Discovering and Revealing Experiences of Belonging and Othering Amongst Ethnic Minority Children in a UK Primary School Setting

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Glossary

Term	Definition
Bangladeshi heritage	Cultural traditions, values and family practices connected to Bangladeshi background
Cultural literacy	The ability to understand and engage in regular activities and history of a given culture
English as an Additional (EAL)	English as a second or foreign language
Imagined Community	Benedict Anderson's concept of nationalism, depicted as a nation as a socially constructed community
Migrant	A person who moves away from their place of usual residence, either within a country or across an international border
Multilingual	Someone who can speak or understand multiple languages with some level of fluency
Pakistani heritage	Cultural traditions, values and family practices connected to Pakistani background
Newly arrived children	Children who are international migrants from overseas rather than new to a school from another area of Britain
Oldham race riots	A period of violent rioting which occurred in Glodwick (Oldham), home to a large Pakistani community
Roma heritage	Cultural traditions, values and family practices connected to Roma background

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Abstract

This study investigates how ethnic minority children create a sense of belonging in the host community on their arrival in the UK, whilst struggling with stereotypes and cultural stigmas attached to their ethnicity. The study explores the lived experiences of two Romanian children and two children of Pakistani and Bangladeshi heritage, revealing similar experiences of belonging and othering. Drawing on Roland Barthes, Stuart Hall and Benedict Anderson's perspectives as a lens to conceptualise representation of the other, culture and myths, I explore how othering impacts on migrant children as they navigate their journey in a new environment and school.

The study is based at a community school in Oldham, Northern England where there has been a sharp increase of Romanian families arriving in the area and changing the cultural dynamics over time. The local communities have become more accommodating of different ethnic groups, however, new families still experience being labelled with negative stereotypes and exclusion. With the aid of participatory and creative research methods, the children shared their experiences through artefacts to uncover strong connections and a sense of belonging within their families, culture and local community. It also allowed the children to recognise that they all shared many similarities and although they were from different ethnic groups, they shared the same rituals and processes.

The main key outcomes from the study was the perception of the group and a limited understanding of each other's cultures. The study shared stories of home and were a prominent feature throughout the study. The stories clearly demonstrated not only the link to extended family and the homeland, but how the idea of home is recreated in the UK, forming an imagined community.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Over two decades on from the violent race riots in Oldham, Greater Manchester, the demographic landscape of the town has changed substantially, with a wider diverse community accommodating a number of different nationalities and ethnicities. Over this time, communities have become more tolerant and acknowledge cultural differences and traditions. However, there is still an emphasis on the importance of integration rather than segregation as new families grow and settle within an existing community. Recent changes to the cultural dynamics of the town have raised cause for concern as hate crime has risen due to a sharp increase of Eastern European families residing in the town (Ramzan, 2017; Schilter, 2018). As the community face a turbulent time during this change, the promotion of integration is as crucial as ever, before history repeats itself (GMCA, 2018).

1.1 Oldham in Context

Oldham is a town and metropolitan borough in Greater Manchester, with a current population of 242,100 (ONS, 2023). The town is well known for its history of textile manufacturing when Oldham rose to prominence in the mid-19th century, where it became one of the most important centres of the cotton and textile industries in England. Demands by the cotton industry and the need for additional mill workers saw Oldham's population rise steeply. This change led to an influx of labour from other parts of England, Ireland and further afield, leading to international recruitment throughout the 20th century. The mass migration of labourers caused the population to rise significantly to almost 260,000 people, creating a multicultural workforce and society (OMBC, 2019).

With the decline of the textile industry after World War II, the population started to level off as the mills began to close. During the1980's the country went into a recession, which saw job losses on a large scale and soaring unemployment rates across the country. During this period, families that had migrated for work in the 1940's and 1950's settled in neighbourhoods around

the town centre, such as Coldhurst, Werneth and Glodwick. The migration process families moving to the UK to find work. The latest 2021 census (ONS, 2023) highlights the diversity of Oldham, with Polish being the most common identity followed by [1]Romanian, which is the largest increase for any non-UK identity. Other common non-UK identities include Indian, Irish and Italian; however, it must be noted that national identity is a self-determined assessment of one's own identity and where one feels one belongs or thinks of as home. National identity is not dependent on ethnic groups or citizenship, however, some may choose not to disclose this information due to fear of rejection or stigma attached to their national identity or ethnicity.

As of 2018, Oldham had one of the most diverse populations in the country with approximately 150 different languages spoken. The Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities make up more than a fifth of Oldham's residents, with the fastest growing demographic made up of Polish and Romanian heritage, which continues to grow (OMBC, 2018). In the 2021 census, there was a new option added for Roma within the high-level White ethnic group. After all Asian categories, the largest ethnic groups specified within White: Other included White: Polish and White: Romanian, which falls in line with their national identity (ONS, 2023). The changes illustrate the importance of national belonging and ethnicity and also how they identify as a UK citizen.

The South Asian and Eastern European families who reside in Oldham have strong family and community ties, where support is based on familiar routines, cultural traditions and religion. Home language is very important for these families as it is how they are able to communicate with older family members or family who live in their ancestral country. The languages were reflected in the 2021 census where Romanian was the largest increase in over a decade by becoming the top non English language spoken in the

[1] The families in this study came from Romania, however they identified as having Roma heritage and they spoke a language understood as Roma
Gándara, Y. and Pahl, K. (2024) 'Multilingual literacies: Romanian Roma children learning to read and write in an English primary school'. *Language and Education,* January.

borough followed by Punjabi and Urdu. These results mirror a similar increase in those who listed Romania as their country of birth and also their national identity. There are varying languages amongst different families depending on their family history and ancestry, however, the mother tongue is important as a first language and also a central to cultural traditions and family links (Cummins, 2011).

In the Glodwick area of Oldham, both South Asian and Romanian families speak English as a second language, with home languages being more complex (App 8). Within the school setting, 95% of children are South Asian heritage and 5% of children are Eastern European heritage. English is spoken in school and the children speak in their mother-tongue at home. Even though English is not their first language, the children often assist their family members in understanding basic English phrases that support fundamental life skills. Transferring their skills in this way helps the children to develop their second language skills (Rasool, 2017), which can be measured through a proficiency in English assessment in school.

Due to the varying family and community relationships, there are often more than two languages that a child will learn. South Asian families who have extended family links may result in different languages from older generations being passed down to ensure communication can be maintained. Within the Romanian community, there are a number of languages spoken depending on family backgrounds and roots. Romania is the country of residence for Romani and Romanian communities, however the two ethnicities are often mistaken as being the same due to the lack of understanding of the differences between the two. Families in the community are generally Romani and speak a number of languages that have been acquired depending on whether they are active travellers and/or have a large extended family network. Romani is also powerful communication tool due to its functionality and adaptability by borrowing words from the languages it has come in contact enabling communities to communicate through various languages (Matras and Tenser, 2019).

1.2 Significance of the Study

This study has emerged as a result of the experiences of newly arrived children and families from Eastern European countries (mainly Romania) in an English primary school setting, where they have struggled to settle in their new environment, due to not being easily accepted by peers and the difficulty in making friends whilst familiarising themselves with new languages and cultures (Tereshchenko and Archer, 2014). Not only do they have difficulty integrating, but they are also facing uncertain times following the outcome of Brexit, which has caused a rise in racism and hate crime, highlighting the stigma attached to them, isolating them further (Ramzan, 2017). Such perceptions reinforce the feeling of being an outsider and not accepted as part of the community, which can lead to low self-esteem, shame of ethnicity and abandonment of heritage causing an identity crisis (Browne, 2012; Erikson, 1968).

There is a large number of scholars who have explored the experiences of immigration (for example Brubaker, Hall, Rhus, Schiller), however, much of the research is focused on secondary school aged children. The main findings from existing studies highlight the common stereotypical views of 'migrants', such as being lazy, thieves, aggressive and other derogatory descriptions (Maucec, 2013). In the Tereshchenko and Archer study (2014), the main difference to other studies is the inclusion of the students' voices and experiences, offering a different view of the migration process. The research highlights how students felt judged on their status of being classed as having English as an Additional Language (EAL) rather than multilingual and the assumption of not being able to understand or have specific knowledge in subjects and given less challenging work. It also demonstrates how migration shapes identity and sense of belonging as they attempt to build friendships and networks whilst trying to negotiate their way through school. It was also noted that there was a lack of interest in migrants' history and culture by the host culture, which fuels the selective representations by

the media, promoting exclusion, which can lead to the abandonment of their heritage and national identity (Fox et al, 2012).
To support migrant children and educate the majority community, a culturally literate environment is necessary to promote interaction and acceptance of others from diverse backgrounds where they can be proud of their culture and be themselves as opposed to being dominated by the host community culture and values (Hirsch et al, 1987). There are however, a number of issues that affect how well this process is introduced, such as parental education and knowledge of both the receiving and migrant cultures, as well as respect for inter-ethnic differences (Clayton, 2009). Equally, the lack of knowledge about migrant families can hinder integration due to misrepresentation or misunderstandings, which invariably leads to stereotyping and stigmatisation of ethnic groups (Leggio, 2019).

