensitive or conflictual brokering contexts whilst simultaneously recognising the empowering social and cognitive benefits afforded child brokers would serve to highlight and celebrate the complexity of

children's cultural and linguistic brokering roles and challenge normative assumptions predicated on developmentalist assumptions (Crafter and Iqbal, 2021). A conceptual framework which focuses on the metalinguistic and transcultural competences of child brokers would support policy makers and practitioners to develop a more expanse understanding of such roles. Dissemination of the findings from this thesis, via institutional seminars, academic conferences, and post-doctoral research publications will contribute to this process, as stipulated on the participant consent forms (Appendix 9). Finally, at policy level, within health, education, welfare and social justice domains, further recognition of the ideological and structural factors which facilitate and preclude family resettlement post-migration, and the role of child brokers therein, would help ensure that child brokering takes place in supportive contexts which empower children and families to attain dignity, positive self-identities, and a sense of belonging.

7.6. Concluding Comments.

To conclude, despite the limitations cited above, and the areas requiring further interrogation, the thesis has broadly met its central aims of exploring the retrospective perspectives of cultural brokering roles assumed by children, within their families, during the resettlement process following migration and the factors which may influence these cultural brokering roles at the macro and micro level. The research findings echo the contested and contradictory perspectives towards children's cultural and linguistic brokering roles, with such practices simultaneously positioned as both beneficial and burdensome (Bauer, 2016) depending on the normative assumptions underpinning such positionings. The ubiquity, breadth and pervasive nature of such roles within (im)migrant communities has started to be more widely acknowledged within mainstream contexts, reflected in the vast body of work currently dedicated to

this field of study. The choice of Bioecological Systems Theory as the theoretical framework, and its close alignment with the BNIM methodology provides a distinctive model through which to explore the idiographic experiences of child brokers, and their perspectives towards their brokering roles over time, and the extent to which these experiences are shaped by multiple familial and societal factors. The majority of participants in this study perceived these roles, from a retrospective viewpoint, predominantly positively both in terms of the academic and personal skills gained, and the contribution made to their families' resettlement. The manner in which the latter benefit is manifest has been more challenging to identify, due to the myriad factors impacting on the integration of (im)migrant families into receiving community cultures. The B/EST theoretical framework has identified where structural and attitudinal barriers to 'successful' (a subjective term) may be located, and it is essential to acknowledge the agentic capacity of (im)migrant communities in shaping and selecting the contexts necessary for integration, and those essential for the retention of heritage identities. Child brokers undoubtedly play a role in bridging such enculturation (Weinreich, 2008) processes, and further research combining the perspectives of both parents and children on brokering practices would be beneficial.

In conclusion, the findings from my research contribute to the academic field in a number of ways. The alignment in the thesis between my social-constructivist paradigm, the BNIM methodology, and the positioning of B/EST as a sociological tool for analysis, offers a valuable insight into the multiple systemic factors impacting upon the role of child cultural and linguistic brokering during and after family resettlement post-migration. Furthermore, the retrospective narratives, shaped by temporal contextual factors located in the Chronosystem, illustrate how children are impacted by

these brokering roles over time. The framing of these roles retrospectively enabled the participants to identify key benefits and harms contingent on their present positionalities. The relationship between family resettlement, identity and belonging, and the manner in which these are informed by the socio-relational factors in the family and wider community is another significant contribution. Finally, the pervasive and ongoing nature of linguistic and cultural (re)negotiation characteristic of (im)migrant communities and reflected in the myriad and persistent brokering activities of the participants, locates child brokering as a continuum experience, thereby challenging adult-child dependency dichotomies (Uprichard, 2008; Bauer, 2012, 2016) and requires a re-framing of constructions of children which position them as vulnerable, dependent and passive.

Reference List.

Abrahao, M.H.M.B. (2012) 'Autobiographical Research: Memory, Time and Narratives in the First Person', *European Journal for Research on the Education and Learning of Adults*, 3(1), pp. 29-41. http://dx.doi.org/10.3384/rela.2000-7426.rela0051

Agar, M. and Hobbs, J.R. (1982) 'Interpreting Discourse: Coherence and the Analysis of Ethnographic Interviews', *Discourse Processes*, 5(1), pp.1-31.

Ager, A. and Strang, A. (2008) 'Understanding Integration: A Conceptual Framework', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 21(2), pp.166-188. https://doi:10.1093/jrs/fen016

Allen, W., Blinder, S. and McNeil, R. (2017) 'Media reporting of migrants and migration' *World Migration Report,* IOM: Geneva.

Antonsich, M. (2010) 'Searching for Belonging: An Analytical Framework', Geography Compass, 4 (6), pp. 644-659. https://10.1111/j.1749-81898.2009.00317

Arzubiaga, A.E., Nogueron, S.C. and Sullivan, A.L. (2009) 'The Education of Children in (Im)migrant Families'. *Review of Research in Education*, 33, pp. 246-271. http://dx.doi.org/10.3102/0091732X08328243

Bailey, J. (2008) 'First steps in qualitative data analysis: transcribing', *Family Practitioner*, 25(2), pp.127-31. http://doi.org.10.1093/fampra/cmn003

Bates, T. R. (1975) 'Gramsci and the Theory of Hegemony', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol 36 (2), pp.351-366.

Bartram, D., Povos, M.V. and Monforte, P. (2014) *Key Concepts in Migration*. London: Sage Publications, available at: https://www.perlego.com/book/861313/key-concepts-in-migration-pdf (accessed 12/01/2020).

Bauer, E. (2012) 'Reconstructing Moral Identities in Memories of Childhood Language Brokering. *International Migration*, 15(5), pp.205-218. https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12030

Bauer, E. (2016) 'Practicing kinship care: Children as language brokers in migrant families', *Childhood*, 23(91), pp.22-36. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0907568215574917

Berger, R. (2013)' Now I see it, now I don't: researcher's position and reflexivity in qualitative research, *Qualitative Research*, 0 (0), pp. 1-16. DOI: https://doi.org.10.1177/1468794112468475

Bhabha, H.K. (1994) *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203820551

Bhatia, S. and Ram, A. (2001) 'Rethinking 'Acculturation' in Relation to Diasporic Cultures and Postcolonial Identities', *Human Development*, 44(1), pp. 1-18. https://www.jstor.org/stable/26763492

Bhouris, R.L.; Moise, C.L.; Perrault, S. and Senecal, S. (1997) 'Towards an Interactive Acculturation Model: A Special Psychological Approach'. *International Journal of Psychology*, 32(6), pp. 369-386. https://doi.org/10.1080/002075997400629

Bhugra, D. (2014) 'Migration, distress and cultural identity' *British Medical Bulletin*, *The British Council*, 69, p.129-141. https://doi.org/10.1093/bmb/ldh007

Bhugra, D. and Becker, M.A (2005) 'Migration, cultural bereavement and cultural identity', *World Psychiatry*, 4(1), pp. 18-24. PMID: 16633496; PMCID: PMC1414713.

Birman, D. and Simon, C.D. (2014)' Acculturation Research: Challenges, Complexities, and Possibilities', in F. T. L. Leong, L. Comas-Díaz, G. C. Nagayama Hall, V. C. McLoyd, & J. E. Trimble (Eds.), In F. T. L. Leong, L. Comas-Díaz, G. C. Nagayama Hall, V. C. McLoyd, & J. E. Trimble (Eds.), *APA handbook of multicultural psychology*, *Vol. 1. Theory and research*, pp. 207–230. American Psychological Association. https://doi.org/10.1037/14189-011

Bivand-Erdal, M. and Oeppen, C. (2020) 'Forced to Leave: The Discursive and Analytical Significance of Describing Migration as Forced and Voluntary' in Collins, F.L. and Carling, (Eds) *Aspiration, Desire and the Drivers of Migration*. London: Taylor and Francis, available at: https://www.perlego.com/book/1584150/aspiration-desire-and-the-drivers-of-migration-pdf (accessed 31/03/2021).

Blinder and Richards (2020) *Briefing: UK Public Opinion toward Immigration: Overall Attitudes and Level of Concern*, available at: Briefing-UK-Public-Opinion-toward-Immigration-Overall-Attitudes-and-Level-of-Concern.pdf (ox.ac.uk) (accessed 31/03/2021)

Bolger, K.E. and Paterson, C.J. (2003) 'Sequelae of Child Maltreatment: Vulnerability and Resilience', in Luthar, S.S. (Ed) *Resilience and Vulnerability. Adaptation in the Context of Childhood Adversities*, Cambridge: CUP, pp. 156-182.

Bottrell, D. (2009) 'Understanding Marginal Perspectives: Towards a Social Theory of Resilience', *Qualitative Social Work*, 8(3), pp. 321-339. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1473325009337840

Boyden, J and Mann, G. (2005) 'Children's Risk, Resilience and Coping in Extreme Situations', in Ungar, M. (ed) *Handbook for Working with Children and Youth: Pathways to Resilience across Cultures and Contexts*. Thousand Oaks, CA. Sage, pp.3-26.

Brannen, J., Elliott, H. and Phoenix, A. (2016) 'Narratives of success among Irish and African Caribbean migrants', 39(10), *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2015.1124125

Breckner, R. and Rupp, S. (2002) 'Discovering biographies in changing social worlds: the biographical interpretive method', in Chamberlayne, P., Rustin, M. and Wengraf, T. (Eds) *Biography and Social Exclusion in Europe: Experiences and Life Journeys*. Bristol: Polity Press, pp.289-308.

British Educational Research Association (2018) *Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research* (4th Edn). Available at: https://www.bera.ac.uk/resources/all-publications/resources-for-researchers (accessed 29/12/2020).

Bronfebrenner, U. (1975) 'Reality and Research in the Ecology of Human Development'. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 119, pp. 439-469.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1977) 'Towards an Experimental Ecology of Human Development', *American Psychologist*, 32, pp.513-531.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979) *The Ecology of Human Development: Experiments by Nature and Design*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1986) 'Ecology of the Family as a Context for Human Development: Research Perspectives' *Developmental Psychology*, 22, pp.723-742.

Bronfenbrenner, U. and Ceci, S.J. (1994) 'Nature-nurture reconceptualised: A Bioecological Model.' *Psychological Review*, 101, pp. 568-586. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-295X.101.4.568

Bronfenbrenner, U., and Morris, P. A. (1998) 'The Ecology of Developmental Processes,' in W. Damon, W. and Lerner, R.M. (Orgs.) *Handbook of Child Psychology, Vol. 1: Theoretical Models of Human Development*, New York: John Wiley, pp. 993-1028

Bronfenbrenner, U., and Morris, P. A. (2006) 'The Bioecological Model of Human Development', in Lerner, R.M. and Damon, W. (Eds.), *Handbook of child psychology: Theoretical models of human development*, New York: John Wiley, pp. 793–828.

Brooker, E. (2002) *Starting School-Young Children Learning Cultures*. Buckingham: OUP.

Brooker, E. and Woodhead, M. (eds) (2008) *Developing Positive Identities: Diversity and Young Children. Early Childhood in Focus* (3). Milton Keynes: Open University. http://www.ecdgroup.com/docs/lib_005464256.pdf

Buckner, S. (2005) 'Taking the debate on reflexivity further: psychodynamic team analysis of a BNIM interview'. *Journal of Social Work Practice*, 19 (1), pp. 59-72. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02650530500071969

Bunch, A.J. (2015) 'Epistemic Violence in the Process of Othering: Real-World Applications in Moving Forward' *Scholarly Undergraduate Research Journal at Clarke*, 1(2), pp. 11-18. https://commons.clarku.edu/surj/vol1/iss1/2

Butler, J. (2006) *Gender Trouble and the Subversion of Identity*. London: Routledge.

Cassidy, K. (2019) 'When can I get free? Everyday bordering, everyday incarceration', *Trans Inst*
Br Geography, 44, pp.48–62. https://doi.org/10.1111/tran.1227

Chakravorty Spivak, G. (2010) 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' in Morris (Ed) *Can the Subaltern Speak: Reflections on the History of an Idea*, New York: Colombia University Press. Available at: https://ereader.perlego.com/1/book/775134/9

Chamberlayne, P., Rustin, M. and Wengraf, T. (Eds) (2002) *Biography and Social Exclusion in Europe: Experiences and Life Journeys*. Bristol: Polity Press.

Chamberlayne, P., Bornat, J. and Wengraf, T. (2003) *The Turn to Biographical Methods in Social Science: Comparative Issues and Examples*, London: Routledge. Available at: https://ereader.perlego.com/1/book/1614213/3 (accessed /5/10/2021).

Christensen, J. (2016) 'A Critical Reflection of Bronfenbrenner's Development Ecology Model', *Problems of Education in the 21st Century*, 69, pp. 22-28. http://dx.doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.1.2959.7681

Cline, T., Crafter, S., O'Dell, L. and de Abreu, G. (2011) 'Young people's representations of language brokering', *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 32(3), pp. 207-220. http://www.informaworld.com/openurl?genre=article&id=doi:10.1080/01434632.2011.558901

Cline, T., Crafter, S., and Prokopiou, E. (2014) *Child Language Brokering in School: Final Research Report*, available at: https://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/id/eprint/1525693/1/Child_Language_Brokering_in_Schools_Final_Research_Report.pdf (accessed 2/05/2020)

Collins, F.L. and Carling, J. (2020) *Aspiration, Desire and the Drivers of Migration*. London: Routledge, available at: https://www.perlego.com/book/1584150/aspiration-desire-and-the-drivers-of-migration-pdf (accessed 31/03/2021).

Connolly, M.F. and Clandinin, J.D. (1990) 'Stories of Experience in Narrative Inquiry', *Educational Researcher*, 19 (5), pp.2-14. https://doi.org/10.2307/1176100

Cooper, G., Blumell, L. and Bunce, M. (2021) 'Beyond the "Refugee Crisis": How the UK news media represents asylum seekers across national boundaries,' *International Communication Gazette*, 83(3), pp. 195-216. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1748048520913230

Corbally, M. and O'Neill, C.S. (2014) 'An Introduction to Biographical Narrative Interpretive Method', *Nurse Researcher*, 21(5), pp.34-39. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/262562988_Corbally_M_and_O'Neill_C_S_2014_An_introduction_to_the_biographical_narrative_interpretive_method_Nurse_Researcher_21_5_34-39

Corona, R., Stevens, L.F., Halfond, R.W., Shaffer, C.M., Reid-Quinones, K. and Gonzalez, T. (2012) 'A Qualitative Analysis of What Latino Parents and Adolescents Think and Feel About Language Brokering', *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 21, pp.788-798. http://doi.org.uk/10.1007/s10826-011-9536-2

Cortes Gomez, I. (2020) 'Antigypsism as Symbolic and Epistemic Violence in Informative Journalism in Spain 2010-2018' *Critical Romani Studies*, pp. 5-24. https://doi.org/10.29098/crs.v3i1.74

Crafter, S. and Abreu, G. (2010) 'Constructing Identities in Multicultural Learning Contexts', *Mind Culture and Activity*, 17(2), pp. 102-118, http://dx.doi.org/doi:10.1080/10749030802707895

Crafter, S., Guida de Abreu, G., Tony Cline, T. and O'Dell, L. (2015) 'Using Vignette Methodology as a Tool for Exploring Cultural Identity Positions of Language Brokers,' *Journal of Constructivist Psychology*, 28 (1), pp. 83-96. https://doi.org/10.1080/10720537.2014.923354

Crafter, S., Cline, T. & Prokopiou, E. (2017). 'Young adult language brokers' and teachers' views of the advantages and disadvantages of brokering in school'. In R. Weisskirch (ed.). *Language Brokering in Immigrant Families*, New York: Routledge, pp. 224-244, available at https://ereader.perlego.com/1/book/1569846/21

Crafter, S. and Iqbal, H. (2020) 'The contact zone and dialogical positionalities in 'non-normative' childhoods: How children who language broker manage conflict.' *Review of General Psychology. Review of General Psychology,* 24(1) pp. 31–42. https://doi.org/10.1177/1089268019896354

Crafter, S. and Iqbal, H. (2021) 'Child language brokering as family care practice: Reframing the 'parentified child' debate', *Children and Society*, 00, e12485. https://doi.org/10.1111/chso.12485

Crenshaw, K. (1991) 'Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color', *Stanford Law Review*, 43(6) pp. 1241-1299. https://www.jstor.org/stable/1229039

Crotty, M. (2009). *The Foundations of Social Research. Meanings and Perspectives in the Research Process*. London: Sage Publications.

Crystal, D. (2003) *English as a Global Language* (3rd Edn). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Available at: http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org/academy/pdf/research/books/nation_branding/English_As_A_Global_Language_-_David_Crystal.pdf (accessed 09/10/2021).

Darwin Holmes, A.G. (2020) 'Researcher Positionality - A Consideration of Its Influence and Place in Qualitative Research - A New Researcher Guide', *International Journal of Education*, 8(4), pp.1-10. https://doi.org/10.34293/

De Haas, H., Castles, S. and Miller, M.J. (2020*) The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, London: Red Globe Press, available at https://ereader.perlego.com/1/book/2997206/3 (accessed 30/10/2021)

De Valle, P., McEarchern, A.G., and Sabina, M.Q. (1999) 'Using Drawings and Writings in a Group Counselling Experience with Cuban Rafter Children, "los balseritos", *Guidance and Counselling*, 14 (4), pp. 20-28.

Denzin, N.K., and Lincoln, Y.S. (1998) *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry*. London: Sage Publications.

Department for Education (DfE) (2021) *School workforce census 2021: guides,* available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/school-workforce-census-2021-guides (accessed 12/06/2021).

Dercon, S. and Krishnan, P. (2009) 'Poverty and Psychosocial Competencies of Children: Evidence from the Young Lives Sample in Four Developing Countries', *Children, Youth and Environments*, 19(2), pp. 138-163. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/284313608_Poverty_and_the_psychosocial_competencies_of_children_Evidence_from_the_Young_Lives_sample_in_four_developing_countries

Dodds, S. and Hess, C. (2020) 'Adapting Research Methodology during Covid-19: Lessons for Transformative Service Research', *Journal of Service Management,* 3(2), pp. 203-217. https://www.emerald.com/insight/content/doi/10.1108/JOSM-05-2020-0153/full/pdf?title=adapting-research-methodology-during-covid-19-lessons-for-transformative-service-research (accessed 12/11/2020)

Dorner, L.M., Orellana, M.J., and Jiminez, R. (2008) '" It's one of the those things that you do to help the family" : Language brokering and the development of immigrant adolescents' *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 23, pp. 515-543, https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0743558408317563

Dorning, L.M., Orellena, M.F. and Li Grinning, C.P. (2007) "I helped my Mom and it Helped Me: Translating the Skills of Language Brokers into Improved Standardized Test Scores*, American Journal of Education*, 113, (3), pp. 451-478. https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/512740 (accessed 12/11/2020)

Falicov, C.J. (2016) 'Migration and the family life cycle'. In McGoldrick, M., Garcia-Preto, N., & Carter, B. (Eds.), *The expanded family life cycle: Individual, family and social perspectives* (5th ed., Chapter 12). Massachusetts: Allyn & Bacon, pp.222-239. Available at: file:///C:/Users/rebeccac/Downloads/MigrationandtheFamilyLifeCycle5thEd.2016.pdf (accessed 12/12/

Fanon, F. (1961) *The Wretched of the Earth*, New York: Evergreen (1991), available at https://abahlali.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/04/Frantz-Fanon-The-Wretched-of-the-Earth-1965.pdf (accessed 12/10/2021)

Fanon, F. (1952) Black Skin, White Masks, London: Pluto Press, (1986), available at: https://monoskop.org/images/a/a5/Fanon_Frantz_Black_Skin_White_Masks_1986.pdf (accessed 12/12/2021)

Fazel, M., Reed, R.V., Panter-Brick, C. and Stein, A. (2012) 'Mental health of displaced and refugee children resettled in high-income countries: risk and protective factors', *The Lancet*, 379, pp. 226-282. https://doi.org/10.1016/s0140-6736(11)60051-2

Fisher, C.B. and Anushko, A.E. (2018) 'Research Ethics in Social Science', in Alasuutari, P., Bickman, L. and Brannen, J. (Eds) *The Sage Handbook of Social Research Methods*. London: Sage Publications, pp. 95-109. Available at: https://uk.sagepub.com/en-gb/eur/the-sage-handbook-of-social-research-methods/book228804 (accessed 29/12/2021)

Fogle, K.A. and King, L.W (2013) 'Family Language Policy and Bilingual Parenting', *Language Teaching*, 46(2), pp. 172-194. https://doi:10.1017/S0261444812000493

Ford, R. and Lymperopoulou, K. (2018) 'British Social Attitudes 34: Immigration' *National Centre for Social Research*, pp. 1-30. https://bsa.natcen.ac.uk/media/39148/bsa34_immigration_final.pdf (accessed 15/08/2020).