Whilst children in a secondary school are able to express feelings and experiences of migration, children in primary school have little, if any understanding of English and are unable to verbalise their feelings which can result in feeling excluded (Olsen et al, 2010). Regardless of significant findings and recommendations from previous studies such as Kesten et al (2011), Tereshchenko and Archer (2014) and Leggio (2019), there has been very little change to policy or procedure, which addresses migration and integration experiences at primary school age. The reports indicate that being viewed as an ‘outsider’ or the ‘other’ impacts on the experience of integration and how children develop into young adulthood, confirming the need for further exploration of the lived experience of how migrant children experience primary school. New research produced as a result of this study will complement and enhance existing studies to address migration issues much earlier to improve the way migrant families and children are inducted into a new community. It will also offer an insight to their culture and traditions between the homeland and the host country, maintaining their identity and being proud of their heritage.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study is to explore the lived experience of migrant children to gain an understanding of how they respond and settle in a new community. The research questions are outlined in the methodology chapter which explores areas covered in the study including:

- how migrant children create a sense of belonging in the host community
- how they experience stereotyping
- how they experience loss of cultural links and social structures
- the relationship between migrant families and the host community

These areas will be central to addressing the research questions in chapter 3, which will explore how migrant children create a sense of belonging in a new community on their arrival in the UK whilst struggling with stereotypes and cultural stigmas attached to their ethnicity.

The questions will seek to understand how the loss of traditional cultural links and social structures impact on these families when trying to integrate with a lack of knowledge of the host community. When linking to integration, the study will explore how diverse cultural differences affect the dynamics between migrant families and the host community and whether or not, or to what extent, stereotyping contributes to the perceptions of them as the 'Other'. Finally, the research will examine the experience of relationships, integration and stereotyping and how it affects and shapes identity when attempting to build relationships within school and into adulthood.

1.4 Introduction to the Researcher

The researcher conducting the study is a School Business Manager (SBM) who has been a member of staff in the research school for 14 years. The role is a non-teaching position that encompasses all non-teaching areas of the school, such as finance, Health and Safety and Human Resources. Over the

past 8 years the role has developed to include the management of admissions and the induction of newly arrived children from outside the UK. A considerable proportion of this role involves liaising with families and outside agencies to ensure relevant paperwork is in place and identifying funding streams to support families during the transition period and beyond. Whilst the role is quite a unique position for an SBM, it is also a central position where a rich source of information about families can be collected to gain a deeper understanding of migration issues. The additional information not only allows a smoother transition process but can also be used to inform processes and policies when considering the needs of newly arrived children.

1.5 Terms and Definitions

The next section outlines the key terminology used throughout the thesis and clarifies the definitions in order to guide the reader and place them in the desired context. Some of the terms maybe viewed as problematic or contested, however, the terms and definitions have been addressed accordingly in line with the context and research area.

1.5.1 Community

Community is a term used to encompass a wide range of connections within a group of people, such as those who live in the same area (a city, town, or neighbourhood) or a group of people who have the same interests, religion, race or nationality. When referring to community throughout the thesis, many of the definitions of community will be used at various points, for example, school, neighbours, shared community. More specifically, the term will be used when discussing the existing South Asian community and the migrant families residing in the same area. Community will also be used to discuss and refer to specific families or groups within study such as individual nationalities, families and religion.

1.5.2 Home

The term ‘home’ has many different definitions, such as a building or dwelling in which families live, a place of origin, a safe place and somewhere people belong. Home is not just connected to a place where someone grows up. Home is not static as it is anywhere that we feel settled and find comfort and safety. Many of these definitions are relevant within the thesis, however, they will be more specific to the individual groups and communities in the study. In the context of Eastern European families, home relates not only to home in the UK and the ancestral home, but also how it relates to feeling part of a community with a sense belonging. Similarly, home also refers to South Asian families and their ancestral roots and how they have recreated home over the decades in the UK whilst maintaining strong connections to home back in Pakistan.

1.5.3 Back Home

Following on from ‘home’, the study frequently makes reference to the participants using the term ‘back home’ and 'home country'. The terms are directed by the children in the study who use them to describe their situation and how they perceive ‘home’. Although the children’s home is in the UK, there are many references made to family members who live in other countries, such as Pakistan, Bangladesh and Romania. Throughout the thesis, these terms are used as they are a significant part of the study due to how the children frequently describe their situation.

1.5.4 Belonging

When defining belonging, it is far more difficult to be context specific as the term crosses many of the terms already listed and cannot be reduced to a simple definition. On a basic level, to belong is to feel in the right place with a particular social group with a shared identity within a shared community: how certain rituals, cultures, beliefs and boundaries define the acceptance of membership to certain collectives as well as identification with them and self. The thesis addresses belonging by focusing on areas such as language,

religion, stigma and historical rituals and processes. These processes apply to both South Asian and Eastern European communities not only due to their ancestral roots as ‘migrants’, but also how they identify as a particular collective and belong to that particular group.

1.5.5 Host Country

Within the study, the term ‘host country’ and ‘host community’ refer to the area which families have settled when migrating from their home country. Over the decades, the UK has become increasingly diverse with multiple ethnic groups migrating to find work and build a new life with their families. Many of the families that migrate to the UK have strong cultural values and tend to settle in communities of the same ethnicity or culture (Samanani, 2018) and develop a sense of belonging, developing a strong support network. However, these communities are often misunderstood leading to local communities making their own assumptions, projecting a negative stereotype about them.

As migration numbers increased over time, the public were divided on the development of a multicultural society. The British Social Attitude Survey (2017) reported that the divide continues to hinder the promotion of multiculturalism and that there are a number of integration issues. The increased numbers of migrant families led to public unrest, claiming that the UK was not equipped to accommodate the new arrivals, which caused a deterioration in public services and a drain on society (Traveller Movement, 2017). Contrary to belief, immigration has had a positive economic impact from those migrating from the European Union. Figures from Oxford Economics (2018) highlight that European migrants contribute significantly more to public purse than they receive in benefits and pay more than the average UK adult. Furthermore, many immigrants bring their own educational qualifications, skills and experience that contribute to public services, such as the NHS and education.

When discussing the term ‘host country and ‘host community’, it is clear that immigration is quite a complex topic and much of the facts are either misunderstood or ignored. Perhaps if the facts were clearer there would be less emphasis on negativity and focus on the positive aspects of the benefits of being a multicultural country and more inclusive and accepting.

1.5.6 Migrant

The term ‘migrant’ is used to describe those who have moved from their home country to another country in search of work and better living conditions. Whilst the main focus is around the Eastern European families migrating to the UK, the term ‘migrant’ is also linked to the South Asian community in relation to their own background and experience of migration. Migration is discussed throughout the thesis, referring to both groups in the study when looking at comparisons between them and how this has contributed to their experience of settling in the host community.

Throughout the thesis, the term ‘migrant’ is referred to when describing the different ethnic groups in the community. The thesis aims to frame the concept of ‘migrant’ within and around current day use of the term, illustrating the complexities and struggles that local people in the communities encounter on a regular basis. Whilst communities in the area have developed over the decades, there are is still a degree of stigma attached to these groups. The situation is accentuated by news coverage and social media that project negative images of migration, which then impacts public attitudes and views in society, using static migration vocabulary that comes with negative connotations (Videler, 2017). For some, this particular perception can evoke images of benefit seeking travellers coming to the UK to steal jobs and drain the country of employment and capital, without making an effort to understand the local language or culture. Waugh (2022) stresses that In extreme cases, the situation can escalate from the use of derogatory terms to physical attacks due to the stigma attached to certain ethnic groups.

Over the years, some media outlets refer to migration as the ‘migration crisis’ or ‘refugees crisis’, labelling these groups of people as migrants, refugees and asylum seekers that have fled conflict and hardship (Hamlin, 2021). Whilst the differences between ‘refugee’ and ‘migrant’ is argued, the term ‘migrant ‘ continues to be a neutral label that includes all strands of migration in one category, with no clear separation of the different groups or situation. The UNHCR (2016) asserts that refugees are not migrants. They are a distinct category of people rather than a type of migrant who live outside their country of birth. As stated by Videler (2017), language creates reality through the choice of terminology used as it informs people’s attitudes towards migration, but there is a limit to what labels can do to change attitudes.

1.5.7 Insularity

The use of the term ‘insular’, ‘insularity’ and ‘isolated’ when referring to communities has been the object of strong criticism (Modood, 2007; McGhee, 2008) and my work aims to contribute to this critique by showing how problematic and reductive these terms can be. The study aims to offer an alternative view of such perceived ‘insular’ communities and that the term is not always associated with negative or stigmatised views or opinions, but misconstrued or misinterpreted views. The study addresses the terms and acknowledges the problematic nature and implications of using them. As such, the terms are only used in the thesis as a point of reference where there is evidence or how participants have described the situation.

The South Asian and Eastern European children in the study live in large families and maintain strong links in the local community, forming a strong support network. Over the decades, the communities have grown considerably (OMBC, 2019; ONS, 2023) and faced much criticism about how they remain ‘insular’ and do not integrate with the wider community (Choudhury, 2014). This type of criticism creates an ‘us’ and ‘them’ situation, which perpetuates social boundaries of ‘otherness’ and reinforces the view of ‘insular’ groups and also increases levels of racism (Modood, 2020).

Whilst various reports (e.g. Cantle, 2006 and Casey, 2016) suggest that the it is crucial for ethnic groups to engage with each other in order to see themselves as part of a wider community, they also claim that these 'insular' communities have a strong internal cohesion and dominant culture which is pervasive and a resistance to alternative views. Finney et al (2019) argue that this is a very narrow view and strongly disagree with framing the problem as one of 'insular' or 'segregated' communities, expressing the need for interaction with shared values and behaviours. Modood (2007) strongly agrees, stating that labelling communities as 'insular' racializes integration rather than promoting a two-way process of mutual adjustment. It is learning about and respecting all cultures which binds both the minority and majority cultural groups and not dominated by the majority group.