Fogget, L. and Chamberlayne, P. (2004) 'Narratives of Social Enterprise: From Biography to Practice and Policy'*, Qualitative Social Work*, 3(1), pp.61-77. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1473325004041132

Garmezy, N. (1971) 'Vulnerability Research and Issues of Primary Prevention'. *Orthopsychiatry*, 14(1), pp. 101-114.

Gergen, K. (2001) *Social Construction in Context*. London: Sage Publications.

Giddens, A. (1982) 'Power, the Dialectic of Control and Class Structuration', in Giddens, A. *Profiles and Critiques in Social Theory.* London: Macmillan Publishing, pp.197-214.

Giddens, A. (1984) *The Constitution of Society: Outline of The Theory of Structuration*. Cambridge Polity Press, 2013, available at https://ereader.perlego.com/1/book/1535565/1

Goffman, I. (1959) The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life. London: Penguin Books, 1990

Goodson, I.F. and Gill, S.R. (2011) 'The Narrative Turn in Social Research', *Counterpoints: Narrative Pedagogy, Life History and Learning*, 386, pp.17-33. https://doi.org/10.1002/berj.3014

Griffiths, M. (2017) 'Foreign, criminal: a doubly damned modern British folk-devil', *Citizenship Studies*, 21(5), pp. 527-546, https://doi.org/10.1080/13621025.2017.1328486

Griffiths, M. and Yeo, C. (2021) 'The UK's Hostile Environment: Deputising immigration control' *Critical Social Policy*, 0, pp.1-24. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0261018320980653

Guan, S-S, A., Nash, A. and Orellana, M.F. (2015) 'Cultural and social processes of language brokering among Arab, Asian and Latin immigrants'*, Journal of Multicultural Development.* http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2015.1044997

Gutierrez, K.D. and Rogoff, B. (2003) 'Cultural Ways of Learning: Individual Traits or Repertoires of Practice, *Educational Research*, 32(5), pp.19-25. https://doi.org/10.3102%2F0013189X032005019

Gyogi, E. (2014) 'Children's agency in language choice: a case study of two Japanese-English bilingual children in London'. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, O(O), pp. 1-16. https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2014.956043

Habermas, T. (2019) *Emotion and narrative: Perspectives in autobiographical storytelling,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ha Choi, K. (2020) 'Reflective journals in qualitative inquiry', *QualPage*, available at: https://qualpage.com/2020/12/03/reflective-journals-in-qualitative-inquiry/ (accessed 10/09/2021)

Hall, N. and Guery, F. (2010) 'Child Language Brokering: Some Considerations', *mediAzioni,* 10, pp. 24-46.

Hall, N. and Sham, S. (2007). 'Language Brokering as Young People's Work: Evidence from Chinese Adolescents in England', *Language and Education*, 21(1), pp.16-30. https://doi.org/10.2167/le645.0

Hammersley, M. (2008) *Questioning Qualitative Inquiry*. London: Sage Publications.

Harris, B. (2008) *An Annotated Chronological Biography of a Century of Natural Translation Studies* (1908-2008), available at: http://www3.uva.es/uvalal/Enlaces/B_Harris-Natural_Translation.pdf (accessed 4/04/21)

Hart, C.S. and Brando, N. (2018) 'A Capability Approach to Children's Well-being, Agency and Participatory Rights in Education', *European Journal of Education*, 53, pp.293-309. https://doi.org/10.1111/ejed.12284

Higher Education Standards Agency (HESA) (2020) *Higher Education Staff Statistics: UK, 2019/20.* Available at: https://www.hesa.ac.uk/news/19-01-2021/sb259-higher-education-staff-statistics (accessed 05/08/2021).

HM Government (2021) *Policy and legislative changes affecting migration to the UK: timeline* Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/policy-and-legislative-changes-affecting-migration-to-the-uk-timeline (accessed 06/10/2021)

House of Commons Library (2015) *Government policy on support for pupils with English as an additional language – Westminster Hall debate.* Available at: https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/cdp-2015-0016/ (accessed 04/10/2021).

HM Government Department for UK Visas and Immigration (2016) Immigration Act 2016, available at: https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2016/19/contents/enacted (accessed 12/07/2021)

Horst, H. (2011) 'Reclaiming Place: The Architecture of Home, Family and Migration', *Anthropologica*, 53, (1), pp. 29-39.

Hutchby, I. and Moran-Ellis, J. (1998) *Children and Social Competence: Arenas of Action.* London: Falmer Press.

Hyvarinen, M. (2010) 'Revisiting the Narrative Turn', *Life Writing*, 7(1), pp.69-82. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14484520903342957

Ibrahim, N. (2016) 'Enacting identities: children's narratives on person, place and experience in fixed and hybrid spaces, *Education Inquiry*, 7(1), pp. 69-91. https://doi.org/10.3402/edui.v7.27595

Islam, G. (2014) 'Social Identity Theory' *Grenoble Ecole de Management*, pp. 1781-1783.

James, A. and Prout, A. (eds) (1997) *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood: Contemporary Issues in Sociological Study of Childhood*, London: Routledge.

Jasper, M. A. (2005). 'Using reflective writing within research', *Journal of Research in Nursing*, 10(3), pp. 247-260. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F174498710501000303

Jones, K. (2003) 'The turn to a narrative knowing of persons: one method explored,' *NT research*, Vol 8, (1), pp. 60-71. Available at: https://www.academia.edu/2570480/The_turn_to_a_narrative_knowing_of_persons_One_method_explored (accessed 31/03/2020).

Jovchelovitch, S. and Bauer, M.W. (2000) Narrative Interviewing. London: LSE Research Online, available at: http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/2633 (accessed 31/12/2020).

Kam, J.A. and Lazarevic, V. (2014) 'The Stressful (and Not So Stressful) Nature of Language Brokering: Identifying When Brokering Functions as a Cultural Stressor for Latino Immigrant Children in Early Adolescence,' *Journal of Youth Adolescence*, 43, pp. 1994-2011. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-013-0061-z

Kam, J. A., Guntzviller, L. M., & Stohl, C. (2017) 'New approaches to studying language brokering from a communication perspective', in R. Weisskirch (Ed.), *Language brokering in immigrant families: Theories and contexts* (pp. 26–47). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315644714-3

Kamenopoulou, L. (2016) 'Ecological Systems Theory: A Valuable Framework for Research on Inclusion and Special Educational Needs/Disabilities, *Pedagogy*, 88(4), pp. 515-527.

Kawabata, M. and Denise Gastaldo, D. (2015) 'The Less Said, the Better: Interpreting Silence in Qualitative Research' *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, pp.1-9. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1609406915618123

Killian, C. (2011) 'Integrative Perspectives on Acculturation', *American Psychologist*, pp.154-155 https://doi:10.1037/a002242

Kim, T. (2010) 'Transnational Academic Mobility, Knowledge and Identity Capital In Discourse', *Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 31(5), pp. 577-592. https://doi.org/10.1080/01596306.2010.516939

Kim, T. (2014) 'The intellect, mobility and epistemic positioning in doing comparisons and comparative education', *Comparative Education*, 50(1), pp. 58-72. https://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03050068.2013.874237

Kim, T. and Ng, W. (2019) 'Ticking the 'other' box: positional identities of East Asian academics in UK universities, internationalisation and diversification'. *Policy Reviews in Higher Education,* 3(1), pp. 94-119. *https://doi.org/10.1080/23322969.2018.1564886*

Kim, T. (2021) 'The positional identities of East Asian mobile academics in UK Higher Education: a comparative analysis of internationalisation and equality and diversity' in Klerides, E. & Carney, S. (Eds.). *Identities and education: Comparative perspectives in times of crisis.* London: Bloomsbury, pp.47-70. https://DOI:10.5040/9781350141322.ch-003.

Krzyzanowski, M. and Wodak, R. (2007) 'Multiple Identities, Migration and Belonging: 'Voices of Migrants' in Caldas-Coulthard, C and Iedema, R. (eds), *Identity Troubles*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 95-119.

La Barbera, M.C. (2015) in La Barbera, M.C (ed) 'Identity and Migration in Europe: Multidisciplinary Perspectives', *International Perspectives on Migration 13.*

Landsberger, H. A. (1958). *Hawthorne Revisited*. New York: Ithaca.

Lazarevic, V. (2016) 'Effects of cultural brokering on individual wellbeing and family dynamics among immigrant youth', *Journal of Adolescence*, 55, pp. 77-87. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2016.12.010

Leonard, M. (2005) 'Children, Childhood and Social Capital: Exploring the Links, *Sociology*, 39(4), pp. 605-622. https://doi.10.117/0038038505052490.

Leonard, M. (2009) 'Children's Agency in Politically Divided Societies: The Case of Northern Ireland', *Sociological Studies of Children and Youth*, 12, pp.115-138, https://doi:10.1108/S1537-4661(2009)0000012010

Leonard, M. (2015) *The Sociology of Children, Childhood and Generation*. London: Sage Publications, available at: https://www.perlego.com/book/1232882/the-sociology-of-children-childhood-and-generation-pdf (accessed 12/04/2020)

Lopez, B.G. (2019) 'Incorporating language brokering experiences into bilingualism research: An examination of informal translation practices,' *Lang Linguist Compass,* 14. https://doi.org/10.1111/inc3.12361

Luqmani-Thompson Partners (2014) *Strategic Legal Fund: Operation Nexus Briefing Paper* https://luqmanithompson.com/wp-content/uploads/Operation-Nexus-Briefing-Paper.pdf (accessed 04/07/2021).

Love, J. A. and Buriel, R. (2007) 'Language Brokering, Autonomy, Parent-Child Bonding, Biculturalism, and Depression: A Study of Mexican American Adolescents From Immigrant Families', *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 29(4), pp. 472-491. http://doi.10.1177/0739986307307229

Luykx, A. (2005) 'Children as Socialising Agents: Family Language Policy in Situations of Language Shift', *Proceedings of the 4th International Symposium on Bilingualism.*

Masten, A. S. (2014*) Ordinary Magic: Resilience in Development*. New York: Guildford Press.

Mayall, B. (1994) *Children's Childhoods Observed and Experienced*. London: Routledge.

Mayall, B. (2000) 'The sociology of childhood in relation to children's rights'. *The International Journal of Children's Rights*, 8, pp. 243-259.

McBrien, J.L. and Day, R. (2012) 'From There to Here: using Photography to Explore Perspectives of Resettled Refugee Youth'. *International Journal of Child, Youth and Family Studies,* 4(1), pp. 546-568. https://scholarcommons.usf.edu/sigs_facpub_sm/32 (accessed 5/10/2021)

McQuillan, J. and Tse, L. (1995) 'Child language brokering in linguistic minority communities: Effects on cultural interaction, cognition and literacy,' *Language and Education*, 9(3), pp. 195-215.

Mehmedbogovic, D. and Bak, T.H. (2017) 'Towards an interdisciplinary lifetime approach to multilingualism: From implicit assumptions to current evidence, *European Journal of Language Policy,* 9(2), pp.149-167. https://doi.org/10.3828/ejlp.2017.10

Memmi, A. (1974) *The Colonizer and the Colonized*. London: Profile Books (2021).

Meraz, R.L., Osteen, K, and McGee, J. (2019) 'Applying Multiple Methods of Systematic Evaluation in Narrative Analysis for Greater Validity and Deeper Meaning,' *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 18, pp. 1–6. https://doi.org/10.1177/1609406919892472

Mishler, E. (1989) Language, Meaning and Narrative Analysis, in Mishler, E. (Ed) *Research Interviewing*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, pp. 2-12.

Moen, T. (2006) 'Reflections on the Narrative Research Approach,' *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 5(4), pp. 56-69. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F160940690600500405

Morris, R. (2010) *Can the Subaltern Speak: Reflections on the History of an Idea*, New York: Colombia University Press. Available at: https://ereader.perlego.com/1/book/775134/9

Morrow, V. (1994) 'Responsible Children? Aspects of Children's Work and Employment Outside School in Contemporary UK', in Mayall, B. (Ed) *Children's Childhoods Observed and Experienced*, London: Routledge, pp.128-144.

Nair, S. (2017) 'Introducing Postcolonialism in International Relations Theory', *E-International Relations*, pp. 1-5. https://www.e-ir.info/2017/12/08/postcolonialism-in-international-relations-theory/

Nash, A. (2017) 'Arab-Americans' Brokering in the Context of Tensions and Stereotypes: "It's Just a Head-Cover, Get Over It!"', in Weisskirch, R.S. (Ed) *Language Brokering in Immigrant Families: Theories and Contexts*. London: Routledge, available at: https://ereader.perlego.com/1/book/1569846/15

Navas, M.; Rojas, A.J.; Garcia, M. and Pumaries, P. (2007) 'Acculturation Strategies and Attitudes According to the Relative Acculturation Extended Model (RAEM): The Perspectives of Natives vs Migrants. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 31, pp. 67-86. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2006.08.002

Ni Raghallaigh, M. and Gilligan, R. (2010) 'Active Survival in the Lives of Unaccompanied Minors: Coping strategies, resilience and relevance of religion', *Child and Family Social Work*, 15, pp. 226-237. http://Doi.org:10.1111/j.1365-2206.2009.00663.x

Ng. K. (2021) 'How British east and southeast Asians are fighting racism during the pandemic', *The Independent*, 13th January 2021, available at: https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/coronavirus-racism-hate-crime-south-east-asians-b1770177.html (accessed 07/07/2021).

Noble, H. and Mitchell, G. (2016) 'What is Grounded Theory?' *Evidenced Based Nursing*, 19 (2), pp.34-35.

Norozi, S.A. and Moen, T. (2016) 'Childhood as a Social Construction,' *Journal of Educational and Social Research,* 6(2), pp.75-80. http://doi.org.10.5901/jesr.2016.v6n2p75

Nowicka, M. (2007) 'Mobile locations: construction of home in a group of mobile transnational professionals' *Global Networks,* 7(1), pp. 69–86. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-0374.2006.00157.

Nowicka, M. (2014) 'Successful Earners and Failing Others: Transnational Orientation as Biographical Resource in the Context of Labor Migration,' *International Migration*, 52, (1), pp. 74-86. https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12144

Oakley, A. (1994) 'Women and Children First and Last: Parallels and Differences between Children's and Women's Studies', in Mayall, B. (ed) *Children's Childhoods Observed and Experienced*. London: Routledge, pp. 13-33.

Oblazamengo, J.E., Medina-Jimenez, M.R. and Nzai, V.E. (2014) 'Language Brokering Affects Bilingual Children Parents' Acculturation Processes in South Texas', *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science,* 4(3), pp. 9-20.

Obradovic, J. (2012) 'How can the study of physiological reactivity contribute to our understanding of adversity and resilience processes in development?' *Developmental Psychopathology* Vol 24, (2), pp. pp.371-387. https://doi.org/10.1017/s0954579412000053

Office for National Statistics (ONS) (2020) *Migration Statistics Quarterly Report*, available at: https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration (accessed 04/04/21)

Orellana, M.F. (2003) 'Responsibilities of Children in Latino Immigrant Homes', *New Directions for Youth Development*, 100, pp. 25-39. https://doi.org/10.1002/yd.61

Orellana, M.F. (2009) *Translating Childhoods: Immigrant youth, language and culture*. Piscataway NJ: Rutger UP.

Orellana, M.F. (2015) *Immigrant Children in Transcultural Spaces: Language, Learning and Love.* London: Taylor Francis, available at: https://ereader.perlego.com/1/book/1559587 (accessed 12/12/2020).

Orellana, M.F and Phoenix, A. (2017) 'Re-interpreting: Narratives of childhood language brokering over time'. *Childhood,* 24(2), pp.183-196, http://dx.doi.org.10.1177/0907568216671178

Oswell, D. (2013) *The Agency of Children: From Family to Global Human Rights*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

O'Toole Thommessen, S.A. and Todd, B.K. (2017) 'How do refugee children experience their new situation in England and Denmark? Implications for educational policy and practice', *Children and Youth Services Review*, 85, pp. 228-238. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2017.12.025

Parekh, B. (2002*) The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain: The Parekh Report*, Runnymede Trust, London: Profile Books.

Parveen, N. (2021) 'Confronting hate against east Asians – a photo essay', *The Guardian, 19th May 2021, available at: https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2021/may/19/confronting-hate-against-east-asians-a-photo-essay* (accessed 07/07/2021).

Philo, G., Briant, E. and Donald, P. (2014) *Bad News for Refugees*. London: Pluto Press

Pocock, T., Smith, M. and Wiles, J. (2021) 'Recommendations of Virtual Qualitative Health Research, Qualitative Health Research, 31(13), pp. 2403–2413. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F10497323211036891

Polkinghorne, D. E. (1991) 'Narrative and Self-Concept'. *Journal of Narrative and Life History*, 1(2 and 3), pp. 135-153.

Portes, A. and Rumbaut, R.G. (1996) *Immigrant America: A portrait*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Portes, A. (1997) 'Immigration Theory for a New Century: Some Problems and Opportunities', *The International Migration Review, Special Issue: Immigrant Adaptation and Native-Born Responses in the Making of Americans*, 31(4), pp. 799-825. https://www.jstor.org/stable/2547415

Portes, A. and Rumbaut, R.G (2005) 'The second generation and the Children of Immigrants: Longitudinal Study'. *Ethnic and Racial Studie*s, 28, pp. 983-99.

Portes, A. and Rivas, A. (2011) 'The Adaptation of Migrant Children', The Future of Children, 21(1), pp. 219-246. https://www.jstor.org/stable/41229018.

Qin, D.B. (2006) 'The Role of Gender in Immigrant Children's Educational Adaptation', *Current Issues in Comparative Education*, 9(1), pp.1-16.

Qvortrop, J. (1997) 'A Voice for Children in Statistical and Social Accounting: A Plea for Children's Right to be Heard', in Prout, A. and James, A. *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood: Contemporary Issues in Sociological Study of Childhood*. London: Routledge, pp. 85-103.

Ralph, D. and Staeheli, L.A. (2011) 'Home and Migration: Mobilities, Belongings and Identities', *Geography Compass*, 5(7), pp. 517–530. http://doi.org.10.1111/j.1749-8198.2011.00434.x

Refugee Council (2021) *The impact of the New Plan for Immigration Proposals on asylum - June 2021*, available at: https://media.refugeecouncil.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/27161120/New-Plan-for-Immigration-Impact-Analysis-June-2021.pdf (accessed 12/10/21)

Revis, M. (2016) 'A Bourdieusian perspective on child agency in family language policy, *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2016.1239691

Ricoeur, P. (1992) 'Life in Quest of Narrative', in Wood D. (ed) *On Paul Ricoeur, Narrative and Interpretation*. London: Routledge, pp.20-33.

Riessman, C.K. (1990) *Divorce Talk: Women and Men Make Sense of Personal Relationships*: New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Riessman, C.K. (1993) *Narrative Analysis: Qualitative Research Methods Series (30).* London: Sage Publications.

Robson, C. (2002) *Real World Research*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Rohman, A., Florack, A. and Piontkowski, U. (2006) 'The role of discordant acculturation attitudes in perceived threat: An analysis of host and immigrant attitudes

in Germany', *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 30, pp. 683-702. Doi:10.1016/2006.06.006.

Rukundwa, L.S. and van Aarde, A.G. (2007) 'The Formation of Post-Colonial Theory', *HTS Theological Studies*, 63(3), pp. 1171-1194. https://doi.org/10.4102/HTS.V63I3.237

Rumbaut, R.G. (2015) 'Assimilation of Immigrants,' in Wright, J.D (ed), *International Encyclopaedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*, (2nd edn) Oxford: Elsevier, pp. 81–87.

Russell, G. M., & Kelly, N. H. (2002) 'Research as interacting dialogic processes: Implications for reflexivity'. *Social Research*, 3(3), https://doi.org/10.17169/fqs-3.3.831

Rutter, M. (1987) 'Psychological Resilience and Protective Mechanisms'. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 57, pp. 316-331.

Saavedra, C.M. and Salazar Perez, M. (2018)' Global South approaches to bilingual and early childhood teacher education: Disrupting Global North neoliberalism', *Policy Futures in Education*, 16(6), pp. 749-76. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1478210317751271

Savin Baden, M. and Van Niekerk, L. (2007) 'Narrative Inquiry: Theory and Practice,' *Journal of Geography in Higher Education*, 31(3), pp.459-472. https://doi.org/10.1080/03098260601071324

Schwartz, S.J., Unger, J.B., Zamboanga, B.I. and Szapocznik, J. (2010) 'Rethinking the Concept of Acculturation: Implications for Theory and Research,' *American Psychologist*, 65(4), pp.237-251.

Schwartz, S.J.; Unger, J.B.; Zamboanga, B.L. and Szapocznik, J. (2011) 'How Selective is Acculturation? Broadening our Perspective'. *American Psychologist*, pp.155-157.

Schwartz, D.L. (2013) *Symbolic Power, Politics and Intellectuals: The Political Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu*. Chicago: Chicago Press. Available at: https://ereader.perlego.com/1/book/1851951/14 (accessed 08/07/2021).

Seccombe, K. (2002) ' " Beating the Odds" versus "Changing the Odds": Poverty, Resilience and Family Policy', *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 64(2), pp. 384-394. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2002.00384.x

Sen, A. (2006) 'Children and Human Rights' *IHD Foundation Day Lecture*, available from www.ihdindia.org (accessed 27/06/2021).

Sewell, T. (2021) *Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities*, available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-report-of-the-commission-on-race-and-ethnic-disparities (accessed 04/04/2021).

Shen, J.J. and Dennis, J.M. (2019) 'The family context of language brokering among Latino/a young adults', *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 36(1), pp. 131-152. http://doi.org.10.1177/0265407517721379

Shiner, R.L. and Masten, A. (2012) 'Childhood Personality as a harbinger of competence and resilience', *Development and Psychopathology*, 24, pp. 507-528. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0954579412000120

Sime, D. and Fox, R. (2015) Migrant Children, Social Capital and Access to Services Post Migration: Transitions, Negotiations and Complex Agencies', *Children and Society*, 29(6), pp. 524-534. https://doi.org/10.1111/chso.12092

Smidt, S. (2013) *The Developing Child in the 21st Century: A global perspective on child development.* London: Routledge.

Social Scientists Against the Hostile Environment (SSAHE) (2020) *Migration, Racism and the Hostile Environment: Making the Case for the Social Sciences Report.* Available at: https://ssahe.info/report/ (accessed 03/10/2021).

Solberg, A. (1997) 'Negotiating Childhood: Changing Constructions of Age for Norwegian Children', in James, A. and Prout, A. (eds) *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood: Contemporary Issues in Sociological Study of Childhood.* London: Routledge, pp.126-145.

Sorin, R. (2005) 'Changing Images of Childhood-Reconceptualising Early Childhood Practice. *International Journal of Transitions in Childhood*, 1, pp.12-21.

Squire, C. Davis, M. Esim, C. Andrews, M. Harrison, B. Hyden, L.C. and Hyden, M. (2014) *What is Narrative Research?* London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Sternberg, M. and Yacobi, T. (2015) '(Un)Reliability in Narrative Discourse: A Comprehensive Overview'. *Poetics Review,* 36(4), pp. 327-498. https://doi.org/10.1215/03335372-3455114

Strumm, B. (2020) 'Using critical reflection to question self and power in international development', *Gender & Development*, 28(1), pp. 175-192, https://doi.org/10.1080/13552074.2020.1717173

Suarez-Orozco, M.M and Suarez-Orozco, C. (2013) 'Taking Perspective: Context, Culture and History'. *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development*, 41, pp. 9-23.

Taefre, Y. (2014) 'Children's Experiences of Household Poverty Dynamics in Ethiopia, *Young Lives Working Paper, 132*, Oxford: Young Lives. Available at: https://www.younglives.org.uk/node/7208 (accessed 12/10/2018).

Tamboukou, M. (2015) 'Narrative Phenomena: Entanglements and Intra-actions in Narrative Research', in Livholts, M. and Tamboukou, M. *Discourse and Narrative Methods*. London: Sage Publications, pp. 37-47.

Tappan, M.B (2006) 'Reframing Internalized Oppression and Internalized Domination: From the Psychological to the Sociocultural', *Teachers College Record*, 108(10), pp. 2115–2144. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9620.2006.00776.x

Temple, B. and Moran, R. (2011) *Doing Research with Refugees: Issues and Guidelines*. Bristol: Polity Press.

Titzman, P.F. and Michel, A. (2017) 'Friendly Takeover: Predictors and Effects of Language Brokering amongst Diaspora Immigrants in Germany', in Weisskirch, R.S. (ed) *Language Brokering in Immigrant Families: Theories and Contexts*, London: Routledge, available at: https://ereader.perlego.com/1/book/1569846/13

Townsend, E., Nielson, E., Allister, R. and Cassidy, S.A. (2020) 'Key ethical questions for research during the COVID-19 pandemic', *Lancet Psychiatry*, 7(5), pp. 381-383. https://doi.org/10.1016/s2215-0366(20)30150-4

United Kingdom Parliament (2021) *Nationality and Borders Bill*, available at: https://bills.parliament.uk/bills/3023 (accessed 07/12/2021)

United Kingdom Visa and Immigration (2014, updated 2021) Immigration Rules: statement of changes, available at: Immigration Rules: statement of changes - GOV.UK (www.gov.uk) (accessed 10/11/2021)

UNESCO (1989) *United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child.* Paris: UNESCO.

Ungar, M. (2005) 'Pathways to Resilience Across Cultures', in Ungar, M. (ed) *Handbook for Working with Children and Youth: Pathways to Resilience Across Cultures and Contexts*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, pp.3-26.

Uprichard, E. (2008) 'Children as Beings and Becomings: Children, Childhood and Temporality' *Children and Society*, 22, pp. 303-313. DOI:10.1111/j.1099-0860.2007. 00110.x

Valdes, G., Chavez, C. and Angelelli, C. (2003) 'A Performance Team: Young Interpreters and their Parents' in Valdes, G (ed) *Expanding the Definition of Giftedness: The Case of Young Interpreters from Immigrant Communities*, Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, pp.63-98

Waldram, J.B. (2009) 'Is there a future for "Culture" in acculturation research? An anthropologist's perspective,' International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 33, pp. 173-176. https://doi.10.1016/j.ijintrel.2009.03.004

Washaly, N. (2021). 'The Impact of Colonisation: A Critical Study of Chimimanda Adichie's Purple Hibiscus'. *The Journal of English Language and Literature*, 9, pp. 12-19. https://doi.10.33329/rjelal.9.3.12

Watling-Neal J. and Neal, Z.P. (2013) 'Nested or Networked? Future Directions for Ecological Systems Theory', *Social Development*, 22(4), pp. 722-737. https://doi.org/10.1111/sode.12018

Watzalawik, M. (2012) 'Cultural identity markers and identity as a whole: Some alternative solutions' *Culture & Psychology*, 18(2), pp. 253-260. https://doi.org/10.1177/1354067X11434843

Wengraf, T. (2002) 'Historicising the 'socio', theory and the constant comparative method', in Chamberlayne, P., Rustin, M. and Wengraf, T. (Eds) *Biography and Social Exclusion in Europe: Experiences and Life Journeys*. Bristol: Polity Press, pp.309-327.

Wengraf, T. (2004) *Qualitative Research Interviewing*. London: Sage Publications.

Wengraf, T. (2020) *Materials Booklet Two: Case Interpretation.* BNIM 3 Day Training, Trinity Centre for Health Sciences, Dublin, 5th -7th March.

Weinreich, P. (2008) ''Enculturation', not 'acculturation': Conceptualising and assessing identity processes in migrant communities', *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 33, pp. 124-139. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2008.12.006

Weisskirch, R.S. and Alva, A.A. (2002) 'Language Brokering and the Acculturation of Latino Children' *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 24(3), pp.369-378. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0739986302024003007

Weisskirch, R.S. (2005) 'The Relationship of Language Brokering to Ethnic Identity for Latino Early Adolescents,' *Hispanic Journal of Behavioural Science,* 27(3), p.286-299. *https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0739986305277931*

Weisskirch, R.S. (ed) (2017) *Language Brokering in Immigrant Families: Theories and Contexts.* London: Routledge, available at: https://ereader.perlego.com/1/book/1569846/0

Williams, W. (2020) *Windrush Lessons Learned Review, HC 93*. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/windrush-lessons-learned-review (accessed 31/04/2021)

Wu, N. and Kim, S.G. (2009) 'Chinese American Adolescent's Perceptions of Language Brokering Experiences of Burdensome and Efficacy', *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 38, pp. 703-718. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10964-008-9379-3

Wyness, M. (2019) *Childhood and Society*. London: Red Globe Press.

Yuval-Davis, N. (2006) Belonging and the politics of belonging, *Patterns of Prejudice*, Vol 40 (3), pp.197-214. https://doi.org/10.1080/00313220600769331

Yuval-Davis, N. (2011) *The Politics of Belonging: Intersectional Contestations*. London: Sage Publications.

Yuval-Davis, N., Wemyss, G. and Cassidy, K. (2017) 'Everyday Bordering, Belonging and the Re-orientation of British Immigration Legislation,' *Sociology,* 52 (2) pp. 228–244. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038517702599

Yuval-Davis, N., Wemyss, G. and Cassidy, K. (2019) *Bordering.* London: Polity Press

Woodhead, M. (2013) 'Childhood: a developmental approach' in Kehily, M.J. (Ed.), *Understanding childhood: a cross disciplinary approach*. Milton Keynes: The Open University, pp. 101-149.

Zhou, M. (1997) ‘Segmented Assimilation: Issues, Controversies and Recent Research on the New Second Generation’ *International Migration Review*, 31(4), pp. 975-1008.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Chronology of UK Immigration Legislation (HM Government, 2021).

This overview covers the period relevant to the participants' timescales only, and exemplifies the potential structural barriers impacting upon the im(migrant) acculturation experience as discussed in the thesis.

Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons (1951)

Originally intended to encompass only European refugees it was later extended to all countries

Commonwealth Immigrants Act (1962)

Restrictions to residency for Commonwealth immigrants deemed to have entered illegally or misled immigration services regarding for intention to settle in the UK.

Commonwealth Immigrants Act (2) (1968)

Widening of immigration controls to include citizens of other former colonies in response to independence movements which marginalised minority Indian/Pakistan communities.

Immigration Act (1971)

Offered residence rights to the 'patrials':

- Individuals from the UK/Colonies with citizenship by birth, naturalization, registration in the UK or adoption;
- As above if they had parent/grandparent with such citizenship rights
- Citizens of the UK/Colonies who had resided in the UK for 5 years +
- Citizens of the Commonwealth with a parent/grandparent who was born/adopted in the UK before their birth;
- Commonwealth citizens married to a man (sic) meeting one of the criteria above

UK enters the EU (1973)

The UK enters the European Union and is subject to trade and other collectively agreed legislative frameworks, not including 'freedom of movement'.

British Nationality Act (1981)

Three categories of citizenship created, reflecting different connections between individuals and the UK, including Commonwealth connections.

Immigration Act (1988)

Repealed the automatic freedom of movement for Commonwealth citizens (and spouses and children) and introduced a probationary period.

Maastricht Treaty (1992)

Introduction of 'freedom of movement' between EU member states.

Asylum and Immigration Appeals Act (1993)

Limited the right to appeal for those entering as short-term visitors or students.

Asylum and Immigration Act (1996)

Introduced changes to the appeals process for those claiming asylum on the basis of persecution.

Asylum and Immigration Act (1999)

Introduction of the 'one-stop' appeals process-reduced the number of appeals against asylum applications; changed regulations for the automatic deportation of those who broke the terms of the leave status.

Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act (2002)

Amended the 1981 Act and introduced 'citizenship ceremonies' whereby applicants for citizenship must pass the 'Life in the UK' test or an English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) course; requires asylum seekers to apply for asylum at earliest opportunity in order to access financial support; introduction of non-suspensive appeals whereby it is not possible to claim asylum from countries deemed 'generally safe'.

Charges introduced for applications for Leave to Remain (LTR) (2003)

Probationary period prior to LTR extended from one year to two years; spouse'/civil partner right for LTR contingent on co-habiting for four years; age limits for applications for LTR increased; charges now applied for applications for LTR; Changes introduced requiring visas for non-EEA nationals staying for over six months.

Dublin ll Regulation (2003)

Allocates the responsibility for agreeing asylum applications to appropriate state; UK's commitment ends on 31 December 2020.

Gateway Protection Programme launched (2004)

Commitment to the resettlement of long-term refugees (five years or over).

Asylum and Immigration (Treatment of Claimants) Act (2004)

Re-organisation of the appeals system, now consisting of judge-led tribunal panels; further appeals to go the High Court on the basis of legal breaches only; became an offence to be undocumented without plausible reason and failing to comply with re-documentation process.

Indefinite Leave to Remain for refugees reduced to five years (2005)

Except for refugees arriving via resettlement schemes.

Immigration, Asylum and Nationality Act (2006)

Appeals against entry for work or study restricted; entry for work purposes required minimum five-year period and competency in English (except for high-skilled migrant category after 2009).

Immigration (European Economic Area) Regulations (2006)

EEA migrants able to live in UK 'without conditions' for three months, or longer if exercising Treaty Rights in the UK.

UK Borders Act (2007)

Automatic deportations act for non-EEA migrants sentenced to 12 months or longer; strategy announced to deal with backlog of appeals; extension of citizenship tests for those over 18 and under 65; student visa applications revised for short-term students to remove requirement to work part-time; applications for citizenship would now not include those with an unspent criminal record.

Borders, Citizenship and Immigration Act (2009)

Registration provisions for minors expanded to those born to British citizens by descent, those with no other nationality, those born to British mothers and those born to members of the armed services; increase in age limit for applications (and sponsors) for LTR increased from 18-21.

Refugee Family Reunion (2010)

Cessation of the right of family members to apply for family reunion, applicants have to apply for citizenship independently.

'Hostile Environment' (2012)

Term used to reflect the ideological positioning of subsequent legislative frameworks, for example Operation Nexus (greater collaboration between border forces and police to remove illegal migrants) and bordering practices, which placed responsibility for monitoring (im)migrant legibility for services on professionals, for example in health and education.

Unaccompanied Asylum-Seeking Children (2013)

Allowed to remain for 30 months, or until aged 17 ½ whereupon full application for LTR required (if no home to return to outside of the UK).

Immigration Act (2014)

New regulations for removal of citizenship introduced; subsequent changes (2015) to nationality/English language competency tests; requirements for permanent EEA nationals applying for naturalisation to carry permanent residence cards (PRC); non-

EEA nationals to be required to take basic English language speaking and listening tests.

Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme (SVPRS) scheme launched (2014-expanded 2015)

Humanitarian protection for those fleeing Syrian civil war.

Launch of the Vulnerable Children Resettlement Scheme (VCRS) (2016)

Primary aim to resettle vulnerable children from Middle East and North Africa.

Launch of the UK Community Sponsorship Scheme (2016)

Community groups, faith groups and charities to be allowed to sponsor the resettlement of refugees directly.

Gateway Protection Programme closed (2020)

See above

Free Movement Ends (December 2020)

Freedom of movement between UK and EEA/Switzerland ends following the UK's departure from the EU

Nationality and Borders Bill (2021)

Proposals aimed at developing a system to better identify those in genuine need, reduce illegal entry (and guard against trafficking) and speed up the processes for removing those living here illegally.

Appendix 2: Pathways of Migration to the UK (covering the experiences of the participants) (HM Government 2021).

This is not an exhaustive list. However, it provides some examples of the 'push-pull' migration drivers referred to in the thesis.

Windrush Generation Migration

Migrant workers from the Caribbean arrived in the UK between 1948 and 1971, predominantly to fill post-war labour shortages, particularly in the NHS and transport industry. The term is now used to describe any migrant from the Caribbean before immigration controls were introduced in 1973.

Textile Industry Migration

In 1955, investment in the textile industry aimed at competing with external markets led to the recruitment of textile workers from India and Pakistan.

Commonwealth Migration

In addition to the above, the marginalisation of minority ethnic groups in countries seeking independence from former colonial powers led to the widening of citizenship rights in the 1968 Immigration Act.

1972 Ugandan Crisis

Idi Amin's expulsion of Asian populations from Uganda prompted Conservative government to offer sanctuary to 50,000 people.

Refugee/Asylum Migration (some examples relevant to the thesis)

Somalian Civil War (1991-ongoing)

Angolan Civil War (1975-2002)

Arab Spring Migration (2011-ongoing). Although none of the participants in this study were from Middle East and North Africa (MENA) regions, the increase in migration to Europe from these regions since 2011, has impacted upon public opinion towards the 'migrant crisis' and led to calls for tighter legislation, as discussed in the thesis.

European Union Immigration (Freedom of Movement)

Following the UK's entry to the EU in 1973, and the Maastricht Treaty of 1993, regulations allowing for the freedom of movement for work or travel between member states were introduced (ending in January 2021).

Student Migration

The UK has a long history of student migration. In the year ending September 2021, there were over 400,000 Sponsored study visas granted, 143% more than the previous year.

Work-based Migration

Over 200,000 work related visas were granted in the year ending September 2021 (including dependants), an increase of 55% increase compared to September 2020, the majority in the ‘skilled work’ category.

Resettlement programmes

These programmes are government supported resettlement schemes for migrants fleeing wars in specific regions, the most recent example being the Syrian Resettlement Programme started in 2014.

Family Reunification

Over 200,000 visas or permits were granted for family reasons up until end of September 2021, almost 80% higher than the previous year.

Appendix 3: Biographical Narrative Interpretive Method Terminology.

(This appendix refers only to the terminology used in the thesis, adapted from Wengraf, 2004).

BDA: Biographical Data Analysis (analysis of the data from SS1 and SS2/3)

BDC: Biographical Data Chronology (summary of the narrative in chronological order)

CRQ: Central Research Question

SQUIN: Single Question aimed at Inducing Narrative

SS1: Sub-session one (interview in which the SQUIN is posed)

SS2: Sub-session two (semi-structured interview based only on content from SS1)

SS3: Sub-session three (optional third interview for eliciting relevant contextual information)

SSS: Successive States of Subjectivity (identifies participant's shifting subjectivity towards their narrative during the sub-sessions).

TFA: Teller-Flow Analysis (previously Text-Flow Analysis - identifies the form in which the narrative is told).

TSS: Text Sequence Structure.

Text-sort Definitions.

Description

Factual statement of an event or experience without evidence of personal opinion or reflection.

Argumentation

Evidence of a theorising, position-taking or personal perspective.

Evaluation

Evidence of a personal reflection on an experience or event.

Generic Incident Narrative

A generalised incident relevant to the context of the participant's life history, e.g. housing policy in the 1970s.

Typical Incident Narrative

A typical, regular incident in the life of the participant, e.g. everyday interpreting activities.

Particular Incident Narrative

A particular incident appearing to be of significance to the participant, e.g., a particular brokering context.

Report

Simple chronology without additional comment or perspective.

Appendix 4. Sample Text-sort. (An example of the data analysis of the 'Told Story' (to illustrate the analytical process).