1.5.8 Newly arrived

Newly arrived is used to describe families that have recently migrated to the UK and settled in the local community. The term primarily refers to new UK arrivals, but also includes those that have lived in different parts of the country before settling in Oldham.

1.5.9 Co-production of research

Co-production of research is used to describe the researcher and participants working in partnership by sharing power and responsibility throughout a project. It is an all-inclusive approach which ensures that no one person is more important than another, working collaboratively where everyone contributes equally in a way that suits the needs of the participants. The research is co-produced and designed by both the participants and researcher, drawing on the experiential expertise of the participants as a joint project. Within the study, co-production has helped to identify research questions and appropriate research design to develop suitable methods appropriate for the research objectives.

1.6 Structure of the thesis

Chapter 1

The first chapter outlines the rationale and significance of the study, followed by the purpose. The chapter then concludes with the introduction of the researcher, which offers the reader some background information linking to the researcher's interest in the area of the study.

Chapter 2

The next chapter is split into two main sections. Firstly, it introduces the research background and context of the study giving an overview of the historic issues which have played an important part in shaping the events over the decades to the current day situation. It begins with an overview of The Empire Windrush and The British Empire, building the workforce to fill gaps in the labour market, before going on to focus on the local community and the new cultural landscape, including the increase of Eastern European migration. The second section then moves onto the conceptual framework drawing on Anderson's work on Imagined Communities (Anderson, 1983) and Barthes and Hall's representation of other, culture and myths around migrant families and children (Hall, 1997). The chapter then concludes by summarising and reflecting on key elements of the literature and how it will support the study.

Chapter 3

This next chapter discusses the methodological approach of the study, outlining the exploration of the lived experience of migrant children and states the research questions. The chapter also discusses the reflexivity of the study, considering ethics of co-production of research and also my own research positionality as an inside researcher, followed by outlining the research questions and specific areas that the study will be focusing on. It then discusses the data collection methods and justification for the methods chosen before moving onto the analytical approach of using thematic analysis, explaining how the data is arranged and interpreted.

Chapter 4

The Overview and Presentation of Data chapter begins with an introduction to each theme and an overview of the overall story. It then moves onto the subthemes where the data is broken down in more detail before summarising the outcomes of each theme. The chapter concludes with initial thoughts about the overview of the data, paying attention to how the stories have developed through the themes and any unexpected outcomes that the data may illuminate.

Chapter 5

The Findings and Discussion chapter focuses on the interpretation and analysis of the data and how it answers the research questions and objectives. The discussion links back to the work of Anderson, Barthes and Hall to theorise and interrogate the data, considering the possible interpretations and connections in the data. The chapter closes with a summary of the discussion, reflecting on thoughts on the outcomes and how they compared to how I thought the findings would develop over the course of the study.

Chapter 6

The closing chapter concludes the thesis offering an overview of the research and findings. It begins by addressing the research questions, outlining how the findings show areas for development. It then goes on to discuss the contribution to knowledge as well as highlighting strengths and limitations of the study, including the acknowledgment of the small study sample and generalisability. The chapter concludes the thesis with recommendations for future policy and practice and future work in the development of the study. The chapter also considers my own reflections on the research journey and development through the Doctor of Education programme.

References and appendices, including participant invitation and ethical consent, are included at the end of the thesis.

Chapter 2: Review of Literature

2.1 Research Background and Context

Over the last seven decades, the population of Britain has become increasingly diverse, from the arrival of Empire Windrush in 1948, to Ugandan asylum seekers in 1972, to Eastern European families fleeing from racial persecution in 1988 (Samanani, 2018). These changes came about following the labour shortage after the Second World War when the British Nationality Act 1948 was introduced. The changes allowed people from the British Empire to live and work in the UK without a visa to fill the gaps in the labour market, which inadvertently facilitated mass migration (Hansen, 2008). Due to these changes, mill towns in Northwest (NW) England created many jobs for local families and those from various nationalities such as Poland, India and Pakistan, forming a culturally diverse workforce and community (Foster, 1974).

As the cotton industry grew, Oldham was placed firmly on the map as a thriving industrial cotton mill town and an international centre of textile manufacture. During the industrial revolution, Oldham was one of the first industrialised towns and became one of the most important centres of the cotton and textile industries in England. It was also known for being the most productive cotton spinning town in the world, employing over 30% of Oldham's population (Foster, 1974). Due to its industrial success, during the 1950's and 1960's members of the Commonwealth were encouraged to migrate to Oldham and other British towns to fill the shortfall of workers and to boost local industry. The rise of employment resulted in a number of South Asian families settling in the area and they continue to reside in the town to present day (Millet, 1994).

Over the years, South Asian families have built large communities in Oldham which are self-sufficient and remain culturally distinct from other groups, mirroring the traditions of their homeland. As stated by Lee (2016), cultural traditions are represented through dress, language and religion as well as their ethnicity and whilst it is part of their heritage, it continues to cause

cultural divisions and poor community cohesion and integration between Asian and white backgrounds. Reports from Cantle (2001) and Casey (2016) highlight how their cultural differences have created a prolonged period of ethnic tensions between South Asian and white communities, resulting in the worst ethnically motivated violent rioting in Oldham in 2001, with similar conflicts in Bradford, Burnley and Leeds.

Following this turbulent period, findings from the Ritchie report (2001) claimed that the riots stemmed from multiple causes. From a long-term perspective, Oldham had always been known for attracting migrants, with a significant increase of South Asian heritage groups in particular and resulting in the settlement of families in the communities across the borough. Cantle (2001) claimed that communities became marginalised within a town of poor education and hostile working-class ethics, with derogatory racist language used to describe them. This resulted in Asian communities maintaining their mother tongue and living in what was perceived as an 'insular' community where inter-ethnic relationships were frowned upon, further widening the gap (Ritchie, 2001). Supporting Ritchie, Choudhury (2014) highlighted that the town had become increasingly ethnically polarised in an area predominantly home to families of Pakistan heritage and residents felt that it had become a no-go area for local white people for fear of attacks and similarly for Asians to avoid white areas.

In support of the initial findings from the Ritchie report (2001) a report from Casey (2016) also found that poverty, lack of opportunity and social disadvantage attributed to the deep-rooted segregation, which the local authority (Oldham) had failed to address for generations. In a build up to the riots, over 500 ethnic related crimes were reported, of which 60% of white people claimed to be victims, complaining that council money was being spent on the Asian community. Local tabloids also published race related stories spread across the front pages, raising tensions further. The tensions contributed to the rise of the British National Party (BNP) and the National Front (NF) who stood in the forthcoming general election, which was criticised by the then Prime Minister, Tony Blair, claiming that these were bad

and regressive motives of white extremists (O'Neill, 2001). However, the rise of racist groups and rioting were not confined to Oldham and similar situations were occurring across the North West.

The Casey report (2016) identified issues in Oldham that correlated with those in the riots that had taken place in Bradford and Burnley around the same time, highlighting the lack of community cohesion. McGhee (2005) argues that although community cohesion is closely linked to inclusion and exclusion, social capital and differentiation, a broader range of issues such as education, employment, social inequalities and cultural diversity should be considered. These views were reflected in the findings from the Cantle report (2001), where strong recommendations of strengthening community cohesion were made, stressing that the community must acknowledge that Oldham has different communities in the town, with strong cultural traditions. In doing so, this means respecting, valuing and celebrating diversity to enable the community to live in a mixed neighbourhood without fear and acceptance of different customs, religions and values. In both the Cantle (2001) and Casey (2016) reports, it was stressed that to promote community cohesion, a greater education of cultural awareness needs to be taught as there are few opportunities for people to mix outside the communal boundaries and promote integration rather than segregation.

Almost two decades later, data from the Office for National Statistics (2019) highlights how the demographic landscape in Oldham has changed with an increased number of Eastern European (mainly Romanian) families settling in the area. The changes can be seen from 2007 when Romania and Bulgaria gained membership to the European Union (EU), giving the freedom to travel within the EU. Once the transitional controls were lifted in 2014, there was a rise in the number of Romanians and Bulgarians migrating to the UK with families seeking employment (ONS, 2017).

Since the arrival of Romanian people in the UK, they have continued to be a stigmatised ethnic group due to their way of life and a lack of knowledge about their culture. One of biggest misunderstanding is the difference

between Romanian and Romanian Roma heritage. Where Romania is the home of both groups, their languages and traditions are different. Romanians are a Romance speaking ethnic group and nation native to central and south eastern Europe who share a common culture and ancestry, with its linguistic roots in Dacian, Slavic, Turkish, Greek and Hungarian influences (Osoblivaia, 2023). This ethnic group is confused with those of Romanian Roma heritage whose language, culture and ancestry are different. Romani is an Indio – Aryan language related to other languages in India (such as Hindu and Urdu), which have been used to communicate for centuries (Gandara and Pahl, 2024). Although both ethnic groups are different, they have become a racialised community and described as 'gypsies', which is a derogatory term to describe the Roma population (James, 2021).

Census data indicates that many Romanian families tend to reside in London and the larger towns and cities of the West Midlands and other Northwest. Ruhs and Vargas Silva (2018) claim that the reason for migrating to larger cities is mainly due to better opportunities for growth and a better education. There is however a clear link between areas with high deprivation levels and the arrival of new migrants with families being placed in the poorer areas of the town due to the cost of living and the cheap housing in the borough (Burroughs, 2019; Casey, 2016). When migrant families are placed in towns with high levels of deprivation such as Oldham, further pressure is placed on existing tight budgets with councils struggling with little or no additional funding, impacting on services and facilities (ONS, 2015).