Content	Emerging Theme(s)	Teller-Flow Analysis (TFA)	Successive States of Subjectivity (SSS)	Text-Sort
Yeah, so um, um, when I came into this country, when I first came, I was roughly the age of 10-year-old child with no English at all. And my early childhood was in a region of Pakistan. And I came here with my older brother who is 2 years older than me and my mom. English as well, and as you , children come to the UK, they pick up English quite well, from a very young age, perhaps more quickly than their parents, maybe because, you know, obviously they've got the opportunity to interact with other people, other adults or children.	P5 describes in factual terms her arrival in the UK, and the level of English competence she, her mum and her brother had when they arrived. Showing here that she is aware of what the research is about and responding directly to this. She shows an awareness of the potential for children to learn English quicker than their parents due to having greater opportunities to interact with other adults and children.	This is quite descriptive and factual with no reference to the emotional aspect of entering a new country without any English	Does this subjectivity (from a retrospective position) imply that P5 cannot recall strong emotions (was it 'normal' for her?) or have these been forgotten over time?	Description Argumentation Evaluation Generic Incident Typical Incident Report Particular Incident

Appendix 5. Participant Biographical Data Chronologies (BDC).

(The BDC's reflect the chronological presentation of the narratives from 'open' narrative of Sub-session 1 and the semi-structured interview narrative of Sub-session 2).

Eugene's (E) BDC (Sub-session 1 = black/Sub-session 2 = blue)

1. E.'s Mother and step-father arrived in Britain from Grenada in 1955, following invitation from Government to support post-war reconstruction.

2. E. was 'sent for' and arrived on 10th September 1960, initially in Southampton and then on to Victoria, and finally to my childhood residence, in NW London. Although the weather and the houses were different, he had expected this so was not too surprised.

3. *RC. Your mum comes across as a very powerful influence on you, and your son comments that 'you must mention Grandma'-tell me more about her and the expectations she had for you?*

E. clarifies that 'Grandma' in this context is his mother-in-law, not his mother and then describes having a difficult relationship with his own mother who was violent towards him. He does not recount a specific incident and acknowledges the challenges that she would have faced starting a new life in the UK and 'working very hard'. He says he has not come to terms with his poor relationship, but equally is unsure if he is 'bothered' by this. He repeats the phrase 'sent for'. He reports that as an adult he changed his surname by deed poll (no date)

4. Lived in basement flat with three others and shared a fold up bed with his uncle. The kitchen was in the passageway, and 1 bathroom and toilet was shared with 4 or 5 families. E. now realises that the conditions were overcrowded. Heating in the house was metered, and he recalls having to 'plunge' the meter and use the heating before other families did.

5. He started at his local primary school, 500 yards from the house. He had not seen white children before and recalls that he was one of the first black children at the school. Although he spoke English he recalls being confused with the idioms and mistaking some phrases as 'racist' a term he says he picked up from overhearing conversations between his parents and their friends. Such misunderstandings led to aggression between him and his peers. He recalls his classmates not speaking to him after he punches another child in the face. He reflects now that his classmates may have been trying to be friendly

6. He recalls that due to the news/TV reporting of the Congolese war of independence, some classmates assumed he was from the Congo, and although he claims to have found this insulting* it did not lead to another face punching incident (as far as he can recall)

7. He is advised by his mum to listen to the World Service (now R4) to learn the English language, and attributes this to his mother's belief that should become

'citizens' of Britain and 'citizens' of the Commonwealth. He found R4 very interesting and states that it contributed to his education and his appreciation of the many accents and dialects of the English language. He believes that it is 'impossible' to learn a new language if you arrive in a country as an adult, as it is too idiomatic to understand fully.

8. *RC: Apart from developing highly proficient language skills what other strategies do you think you used to acculturate or fit in to UK society?*

E. states that he can recall wanting to sound white and praying to be white (he says he sensed that there was something 'wrong' with being Black). He wanted to join the Royal Navy but was not allowed. He worked for a cleaning company, then did a law degree + solicitor's exams, but did not practice and wishes he'd stuck with the cleaning company as it has now expanded. He does not regret the law degree as it has raised his awareness of equity (e.g. re Race issues- 'you cannot own something you have taken from someone else-makes reference to National Trust treasures), and acknowledges that working as a cleaner would have undermined the sacrifices made by his mother, and would be frowned upon from a Jamaican perspective-lawyers would be held in much higher esteem. He recalls his emerging Black identity during his law degree citing Black public figures as instrumental in this (Ali etc). However, he asserts that he does not have a 'simplistic' idealised (Wacandian) view and acknowledges that the violence present in Africa pre-colonisation. He recognises the contradiction between his earlier desire to be whiter and his later positive Black identity.

9. His mother also encouraged him to use the library (he jokes as a babysitting service) and this promoted his love of reading, which is maintained today.

10. By age 12, he had learned the language well ('by osmosis') and had stopped getting into fights with his classmates. He recalls his school experience as 'good' ('despite not getting any qualifications').

11. His school was a 'melting pot' with children from T and G side of Cyprus and refugees from Spanish Civil War, a comprehensive school which was predominantly working class with some teachers who were strict (used the strap) but with a fairly lax regime overall. He recalls having teachers from different faiths too. He recalls investment into the school from the (he thinks) Conservative government, which led to facilities he describes as 'wonderful' and recalls incidents of official and unofficial trips with the 'trendy' teachers which he reflects would not be allowed now.

12. He recalls his early awareness of racism although he acknowledges that he did not recognise it as such at the time. He recalls the sense that migrants from the Caribbean had about coming to the UK, and not expecting it to be hostile. And he recalls the education of his parents and grandparent's generations with its focus on British rather than Caribbean history.

13. *RC: You mention that Caribbean families migrating to the UK thought they were coming 'home' and then towards the end of the interview you say that some people dream of returning home (to Grenada). Can you say more about this*?

E. explains that in his family, the term 'home' is used interchangeably to refer to Grenada (and Jamaica-his wife's birthplace) and to the UK. He comments on the Grenadian/Jamaican immigrants who retire and 'go back home' to build extensive properties as 'justification' for the hardship and sacrifices of working/living in the UK- and restates his point (see below from Int 1) that he would move to America (and not to Grenada/Jamaica) if 'it all goes to shit in the UK'.

14. He recalls the council housing policy at the time as being discriminatory towards black families, and states his belief that this inadvertently led to wealth development for some of his family members and their contemporaries, who, after being denied social housing, shared private houses until they could pool resources to buy their own properties, often in what was then, less affluent areas which are now the expensive areas, e.g. Notting Hill, and Kentish Town. He states that he and his parents did not want to live in a council house.

15. His relationships with his peers is influenced by his language use, and although he previously recognises the benefits of learning 'proper' English due to being encouraged ('brainwashed') to listen to R4, he later states that this also did him a disservice as it isolated him from his peers from Grenada who maintained their home language use. He recognises the relationship between language and identity.

16. He recalls incidents where he reverts to RP English when/if he feels 'demeaned' by White people in social contexts.

17. He is now proud that his son's generation have maintained their cultural identity (expressed through their use of 'Yardie-including White boys from his local area-which he is amused by)

18. *RC: What factors do you think influence the use of Yardie by 2nd and 3rd generation Caribbean immigrants and in some cases their white contemporaries?*

E. extends this point by stating that many languages are influenced by other linguistic influences over time and offers examples of this within the Grenadian context. He re-asserts that his unease with how such languages are portrayed (particularly by White artists) rests on the failure for this complexity to be acknowledged or recognised.

19. He makes comparisons between language use of migrant populations with regional dialects used by White communities in different regions of the UK. He also asserts that this is a class phenomenon with W/C community language use being demeaned.

20. Although he was not required to broker for his mum when he was a child, due to English being the first language, he does recall explaining idioms and phases to

her. However, he asserts that this did not happen frequently as it would not have been culturally acceptable for a child to correct an adult or to explain the purpose/importance of parent's evening. He connects the hierarchical (my word) nature of his and his Caribbean contemporaries' families to the colonial hierarchies of Empire, and can recall only 1 or 2 families (Guyanan- well-travelled and from the 'higher echelons of society' and Greek/Turkish Cypriot) who had brokering roles and who had informal conversations with their parents.

21. He also recalls that as a child growing up in the Caribbean, there was a more collective approach to child rearing-with strangers intervening to address behaviour and informing children's parents of their misdemeanours.

22. As an adult he tries to speak to his children on an 'even' level but asserts that there are 'inculcated' behaviours which betray his Grenadian culture, and which reflect colonial power relations from his childhood.

23. He describes himself (apologetically-with reference to Theresa May) as a 'Citizen of the World' and although he refutes his label in his community as 'the English', he identifies with the much of the British culture (comedy, language, idioms), he feels that 'you need to be ready to switch' (reference to Nazi Germany). If he became a refugee, he would not emigrate back to Grenada/Jamaica (his wife's heritage country) but to the USA.

24. RC*: Is there anything else you would like to add that you didn't get chance to share in Int1 or in today's interview?*

E. makes reference to the current position of race politics in the UK. He refers to the lack of African history in the curriculum (history is not history), and the mythical view of England/English history that some white British communities have-offers an example of WW2 as being positioned as a war against Fascism and pro-democracy rather than what he sees it as which is a war to prevent Germany seizing land (lebensraum) and comments on the hypocrisy of this when GB, France, Netherlands, Italy all had empires of their own which they did not release upon the end of the war (they were forced to by anti- colonial movements later on). He thinks it is unlikely that there will be an open and honest discussion of the legacy of empire and refers to the recent celebrations of the end of war with Japan, and comments that no one is asking what were the British doing in HK, Burma, Singapore etc in the first place… there is a suggestion that the lack of acknowledgement of GB as a coloniser and aggressor contributes to this mythicism of Britain as force for good v evil (my words). He suggests that the impact of George Floyd and the BLM movement may go the way of the Rodney King affair, where the call was for 'everyone to get on with each other' and that the underlying tensions/inequalities will not be challenged.

Joy's (J) BDC (Sub-session 1 = black/Sub-session 2 = blue)

1. Arrives in the UK in 1991 aged 5 with her 'Aunty'. Initially settled in South London but moved around a lot and changed schools frequently.
2. Recalls replying to teachers in Lingala when she was spoken to in English.
3. Recalls that from the age of 5 until the present day, she was called upon to translate for her wider family, including letters, at the home office, in court, over the phone, in meetings with housing department. She also recalls being required to accompany family members to the home office in Croydon, suggesting that she was required for her geographical knowledge and not just her English skills.
4. She reflects that as a child she did not question this, as she assumed it was what was expected of her and recognises (not sure if this is at the time, or with hindsight) that if she did not engage in these tasks, no one else would be available to help.
5. As she got older, her account reflects a change in her attitude, and she appears increasingly resentful that she was repeatedly asked to do this, partly because of the distance required to travel to support her family members, partly because she feels they should now be able to translate/interpret for themselves after the length of time they have been in the country, and partly because she has cousins who could also help out but who are not called upon to the same extent as herself. She also suggests that her family's reliance on her has meant they have not been forced to develop these skills for themselves and indicates that some family members actively wait (ed) for their children to start school so they could learn English and be useful as interpreters.
6. *RC: So, during the first interview you refer to the sense of expectation that your family members had for you to engage as a translator or interpreter. Can you just say a little bit more about how you felt about doing the activities first as a young child, and then as a teenager?*

   J. reiterates that as a child, she did not question why she was being called upon to do this, she just accepted it, because she knew there was a language barrier. However, as she became older and into her teenage years, she repeats the comments from interview 1 that she does not understand how people who have lived in the country a 'long time' (non-specific) cannot speak English fluently, and recalls comparing her own family members with other people in the same position who had learned the language.
7. She recalls incidents (not a specific example) of translating at school between her teachers and her family and alludes to the fact that was dishonest when relaying information about her behaviour at school. There is no age given for this.
8. She recalls at the age of 16/17 taking her uncle to the home office, leaving early in the morning, standing in the queue, having to return 2-3 weeks later for

another appointment. She recalls that she did the same for her two aunts at a later date (non-specific).

9. *RC: OK, thank you. One of the things you mentioned that you had to engage in as part of your translating role was going to the Home Office, which I imagine as a child. It might have been quite an intimidating place to be, possibly. Can you think of any particularly difficult or challenging situations that occurred when you were translating or interpreting?*

   J. recalls that she did not find these incidences challenging as she would mainly be responsible for delivering the family member to the place they needed to be (e.g., the home office) but she would not necessarily enter the interview room with them. She repeats that she had this responsibility from an 'early age' (non-specific).

10. J. recalls her resentment during these later engagements, during her teenage years. She reflects that it is not something she would impose on her own children (gives the example of her 13-year-old, and how she suspects he would not be able to manage these tasks) and acknowledges that she 'had to do a lot of growing up' compared to children today.

11. *RC: OK, next question again. In the first interview you were saying that you were regularly praised for your English skills and the reason why you are often asked to take these roles was because you were having better English than some of your cousins and some of your other family members. Did you ever feel that there was a time where you didn't have the English skills to be able to do what was expected of you? And can you talk about any sort of feelings that that might have?*

    J. acknowledges that she is still not sure why she was 'singled out' but implies that she had been in the country longer than her cousins, so it may have been for this reason. She later expands to admit that she used to talk a lot as a child, and her family described her as 'clever'. She also had good recall for directions, offering an example of remembering a route (via certain landmarks) to a friend of her uncle's, recalling that she was 'young' (non-specific). She suggests that these skills along with her language skills and tendency to talk a lot may have been the reason why she was relied on more than her cousins.

12. She reflects that she has seen other African adults (although she is not sure if it done in the same way for Ghanaians and Nigerians for example) asking their children to translate/interpret while out shopping etc, and comments that she finds this strange, she refers again to the idea that some families wait for their children to start school so they can then rely on them to translate.

13. *RC: OK, thank you. Um, where we up to? You mentioned this a little bit already and it came up in the first interview as well and so can you just tell me a little bit more about your feelings or attitudes towards family members who relied on you when you were a child and then still rely on you.*

J. admits she finds this 'annoying and irritating' especially as her family members have children of their own in their twenties who could do these roles, but still they come to her. She repeats her suggestion from interview 1 that 'we should have integrated by now' and that her family members need to learn to do these things by themselves.

14. When she looks back on these brokering roles from an adult perspective, despite her resentment during her teenage years, she can acknowledge that there were positive benefits, and she comments that she is proud of herself.

15. *RC: Oh OK, so in interview 1, you talked about your own children and sort of reflecting on the differences in terms of the responsibility you had as child and taking on these roles and whether your own children would be able to do this. So, I just wondered whether you could identify any differences in your feelings about the roles that you took on as a child. When you look back at yourself at that age and how you see it now when you're looking back at it from an adult perspective.*

    J. states that her childhood was very different to her own children and to her Aunt's children's childhood. She explains that she and her cousins were expected to 'do certain things', but that her kids are more 'laid back' and they are 'not obliged to do it'. She proceeds to say she would 'not put her kids through it'.

16. *RC: So, when you say go through something like that, it kind of implies that you think it would be difficult or stressful or challenging for them.*

    J. agrees that she thinks it would be difficult because they would not have the confidence and would not understand why they would need to engage in (brokering) tasks. For example, if her 7-year-old was asked to go to (Sainsbury's) and perhaps translate, he would question this, whereas she repeats that she did not feel that she could question it. She later acknowledges that her sons do not speak her home language (Lingala) and that the language of the home is English, adding that even if he were able to speak Lingala, he would not have the confidence to translate between English and Lingalan.

17. *RC: Yeah. I'm just sort of exploring this little bit further, so thinking back to when you were doing these roles, do you think there's any kind of? Cultural element to the expectation that the family had on you that within other Congolese or the broader African context, there's a Greater expectation for children to do what parents they do.*

    J. states that she feels in Congolese culture children are 'there to help their mums and dads'. She repeats her statement from interview 1, that as she understood it, if she didn't do these (brokering) tasks who else would?

Nimo's (N) BDC (Sub-session 1 =black/Sub-session 2 = blue)

1. Ni is from a blended family with 3 half siblings (shared mother) and 5 'full' (my term) siblings. She and her 5 siblings were born after her mother came to England and remarried. Her half-siblings were born in Somalia. She describes having a 'privileged' upbringing compared to her half siblings.

2. N. reports that her older (half) siblings were 'hands on' and like 'second mum and second dad', describing their roles as 'intense' whereas her and her other siblings were able to be more like children. She acknowledges that her half siblings had to learn a new language and a new 'system'. She admits that she did not realise that this was 'a lot' for them until she was older and was required to take on some of these roles herself.

3. In her East London primary school, there were many parents for whom English was an additional language and refers to her perception of there being a 'sense of community' suggesting that her mother was not 'left out'. She recalls that at primary school her mum would ask her to ask the teacher questions, e.g. why her reading record was not signed as by this stage her older siblings had moved out or were pre-occupied with their own lives. She recalls this as being challenging because it makes you 'grow up sooner than you have to' but admits that she was also able to have a childhood and is grateful for these experiences as it made her into 'who I am'.

4. N. relates the experience of trying to persuade her parents to let her participate in a school trip, organised by the Maths department, in year 8/11 (some confusion in her remembering the year). She recalls how important it was to her at the time to be able to take part in the same activities as her friends and recalls that her older siblings were involved in the negotiations between herself and her parents, which she attributes to them recognising the significance of such events.

5. N. acknowledges (retrospectively) that it may have been challenging for her parents to trust the school, due to the language differences, and admits that at the time, as a 15-year-old, she took it personally. She acknowledges that her cultural background meant that her parents did not have the same attitude to the trip as her friend's parents and implies that she felt left out.

6. *RC: So, the first question is about the school trip that you talked about going on in year 11 and the challenges that you had trying to persuade your mum to let you go? You said that she might see that kind of trip as a luxury and not something that was necessarily important. I wondered if you could think of any other examples of where your mom's expectations of the school system were different to what our school system is like. Whether you had to try and explain how different it is over here compared to what she was used to in Somalia.*

   N. refers back to the specific trip from interview 1 and recalls how she (and friends in the same position) were apprehensive about asking permission to attend the trip. She recalls seeking advice from her older sister. She recalls that

although her mum claimed to trust the teachers to look after her while she as at school she was anxious about her being away from home for a whole weekend, and implied that she would only let X attend if her older brother went too. Eventually her dad, who she again describes as being more 'integrated' said she should be allowed to go and have fun, but she summarises the incident as a 'hurdle'.

7. *RC: And do you? Do you think the reservation or her fear around it was because she didn't think that those kinds of activities were part of the school life? Or was it something else…?*

   N. describes her parents has having a more 'traditional' perspective on school ('big backpack with lots of books') offering the example of her parents not understanding of the importance of play-based learning, although she state that they have a much greater understanding of the system now. However, at the time, she recalls that they did not understand the importance of the school trip, especially as it was optional and not mandatory. She repeats that eventually she was allowed to go on the trip, but it was such an effort to persuade her mum, that when another trip (to Amsterdam) was arranged when she was at college, she did not even bother asking if she could go.

8. N. now works in a school herself and has noticed that parents at the school she works at are integrating into Britain and 'facing the same struggles as my parents'. She appears shocked by this ('wow, it's crazy….'), and states the importance of representation in the classroom, recalling an incident where a Somali boy noticed her bracelet from 'back home' which represents the Somali flag ('you know how when people go back home there is always that something you bring from home, that identifies what country you're from'). She recalls the boy's excitement at realising that his TA was Somali and spoke the same language as him, adding that she did not have these experiences when she as growing up, (although she claims not to be upset that she didn't) and observing this as evidence that schools have become more representative.

9. N. describes how she is still engaged in language brokering (in school contexts) as she is called upon to translate at parent's evenings/school meetings for her younger siblings. She describes the expectation that she would support her parents at such events ('Come on X, you're coming along and I would have to go') and how she would translate every sentence between the teacher and her parents, but that she would also modify/adapt the translation based on her own understanding of what the teacher was saying and how she could present her brother/sister's behaviour to her parents accurately. She now recognises the challenges that her older siblings had in making sure her parents 'knew all they needed to know' and were not 'caught off guard'. Later in the narrative, she describes how, now she is older, she is trusted to attend parents evening on her own and is given the responsibility to deal with school issues, mirroring her older sisters which she describes as 'positive'.