In addition to these issues, a report from the Traveller Movement Charity (2017) highlighted that the increase of Eastern European migrants has raised integration issues, with some members of the community reacting negatively towards their new neighbours and becoming a target of resentment. Claims of deterioration in public services, lack of jobs and lack of school places are blamed on migrants, closely followed by the arrival of large families being disrespectful, disruptive and living outside the law. Claims such as these were followed by a common theme amongst areas with less educated and poorer communities and reflected in the EU referendum where over half of

voters in Oldham opted to leave the EU to relieve tensions and curb migration (Hobolt, 2016). Since the referendum, there has been an increase of hate incidents amongst ethnic minority groups with Romanian families reporting that they were being victimised, with four in ten migrants claiming to have experienced hate incidents in the town (Ramzan, 2017; Schilter, 2018).

Negative experiences of migrant groups blame bad press and media coverage as one of the main contributing factors to victimisation and racism as they cause stereotypical views with numerous complaints being made to the police. Press and media coverage have an important role in countering prejudice, however, bias reporting can perpetuate stereotypes, for example, placing Romanians in the context of crime and social problems, marginalising them further (Hammarberg, 2011). When referring to the Oldham riots, Cantle (2001) discovered that ethnic and racial segregation was at the centre of media reports with South Asian communities being generalised and stereotyped, arguing that they are in a state of crisis. Following a progress review in 2016, Cllr Mahon in Oldham stated that the same level of segregation and prejudice is still evident and many of the same deep-rooted problems still exist (Kenderdine, 2016).

Since the arrival of new migrant families, the same issues have continued to affect the integration process as families try to settle into a multicultural community, being discriminated against due to stereotypes projected through fake media and inaccurate information, including the cause for a rise in crime (Fitzpatrick, 2017). In an attempt to combat discrimination and hate incidents, the Mayor of Greater Manchester launched a new initiative in 2017 (A Shared Future), which aims to encourage and promote social cohesion and tackle hateful extremism. Reports from the Greater Manchester Combined Authority (GMCA , 2018) have highlighted that the work carried out to date has shown good progress, however, a strong focus must be kept on developing pathways to tackle hate incidents, building a stronger Greater Manchester to avoid a repeat of historical incidents such as the Oldham riots.

2.2 Conceptual Framework

The next section presents a review of literature, which considers significant areas of interest around the arrival of migrant children in the UK. The literature begins with some background information of the local area and context of the research environment. It then explores the changing demographics of the area and how newly arrived Eastern European families are received and settle into an unfamiliar community. Culture and language will be explored in a school setting where all children are multilingual and classed as having English as an Additional Language (EAL). Further literature then seeks to gain a deeper understanding of how such differences can affect relationships with newly arrived children to the point of exclusion of certain groups, leading to being 'Othered' and how perceptions of the Other affect identity and learning outcomes.

2.2.1 Through an Intercultural Lens

A child's experience of migration is largely shaped by their experience of education and in the political climate, community cohesion and an inclusive education is key to their development (Vertovek, 2015). Education is multifaceted and encompasses more than academic achievement. Schools offer the opportunity to develop social experiences and engagement, interaction with teachers and peers, promoting inclusion and equal opportunities for all (Darmody et al, 2011). During the migration process Olsen et al (2010) explain how children face a range of social and emotional challenges, such as separation from family members in their home country, difficulty in building friendships and the inability to express themselves. To help overcome these issues, schools play a crucial part in the process, working closely with parents and families to understand their circumstances and specific needs.

Families also face a number of issues on the arrival in the UK. Numerous factors such as cultural differences, an understanding of the UK education system, access to resources and societal factors also place additional

pressure on children when arriving in a new community (Manzoni and Rolfe, 2019). When trying to develop a sense of belonging and security, many new migrants retain strong attachments to their place of origin, with a strong commitment towards religion, cultural or familial practices, tending to settle amongst communities of the same ethnicity or culture (Samanani, 2018). These traditions can sometimes be misconstrued by those outside these groups and can cause incidents of racism within the wider community as they are often labelled by a set of distinctive cultural stereotypes, which are indiscriminately applied to Eastern Europeans (Samanani, 2018). In addition to these factors, Davis et al (2009) and Cunningham (2011) claim that external economic, social and cultural barriers that may exist in the form of discrimination and prejudice can also influence educational experiences and outcomes as they negotiate their way to adulthood through at least two languages and cultures as a minority amongst a majority population.

Migrants have different experiences of settling in a new country and culture depending on the reasons for migrating. Part of the migration process often involves the loss of familiar language, values and social structures, losing traditional cultural links and connectedness that can lead to a sense of bereavement (Eisenbruch, 1990; McGinley and Varchevker, 2013). These are important points to consider for the induction of new families, as the dominant culture of the host community can affect the transition to the host country, leading to integration, rejection or deculturation (Bhugra, 2004). When Romanian families relocate to an area within a dominant culture different to their own, Polistina (2009) states that there is a lack of understanding of each other's culture and beliefs, which can cause insecurities. Kanter et al (2017) supports Polistina, adding that the lack of cross-cultural awareness of different traditions, beliefs and social systems results in a lack of respect for differences, creating a skewed view of a culture.

In such a tight knit community, families tend to rely on their ethnic group for social, emotional and practical support, reducing the need to seek advice outside the group (Heath and Demireva, 2014). Although South Asian

families have lived in the area for decades as British citizens, they can be perceived as a community that sometimes isolate themselves to the exclusion of outsiders, protecting their values, culture and language (Cantle, 2005). Berry (2013) suggests that this type of behaviour could indicate that there are acculturation issues within the community, rejecting the host culture and maintaining their heritage and culture. This way of life doesn't tend to promote integration as South Asian families tend to live in a close-knit community with newcomers situated on the outside of the community. When living in such a community, newcomers such as migrant families settle into their new home who also live within their own culture and community (Nye, 2007).

When Romanian families move into the same area as the Asian community, they build their own ethnic community, which also becomes their own support system not too dissimilar to that of the host community. Schwartz et al (2014) explains that when migrant groups come into contact with the host community, they tend to adapt their ethnic identity according to how they are received as well as their cultural background. For example, if a migrant group is accepted and feels included, they are more likely to blend in whereas if they are excluded, they will defend their cultural practices and values. When exploring the two different ethnic groups living in the same space there is a clear correlation between protecting and maintaining their individual cultures and values. Rumbaut (2008) describes this strategy as reactive ethnicity where members of disadvantaged groups such as Romanians who do not or cannot engage with the host community not only maintain but increase identification with their cultural group as a consequence of rejection by the dominant group.

Another aspect that the two groups share is the stigma attached to their ethnicity which also impacts on how they are received in the community. As previously mentioned, the Oldham race riots stemmed from a lack of understanding of cultures and integration with a strong resentment claiming that South Asian were families being treated differently in terms of housing and benefits (Cantle, 2005). The Romanian families share a similar stigma in

that they are perceived as moving to the UK for housing and benefits as well as taking jobs from British people. Stephan et al (2006) refer to this as integrated threat theory arguing that hostility towards certain ethnic groups can be a result of perceived or actual competition for jobs and housing. This can be due not only to the lack of integration and understanding of an ethnic group and their culture, but also to do with their skills and competencies as workers and willingness to contribute to the country's economy. For example, the Office for National Statistics (ONS, 2019) reported that most Romanian families tend to be experienced labourers or in roles that are more suited to unskilled workers, however, there are many in professional roles such as doctors, engineers and teachers. Regardless of strong work ethics, there is a perceived threat about Romanians where assumptions are made and inflated by the citizens of the host country creating a less favourable stereotype of them and viewed as a second class citizen (Hall, 2007).

The stigma attached to migrant families affects how they settle into a new culture faced with racism due to being stereotyped. Kanter et al, (2017) explain that microaggressions are another form of racism where comments made, intentionally or unintentionally, are stressful for the recipient as they are usually subtle and often denied by those committing them. Microaggressions are often a result of the perpetrator being unaware of the harm caused, suggesting that the dominant culture is normal whilst the minority group is seen of lesser value and responding to stereotypes of a given group (Sue et al, 2007). Discrimination begins in early school years with individuals or families that may be biased against migrant children that often come from ideas in the community or media sources (Adair, 2015). Samanani (2018) explains that this is common amongst members of marginalised groups who encounter microaggressions through media, news, TV and music, where stereotypes are reinforced. As a result, the cultural content both reflects and moulds society with unintentional bias absorbed by the public depending on the type of media they are exposed to, whether it is positive or negative exposure (Pierce et al, 1977).

Groups who have experienced microaggressions have reported feeling under pressure to re-evaluate their cultural values and try to fit in with the dominant culture either by increasing their identification with their culture or suppressing it due to embarrassment of the stereotype and stigma attached to their culture (Rumbaut, 2008; Samanani, 2018). For some, it has made them more resilient, but for others it has caused depression, anxiety and lack of confidence and self-image and in some cases, affected mental health (Owen et al, 2014; Timpf, 2015). However, Campbell and Manning (2014) offer a different view, suggesting that there are a number of factors that can affect mental health, with an emphasis on how microaggressions can lead to a culture of victimhood and could possibly exaggerate or falsify offenses.