10. *RC: At one point in the first interview you talked about when you were translating from the teacher to your mom, I think for your sister, and said that you would have to think not just about the language, but how it would be understood by your mum. Can you could say a little bit more about that?*

11. N. relates an example of her younger sister being in 'some sort of trouble at school' (a fall out with her friends) and having to explain to her mum that she needed to go in and sort it out. P3 acknowledges that there were cultural rather than language barriers when trying to make her mum understand the issues that her sister was having, stating that her mum assumed that as long as her sister was performing well academically at school there was no need to get involved. Her mum's reaction to the issue was to dismiss it as not important 'just don't talk to them' and 'friends come and go'. She acknowledges that her mum is more aware of the different ways that she can get involved in her sibling's school life now, and more aware of the resources available to support the family in doing this, but at the time, she focused on the educational aspects of schooling. P3 suggests that her mother's social group have a similar ideology about school.

12. N. proceeds to relate another specific incident where she was required to translate for her mother, at the GP surgery due to her mum's bad hip, describing the pain that her mum felt. She acknowledges that the context was challenging as her Somali is not 'on point' and she perceived that the GP was possibly concerned that someone so young was being required to do this.

13. As an adult, she now reports that many of her friends had similar experiences when they were growing up. She admits that her and her friends from the 'same backgrounds' can now laugh about these experiences but 'when you're younger you can't'.

14. N. relates the experiences of receiving long letters from school and anticipating having to translate for her parents at home and 'rehearsing' how to do this on the way home. She acknowledges (retrospectively) that this was challenging but also implies that it was a requirement, as her parents 'could not have stayed where they were'. She repeats that it was not negative, it was just something she had to do, then states that it was necessary if you were not from a 'fully resourced' family and acknowledges that having this responsibility of translating and 'growing up faster does affect your development', for example if you just want to play and be a kid.

15. *RC: You mentioned previously that your older siblings started off doing these kinds of brokering roles so was there an expectation that you would automatically do that once you were old enough and older siblings have left home or gone to college?*

N. again appears to 'normalise' these expectations, replying that it was more 'indirect', there were simply times when her mum needed someone to support her, for example at an appointment and she would be the person who was there to do this. She

acknowledges that there may have been times when she felt 'uncomfortable' (but does not specify) but asserts that it felt 'natural' to her.

16. N. appears to be ambivalent about the positive/negative impacts of brokering, acknowledging that it can support intellectual and linguistic development but may also place too many adult burdens on the child and mean that they 'are not invested in their own childhood'.

17. *RC: In interview 1, you talked about the responsibilities you had as child when brokering for your parents. Can you recall any of the emotions you had about it at the time?*

N. responds that she did not really think about it, as it was just 'normal'. She reports not feeling at the time that it was a burden (my word), because it was part of her everyday experience. She repeats the word 'normal' several times. Retrospectively, she describes seeing children engaging in similar experiences now, and feeling 'oh bless, they have to go through that' and admits that as a child she was sometimes upset that she couldn't 'go outside or do certain things' but now understands that this was because her family were not fully integrated.

18. *RC: Can you think of any benefits from engaging in these brokering activities?*

N. reports that she feels she became more mature by engaging in these experiences. She admits that she has an older (birth) sister who did not engage in brokering as frequently as she does, and reports feeling more mature than this sister. She also acknowledges that she was closer to her mum, so these roles fell to her, but she states that she did not see these as responsibilities.

19. *RC: And do you think that it also helped you hold onto your Somali? Do you think because you were using your Somali in in the translating……..? (Interrupted)*

    N. admits that she uses her Somali more frequently than she would if she did not engage in these activities, but states that her primary language of communication with siblings and other family members is English-she comments that her parents remark that her English is better than her Somali, and that she still questions whether her Somali is 'good enough' when she engages in translating and interpreting activities.

20. N. proceeds to relate the experience of moving to her childhood neighbourhood. Retrospectively, she presumes that her neighbours may have wondered how they would communicate with her family and refers to the social stigma she recalls feeling. She now describes how she feels her family are accepted in her community because they have 'contributed back to our society' but still thinks that her neighbours may perceive her mum as being socially isolated. She refers to her mum as 'a product of her environment' and her and her siblings being a product of *their* environment. She later refers to her dad as being more integrated, for example he will go out and 'do his own thing' such as go to the

GP, whereas her mum still relies on N. for this sort of thing and is more dependent on her.

21. *RC: one of the things you said towards the end of the first interview was that you felt that some of the neighbours where you lived had a particular perception of your family. I just wondered what you thought the families in your neighbourhood thought of you, or thought of your family when you moved in? And what kind of sense you had of how people were perceiving you?*

N. reports that the community she moved to with her family was very diverse. However, many of the other non-white (my term) families were 3rd or 4th generation so even though they were not White British, they had lived in England a long time, so they were less empathetic. She then corrects herself 'not that you have to have empathy', but that these families 'did not have the same struggles as us because someone else had it for them'. She describes them as being 'very adapted and unaware', and comments that 'maybe this is a privilege of theirs'. Then she comments: 'we can both look at each other and be aware that when neither of us are British but it's like there are degrees of being British'

22. *RC: Thank you, um in interview 1 there was a really lovely anecdote that you shared about representation in the class room and you started to say that you think there's much better representation of different ethnicities and different cultures in the classroom now than there was when you were at school, so I just wondered if you could just expand on why you think that's so important and the differences between now and when you were at school?*

N. refers to the pattern/prevalence of global migration (my terminology) and recognises that countries like Britain offer families from economically less developed countries (her terminology) a level of security. But that many families do not benefit from the resources available to them because they do not know how to access them, or because they do not feel entitled to access opportunities because they do not see people like them represented

Alright, so if say there's a teacher or somebody in a high position or a perceived high position of authority from their community, that they might say well if that person from my culture can do that, there's no reason why I can't do that?

N: 'Exactly that'. N. continues to comment that there were no Somali teachers or TAs when she was growing up, but that Somali children in her class notice that she is the same (see bracelet example earlier) and she thinks that it's positive that 'they see someone with their ethnicity'.

23. *RC: OK, and then the last question is…. when you were talking about the bracelet, with a child in your class, you talked about it as 'an item from back home' and I wondered if you could say more about how you define home?*

N. states that when she is back home [in Somalia], although she does not have a 'Oh my God, this is home' feeling but she did have a 'oh but these are my people', it's like

we speak the same language like this is where I belong'. However, she continues to question whether this means that this is her 'home'. She asserts that home is where you have your routines and 'where your mum is'. She acknowledges that 'home' [as a place-my distinction] is conditional and can change when your circumstances change. She extends then to comment on your sense of home being related to how well you have adapted and dependent on 'what kind of memories you make'.

Later she comments that her parents discuss 'going back home' now that her and her siblings have grown up, ('we have given you a life, now you can figure it out') and states that she feels angry about this as it makes it all feel so 'temporary'. But at the same time, she recognises that her parents 'left their families, left their homes, left everything' to come here, whereas her and her siblings left nothing.

She then comments that she may 'go back home' because people need to go back and 'invest' in the country and that she 'salutes' people who do go back to try and make it better. She reflects again on the word home, and concludes, that she called it home 'unintentionally'. She acknowledges that ethnicity, language and culture form your identity, and suggests that as London is a diverse city, it is easier to maintain your heritage here, whereas if she was somewhere less diverse, it may have been more difficult to adapt as a minority.

Isabella's (I) BDC (Sub-session 1 = black/Sub-session 2 = blue)

1. I. arrived in the UK from Spain, aged 14. She did not speak English fluently but could say a few simple phrases. Her parents are originally from Ecuador, but moved to Spain, then to England. I. acknowledges that these changes must have been 'really difficult to do that as an adult'.

2. I. was not able to access schooling for 4 months after arriving in the UK, and reports feeling depressed (in hindsight) at being stuck indoors with little to do, by the fact that it 'gets dark at three or something' and 'the rain, man'. She reports that there was nowhere to go and nothing to do. Her brother returned to Spain because of these factors but she was not allowed to return due to her age.

3. She reports that her mother encouraged her to do online classes (to learn the language and to avoid boredom) and insisted that I. accompanied her when she went out to translate. I. reports finding this difficult as she did not feel that she had the skills to do this. Things started to 'get better' when she started school because she was more 'entertained' and wasn't thinking about what to do each day.

4. *RC: So, the first question was around some of the feelings you had when you were engaging in activities to do with translating or interpreting for your mum when you first arrived in the UK. Can you tell me a little bit more about how you felt about having to do that?*

I. reports that she felt she had a lot of pressure put on her at first and repeats that she did not feel confident with her English language skills, but that after 3 months at school, she felt more confident, and felt better when she 'started doing it continuously'.

5. *RC: Ok, thanks and when you look back on it now, as an adult, of doing those kinds of activities when you were quite young, what are your feelings now?*

I. reports that she feels proud of herself and recognises that although it was hard, it offered her the opportunity to learn and new language and have access to new opportunities.

6. *RC: So, you think that there were benefits as well as challenges?*

I. acknowledges that it was really difficult at the beginning, but that it was 'good for me because I came in at a young age'. She compares her experiences to those of her parents who came as adults, after already relocating from Ecuador to Spain.

I. also reports that there are other benefits to living in England (compared to Spain) for example education is better here, her personal life is better here (she is from a small village in Spain, with limited opportunities and where everyone knows each other, so there are restrictions on what you can do).

7. *RC: And thinking specifically of those translating experiences, do you think there were any benefits from doing those?*

I. reports that her confidence developed ('I am quite a shy person'), and it made me a little more confident.

8. After she started school she learned English quickly ('in 3 months') because she as there all the time. However, she felt isolated ('I wasn't feeling good in the school because everyone…..they know each other since a long time'). She had another Spanish speaking friend, who insisted on speaking Spanish, but P4 would have preferred to have had greater access to an English-speaking environment. She reports that having access to school gave her some insight into differences in schooling between Spain and England ('in England, I have to be here until 3.30, [in Spain] we finish at two…. And the after-school things are here in the school [in England] but in Spain, they're outside the school').

9. *RC: In interview 1, you commented on the differences between schools in England and Spain, and I wondered if there were any other social or cultural differences which were a shock to you when you first arrived?*

   I. reports that she felt her parents were stricter than her friend's parents, possibly due them coming from a smaller village, where everyone knows each other and will notice each other's behaviour more. She also comments that schooling is better in England as 'you learn more', she was struggling with Maths in Spain, but passed her GCSE when she came here. Also, there is more choice here, whereas in Spain, there are more compulsory subjects.

   I. recalls that she had to explain the idea of choosing options in year 10, and admits she did not know how/what to choose because she needed to learn more English before making a choice, but eventually she did choose (cannot recall how she made this decision) and when she told her parents about it, they understood that it enabled her to focus on the subject(s) she wanted to study at Uni and 'were quite happy about it'.

10. *RC: And were there other examples where you had to explain how some things were different here to how they were in Spain?*

    I. recalls that she needed to ensure her mum was aware of the expectations for her brother when he was in the EYFS (for her mum to be able to support her brother with the areas of learning). She reports feeling comfortable doing this because, she was now in year 11 and had a greater understanding of 'what you needed to do' so could explain it to her mum.

11. *RC: Can you remember back to some of the things you did to adapt to living in England?*

    I. indicates that she was keen to make new friends. They did not have a TV when she first arrived so there was very little she could do to adapt. She had trips out with her parents and tried to avoid just staying at home not doing anything. She later reports that being at school enabled she had access to people her own age who she could communicate to.

12. I. reports that when there were parent's evenings at school a Spanish speaking teacher would translate between her parents and her teachers, so she did not have to engage in this 'brokering'. She also reports that her mother would use a translator to translate letters home from school. She also comments that her own English improved when she started school because her teachers would correct her.

13. After finishing school and starting college, she met new friends and was speaking English much more frequently, and there was some improvement. It was not until she started Uni that she needed to speak English all the time, and she appears to be proud at how her English language skills developed 'oh wow, you know how to speak English'.

14. I. narrates a particularly challenging incident where the police were called to the house she (and her family) were staying at (she is not sure why) and she was asked to translate (by her parents), and tell the police that they were only staying there until they found permanent accommodation. She describes not knowing what to say ('but, but, but, but') and found the experience 'traumatic'.

15. I. reports that she has a better relationship with her parents than she did when she was in Spain, that they speak to each other more, even her dad speaks to her more, and she is allowed greater freedom.

16. RC*: Do you think that engaging in these activities of translating and interpreting had an impact on your relationship with them.*

    I., is very definite in her response here, that whereas before they migrated to England they had a strict relationship, now they can joke with each other and 'speak to themselves about something funny'. She acknowledges that this could be because she is a mum herself now and 'understands more', but that nevertheless it has improved their relationship. She later suggests that due to English language skills, her parents would seek her advice about what to buy and respect her decisions 'you're the one making the rules, if you say this we're going to do this'. She also acknowledges that the improved relationship may be the result of her parents having more time to spend with her (as they are no longer spending long hours at work, as was the case in Spain).

17. She reports that after 7 years, her mum is now learning English now and can pick up on conversations between her and her younger brother, but that her dad claims that he is too old to learn English.

18. *RC: You made a comment in your first interview about your dad saying that he is too old to learn English and I wondered if you could say more about your response to that.*

    I. responds that she understands her dad's reluctance and implies that this is partly his age, partly his personality. Her mum is four years younger, and is now finally learning, although P4 thinks she should have started learning earlier.

RC: Why do you think she should have started earlier?

I. reports that she thinks it would have been better for her younger brother if her mother had learned English earlier, for parents' evenings and meetings etc. Initially her brother would come home and speak only in English, and her mother would ask I. to translate, but now her mother 'gets everything'.

19. Despite her mum learning English, I. still engages in some translating/brokering activities, for example liaising with the administrators on her mum's English language course.

20. She recognises that her English has improved and that being immersed in an English-speaking environment means that she is losing her ability to recall Spanish words when speaking with her family or with Spanish speaking friends.

Aaliyah's (A) BDC (Sub-session 1 = black/Sub-session 2 = blue

1. A. arrived in the UK as a 10-year old child with her mother and older brother, aged 12. She reports that none of them knew any English, apart from basic greetings.

2. A. acknowledges that as a child she was able to learn English quickly due to having greater opportunities to interact with other children and adults.

3. *RC: OK, so it's starting off with really just some clarification on when you first arrived in the UK. What year it was and whether you have any memories of your time arriving and settling in the UK and I'm aware it was a long time ago so it might not be fresh in your head, but if you've got any memories you want to share about when you arrived?*

A. comments on the diversity of the communities in the UK, the hygiene, greater accessibility of resources, better organisation of public services, transport etc. She states that in Pakistan, families with many children would not have access to the same services that are available here, (referring to government support in the UK) and there are fewer free activities (e.g. they would have to pay to go the park in Pakistan, but here it's free). She states that she had a stable upbringing and her father could support his family (especially when he was working in Saudi Arabia) but that 'treats' would be monthly and only in response to having achieved something, whereas here, they could have treats weekly. She states that it is an easier life here.

4. A. entered into year 5 at school and had a 'special' teacher who supported her with her English, using flashcards ('basically like an early year's child') and her English developed 'slowly, slowly, slowly'. She reports returning from school and sharing the English she had learned with her mother.

5. A. accompanied her mother on shopping trips and admits to acting as an interpreter/translator [her choice of words], including completing forms and documents, and attending appointments [non-specific]. She reports that her brother was 'too shy' to take on these roles, so she did them.

6. *RC: OK, question 2 is that you told me in the first interview about the many different activities that you engaged in to support your mum to settle into the UK. Were there any challenging or difficult experiences that arose?*

A. repeats her comments from interview 1 that she was occasionally anxious that she did not have sufficient English skills to conduct the translating/interpreting correctly, and that it was sometimes difficult to balance, learning English herself, studying and helping her mum. She repeats her comments from interview 1 that it was beneficial because she was helping her mum, becoming more independent and mature, but that there were also 'ups and downs'.

7. A. acknowledges that learning English was beneficial as it allowed her to take on these roles and responsibilities. She comments that she became more confident as her English developed and she became passionate about developing her vocabulary further-she evidences this with the fact that when she entered secondary school in East London, she gained a 5 for her English and Maths GCSEs.

8. *RC: Ok, thanks so question 3, you acknowledge the positive benefits as I was just saying, sort of both personal in terms of your own personal growth and your increasing confidence, but also the academic (development), you know the fact that it helped you because you were learning English so it helped you with your academic skills and you spoke about the GCSE grades that you got and the fact that you're now at University as well. Do you think there are any negative impacts from engaging in those activities?*

A. states that although it was a lot of responsibility and commitment, she would not describe it as negative as she was able to help her mum (especially as her dad was not in the country) and she was proud to be able to do this.

9. A. left school to go to college to do the Early Years apprenticeship, and then on to her Early Childhood Studies degree. She reports that she feels she has done well, 'moving my way' after arriving as a child with no English, now completing a degree. Also, learning English has enabled her to be a 'guider' for her mum.

10. She offers an example of calling the surgery to make appointments for herself, and filling out housing benefit forms, for her mum who was a single parent at the time. She also comments on completing citizen applications and passport applications.

11. She comments that to do these roles for her mum meant that her mum did not have to pay an outside organisation to do this. She refers to the fact that she had all of her mum's personal details and admits to feeling concerned that she might do something wrong, although her vocabulary was becoming more developed. She describes these roles as 'adult' jobs and explains that although her mum trusted her to take on these roles, she would still take the forms/applications to a lawyer for checking-but that this was less expensive than paying a professional translator/interpreter.

12. A. repeats that she was anxious about getting these tasks wrong, then proceeds to liken them to the other roles and responsibilities that children from her home culture take on for the benefit of their families, citing a range of domestic responsibilities that her cousins in her home country take on to support their families. She states that despite being anxious, taking on these [brokering-my word] roles meant that her family did not need to ask anyone else, and if 'I was capable, then why not give it a try'?

13. *RC: This is a really interesting theme that came from the first interview, which is that sort of sense of expectation that you had… that you the ought to be helping your mom even as a young child, you had this sort of expectation that it was part of your role to be a guider or a supporter, and that's quite common from where you're from, from your home country for children to help their parents out….*

A. agrees that it would be seen as an expectation in her culture, and comments that if she hadn't been able to do it, then who would? She says she would feel ashamed not to be able to help her mum and would not want her mum to have to ask someone else to do it.

14. *RC: It sounds like you're saying you feel that you'd be letting her down…if you weren't there to help her out?*

A. agrees that this is how she would feel. She adds that now her mother is back home, she asks for support from her (her mum's) brother and her (A's) dad, and A. reflects 'I played that role' commenting that her mum felt much more comfortable asking A. than an outsider.

15. *RC: Was there ever a time that you resented having to engage in the activities when, when your mom asked for help?*

A. replies that her and her mum were very close when they first arrived in the UK, and as she had not made any friends yet, she was happy to spend time being with her mum and helping her out. Later, (when she moved from outside London to East London), she made a friend whose mum became her mum's friend and A. recalls that her mum would only ask for support when she was really struggling (which meant she could go to the park with her friends if she wanted to) and otherwise would ask this friend (who had lived in the UK longer and worked in a professional role) if she could help. She states that her friend was born in the UK, and the friend's mum has lived in the UK a long time, so they 'knew everything'. She comments that she now supports another migrant woman in her neighbourhood who comes to her for advice and whom she is proud to help, as she was helped.

16. A. admits that her mum had not been educated beyond primary school so was not 'well-educated' and she describes feeling a 'duty of care and responsibility' for her mum, stating that in her cultural background children are guiders and supporters for their parents.

17. A. offers an example of translating at primary school and being trusted by both her mum and her teachers to do this because she was seen as a 'good' student who was working hard and not getting into trouble. She acknowledges that although her mum did not speak English, she would pick up on non-verbal cues and body language.

18. As she proceeds through secondary school, her mother has learned some English from 'interacting with her friends when she used to pick me up' and started to gain a greater understanding of what was being said in different contexts. P5

remarks that she was keen to ensure that her mother understood the right context, and comments that she would sometimes say ‘leave it please’ and ‘remind her about manners so she was using it in the right context’.