Whilst there is a strong emphasis on microaggressions, Suarez (2016) reminds us that it is important also to understand that comments can be misunderstood, taken out of context and can shut down conversations rather than reflecting and learning from them. Lilienfeld (2017) agrees with Suarez, criticising the concept of microaggressions and challenges the work of Sue et al (2007; Sue, 2010), who claim that 'microaggressions lie in the eye of the beholder'. Lilienfeld argues that

> …it is not evident which kinds of actions constitute a verbal, behavioural, or environmental indignity, nor what approximate severity of indignity is necessary for an action to constitute a microaggression…after all, referring to an action as 'aggressive' implies at least some degree of consensus, ideally across independent observers, regarding its nature and intent

Lilienfeld's argument raises many valid points in response to Sue's work that question the concept of microaggressions, highlighting that it is unclear whether any verbal, or non-verbal action, that a certain proportion of individuals from a minority group perceive as upsetting, constitutes a microaggression. Lilienfeld also questions what level of agreement among minority group members would be needed to determine that something was an act of an microaggression. Whilst the criteria for what constitutes

microaggressions is questionable, it is equally as important to understand what does not.

Fox et al (2012) suggest that the lack of knowledge and interest in the history and culture of migrant group's background is a contributing factor to creating a selective representation of them, creating a particular stereotype and racial microaggressions. When culture is misunderstood it can lead the local community into making their own assumptions about the Romanian families through the means of media and the press coverage, which projects a negative image of them (Cheregi, 2015). Since Romanian families joined the community, there has been a lack of understanding of their culture which can be perceived as living separately from the host community. Whilst it is normal to experience difficulties in settling in a new country, the stigma attached to their culture makes the transition process more difficult. These issues were also reflected in The British Social Attitude Survey (2017) where the public are still divided on immigration and the development of a multicultural society. Although there has been a slight improvement since 2014, the divide continues to inhibit the exploration of cultural perspectives rather than promoting and celebrating multiculturalism in the community.

2.2.2 Life's Rich Tapestry

Multiculturalism is not just about celebrating diversity or having a positive attitude towards different cultures, it is about different cultural communities living together in attempt to build a common life whilst retaining some of their original identity (Hall, 2000). Within a diverse community made up of large families, there are issues associated with culture and religion where disruptions will be unavoidable on occasions (Nye, 2007). Such disruptions can be more complex when the majority group is a large ethnic minority community who preserve ethnic norms and values that run counter to those of the broader society (Heath and Demireva, 2014). This can also be problematic when another ethnic minority group settles in the same area, as their presence changes the dynamics of the community.

Within a community of two different cultures of ethnic minority, such as South Asian and Romanian families, the differences between them are very visible. South Asian families are known for their colourful traditional dress, religious rituals (attending mosque) and multiple languages spoken (Urdu, Punjabi, Bangali, English), compared to the Romanian community who don't necessarily wear traditional dress but do have strong religious beliefs and also speak multiple languages, such as German, Romani and Italian to name a few (Vasilcovschi, 2021). Where the two groups may appear visually different to each other, they do share very similar cultural values, common practices and rich cultural heritage. In both cultures, there is a strong link to large family networks, gatherings and celebrations, such as large traditional weddings, religious observances and celebrations. Storytelling (including folklore), dance and music are also a large part of their cultural heritage, where traditions have been passed down through generations (Urdea, 2020; Mazhar and Salman, 2021; Chelariu, 2023).

In both South Asian and Romanian culture, the family is the foundation of the social structure with the father at the head of the family, who is expected to make decisions that are in the best interests of everyone and provide for his family (Harry, 2012; Vasilcovschi, 2021). It is also common to find families living with extended family in larger communities, or at least living close by to maintain strong family support networks. Family ties are very important, with a strong emphasis on respect for the elders due to their wealth of life experience and knowledge. These values are then passed down to the younger generation where the eldest siblings are expected to observe and practice these traditions, contributing to family life and the wider community.

Both cultures have strong values within the family structure where the men go out to work to provide for the family. The male children usually follow this pattern where they work alongside their father or uncle in a trade or family business, whilst the female family members stay at home tending to domestic chores, cooking and looking after their children and extended family members. However, the study 'Drawing the Future' by Chambers et al (2018) found that even though children's aspirations are influenced by social

background, there is an increase in the number of children aspiring to become teachers, vets and doctors amongst many other professions. Whilst there is shift in aspirations, there is still a focus on maintaining family traditions and values.

2.2.3 Linguistic Histories and Cultural Capital

Members of the local community in the study (both South Asian and Romanian families) speak a number of different languages at home depending on their ancestral roots. Whilst Romanian is the official language of Romania, there are also minority languages spoken, such as Hungarian, Romani, German and Russian. Similarly, the South Asian community generally speak Urdu or Punjabi, but have many languages that will be specific to certain families and heritage. For instance, Arabic, Sindhi, Pashto, Pahari – Potwari, Balochi and Saraiki are common regional languages spoken in different families (British council, 2021). Most families in the community are multilingual and use various languages to communicate in certain situations. South Asian families have strong links 'back home' and maintain the mother tongue in order to communicate with family. For example, a family's first language is Urdu, yet they speak Arabic, Bengali and English so that they are able to communicate in different situations at home, or when visiting family 'back home'. Romanian families also use various languages, such as German, Romani and English to enable them to maintain family communication and participate in family traditions.

Being raised in a multilingual family or community teaches children skills and experiences across different cultures, traditions and values (Crisfield, 2021). UK Schools adopt an inclusive approach to different cultures and languages, yet this does not extend to utilising the rich linguistic capital that multilingual children possess (Crisfield, 2021).Whilst it is important to learn English in the UK, learning other languages enable children to learn about other cultures, strengthen social integration and linguistic capacity (Gough, 2021), as well as building cultural capital. However, the emphasis on speaking English in the classroom often overlooks the benefits of multiple languages spoken by

migrant children and the rich life experiences gained. Badwan (2021: 152) argues:

> School and dominant culture produce normalising discourses that encourage particular social norms, practices, behaviours and ways of being… adding peer pressure to the mix, young individuals are often faced with the pressure to conform in order to not be stigmatised by the system or the peers

By conforming to the social norms, the children's voices are silenced and become invisible through lack of language. However, language is more than just a means of communication. Language shapes and reflects cultural identity, social status and power dynamics and plays a crucial role in developing cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1977; Norton and Toohey, 2011). Smala et al (2013) and Karpava and Ringblom (2022) suggest that the linguistic histories of multilingual families are a form of cultural capital, as they represent the rich tapestry of languages and communication styles that have been developed over centuries within different societies. They also stress how linguistic histories contribute to cultural capital as it is related to knowledge, values, beliefs and attitudes which can add to social power. Considering the research from various scholars, it is essential that schools and education institutions are flexible in their approach to the inclusion of different cultures and how they can promote and include the rich cultural capital.

In areas where different cultural communities live in close proximity, there can nevertheless be a gap in their understandings of each other and a gap in local culture and knowledge (Bourdieu, 1977; Manzoni and Rolfe, 2019). Hirsch et al (1987) work on cultural literacy theory suggests that this gap could be reduced through teaching common knowledge about the different cultures of both majority and minority groups. An inclusive approach to all cultures and languages would promote sharing background information in order to communicate with one another effectively, rather than adhering to the expectations of fitting into the socially desired mould (Badwan, 2021).

Communication through language requires knowledge of things that are not overtly stated when joining a new community, including cultural values and traditions. Shliakhovchuk (2019) stresses that it is important to develop new cultural literacy by interacting with the new members of that culture and reflect on one's own views and values.

Being culturally literate enables interaction with others from diverse backgrounds, leading one to develop a critical cultural perspective and develop communication and self-reflection, reducing cultural inequality. Those who possess such knowledge can understand and communicate and those who cannot are excluded, which is a major barrier to equal opportunities (Hirsch et al, 1987). A lack of understanding of cultures by schools is common amongst newly arrived children and highlights the importance of cultural literacy. Hirsch reminds us that only by being culturally literate can we understand and read a situation and its deeper meaning, such as customary ways of behaving in a given culture, social structure and the vocabulary of a culture. Ochoa et al (2016) and Badwan (2021) support Hirsch, emphasising the importance of equipping children with essential cultural knowledge as part of an intercultural society, by understanding the rich cultural capital of different ethnic groups.

Baker (2013) stresses the importance of cultural knowledge and capital so that children are culturally literate and aim to attain universal literacy at a high level, to become active members in their own society. A detailed memory of everything heard or read is not necessary, but the ability to grasp the shape of what they read with what they know is essential in order to communicate effectively (Hirsch et al, 1987). Culturally sustaining pedagogy in the classroom complements this theory by considering culture in the broader term, promoting students' cultures, languages and literacies, encouraging broader ideas to build cultural knowledge (Machado, 2017).

Hirsch et al (1987) highlights the need for children to be taught text within a cultural context in order to decode and succeed in mature reading tasks, especially in the case of diasporic groups. Decoding material is problematic

for newly arrived children as they are taught in a context that is not adapted for new arrivals, rather it supports the host community culture as a single ethnic group. New arrivals are then expected to integrate into a majority teaching context, which offers very little in learning about different cultures and also ignoring cultural capital gained. Anning (2010) adds to this argument, claiming that it is not only the lack of background knowledge that hinders cultural awareness, but also the resources used and content of texts in the classroom to which they cannot relate. Gee (2014) supports Anning, agreeing that as well as cultural experience, resources need to be appropriate and fit for purpose to support social integration, cultural understanding and growth of cultural capital.

Bourdieu (1977) claims that it is important to note that cultural knowledge is intrinsically linked with the level of education of parents, where a child inherits cultural capital through each generation, accumulating a wealth of knowledge. Whilst new migrants have limited knowledge of their new environment and wider community, that should not be mistaken for a lack cultural capital. Smala et al (2012) stresses that cultural capital of migrant families is related to their knowledge, language, values and beliefs, which are used as social power in their new country of residence. Karpava and Ringblom (2022) agrees with Smala et al, claiming that the ability to accumulate, convert and evaluate their cultural capital in the sociopolitical conditions of the receiving country, enables them to create social spaces that transcend national borders, moving between different cultures and sustaining strong links with the homeland (Sökefeld, 2006).

Regardless of the rich cultural capital of migrant families, they are often faced with difficulties when settling within a majority ethnic community, where such differences are not easily accepted, causing them to feel dislocated (Safran, 1991). The loss of homeland and the need to recreate home in the country to which they have migrated often causes migrants to preserve and reproduce the sociocultural image of their country of emigration, including national identity and home language (Anderson, 1983).

By developing cultural literacy amongst communities, Green (1988) argues that the intra relationships of self and other can be understood, accepted and respected, rather than being rendered powerless and alienated in a host community. Within well-established communities, families live within social structures of beliefs and values, where outsiders are expected to adopt their way of life and culture (Polistina, 2009). However, cultural literacy is very much the opposite of this approach. In contrast to the old saying “When in Rome, do as the Romans do”, we should in fact be asking “Why do the Romans behave this way and how am I different to them?” Or from a different perspective how are they the same?

Family socialisation also shapes children’s understanding of diversity and their place in the world and community, including the possibilities of success. However, schools must also be a part of that process. Bourdieu (1977) stresses that if schools expect and reward the cultural capital of the dominant social class then they reinforce, rather than reduce, social inequality. Bourdieu goes on to argue that further social inequality is highlighted within communities because schools expect children to have specific linguistic and cultural competencies and familiarity with culture, which will only benefit children whose socialisation experiences are aligned with such expectations. Marleto and Andrade (2014) support this theory, stating that distinct school cultures promote different attitudes and beliefs among children, within an education system expecting the same outcomes for all children, highlighting the inequality of cultural and social standing. If the cycle of inequality is to be broken, it is crucial that cultural histories are heard, shared and valued. As Badwan (2021) points out, valuing the children’s multilingual repertoire can help children to learn different values and explore the world in many ways, which also enables them to remain proudly connected with their histories and roots. The strong connection to their roots also enables their histories to be shared with those in the wider community, teaching them about their culture and having an equal voice.

Bourdieu and Boltanski (1981) claim that in order to develop cultural experiences, all families from all cultures would benefit from participating in a

range of cultural activities to develop a shared understanding of the wider the community. Gaining cultural knowledge about minority groups in a community is important as it helps to narrow the gap between home and school, rather than separating and potentially alienating the two (Badwan, 2021). Whilst acknowledging the need to gain an insight to new cultures and values of the host country, it is extremely important to highlight that schools are teaching *non* white middle class children, white middle-class values. The imbalance of values not only excludes the values and traditions of Romanian and South Asian children, but also overlooks their rich linguistic and cultural heritage, rather than sharing and celebrating it. Hammond (2014) states that adopting a culturally responsive teaching strategy is crucial in developing inclusive practice, recognizing and validating students' home cultures and language as assets.

2.2.4 Bilingualism and Multilingualism

Over the decades within the UK, the number of culturally diverse communities and groups in the UK has increased, as has the number of languages spoken nationally. Larger towns and cities, such as London, Manchester, Birmingham and Bradford remain the largest areas of multilingual communities with high numbers of Eastern European and South Asian heritage (ONS, 2018). Whilst there is a high percentage of people with English as their first language, learning the language of the host country is important as it helps to make migrant families feel involved, contributing to the host country and helping them make informed choices and decisions (Hirsch et al, 1987). It also encourages forging relationships, taking an interest in the environment they share and treating each other as valued members of the community.

The high levels of new arrivals and multilingual families in schools has begun to place additional pressure on schools, as support services from Local Authorities have been cut, leading to a lack of support and training for EAL specialists in schools (Ofsted, 2014). Teachers are concerned about the lack of resources and skills to accommodate these children, highlighting training

needs whilst also sustaining a good standard of teaching for the rest of their pupils (Funk and Hardy, 2018). The additional work and need for specialist resources has had an impact on workload and work-life balance, causing a rise in work related stress and staff morale (Hutchings, 2015). These concerns appear to be shared with schools across the country as teachers struggle to find extra time and support for these pupils, highlighting the need for funding to train and support teachers (Wilson, 2015).

Migrant children often struggle with participation and interaction with their peers and teachers as they have difficulties in understanding not only the new language, but also the culture and context they live within (King, 2018). In the absence of multilingual staff in many schools, English is often taught through the means of intervention classes or one-to-one sessions in an attempt to equip children with a bank of basic language as quickly as possible. Once the children re-join their class, they are encouraged to use English to communicate with their peers and to access the curriculum material and resources. The idea of interventions as an approach is beneficial in the short term; however, the home language of migrant children is then undervalued. In order to bridge the gap, a more holistic approach to language development and social integration is critical as it promotes positive multicultural messages and forging friendships (Arnot et al, 2014). Maintaining their home language also helps to reduce anxieties or pressures during the transition period and also reduces the negative stereotypes associated with Eastern European children (Tereshchenko and Archer, 2014).

Multilingualism has been highlighted as an advantage and a positive learning skill, linked to higher executive functioning skills. By maintaining their home language, learners tend to perform better with tasks such as problem solving, mental flexibility and task switching (Adescope et al, 2010; Bialystok et al, 2014). Professor Jim Cummins' theory on language acquisition has directly influenced the education sector where his work has enabled teachers to understand the importance of planning lessons to support learners whose first language is not English. Cummins' research shows that children can

develop conversational fluency within two to five years and more technical/academic language between four to seven years. Some of his later work focuses on context embedded communication, which includes conversation with physical gestures and activities, as well as context reduced communication where there are fewer communicative clues, such as telephone conversations and notes.

Cummins (2011) promotes bilingualism in schools, stressing that educational achievement, first language, host language and sense of identity in the community are integrally related, raising concerns around withdrawing children from the classroom to learn English. Cummins emphasises that multi/bilingual children use their home language in order to understand the new language of the host country. Cummins' view is further supported by Pham et al (2021) who state that both home language and additional languages should be learned simultaneously. If the use of the home language is reduced or ignored, understanding and translating a new language becomes very difficult as a multi/bilingual person uses their first language to understand, decode and translate to a new language.

As explained by Cummins' Iceberg Model of Language Development (2000), The home language and second language are the tips of the iceberg with a Common Underlying Proficiency (CUP) beneath the surface. This is the point where higher order thinking, problem solving and academic language is developed and supported by shared concepts and knowledge derived from cognitive and linguistic abilities of the learner. Deeper levels of cognitive processing are necessary in academic development and progress and if secured in the home language, this will be transferred across to the new language (Cummins, 1996). Even when a child is proficient in their home language, developing the second language takes time as the linguistic processing capacity is limited when acquiring new knowledge due to the formation and function of the neural subsystems (Johnson and Newport, 1989).

In ethnic minority groups such as South Asian and Romanian families, there are multiple languages spoken at home depending on their heritage.
As demonstrated in the linguistic map (App 8), the community in the study speak various languages in the family home, such as Urdu, Bengali, Arabic, Romani, German and English, where many children are either bilingual or multilingual. In the school environment, children are encouraged to speak English to develop fluency and when at home, they revert back to the mother tongue to enable them to communicate with other family members.

As mentioned in chapter 2, South Asian and Romanian families tend to live in the family home with the older generation relatives, such as grandparents who do not speak English and where there is more than one home language is spoken (Dixon, 2018). This can be a complex situation as not all family members are fluent in the multiple languages spoken in the household. Lee (2002) states that maintaining home language is important to families as it is a large part of their heritage and cultural identity. For some parents, there is a level of expectation for their children to learn the home languages to maintain cultural traditions, values and identity, as well as being able to communicate with family members (Samanani, 2018).

One of the challenges of living in a multilingual family is the difficulty in communicating with those who speak different home languages or dialect that differs the main home language and also the proficiency of the multiple languages acquired (Ibrahim, 2015). However, individuals' rich bank of linguistic knowledge enables them to tap into the various languages and communicate through translanguaging. Lewis et al, (2012) explains that translanguaging is not about language, but instead about communicating in a variety of different languages within a multilingual group. The idea of translanguaging is supported by Garcia and Lin (2016) who state that children and families can take words or phrases from the different languages they are familiar with and put them together to make a coherent statement or sentence that is understood, enabling them to keep lines of communication open.

Kim et al (2021, p.4) describes translanguaging as ‘inherently social as it is conditioned by and manifested as a social response to communicative needs and within particular sociocultural and semiotic contexts.’ Zhang & Chan (2017) explain that translanguagers communicate in many ways. They can duplicate two languages for monolingual audiences, choose a fragmentary option where only certain information is translated into other languages or complementary translanguaging, which draws resources from different languages. The latter form of translanguaging is very common amongst South Asian families in Oldham, including the research school, where it is common to hear conversations with parents and staff using a range of local languages to communicate with teachers.

Translanguaging helps to strengthen multiple languages and boost confidence in the classroom as they are able to make sense of the languages around them. It also helps children to gain an understanding and appreciation of different cultures, as well as enabling them to share information with others about their culture and values (British Council, 2019; EBI, 2023). Where language is underdeveloped, knowledge is constructed by adults for children to learn, which can undervalue children’s epistemic status and authority (King, 2018). Instead, children’s epistemic authority should be upgraded through dialogic teaching where both teacher and pupil can make significant contributions and encourage pupils to actively participate through their home language (Heritage and Raymond, 2005).