19. *Me: Did you find that as well as translating the language, you had to explain some of the social or cultural differences between the UK and Pakistan? There was one example you referred to when you wanted to make sure your mom was using the correct manners in the right context.*

A. states that as they lived in an area that was strongly populated [my term] by families from similar cultural backgrounds to her own, that her mum was able to integrate into some aspects of society quite well (food and clothes shopping), but that when facing officialdom [my term], she needed further support.

20. A. offers further examples of the brokering roles she had (and still has) [there is no attempt in the open narrative to distinguish between roles she had as a child and those she has an adult], for example offering tech support, calling insurance companies, assisting with passport applications from Pakistan (her mother and younger brother have now returned).

21. A. now lives in London, as does her older brother. She has a child herself now and is still called upon to assist with ‘chores’ for example supporting her mum to renew her brother’s passport as they do not know the procedures, and do not want to pay a lawyer to do this.

22. A. states that she is proud to take on these roles, and reports that they have helped to develop her confidence and self-esteem. She recalls an incident (8-10 years ago, when she would have been 14/15) where they had to have some documents formally translated and recalls meeting a woman who supported people in these positions, stating that she would like to work in this kind of role in the future, so she can help people who had similar experiences to her mum.

23. *Me: So you have spoken about the sense of responsibility that you felt taking on these interpretative roles, and you gave a really lovely example of wanting to carry on helping people who were vulnerable and in the same position as your mum was, and wanting to be able to continue to offer that support. Can you remember if you felt that sense of responsibility at the time as well?*

A. comments that looking back now she can see that she had a lot of responsibility, and that not everyone has that level of responsibility at a young age, but that at the time, ‘I could not realise what I was doing, I was just 9 or 10’. She states that taking part in the research has allowed her to reflect on this further and reminds me that from my Western cultural this may not be normal, but for her, it is normal to be counted as responsible from an early age.

She states that she feels she has benefitted from these responsibilities because they have raised her self-esteem, she is proud and fortunate to have had the opportunity, and feels that although it was stressful at times, to juggle so many responsibilities (her child, Uni,

her mum's needs) that these 'unique' experiences have ensured she is better able to juggle multiple responsibilities, rather than being a person who can do only 1 thing at a time. She refers to her desire to be a primary school teacher and asserts that the experiences she has had will improve her CV, as she can show that she is capable of using her initiative and doing more than 1 thing at a time.

24. RC: How do you think your relationship with your mum has been impacted by taking on these roles and responsibilities?

A. states, initially that she does not feel the relationship has been impacted by her taking on these responsibilities, as she was proud to help out, and 'who else would do it'. She comments that her brother, although he was close to their mum, did not think it was his job and was always too busy and would 'go out and about' ('you know what boys are like' then 'I don't want to call it a stereotype'). She reiterates that she was proud to be handy, so her mum did not have to go out and beg for help. Later she comments on how grateful her mum is for her help when she was younger, ('I am lucky to have you, I don't know what I would have done'), but states that she was simply 'fulfilling her duty'. Her mum is proud of her achievements and looking forward to coming to her graduation.

Appendix 6. BNIM Panel 1 Transcript.

This first session was preceded by an online briefing session, explaining the role of the panel within the BNIM process. The two BDCs discussed at this session were sent to the panel members 1 week in advance of the meeting, and sections I had considered particularly relevant had been highlighted in red. Panel members were invited to reflect on the highlighted section, but also to choose other sections that appeared relevant from their own perspective.

Eugene.

J: Well, it's interesting that he's saying it is impossible to learn a new language if you arrive in the country as an adult. And I mentioned that it caught my attention because I don't know whether he's saying there's lots of immigrants who can't speak English, but I can speak English idiomatically now.

M:I don't know whether he's saying, 'I've done kind of really well, and I suppose the Commonwealth and the citizens and you know they're listening to the World Service, you know they're very kind of old-fashioned English as I would say.

J: Right, it sounds like someone who came to this country without English as their first language which is not the case for this 'cause if I remember correctly this is the Grenadian?

F:It's interesting 'cause I find it impossible to recognize accents and dialects, Uh, and that's something that speaking with other migrants, so I do feel that it kind of connects with the sense of differentiation of migrant experiences of like, being part of the Commonwealth, you have a different way of relating to being a migrant in this country and the element of acculturation is very different because you kind of have been exposed to the culture and you feel very part of the culture. In fact, if I remember correctly, this is one that discusses coming to the UK is coming home? And that's something that I've heard a lot of-the whole idea of like coming home, and I mean it's in novels and everywhere.

J: Yeah, that the motherland. Yeah, that's how it was portrayed.

F: It seems it almost feels like it is a way of demonstrating belonging and you know, this sense of some responsibility on him and his mum's part to be accessing cultural institutions e.g. Radio 4 World Service, at least then was a cultural institution, and he seems to be saying they took it on as a duty. To prove you know it's almost like we have citizens tests that well, we do have citizens test now, but it was their duty to step into what was being offered.

M: So maybe what J was saying about, you know he did the work and now he has full status as a language, user but a language interpreter of all the idiomatic layers of language.

J: I would make the assumption that English was the language spoken.

J: So, then it kind of struck me that they're still learning the language that actually people, not everyone, but people are likely to have I would say English, and yet he felt he needed to learn the other kind of, I guess the more than that it's the mechanisms, the idioms and the nuances,

M: and he seems to really not just in that section, but in throughout, he seems to really value his status, and all the doors it has opened to him learning the tacit knowledge of the background of languages, rather than just languages to get by.

M: Yeah it in in his childhood in his early adulthood and in his later adulthood there seems to be an underlying thread of connection for him to be able to see underneath and see how things are connected and how things are held in hierarchies, and who has the knowledge and who hasn't.

R: So if we contrast that so a bit further on he mentions that initially he felt that having access to radio four and having access to books in the library and having that love of reading, gave him an advantage in terms of integrating into society and then later on the kind of contradicts or in fact adds that it actually distanced him, speaking RP, distanced him from his Grenadian friends who came over and were speaking more [he uses the phrase] Yardie

Me: #15 He says his relationships with his peers is influenced by his language use and then he previously recognized the benefits of learning 'proper' English [this is the language that he uses to describe it]

Me: I just wondered what you think that might reveal about how he's developed in his thinking over time

F: Here, it says he was encouraged-why do you think it was a contradiction?

J: I don't think contradicting is the right word. He seems to be experiencing a dilemma about his identity.

J Yeah, that's how I would say that it's a very good thing it was encouraged, you know the mother encouraging it, going to the library, kind of quite middle class and then this sense of disconnect from other Grenadians, and they have maintained their home language

M: It feels like he's had to keep crossing borders all through his life and he's not permitted to be both.

J: But he's still 'othered' so with his Grenadian friends he's different, and probably he would experience others seeing him as different despite speaking 'proper' English if I can use that term.

F: But that's the interesting thing, right? 'Cause I think it's very familiar in the sense that, he calls home I assume London, the UK, he calls home Grenada, he calls home Jamaica

F: And that's how it works, it's kind of like everything we come from, nothing is home, and you constantly change the way in which you behave or use the language, and it's very much determined also by how people react and respond around you.

F: So, in some circumstances, having proper English is to your disadvantage, and in some other circumstances, thinking about intersectionality as a Black man, having 'proper' English would have been a saving grace, particularly in the past.

F: But it's yeah, so I wouldn't say that it's something that develops as a conflict I think it's always that it's just at some point you become much more aware of it and you sense of how to use it to your advantage.

Me: So, he talks about how he developed his cultural identity or his black identity when he goes to do his law degree. So, it's like you're saying there's an evolving sense of a changing identity, which is not necessarily a conflict.

F: It keeps moulding and changing, through experience, through meeting people

F: I think it's interesting because he refers to Theresa May

R: Yes, apologetically

F: But I think it's interesting because the language of Theresa May, and more recently Priti Patel, affects the way the migrants are spoken about and so what I'm trying to say is that the experience of acculturation changes continuously because it's informed by the social historical context.

F: So, I think you're right, it is a continuous revisiting, making sense and re exploring, for example he talks about his mum encouraging him to listen to the radio, and then uses the word 'brainwashed'. It's like he sees it in a different way, and thinks, 'that's probably why that happened', and sees it in a different way.

J: the one [statement] above talked about brokering for his mum, there's a dilemma there, isn't it that these mums encouraging you know, 'study, work hard, learn proper English', but then he's kind of saying that somehow the mum hasn't made that development and the dilemmas there, you know.

J: You know he does recall explaining idioms and phrases to her. I've seen this with some of my friends when their parents don't speak, I mean they speak 'good' English, and so the children are in this dilemma about do they correct their parents' English or do they let it go or?

M: In other parts of this he really talks about the hierarchy in his family connected to the hierarchy of colonialism, and so he really seems to be exploring from a lifelong perspective, how far the Commonwealth colonial experience actually dominated his family culture

M: He's actually seems to be attributing a colonial hierarchical imposition, he seems to be continually looking at the layers of his identity as it interplays with language as it interplays with Empire,

J: and relationships with friends, and family and contemporaries

F: I found it interesting as well, that he would not emigrate to either Grenada or Jamaica, but to the US, which is another level of hierarchy, right? Is that something that happens because when you get acculturated to a country, there is an element of decision, or is it that at some point you decide which hierarchy sits within your own experience of multiple identities. I'm thinking about the experiences of migrant friends who have recently had to move back to their home country although neither of them felt particularly at home in that country, and they'd both spent half of their lives in London, from the ages of 17-30, so it's like a 'split' experience of feeling at home in both to some extent, but in neither place, felt fully at home. So that becomes your hierarchy, the place that feels more like home than the other.

J: But if that country sees you as 'other', you may see it as your home, but others may say it's not your home. Home is 'back there'. In regards to race, did he pass as British, visually, probably not.

F: But that can make you more determined to claim it as your country if other people are saying it's not and so it really depends….

F: but I kind of imagine this person, I as someone who speaks proper English and is very much into being incredibly proper and polite, a 'proper' British black British man, who then probably kicks off in their backyard and plays domino and drinks rum punch and typical influences like this.

F: But it's interesting like what you just about his sons and what he calls their 'Yardie' language-they can code switch and he sounds proud of their ability to code switch, but then later he questions it in when he talks about his son's white friends using it [Yardie], and then later in the narrative he talks about the appropriation, certainly within music culture, and the surface use of Black culture without really understanding the cultural use of a language ('blackshopping?'). He seems to have this lifelong commitment to understanding the cultural, social, political contexts of continual change. He then derides to a certain extent, people who will only engage with the surface of a language. It must be common that people feel X if they spoke proper English [gives example of own son (white M/C) switching from 'street' to proper English in different contexts. And different language forms/styles carry different social/cultural currency in different contexts.

F: So, multicultural London English is a recognised phenomenon isn't it? And his sons have been able to partake in this but not him, as it would not have had any cachet when he was speaking it, and Multicultural London English is now a conglomerate of many different migrant languages.

F: It seems like he's brokering his culture continually from his childhood through his middle age to his old age. He's brokering cultural meanings and their social and political contexts, so although he may not be brokering for his parents, he seems to be brokering lots of cultures continually.

[clarification sought on definition of 'brokering' in the context of the thesis due to it having different nuance in J's academic discipline]

[Acknowledgement that the term can be applied quite narrowly to refer to linguistic translating/interpreting only, but that it can encompass many other forms of cultural mediation]

[Reference to brokering being a burden, and acknowledgment that this is partly what I am exploring]

Joy.

R: So, the burden of brokering is considered more with Joy when she talks of taking family members to the Home Office at a very young age (8/9). But this is also one of the things that I am challenging-this infantilization of children, assuming that they are not capable or competent of doing such things, as seen from an adult perspective, whereas they may not see it like that. What's been interesting is that some of the participants did not see these responsibilities as burdensome at the time, but from an adult perspective, retrospectively, they wouldn't want their children to do it, so there's a changed attitude towards it when looking back on it as an adult.

F: Cultural brokering is exhausting and it is something that as a migrant you have to do on any basis, such as the volume of your voice, the way you talk, literally everything has to be culturally brokered and it's exhausting, and sometimes what comes out as the existing part is the language element, but it's not just that, I think what's quite interesting is whether culturally brokering the experiences of the adults around you, particularly in certain circumstances, where power dynamics are very strong and very fixed (and this also applies to Eugene- when he refers to not being able to give advice to your parents or tell them when they're wrong in Grenadian culture) leads to a shift in power dynamics and that's why as a child, it does not feel like a burden as it actually brings power, it gives you one up against your parents.

F: Even when you have settled in this country, and your do speak the language there are still those micro contexts you're having to negotiate, even if you do speak the language fluently or have settled well, perhaps even if you were born here. You know just the fact that you are perceived to be different by mainstream communities means that you're constantly in that renegotiation of where you fit and how you're accepted and where you belong. Particularly people keep saying where are you from, and you might say Croydon and they say no where are you from?

F: The example here #3 is just some examples of the kind of things that this participant was called upon to do, and you know, in the actual transcript she talks about doing this from a really young age.

R: And then with #4, her attitude towards it changes during the course of the interview because initially she just accepts that it's something she has to do, which I guess at a certain age, you would just accept it because that's your role-to do what you're told.

Then when she's older and some of her friends aren't being asked to do this, she gets increasingly more resentful

R: But I thought #five was interesting as well, there's a kind of… well I'll throw it over to what you think….

J: I wonder if there's an element of internalized oppression here, some kind of projection of some kind of sensor, for example the parents are failing because they're not doing XYZ or she's unconsciously absorbing that immigrants should learn English and fit in?

[comparison made between the professional brokering that teachers/nurses/social workers may do their own families and friends].

M: That's probably why I said it was a burden, but it is also like she's powerful. She is the one. Who has the skills to do this whilst their family doesn't, so must be incredibly awesome to be able to this for them?

M: As an adult I felt anxiety for that child that they're having to go to the Home Office and talk to these people, but maybe as a child you might not realize the significance of getting your visa stamp for another year, whereas an adult understands the significance of these things and might think 'what if I make a mistake and we got deported' but may be that's adult thinking.

F: It depends because the level of awareness that she had as a child and that's the difficult part because you can't actually ask the child as she is now an adult.

[I explain that the original plan was to research directly with children].

M: It's actually interesting to see how they view these roles from an adult perspective.

M: There was something earlier about it being a burden and an opportunity, being a broker, but it's not for everybody-not everyone from a migrant background becomes a broker for other people even if they have to constantly broker their own cultural position, and both participants in different ways talk about it almost like being a vocation, that's been conferred on them in a way, and that it wasn't possible to say no to, which reminds me of my Catholic background where people were made to go to seminaries because you had to sacrifice someone to stand up and take this role. It's been conferred on them and then the family mythology or the cultural mythology has grown up around them as the person who can do these things, and they become skilled at doing these things, so once they have taken this on, they can't let go of this role. It's not, it's not something that anybody (in their family) will let them put down.

J: I just read the bit about lying about what teachers said, I mean, as a teacher you often haven't got any choice. I remember having to rely on children to translate for their parents at parent's evening and I could tell by the reaction on the parent's faces that they were not translating what I'd said, but it's not always possible to get a formal translator due to funding issues.

F: This is the same for a child that I see as a psychotherapist, in July, and the parent's English is really poor so they bought the child's Aunty and in these circumstances the brokering was a chaotic experience and I think it has a lot to do with power.

F: It made me think about any gender related specificity to the role of the broker and how it's deployed or the extent to which it happens? I didn't know whether it's just accidental that in the previous case it was a man, but all the other participants are female.

[I refer to subsequent participant narrative where the participant alludes to the expectations being placed on her compared to her brother and how she did not question that].

R: The next one I thought was interesting in reference to it being both a burden and an opportunity is when this particular participant can see some benefits even though she admits that she found it irritating and annoying and was quite resentful and possibly there's the internalized oppression there as well, but when she's looking at it now, she thinks there were some positive benefits to it as well.

F: And I guess that's what J is talking about as well, the internalized oppression based on the experience towards migrants from mainstream communities that it kind of gives you an opinion about other migrants and you start being like 'So why are they not learning the language?' It becomes really annoying

F: Yeah, and I wonder whether there is the societal influence on migrants and expectations of what it is to be a good migrant.

M: Yeah it's like 'what makes a good migrant right?' Like Priti Patel castigating other migrants-that's what a good migrant does, they vote for Brexit and castigate other migrants, because that's what it takes to become British.

J It reminded me of a conversation I heard on a bus in Brixton, with a group of Black people berating Roma Gypsies, and it was kind of played our like 'oh look at them they don't speak English, and they rob us and I wanted to say, 'yeah and 40 years ago this would have been the experiences of your parents getting berated on the bus.

M: So yeah, what is the good migrant you have to be? To be enculturated and to speak 'good' English, adopt English values and perspectives.

F: It's interesting that her children [Joy's] do not speak their mother tongue so could not engage in these activities of brokering between English and [Lingala]

F: It is also worth thinking about the cultural conceptualisation of childhood, and the idea that children are the result of a selfish act, you don't do it for the children, whatever the reasons, for example having children to translate for you, to help you settle into this new country where you do not feel you belong but where you need to be.

Me: Well that would tally with what her [Joy's] perception about parents not bothering to learn the language but waiting until the children start school so they can

translate/interpret for you. I am not sure how reflective this is of the community she grew up but she refers to it a few times in the narrative.

M: Which is interesting in lots of ways because of what you've just said about the power that it gives the child as the one who is getting access to the language through schooling through education, they hold the Magic Key to everyone else having access to the culture.

J: But is it also a fear from the parent's perspective that if you let go of your language [anecdote about friend's mother who was Turkish Cypriot who never learned English and relied on her 4 daughters to translate for her]. It was almost as if the mum moved into speaking English, would she lose her status as being Turkish or Turkish Cypriot because she was here for 40 odd years, but never conversed with people in English.

J: And the daughters often had to take time off work to go with their mother to hospital, and each of the girls performed these roles and they did it fairly cheerfully, and nobody ever got on to the mum about not doing that [learning English] but why was that?

J: It's like as soon as you become dual (language speaker/identity) there's no going back?

J: So, I think there's something about thinking about children's agency and the discussion we were having with regards to is it a burden for them to be cultural brokers or language brokers?

F: And I was thinking about the idea of why? Why are they having children? What is the purpose? Having someone that looks after you when you're old or not being alone or whatever, and for example, would we have been having the same conversation if it wasn't a power [dynamic] (referring to migrant's status?)

F: I mean if the child has a health condition and you know other child saves the life or the child is a young carer who provides services, I am not sure of these situations would fall under 'brokering' and is this because migration is [not?]seen as choice and brokering is perhaps a necessity?

R: It's quite kind of invisible as well, because some of the research that's been done at UCL about brokering in schools… For example, Tony Cline did some research in schools about child brokering where they interviewed migrant children who engaged in brokering on a regular basis, and with children from 'mainstream' communities, and teachers and neither the non-migrant children nor the teachers had any idea of the extent of language/cultural brokering that their migrant peers (including migrant children who were born in the UK) were engaged in. It was a very hidden role, which is often the case for child carer's roles too.

M: I don't know whether it extrapolates into the other interviews, but in these two there's definitely their sense of resentment coming through in both interviews.

F: I think it would be interesting if you could have someone who's white/European and from a migrant population, because you can see the layer of Commonwealth in the first

one, alongside race and gender, so it would be interesting to look at it from a different perspective and consider the brokering roles that European migrants had to engage in [with all the paperwork] post-Brexit. [Anecdote about neighbour who is a human rights and immigration lawyer and

J: What I know, yeah, yes, I mean you, do have an experience of immigration F. but you're right, people would [not know] until you open your mouth that you're from another country.

[anecdote from J about doing BNIM with Eastern European women and not realising that it was compulsory to work in the former SU-so we need to test our Western assumptions.

J: The important factor is the context and the history, right? If you were to talk with a young (again generalization), young black kid, who has been doing cultural brokering I wonder whether their experience of proper English or Yardie Language, would be the same

J: So, would it be worth having representatives on the next panel who reflect the cultural/ethnic backgrounds of the participants more closely? This may help to challenge your positionality/Western bias?

Appendix 7. BNIM Panel 2 Transcript.

Nimo.