Treating children as competent agents implies that they interact in certain social conditions, raising cultural awareness and acceptance, including developing identity and a sense of belonging and self-confidence (Valentine, 2010 and Wyness, 2013). This view was also highlighted in a report by Manzoni and Rolfe (2019), which stressed that giving migrant children the opportunity to be heard and tell their story develops self-confidence and they are more likely to interact with children from the majority group and forge friendships. Ensuring that children are heard not only builds confidence, but also motivates them to learn the new language of the receiving country, which indicates that personal contact is a key factor in generating the need to

learn a new language. Once relationships begin to form, the development of a second language would reduce the fear of assimilation and losing their ethnic identity in their new environment (Taylor et al, 1977).

Where assimilation is not always the most comfortable process for migrant children who tend to maintain their home language and roots, some rebel against it, in an attempt to become or seem more British, to be liked and accepted by other children (Sime et al, 2017). In some instances, this can result in bullying, where children that share their own language and culture receive racist and xenophobic comments. Wong (2000), explains that this type of behaviour is not uncommon, suggesting that language loss occurs in children due to internal and external pressures, such as the stereotypical view of Eastern European migrants and the hostile response to them, as well as peer pressure from school where they are made to feel 'different' through ridicule and devaluation of their language (Wong, 2000). Rather than celebrating and valuing the different cultures of our society, pressures contribute to feeling a sense of shame about their language and culture, which sometimes results in supressing or abandoning their first language and becoming estranged from their families, heritage and roots (Sime, 2007; Wong, 2000). The difference in language and culture also causes a divide between children in the host country and migrant children, creating an environment of 'us' and 'them', being 'othered' (Hall, 1997).

2.2.5 Us, Them and Others

Within inter-ethnic relationships, prejudices can lead children to compare their own culture and beliefs reinforcing the grouping of children as 'them' or 'Other' (Hall, 1997). To be Othered creates a feeling of outside looking in, whether that means being the minority, submerged in a culture that fits the majority or feeling excluded, emphasising how 'they' differ from 'us' and not fitting the norm (Brons, 2015). This view is further supported by Hall (1997) who describes how differences or otherness divide 'normal and acceptable' from 'abnormal and unacceptable', creating clear boundaries between 'us' and 'the other'. He goes on to explain that othering is usually a negative

experience, which is linked to negative connotations with differences being represented through stereotypes, reducing a person or object to a simple, widely recognisable image or characteristic.

The notion of ‘the other’ is common in communities that have a large ethnic minority population, as members of the community tend to have their own traditions. Polistina (2009) defends such representations arguing that large, well-established community groups tend to be very supportive and very family centred, which can appear that they are shutting out other groups or the surrounding community. There is also a preconceived idea by the host community about newcomers due to the stories in the media. The stories then create a reputation and myths around a specific group or ethnicity, which does not reflect the community as a supportive family and community based network (Barthes, 1977).

Ethnic groups are largely judged by the social representations and symbols connected to them, as a way of labelling and placing them on the outside of the existing community due to their perceived differences and reputation. Hall and du Gay (1996) and Barthes (1977) reminds us that representation of the Other is constructed through language, signs and symbols that resemble a particular culture or group with which we are familiar. If there is a lack of cultural knowledge or understanding about ethnic groups, conclusions are drawn from negative stereotypes and false media claims. These representations are usually misinformed or misconstrued, created by a skewed reality due to the lack of understanding and knowledge (Ainsworth and Hardy, 2004). Hall and du Gay (1996) agree with Barthes (1977) who argue that whilst misunderstandings and differences can be based on the basic understanding of how one imagines a reality that exists outside one’s own norms, myths and representation can also be used to highlight negative images, such as the creation of racial tensions in a community.

To understand how we make sense of the various realities, Hall (1997) suggests that we all speak from a particular place, time, history and culture, creating places from which individuals position themselves and from which

they speak. However, this can affect how newcomers are received in the community. As du Gay et al (1997) explains, media and advertising can be a persuasive medium to convey specific messages, creating representation of an alternative reality. Therefore, migrant families can already be represented as the Other without ever speaking. Such power and control of media representation therefore dictates who is included and excluded within a community by reducing migrant families to a stereotype without them ever knowing or interacting with them (Hall, 1997).

Social media, TV and other media sources heavily influence the way certain cultures are represented and portrayed, often prompting distorted representations of particular groups. Gledhill (1997) highlights how powerful and influential media and tabloid newspapers are when trying to convey a specific message and the way it is presented to the target audience so they can identify with it. Take for example an article in the Mail on Sunday (Petre and Walters, 2013) published ahead of the work restrictions being extended for Romanian citizens. It highlights how powerful photographs or images can be and how ethnic groups can be misrepresented. The story published had a bold headline of '*Exposed: What they DID NOT tell you about new wave of migrants heading for booming Britain*'. Whilst the story was supported by a valid report, the story had summarised the findings in a negative context, quoting

> *"…employment for British-born citizens has declined while jobs for 'not UK-born other white residents' [mainly Eastern Europeans] have increased – suggesting this gap could get worse"*
>
> *"Already overcrowded schools will struggle to find places for the children of the new arrivals"*
>
> *"Overstretched hospitals risk coming under fresh strain, and the housing crisis could get worse"*

The photographs published alongside the story in The Mail on Sunday depict stereotypical images of Eastern European people, such as dark hair, head scarves and the wearing of traditional dress, which has become the norm, or a (mis)representation of their ethnic group (Hall, 2000). Furthermore, no

other details are offered about the people in these images, such as their age, situation or context to accompany these photographs. Instead, they portray an image of an old scarved lady with a large bag of clothes placed in the middle of a list of bullet points, which suggests a negative impact of an increase of migrant families and negative consequences to the people of Britain. Whilst the facts are black and white, the way they are portrayed amongst some carefully chosen and placed photographs changes the view of the reader who is left with the stereotypical image of migrants, regardless of the content of the story (Barthes, 1977).

Negative representation of 'migrant' groups is usually skewed or false, which then impacts on how newly arrived children are received in the host community due to being othered (Hall 1997). Barthes' theory of mythology states how images can be very powerful, but also ambiguous. Barthes (1977) explains how cultural myths encapsulate collective consciousness of a particular group, such as shared narratives, types of group relationship and cultural artefacts that reinforce a moral system. Barthes also highlights the symbolic dimension of images and artefacts and how they reveal meaningful relationships with cultural values. However, the sign will represent specific values depending on how and who interprets it, which can be misleading. For instance, Romanian families in the area who are frequently judged on their image, such as the choice in style of clothes, familiar European accent and the assumption of unemployment and benefit claims. Such images are often a result of representation and interpretation of a certain group with any real meaning being stripped away and reinvented as a myth (Barthes, 1977).

Agreeing with Barthes, Hall (2007) expands on myths through the process of encoding and decoding media images and television. Hall argues that various signs are used to encode the meaning of an image according to the creator's ideology and then decoded by the viewer, who interprets the message through their own framework of knowledge. Depending on the position of the reader, the message will be read within either the dominant framework, where the message is accepted at surface level or the negotiated framework. The reader acknowledges the dominant framework, but also

makes their own decision or reads within the oppositional framework, where the reader decodes the message contrary to the intended message. Depending on how the intended message is received, the signs will be altered or used again to portray a certain message.

When examining an image, both linguistic and visual codes carry meaning and, as Hall (2007) reminds us, codes are interpreted through the knowledge and ideology of an individual, reinforcing their own prejudices, which then allows individuals to validate their interpretation or meaning. An example of this interpretation can be demonstrated in the earlier tabloid story, where the message has been carefully encoded and presented to highlight key words that can be understood by the general audience and then be decoded in a negative manner. Although the article includes the full report to allow the reader to examine the subject on a deeper level, this is not highlighted to the reader in the same way as the headlines are presented. Barthes (1973) demonstrates how representations of immigrants within the media are often portrayed through photographs or images and once the intended meaning of the message is received, it then becomes social practice and myth.

The idea of myth is reinforced by Sontag (1978) who argues that reality has always been interpreted through images and photographs, which can be a powerful instrument for depicting any given situation depending on how they are read. As Hall (2000) explains, images do not accumulate meaning on their own, but through a variety of texts and interpretations. However, the lack of any text or codes reduces the image to a momentary snapshot frozen in time, slowly working its way into one’s mind and shaping the view of the world (Sontag, 1978). The understanding of these images then become part of a system of information, fitted into schemes of classification and potentially used as a means of control to influence the way we view and judge a certain situation, offering multiple connotations and rejecting others (Barthes, 1977).

Within diverse cultures, images and photographs do not allow us to possess the reality, however, they do allow us to possess or more importantly, be possessed by, images, making and reshaping our own meaning of reality

from them (Sontag,1978). Analysing connotations is difficult as each image will connote various meanings depending on who and for what purpose they are created, and also how they are received by the target audience. Within the media for example, there are many stereotypical messages or images conveyed about Romanian families that emphasise difference and negative connotations. Hall (2000) and Cottle (2000) argue that these messages then become a way of subconsciously drawing boundaries to define Us and Others, marking social spaces to keep the Others out, legitimised by cultural beliefs, ideologies and representation. These ideologies cause a skewed representation of Romanian and other ethnic minorities as they can be so inaccurate, yet so powerful and damaging that to be the Other brings self-loathing and shame of one's own culture or race, renegotiating one's identity to avoid further ridicule (Hall, 1997). If the media were to promote positive images of these groups and understand the various cultures, then perhaps migrant children and families would feel proud of their ethnic identity and celebrate their differences (Valentine, 2011 and Wyness, 2013).