R: Can you identify themes around acculturation or other themes relevant to my thesis, for example having to explain the cultural differences as well as the linguistic differences. But there's also some interesting information here about her agency and how she felt that she grew up and some of the benefits that she gained from engaging in the activities. So, I don't know whether anybody just wants to comment on what they've read so far, or anything that I haven't identified or anything. Any point you'd like to make?

J: I thought it's interesting that she didn't seem to talk much about things being a burden for her personally, but she could see that, when she saw other children's experience now that she is a TA she does, erm, I didn't think she used the word burden, but she seems to sort of like acknowledge that they've got a difficult situation and it's still going on for them, but she didn't quite say it about herself.

R: Yeah, that's a good point actually. I hadn't really thought about how she sorts of projected it onto the other children that are still experiencing it.

F: But I guess at the same time this is coming from how she felt underrepresented in the education system at the time, didn't it, 'cause she was talking about how it was really good that she was a positive role model for the boy she's working with.

F: So OK, a theme that seems to be coming up is matters around trust, terms of trust the parents have towards the British school (or lack of thereof). A lack of trust towards her so she doesn't even bother asking if she can go to the second trip because the other one was a problem and it's quite interesting 'cause this idea of trust, I wonder whether the trust is something that is a the trust is something that is a [break] in the connection between the two cultures?

F: It's an interesting one because she was the one who had to be trusted because her mom was asking her to ask the teacher questions, she was the one translating, she was the one brokering, right? So, I wonder what kind of became interjected into lack of trust. It seems to be a lack of trust about the culture, about the environment…. but it's like she's saying, 'you don't even trust me' and I wondered what the implications of that might have been.

R: That's a really interesting comment. Actually, I hadn't thought about the different levels of trust, so being trusted in some contexts to take on quite responsible roles but not trusted in other contexts.

J: It's as though she's trying to regain some of that balance almost. So, if you look at #13, she says in an additional response that many of her friends had similar experiences when they were growing up. She admits that her and her friends from the same backgrounds can now laugh at these experiences, but when you're young you can't.

F: And again, I'm thinking what must it feel like that you are the person who holds all the trust and the power, but you're also not trusted and you're powerless. So, I wondered if it was about cultural expectations, about when you're an adult and when you're a daughter and what that means, because in #9 the point was, 'I'm now trusted to go on my own'. Presumably she's an adult, isn't she? And not caught 'off guard'- that's an interesting expression to use.

J: I mean it's not a Somali thing, it's in everything isn't it, when you are able to be the adult?

M: There were some things when she was talking about her older siblings, having had it tough and being like parents to her and then that responsibility passed to her, but then she was reflecting, I think when the family moved to another area and they were around people who were 4th or 5th generation, that was really interesting wasn't it?

M: It was almost like there was this sort of theme of being moved on, in an apprenticeship way, with responsibilities being passed from her older siblings to her.

M: And then the theme of her dad getting more integrated and these people around her in their new community being more integrated but moving away from having empathy, and her feeling like it was her responsibility to do the translating or be empathetic to that lack.

R: Yeah, I thought section 21 was really fascinating, actually some of the language she used in that section. Like the families that were 3rd 4th or 5th generation of their own cultures, even though they 'weren't British' either, they did not have the same struggles as her family because someone else had had it for them.

R: Then she says something like there are different degrees of being British.

F: But I think that's also present in her own family, because her siblings had to come in and had a much bigger struggle on her behalf. So it's an interesting theme a sort of personal versus community 'cause that's similar to that distinction you made earlier, M. about her not necessarily thinking about her own experiences but she's extending it to think about other people in her community who are still having those experiences.

J: But I wonder (in #20), you know this kind of community that is somewhere over there, 'the community', and when she says she feels her family are accepted-what does that mean? What's her evidence? Is something not being said there?

F: And her mum is being socially isolated, is this another example of what you referred to earlier, about internalised oppression? That she feels that in order to be accepted by her community they need to be seen to be contributing something back to society? So, she has internalised 'this is what society expects of me and my family and now they are doing that we will now be accepted?'

J: And then she then talks about these random group of people, I mean I live in a community, but I don't have a sense of what my community thinks of us-is this my white privilege?

J: And then she refers to ‘neither of us are British’ which raises the question-what does it mean to be British? What does it mean to be adapted? Who is setting the rules? Is it self-imposed? Is it a sense of ‘this is what it means to be [I hate this word] ‘adapted’?

M: I think you’ve hit on something important here which is the fact that these experiences are based on being on the receiving end of ‘othering’, then you try and find belonging and community to counteract it.

J: So, if you look for example at #3, there is the fact that there are these parents for whom English was an additional language and perception of sense of community.

J: So, it's almost thinking about what are the strategies that were developed by the children and by the parents too to develop a sense of belonging? For example, the dad goes to the GP on his own and I’m thinking, ‘anyone can go to the GP in their own’ but actually we may be saying that from our own privileged position, of not having to think about these things, which we do automatically, so it brings to mind some of the activities we as white people take for granted without having to plan/think about them in advance.

[I explain that I did invite 3 non-white colleagues to join the panel and then a shout out across the department but had no response and that my supervisors had advised not delaying the panels to seek additional members due to the difficulties arranging meetings as it was. However, it would have added depth because it’s coming up quite strongly now, that as white people we may not appreciate the nuances of the migrant experience of acculturation].

F: I was interviewed by the child of a friend of mine who had to do a school report on a migrant experience, and I could tell from the questions that the teacher who wrote this had never migrated!

J: Also, with Nimo there was this discussion around the definition of home which was interesting because it also came up with Eugene too, in terms of ‘going back home’

F: There is possibly a sense of guilt if you have left as part of a mass exodus, and a sense that you need to go back and help the country, to try to go back and make it better.

F: Yes, she talks about saluting people who do go back and try to make it better…..

F: But then she concludes that she called it home unintentionally, but I am not sure this is the correct word, perhaps she means subconsciously because at the same time she acknowledges that she does not feel ‘oh god I’m home’ when she returns to Somalia, but she does feel that she is amongst her people. Then later she says that ‘it’s where your routines are and where your mum is’.

[Conversation about the perspective/insight you have towards your homeland when you are viewing it from a distance, from a different country-referring to my experience of living in Russia and noticing different cultural norms, and appreciating some, but also identifying English norms which you take for granted when you live amongst them, but which hold significance when you reflect on them from another location].

F: I think I think that's very much related to the reasons why someone leaves the place. I left Italy because I did not like the place [?]and as soon as I came to the UK, I tried to cut all connections with Italy, aside from my family, so like stereotypically, most Italians who live in the UK have lots of Italian friends, I have no Italian friends.

F: So, I think it relates to the identity and I think it's sometimes a matter of making sense of and discovering it, sometimes it's a matter of rejecting it. For example, I have a friend who moved back to Portugal because they could not afford being in London with kids, and I wondered how difficult it must be to go back home once you've hated it so much.

M: There's a complex dynamic, because reading through [Nimo's BDC], it's like this person loves being in London but also finds it hard to talk about it, but can appreciate that living somewhere multicultural has been helpful as it has been easier to integrate due to being able to maintain cultural/religious traditions.

[Conversation about participant location-all London based, although P5 moved arrived initially in Manchester- discussion of the potential challenges of settling in other areas of England where acceptance of differences, especially visible differences, e.g. skin colour/poor English language competence- may not be as forthcoming and F alludes to her own experience of derogatory experiences in other parts of England-'England is horrible'. At this point I inform the panel that I tried to invite non-white members to the panel but was unsuccessful and could not afford to delay the panel sessions due to other members' commitments].

J: So, London is very diverse, but part of me 'so what?' Because you still may be the only Somali child in your school. I know there are specific areas of London where particular communities settle, but some areas can give the appearance of being diverse, but there are still dominant groups.

[J reflects on her own son's experience of being a white m/c child in a mixed-ethnic community at school and how this may impact upon his sense of what it is to be white, including the teasing her gets for having the 'most English name possible' and I refer to my eldest son's commitment never to move out of London because he would not feel at home surrounded only by white people- which may reflect different dynamics of power]

J:But I think that relates to what R. was saying in terms of stages in the migration process that become more evident when you realise the identity you've left behind and the one you're picking up and how you negotiate and navigate, and then really silly things become the things that you hold onto

F: I was talking with a friend who has Nigerian origins, but has never been to Nigeria, who was rejected by their family at the age of 15, because they came out, and he is literally the most British person I have ever met, the way he talks, the way he acts, but he adores stuff from Nigeria, for example special prints on his suits, or places they go, so it's like he is choosing how to create the connections in terms of the things he does and how he creates a sense of belonging.

F: So sometimes just having the distance from it and being somewhere that was culturally very different, just helps you identify what it is about your culture that makes you [English]that you wouldn't identify if everyone else around you is reinforcing those cultural norms and those cultural expectations, which I guess again is another element of white privilege, you know I was part of the dominant majority when I lived in England, so my sense of Englishness is probably very different to somebody who is in one of the minority groups.

J: I think there is a multi-layer reality in the family system [for Nimo] because the family started in Somalia, then they came here.

[J discusses her experiences of being a tutor at X University and how unfamiliar she is working with predominantly white students, + where the Uni publicity is dominated by white faces + where there are very few Black faces. She comments on the surprise expressed by a Ghanaian supervisee when J recognised his Ghanaian name, and commented that she needed to inform her colleagues that his Ghanaian heritage may mean he has family commitments which impact upon his ability to attend to his studies]

F: The issue with the homework book is interesting because it reinforces the idea of the continuous process of brokering as it is intrinsic to the identity of being a migrant, because there will always be a situation in which you have to explain something to someone else.

F: I wonder what it's like to grow up with that awareness that part of who you are has to do with having to manage [multiple identities?].

R: Yes, this comes up more in Aaliyah's narrative, that sense of responsibility remaining constant as you move from childhood into adulthood.

J: In the term brokering, there's lots of layers to aren't there? It's brokering cultural knowledge. The translating is a very definitive thing, but even then, in this participant's narrative she says she kind of used to translate every word, but now she gives the gist.

M: Actually, all three of them say that you play about with the language and she is also worried 'is my Somali good enough'? And they [participants in BNIM panel 2] also worry about whether their English is good enough, but it's never just about the language it's always about being a cultural interpreter and the parents who can never join you in the place you're in

M: So Nimo talks about being angry that her parents were talking about going back home and feeling cross because she feels like they have invested loads in her and she's had to invest in the family project of making it in England, and now they're like 'ok see you'.

Isabella.

R: #4 is the only one who is white European, but again there are similar themes about arriving and not really things feeling settled, so you can see with #2, that coming from Spain, and it getting dark at 3 and the constant rain…..

J: Echoes the experiences of Windrush generation, and the shock they felt.

M: I know somebody who came from South Sudan, and he couldn't come to something he was invited to and part of it was because it was really raining and he sent apologies, as though he expected the event to be cancelled and I was thinking you're going to have to say no to a lot of events if you don't want to come out in the rain.

[I explain that this is a shorter and less in-depth narrative, partly because at each session, the participant's young child was present, and it was all a bit rushed].

R: So, similar to the other participants, she is worrying that she didn't have the English skills.

[Conversation ensues about the advantages the student feels about leaving behind a small village and coming to a big city where you can be anonymous]

R: So, one interesting thing in this one is the difference in schooling, particularly [perhaps] as the participant is from another European country where you may expect the differences to be less pronounced?

F: There appears to be a reluctance to speak Spanish and an 'urgency' to learn English? There's much more of a conflict and I do wonder whether this is because this person is European, and when the difference is 'closer', you can be pulled towards wanting to pass as British? And that may bring greater consequences in terms of the guilt you feel towards your parents and your family heritage [if they cannot 'join you'?]

F: She also comments that school is better in England as you learn more. I don't think it's true to be completely honest so, but there are lots of things which suggest she is trying to say

F: Oh, you know I've had a I had a fine time, England is great, and I was very lucky I didn't have to go through the difficulty. So, there is an element of 'I'm so close to actually being British and I'm so close to them [her parents] so there's a pull there and perhaps quite a strong energy towards that. And then the guilt that her parents have been 'left behind' and she has to explain the differences in, for example, the nursery education system over here.

F: But she says she feels comfortable doing this because she is now in year 11, so at the age of 16, she is saying she is comfortable taking on these roles.

J: She also comments that her dad considers himself too old to be learning English now but that her mum is learning and I wondered if this was because they had initially moved from Ecuador, so their Spanish may be different (accent) to other Spanish speakers, and if this distanced them from 'mainstream' Spanish speakers (gives example of Argentinian translator), and perhaps also the fact that the dad feels like he has already made a big transition, he's now had two significant moves, and it would be interesting to know the reasons for their migration.

[Discussion ensues about the influence of migration drivers on migrant attitudes, for example, if things are challenging when you arrive, depending on your reasons for

migrating, you may respond to this differently, it may cause different levels of motivation-this is extended to think about what it must have been like for a 14/15 year old to arrive in London where it's cold, wet and dark, yet she has picked up this idea that the schools are better in England (or has experienced this?) and this has then become part of the family narrative and perhaps she feels responsible for ensuring that the family narrative comes true?]. And at the same time there is guilt on the part of the parents for the upset they have caused for moving her from her home, away from her brother and bringing her to England]

M: Maybe that she's heard those narratives overtime that you know, we came here to give you a better life in the school system and a better standard of living and she's kind of internalized.

J: But then she said she would have a better social life because she's not in a small village and later on she talks about her parents becoming more permissive since she's come to England than they would have been in Spain.

F: There are also her comments about her parents being strict and the changes in the power dynamics

R: Another interesting point is her comment at #12 about when they had parent's evening and there would be a Spanish speaking teacher to translate for the parents, which is almost like a language hierarchy, possibly, as you may not have an Urdu speaking teacher available, for example (not sure if this is accurate), possible because they prioritised the speaking of European languages at school?

[*Recognition on the panel that schools have become better at offering students the opportunity to take GCSEs in their home language even if these are not taught at the school and how this is a positive valuing of the child's linguistic identity which contrasts with previous approaches aimed at acquiring English and the recommendations for parents to speak only English at home-this is quite dated now surely]*

M:Another interesting observation is that just before the end she says something about losing her Spanish as she got more proficient in English, and it reminded me again of the earlier point about 'degrees' of being British and what you gain and what you lose.

J: @F, do you think you're losing your proficiency in your home language?

F: Yeah, definitely. I was invited to give a talk at [X} University and I was like can I talk in English, please? But it's not just a matter of proficiency, it's about the fact that I can do certain things in Italian and certain things in English. I can't talk about work in my home language because I've never worked there. I studied undergrad and then I didn't even finish undergrads in Italy, and then I moved. And if I get really angry I speak in my home language and it's partly because it's a great way of not having to explain things to people, but it's just because it comes out much more naturally.

J: swearing in X language is beautiful, just sounds so much nicer.

F: Not, from the area where I'm from.

[Conversation ensues (again) about the influence of migration drivers, and how, for example if you're migrating from Somalia, you're fleeing for your life, so there needs to be a distinction made between an economic migrant and a displaced person].

R: I'm also interested in the lack of cultural background for Isabella and I wonder whether again, as a white European who has moved twice [actually Isabella has only moved once as she was born in Spain], that it is easier to lose track of those things [which tie you to your culture].

J: Also, as indigenous Ecuadorians, probably due to its colonial past, their cultural background has probably really diverse meanings

J: But again, my friend who's Portuguese, when he's in London, he's identified as non-white, due to the tone of his skin and the stereotype of the monobrow, and what is common with all of the participants is that someone else is defining them, they are projecting an identity onto them, rather than the person themselves defining their own identity. It that dominant group within society that is just making assumptions about these people because of their physical appearance or their accent or.

J: But I think that's part of the brokering because it's not just a matter of language, it's also the fact that this person would have had the parents with some set of expectations, for example I'm thinking a South American Mediterranean father would probably be incredibly possessive, and very intense

F: Receiving an assigned identity from others constantly happens, and it happens in multiple contexts. You know when you're at school, teachers expect you to be a certain way because of because you're a black girl and therefore you're looking to be louder and quick to get angry and going to be a problem and if you're a Muslim, your parents aren't going to care about whether you study or not, so you know different identities and what's interesting is that the brokering happens at both personal and family level.

F: My friends and their children migrated here by choice and now their children are incredibly British and now they have to renegotiate their identity and who they are and how they behave.

F: It's sort of that fluidity, the idea that their identity is not fixed, it changes [you change it?] according to the context that you're in and the people that you are with. None of us have a fixed identity, but for some people, e.g., the participants in this project, their identity is more fluid because they're constantly having to renegotiate their expectations of themselves or other people's expectations of them, family expectations, a whole range of projected identities that are placed on them depending on the context they're in, but they have to negotiate and manage and it's continual through childhood to adulthood.

Aaliyah.

R: So, #5. You will see the same things coming up, but this is perhaps more descriptive about the differences between the UK and her home country of Pakistan, and the concrete benefits she felt she gained from engaging in brokering activities, both as a child and long-term.

M: Aaliyah seems like the least conflicted of all your participants about expectations on her.

J: What do you mean by conflicted?

M: Well, it seemed like with some of the other participants they seem to have a narrative which was even if they hadn't felt a burden as a child and they just accepted it [brokering roles], but then they got to a certain stage, looked back and had some conflicted feelings about the responsibilities placed on them.

M: But this participant doesn't really, well not to a great extent, see it as a burden. She appears to be more culturally conditioned to help, like it's a cultural expectation and she would be ashamed if she didn't help, so even when later on, she comments that her mother stated that she would not have managed without her, it was still perceived as her duty, that she helped in some capacity to the family project, not just in her family but in her culture-that all children are expected to do something.

M: So even though she could still see that it was a heavy responsibility, it had a positive impact on her life goals, for example, she could identify that when she was being asked to do something quite official [translating] she realised she could get a job like that.

R: Well, that's a lot of responsibility in #11 and I was quite interested in what she said about how it developed her in terms of her maturity, organisational skills and vocabulary development. And how learning English allowed her to do well in her GCSEs, and eventually come to university, so she's identifying very tangible benefits from engaging in these activities.

I wonder how much of this is to rebuff any assumptions that might be made about children taking on such roles from Western perspectives, or non-migrant professional (e.g., teachers). There is some research asserting that such roles are damaging to children, and this 'adultification' is harmful to their development, which is positioning children as helpless and incompetent, and she is keen to stress that actually she really benefitted from it as a child and later as an adult.

M: I mean all the participants identify ways in which it has become a positive for them, but some of the others have been able to hold different perspectives, towards the roles as well, whereas Aaliyah is much more secure in her sense that it's been positive.

M: She talks a few times about being anxious that she might get it wrong, or worries that she did not have good enough English, and it occasionally being a bit stressful

F: But I don't get a sense from any of these transcripts that any of the participants were damaged or harmed by taking part in these [brokering] activities.

[Conversation ensues detailing the different brokering activities that panel members had in their own childhoods, e.g., explaining aspects of school life to (single) parents, taking on responsibilities (mowing the lawn) at young ages which illustrate the broad definition of 'child brokering' which goes beyond simply translating/interpreting between different languages. None of the panel members feel that they were harmed by engaging in these processes and thus refute the assumption that children taking on 'adult' roles is necessarily harmful-leading to questions of social constructions of the child].

F: But isn't that the point of challenging what is normative? What is a normal child? I think it's the heart of this. Maybe she felt that her activities were valued and recognised, in a way that children's roles rarely are and that this was beneficial and empowering as they felt they were doing something to contribute to the family.

F: There are resonances with my PhD too about the impact of parenting patterns from different cultural contexts, and how we all have expectations about how childhood should be.

[F's anecdote about her 'highly educated' friends' concerns that they are damaging their relationship with their children if they tell them off… and this Western fixation about potentially damaging our children]

F: And I think that none of the participants in you research seem to have gone through any traumatic experience of displacement and migration in quite an intense way. And again, I think that matters.

J: What seems to be the biggest challenge is the experience of being 'othered' by wider society.

J: But then when I think about what I did as a child and what I now allow my children to do there is a big difference, so in just one generation there has been a change in what is deemed appro

M: I wonder if the 5th participant feels more integrated in their own sense of what their cultural story is because they don't seem to have any regrets about not being British enough. She seems to identify with the norms of her own culture and recognise that this [brokering] is what is needed, rather than comparing herself with white British children.

R: Yeah, I mean this is where I think one of the limitations of the research is that it is mainly London based, so this participant is the one that came I think originally settled in Manchester and then came to London but is living in a part of London that is heavily populated by families from within her own cultural heritage, so she's surrounded by people from a similar culture so has those symbolic cultural markers reinforced on a daily basis.

A few times, she says 'this may seem strange to you…' [referring to my Western white British culture], but she is nevertheless unapologetic about the benefits she feels she gained from engaging in these activities. She can understand that they may be perceived differently but to her it's perfectly normal, so she is not going to apologise for it.

M: Do you think that this is also because of the stronger cultural element, due to the fact that within the community they live in, the mum has a friend who is more integrated than she is but who speaks the same home language, therefore the migrant community you have around you (religious/cultural) is an incredible source of strength, [Nimo also alludes to this].

F: So that the further you are (identity-wise?) from the place that you move to, the more you maintain a sense of your own identity which is less fragmented? It's more compartmentalised than fragmented.

R: I thought it was quite interesting that there's this idea of trust that you mentioned earlier on F, and the different levels of trust she was shown, e.g., she was trusted to translate official documentation but these would also be checked by an 'official' person.

But then this also allows her to financially quantify the contribution she made to the family (e.g., to pay a translator to do the translation would be £800, but to pay them to check her translation is only £50, as if there is a clear statement of 'this is the value that I had to the family' (although she does not explicitly state this.

M: Referring to some of the experiences that they are identifying and the ways in which these have been positive, I still think that some of the experiences are actually quite traumatic and sometimes the development of a narrative of resilience and strength is what makes the difference, again the fact that you're 'othered' all of the time and you have to demonstrate that you're a good and valuable migrant, and maybe she's got a double burden of proof because there is such an emphasis on doing the duty expected of her in her culture and she is defending those norms which exist within her culture from criticism by majority cultures who might assume that it's harmful. She might be saying, you know, I know what you all think, but actually this has done me some good. There may be a need to defend, not only her family, but her culture more widely.

F: I think it's also quite interesting because something I've noticed that is on the opposite side as I'm working through our students' dissertation ideas and how second generation or third generation migrant students have a propensity for looking at what has gone wrong, scrutinising their own cultural background and their own community, but at the same time identifying where/how they have felt let down by British society so it's like there's a split [between criticising their own community and criticising British society].

F: It's like they are re-utilising and re-purposing stereotypes to reflect their authentic experiences, and bringing to the forefront issues that they recognise within their own community, but in doing so challenging dominant narratives

F: So, a research question may be 'why do South Asian girls do so badly in school?' and they would challenge the assumptions around this and at the same time acknowledge that there is some truth to these assumptions in some parts of their community.

J: Well, in that 25 she says unique experiences about it. Yeah, that's her word as well. Yeah? But then they are perhaps they're not that unique because she also uses the word normal a lot doesn't she?

University of East London

Pioneering Futures Since 1898

Appendix 8: Participant Information (Biographical Narrative Inquiry Method)

Director of Studies
Dr Jenny Robson
t.c.kim@uel.ac.uk
0208 223 4402

Student Researcher and Principal Investigator
Rebecca Crutchley
University of East London
r.crutchley@uel.ac.uk
0208 223 6345

UNIVERSITY OF EAST LONDON
Water Lane, Stratford, E15 4LZ
020 8223 6345

Research Integrity

The University adheres to its responsibility to promote and support the highest standard of rigour and integrity in all aspects of research, observing the appropriate ethical, legal and professional frameworks.

The University is committed to preserving your dignity, rights, safety and well-being and as such it is a mandatory requirement of the University that formal ethical approval, from the appropriate Research Ethics Committee, is granted before research with human participants or human data commences.

Dear Participant,

The purpose of this letter is to provide you with the information that you need to consider when deciding whether to participate in my Professional Doctorate Research project.

Project Title

'Retrospective Narratives of the Brokering Roles Assumed by Child Migrants Following Resettlement'.

Project Description

My project seeks to explore the cultural brokering roles of child migrants, within the family, during the process of acculturation into the UK. Using narrative inquiry, the research will draw upon the retrospective accounts of adults who arrived in the UK between 1980 and 2000 due to the process of migration (forced or economic).

I am seeking between 6-8 participants who arrived in the UK as children through the process of migration between 1960 and 2000 and who are willing to share their experiences of the roles and responsibilities they engaged in during the 'acculturation' process (i.e., during resettlement into the host country). All participants must be over 18 and must have arrived in the UK with their family (not unaccompanied), through migration from their home country as a minor (under 18 years of age). Informed consent will be gathered prior to the research commencing (see below), and you will be given the opportunity to ask any questions about the project before you agree to take part.

If you agree to take part, I will use a narrative inquiry approach to enable you to share your experiences. Biographical Narrative Inquiry Method is an approach which values the personal and unique narratives (or stories) that individuals use to discuss and make meaning of their experiences. These narratives are explored by the researcher for the themes and concepts they reflect (i.e., the content relevant to the research topic) and for the ways in which they are narrated (i.e. the form that shapes the way the narrative is told) and as such can illuminate the personal story behind a public issue, humanizing and individualizing the reality of a social phenomenon. Due to the individual nature of these narratives, it can be difficult to predict how long the narrative inquiry interviews may last but it is anticipated that they will take between 1-3 hours to complete. Due to the specific approach to narrative inquiry I intend to use, I will need to come back to see you twice after the first interview to ask further specific questions. During the process, you can pause or stop the interview (s) at any time. You can also choose to leave the project at any time without having to give a reason. With your agreement, the narrative inquiries will be audio recorded, again so I can ensure I have captured your responses accurately and so that I can revisit the recordings if necessary. Although it can be difficult to predict how long the process will last overall, it is possible that the duration for all 3 sessions could be 6 hours in total. Due to the restrictions imposed by Covid 19, these interviews will be conducted online via Microsoft Teams. Participants will therefore need to have access to this platform and a quiet, confidential place in which the interviews can take place. With participant consent, the interviews will be recorded on Teams. The recordings will be deleted as soon as they have been transcribed.

Biographical Narrative Interpretive Method

The Biographical Narrative Inquiry Method (BNIM) will explore participant narratives via three related aspects, your whole story (or biography), how you tell your story (the form or narrative that that tells the story) and the social context in which the story is set (time, location, and family characteristics). The aim is to gather an uninterrupted story, which is then analysed according to a series of stages informed by the aspects listed above.

Confidentiality of the Data

All the information you provide will remain confidential, and pseudonyms will be used to avoid identifying you when analysing the data and when writing the research thesis. In addition, participants will remain anonymous during the data analysis and write-up stages. All information provided via the interviews will be stored in encrypted files on password-protected computers. Information stored on the researcher's own laptop will be transferred to a University password-protected computer at the earliest opportunity.

Please be aware that although your responses will remain confidential during the project, I have a legal duty to share confidential information with relevant authorities if there are concerns that any of the participants are at risk of harm to themselves or others.

Once the project has been completed, data will remain in the encrypted files for a period of up to 5 years, in accordance with the University's Data Protection Policy. Once all hard copies of data have been saved to the password-protected computers they will be immediately destroyed, via a shredder. Findings from the research will be written up in the form of a doctoral thesis, and this may be published in an academic journal and/or presented at an academic conference. You will have the opportunity to review the final findings should you wish to do so. Your names will not be included in the thesis.

Location

The narrative interviews will take place online via Microsoft Teams (see above).

Remuneration

No payment or remuneration will be made to the participants.

Disclaimer

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary, and you are free to withdraw at any time during the research. Should you choose to withdraw from the project, you may do so without any disadvantage to yourself and without any obligation to give a reason. Please note that your data can be withdrawn up to the point of data analysis – after this point it may not be possible.

University Research Ethics Committee

If you have any concerns regarding the conduct of the research in which you are being asked to participate, please contact: Catherine Hitchens, Research Integrity and Ethics Manager, Graduate School, EB 1.43, University of East London, Docklands Campus, London E16 2RD, (Telephone: 020 8223 6683, Email: researchethics@uel.ac.uk)

For general enquiries about the research please contact the Principal Investigator on the contact details at the top of this sheet.

University of East London

Pioneering Futures Since 1898

Appendix 9. Participant Consent Form (Sample)

UNIVERSITY OF EAST LONDON

Consent to Participate in a Programme Involving the Use of Human Participants.

Project Title:
'Retrospective Narratives of the Brokering Roles Assumed by Child Migrants Following Resettlement'.

Principle Investigator: Rebecca Crutchley

Please tick as appropriate:

	YES	NO
I have the read the information relating to the above programme of research in which I have been asked to participate and have been given a copy to keep. The nature and purposes of the research have been explained to me, and I have had the opportunity to discuss the details and ask questions about this information. I understand what is being proposed and the procedures in which I will be involved have been explained to me.		
I confirm that I consent to the narrative inquiry interviews being conducted online via Microsoft Teams.		
I confirm that I consent to the narrative inquiry online interviews being recorded via Microsoft Teams		
I understand that my involvement in this study, and particular data from this research, will remain strictly confidential as far as possible. Only the researcher involved in the study will have access to the data. *(Please see below).*		
I understand that maintaining strict confidentiality is subject to the following limitations: • I am aware that due to the small sample size of participants my anonymity cannot be guaranteed.		

• I am aware that the researcher has a duty to share confidential information with relevant authorities if it is felt that I am at serious risk of harm to myself or others.		
I understand that anonymized quotations may be used in publications written after the research has been completed.		
I understand that the research findings will be published in the researcher's PhD thesis and that the research may be used in subsequent academic journals and other publications and at academic conferences.		
I understand that I may be asked my permission for the data to be used in future research by the researcher.		
I understand that I may be contacted for future research studies by the researcher.		
It has been explained to me what will happen once the programme has been completed.		
I understand that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary, and I am free to withdraw at any time during the research without disadvantage to myself and without being obliged to give any reason. I understand that my data can be withdrawn up to the point of data analysis and that after this point it may not be possible.		
I hereby freely and fully consent to participate in the study which has been fully explained to me and for the information obtained to be used in relevant research publications.		

Participant's name:

Participant's Signature

Investigator's Name (BLOCK CAPITALS)

REBECCA
CRUTCHLEY…….

Investigator's Signature
Rebecca
Crutchley……

Date: …19/08/2020…….

University of East London

Pioneering Futures Since 1898

Appendix 10. Participant Debriefing Information

Project Title:

Retrospective Narratives of the Brokering Roles Assumed by Child Migrants Following Resettlement.

Dear Participant,

Thank you very much for taking part in the above research project. I greatly value the contributions you have made and the time you have taken to assist me in my research. If you have any questions about the research, please feel free to contact me at r.crutchley@uel.ac.uk.

As indicated in the participant information sheet, data from the research will contribute to the completion of my Professional Doctorate at University of East London. Once the writing up of the thesis has been completed, key findings will be disseminated to all participants.

I am aware that some of the questions raised in the research may have caused you some anxiety and/or distress, and with this in mind, I have listed below some organisations who may be able to support you with any distress or discomfort you may have experienced.

Within the University of East London, there are a range of support services accessible for students who may have been affected by some of the discussions during this research project. Please see the link below for more information.

https://uelac.sharepoint.com/StudentSupport/Pages/Health-And-Wellbeing.aspx

Students from other Higher Education Institutions will have similar services available at their disposal, please contact the relevant team at your own university for further information.

In addition, the Centre for Migration, Refugees and Belonging (CMRB) at University of East London has produced a database of refugee services based in the Greater London area, which you may also wish to contact. This document is available from myself on request via the email address above. You can also access their website for more information about services and documentation to support the empowerment and voice of refugee communities. You can access this information below:

http://www.livingrefugeearchive.org/

National organisations such as The Refugee Council and Refugee Action may also be able to offer counselling and support:

https://www.refugeecouncil.org.uk/

https://www.refugee-action.org.uk/

Specialist support and solidarity for student refugees can be access via Student Action for Refugees (STAR)

http://www.star-network.org.uk/

Finally, national counselling services, for example The Samaritans, can be located via the following link:

https://www.samaritans.org/

Once again, thank you very much for your participation in my research.

Kind regards,

Rebecca Crutchley

Ethical Approval Letters

Dear Rebecca

Application ID: ETH1920-0030

Project title: RESILIENCE AND SOCIAL AGENCY: AN EXPLORATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RESILIENCE AND AGENCY IN REFUGEE CHILDREN'S LIVES.

Lead researcher: Ms Rebecca Crutchley

Your application to University Research Ethics Sub-Committee was considered on the 9th

of March 2020. The decision is**: Approved**

The Committee's response is based on the protocol described in the application form and supporting

documentation. Your project has received ethical approval for 2 years from the approval date.

If you have any questions regarding this application, please contact your supervisor or the secretary for the University Research Ethics Sub-Committee.

Approval has been given for the submitted application only and the research must be conducted accordingly.

Should you wish to make any changes in connection with this research project you must complete 'An application for approval of an amendment to an existing application'.
The approval of the proposed research applies to the following research site.

Research site: At UEL or at a place of the participant's choosing, providing that this is a public place, with opportunity for private conversation, e.g., library. Procedures to lone working will be followed (see risk assessment)

Principal Investigator / Local Collaborator: Ms Rebecca Crutchley

Approval is given on the understanding that the UEL Code of Practice for Research and the Code of Practice for Research Ethics is adhered to.□□
Any adverse events or reactions that occur in connection with this research project should be reported using the University's form for Reporting an Adverse/Serious Adverse Event/Reaction.

The University will periodically audit a random sample of approved applications for ethical approval, to ensure that the research projects are conducted in compliance with the consent given by the Research Ethics Committee and to the highest standards of rigour and integrity.
Please note, it is your responsibility to retain this letter for your

records. With the Committee's best wishes for the success of

the project

Yours sincerely Fernanda Silva

Administrative Officer for Research Governance

Dear Rebecca

Application ID: ETH1920-0193

Original application ID: ETH1920-0030

Project title: RESILIENCE AND SOCIAL AGENCY: AN EXPLORATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RESILIENCE AND AGENCY IN REFUGEE CHILDREN'S LIVES.

Lead researcher: Ms Rebecca Crutchley

Your application to Cass School of Education and Communities Research Ethics Committee was considered on the 21st of April 2020.

The decision is: **Approved**

- In view of the COVID-19 pandemic, the University Research Ethics Sub-Committee (URES) has taken the decision that all postgraduate research student and staff research projects that include face-to-face participant interactions, should cease to use this method of data collection, for example, in person participant interviews or focus groups. Researchers must consider if they can adapt their research project to conduct participant interactions remotely. New research projects and continuing research projects must not recruit participants using face-to-face interactions and all data collection should occur remotely. These regulations should be followed on your research until national restrictions are lifted regarding Covid-19. For further information please visit the Public Health website page https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/public-health- england

The Committee's response is based on the protocol described in the application form and supporting documentation. Your project has received ethical approval for 2 years from the approval date.

If you have any questions regarding this application, please contact your supervisor or the secretary for the Cass School of Education and Communities Research Ethics Committee.

Approval has been given for the submitted application only and the research must be conducted accordingly.

Should you wish to make any changes in connection with this research project you must complete 'An application for approval of an amendment to an existing application'.

The approval of the proposed research applies to the following research site.

Research site: At UEL or at a place of the participant's choosing, providing that this is a public place, with opportunity for private conversation, e.g., library. Procedures to lone working will be followed (see risk assessment)

Principal Investigator / Local Collaborator: Ms Rebecca Crutchley

Approval is given on the understanding that the UEL Code of Practice for Research and the Code of Practice for Research Ethics is adhered to.

Any adverse events or reactions that occur in connection with this research project should be reported using the University's form for Reporting an Adverse/Serious Adverse Event/Reaction.

The University will periodically audit a random sample of approved applications for ethical approval, to ensure that the research projects are conducted in compliance with the consent given by the Research Ethics Committee and to the highest standards of rigour and integrity.

Please note, it is your responsibility to retain this letter for your records. With the Committee's best wishes for the success of the project

Yours sincerely Fernanda Silva

Administrative Officer for Research Governance

Dear Rebecca

Application ID: ETH1920-0243

Original application ID: ETH1920-0193

Project title: RESILIENCE AND SOCIAL AGENCY: AN EXPLORATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RESILIENCE AND AGENCY IN REFUGEE CHILDREN'S LIVES.

Lead researcher: Ms Rebecca Crutchley

Your application to Cass School of Education and Communities Research Ethics Committee was considered on the 16th of June 2020.

The decision is: **Approved**

- *In view of the COVID-19 pandemic, the University Research Ethics Sub-Committee (URES) has taken the decision that all postgraduate research student and staff research projects that include face-to-face participant interactions, should cease to use this method of data collection, for example, in person participant interviews or focus groups. Researchers must consider if they can adapt their research project to conduct participant interactions remotely. The University supports Microsoft Teams for remote work. New research projects and continuing research projects must not recruit participants using face-to-face interactions and all data collection should occur remotely. These regulations should be followed on your research until national restrictions regarding Covid-19 are lifted. For further information please visit the Public Health website page https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/public-health-england*

The Committee's response is based on the protocol described in the application form and supporting documentation. Your project has received ethical approval for 2 years from the approval date.

If you have any questions regarding this application, please contact your supervisor or the secretary for the Cass School of Education and Communities Research Ethics Committee.

Approval has been given for the submitted application only and the research must be conducted accordingly.

Should you wish to make any changes in connection with this research project you must complete 'An application for approval of an amendment to an existing application'.

The approval of the proposed research applies to the following research site.

Research site: At UEL or at a place of the participant's choosing, providing that this is a public place, with opportunity for private conversation, e.g., library. Procedures to lone working will be followed (see risk assessment)

Principal Investigator / Local Collaborator: Ms Rebecca Crutchley

Approval is given on the understanding that the UEL Code of Practice for Research and the Code of Practice for Research Ethics is adhered to.

Any adverse events or reactions that occur in connection with this research project should be reported using the University's form for Reporting an Adverse/Serious Adverse Event/Reaction.

The University will periodically audit a random sample of approved applications for ethical approval, to ensure that the research projects are conducted in compliance with the consent given by the Research Ethics Committee and to the highest standards of rigour and integrity.

Please note, it is your responsibility to retain this letter for your records. With the Committee's best wishes for the success of the project

Yours sincerely Fernanda Silva

Administrative Officer for Research Governance

Dear Rebecca

Application ID: ETH2021-0146

Original application ID: ETH1920-0243

Project title: 'RETROSPECTIVE NARRATIVES OF THE BROKERING ROLES ASSUMED BY CHILD MIGRANTS FOLLLOWING RESETTLEMENT.'

Lead researcher: Ms Rebecca Crutchley

Your application to Ethics and Integrity Sub-Committee was considered on the 29th of November 2021. The decision is: Approved

The Committee's response is based on the protocol described in the application form and supporting documentation. Your project has received ethical approval for 4 years from the approval date.

If you have any questions regarding this application, please contact your supervisor or the secretary for the Ethics and Integrity Sub-Committee.

approval has been given for the submitted application only and the research must be conducted accordingly.

Should you wish to make any changes in connection with this research project you must complete 'An application for approval of an amendment to an existing application'.

The approval of the proposed research applies to the following research site.

Research site: At UEL or at a place of the participant's choosing, providing that this is a public place, with opportunity for private conversation, e.g., library. Procedures to lone working will be followed (see risk assessment)

Principal Investigator / Local Collaborator: Ms Rebecca Crutchley

Approval is given on the understanding that the UEL Code of Practice for Research and the Code of Practice for Research Ethics is adhered to.

Any adverse events or reactions that occur in connection with this research project should be reported using the University's form for Reporting an Adverse/Serious Adverse Event/Reaction.

The University will periodically audit a random sample of approved applications for ethical approval, to ensure that the research projects are conducted in compliance with the consent given by the Research Ethics Committee and to the highest standards of rigour and integrity.

Please note, it is your responsibility to retain this letter for your records. With the Committee's best wishes for the success of the project

Yours sincerely Fernanda Silva

Administrative Officer for Research Governance