2.2.6 Identity and Belonging

Identity and achievement are inextricably intertwined and mediated by one's capabilities and social interaction, which are more influenced by what others think about us and their impressions of us (Ellis, 2002). In the field of psychology, Erikson's (1975) theory of psychosocial development explains that identity is formed through an eight-stage process of development from birth through adulthood. Negotiating both biological and sociocultural forces shapes identity and impacts on the development of self-esteem, confidence and acceptance of self.

Building on the basis of identity construction, Hall's work on cultural identity (1994: 223) explains how individuals seek a 'shared culture, a sort of collective 'one true self', hiding inside the many other, more superficial or artificially imposed 'selves' with a shared history and ancestry hold in common'. Hall argues that identity is neither as transparent nor as unproblematic as we think. Rather than assuming that identity is already an

accomplished fact, it is useful to see it as a production, never complete, always in process and constituted within representation. The constant renewal of identity develops over time as people grow, experiencing new things as a result of the ongoing use of language and everyday reconstruction and negotiation of given scenarios (Ainsworth and Hardy, 2004). The renewal process allows individuals to compose and decompose their identities, which are constructed through and against representations (Bauman, 2004; Howarth, 2006).

Identity development is based on both social and cultural context where current values and beliefs differ from their own, which impacts on the choice of actions and decisions made and how others respond to those actions (Orozco et al, 2016). Phinney et al (2001) stress that the extent of how much identity develops is also dependent on the extent to which individuals maintain their heritage culture values and how they adopt the receiving cultural values. Due to the difficulty in gaining membership of the host community and the general perception of Romanian children through media sources, Hall (1997) suggests that it is common for ethnic groups to struggle with social interactions amongst peers, reinforcing the feeling of being an outsider. Drawing on Hall's notion of othering, it is evident amongst Romanian families how they struggle with settling in a new community and forming relationships in response and how they are received by both the host and heritage culture. Being excluded or othered tends to result in identifying with a particular religious group or ethnic enclave, refusing to adopt practices of the receiving culture, due to not being accepted by the majority group rather than assimilating into the receiving society. Either way, Romanian families are at risk of being ostracised by both the host community and their own community (Zagefka and Brown, 2002).

Whilst identities continue to be defined by dominant groups through discursive practice and the media, Eastern European families are differentiated and labelled (Petre and Walters, 2013). During an identity crisis, children may feel shame about their ethnicity and confused, doubting and disconnecting from their identity in their usual world and instead,

reinvent a new story about themselves. For others, it can reinforce their heritage and culture, expressing themselves through traditions, artefacts and experiences from their cultural history. As highlighted by Holland et al (1998) theory of Figured Worlds, this is described as social positioning where people tell each other who they claim to be through the process of authoring and acting out a new storyline. More importantly, they tell others who they are and are not, as well as who they would or should be like, treating oneself as another (Yuval-Davis, 2010). Social positioning enables individuals to construct an alternative reality both socially and culturally, creating narratives to provide significant stories for interpretation whilst figuring out how they are positioned within a community reinventing their identity and sense of belonging.

Identity narratives provide individuals with a collective sense of order and meaning which is always in process and never complete, pointing to a sense of agency, continuity and contestations (Hall, 1997; Yuval-Davis, 2010). In support of Holland et al (1998), Anthias (2018) explains that identity is a form of practice carrying out every day lived performances, which underpins the notion of a shared being with similar others, through various means such as religion, cultural or political beliefs. Whilst shared values and similarities are key components of identity, Yuval-Davis (2010) highlights how identification of self can equate to social categories with social groupings which assume that members have the same attachment and understanding of that group. However, there is then a tendency to essentialise identities, placing them in a specific social category in which they are located and become the determining factor of their identity and sense of belonging, such as being Muslim or Black which perpetuate social boundaries of otherness (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000; Yuval-Davies, 2010; Anthias, 2018).

Where identity and belonging can be seen as part of the same set of concepts, Brubaker and Cooper (2000) and Pfaff-Czarnecka (2013) argue that identity is very different to belonging. They explain that identity denotes a categorisation and sameness amongst members of a group that manifests itself in solidarity and a shared consciousness or collective, where belonging

combines categorisation with social relating. Yuval-Davies (2010) supports these arguments highlighting that belonging is a deep emotional need of people that develops from a connectedness with social processes of everyday life through interaction with other people and specific socio-cultural contexts. Calhoun (2003) claims that it is impossible to not belong to specific social groups or collectives as people are situated in particular webs of belonging and implicated in social actions which they are not entirely free to choose, transcending into different groups, relationships and development of new networks.

Within social groups, networks or communities, identity narratives reflect who individuals believe they are and desire to be, emotionally investing in belonging and being attached to the group. Probyn (1996) describes this process as a perpetual transition with various degrees of attachment which individuals are caught within, wanting to belong and become, with an invested participation in shared projects. Antonsich (2010) presents a different view on belonging, claiming that there is an overemphasis on attachment to social collectives, proposing that belonging arises from an individual's attachment to a familiar locality, geographical or symbolic place that gives the feeling of being attached to and rooted, feeling comfortable and secure. This approach is referred to as place belongingness where a number of factors contribute to the feeling of belonging. Antonsich (2010) claims that autobiographical factors such as personal experiences, relationships and memories attach a person to a particular place. There are also cultural factors such as language and religion that evoke a warm sensation of community and being around people like oneself, followed by economic and legal factors that help to create a safe place to live and provide rights as a citizen.

Belonging can be applied to questions around formal membership as well as less formal groups, linking to feelings of cultural competence and practices of inclusion in relation to belonging with and to others (Anthias, 2018). However, belonging is not just about social locations, constructions of individual identities and attachments, but also the ideologies and politics of

belonging that create boundaries and separate the world population into ‘us’ and ‘them’ (Yuval-Davis, 2006). John Crowley (1999:30) defined the politics of belonging as ‘the dirty work of boundary maintenance’ which is concerned with members of communities potentially meeting other people and whether they stand inside or outside the imaginary boundary of the nation and/or other communities of belonging. Crowley goes on to explain that the maintenance and reproduction of boundaries of a community of belonging experiences contestation and challenge by other political agents in order to promote their own power positions within and outside the collectivity in an act of active and situated imagination (Crowley, 1999; Yuval-Davis, 2006).

This work is supported by the work of Anderson (2006) on imagined boundaries and communities which argues that members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members or even meet them, yet in their mind, lives the image of their communion. Imagined boundaries are highlighted through rituals of belongings where each person can imagine reading the morning newspaper with a cup of tea and also imagine fellow countrymen doing the same thing. Specific texts and books also evidence the modelling of multiple biographies in national narratives cultivating the integration of self and nation through a shared and common imagination (Calhoun, 2016). Perhaps an even more powerful notion of an imagined community is what Anderson argues, as nationalism being a way of imagining and therefore creating community, regardless of inequality and exploitation, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Although this can be seen as an artificial imagining, it does not make it less powerful, as comradeship is felt even in tension with inequalities and sectional divisions. Ultimately it is this fraternity that makes it possible for people willing to die for such imaginings (Anderson, 2006; Calhoun, 2016).

Most ethnicities relate to nationalism by participating in an imagined community, with close knit ethnic minority communities relating to and living amongst a multi-cultural society (Anderson, 2006). Taylor agrees with Anderson, expanding on the notion of the strong connection to a social imaginary, how people imagine their social existence and how they fit

together with others. Focusing on a more local community level, Taylor (2004) explains how ordinary people imagine their social surroundings, common understandings and differences which make possible the transformation of common practices into a widely shared sense of legitimacy. Take for example taking part in a protest. Individual members of the group will have varying degrees of understanding of the cause they are protesting about, although it is the community or group's shared understanding which makes this act possible, as they are able to make sense of a shared vision and relating to like-minded others in the group, with a sense of comradeship and connection with each other.

Social imaginary shares the same concepts of an imagined community where culture underpins imagination through institutionalising artifacts and practices to shape identities, solidarities and boundaries (Taylor, 2004; Calhoun, 2016). Barthes (1977) and Hall (1997) highlight how this process is also facilitated by the means of cleverly projecting ideas of nationalism and representation of cultures through advertisements, news articles and newspapers to communicate stories to wider audiences where a sense of nationalism is created and communicated. This is an effective method of ensuring that the imagined world is visibly rooted in everyday life, silently seeping into reality (Nairn, 1977). Whilst messages are being conveyed through various means such as printed text, we must not forget the role of museums and how nationalism is remembered and preserved. Symbolic images, objects and iconic photographs of historic sites are all instrumental in delivering an imagined community or nation, which links with individuals both consciously and subconsciously giving a sense of familiarity and belonging or connection. Shared practices and cultures are showcased, representing nations and identities associated or linked to them. Furthermore, Calhoun (2016) reminds us that the use of the census strengthens these connections and belonging by categorising people and communities into grids of occupational, religious or property holding identities, offering a representation of the population, facilitating the imagining of nations.

The creation of an imagined political community is like a family with shared origins and mutual interests with a wealth of knowledge surrounding culture and nations. However, Anderson (2006) argues that nations are not natural or inevitable units, rather they are cultural constructs that hold power over them and their people, through historical stories, artefacts and images to portray an ideology that people believe in and live within. The sense of belonging as a nation is a way of calling realities into being and constituting practices, shaping solidarity and national identity (Antonsich, 2010). How does this then affect transnational ties for migrant families when arriving in a new country? Do they retain their own national identity, culture and beliefs or adopt those of the receiving country? Anderson (1983) suggests that groups such as migrant families will recreate their own community and national identity through the creation of an imagined community, due to maintaining a familiar lifestyle and also the allegiance to their own nation.

2.2.7 Summary

The literature and concepts outlined in this chapter demonstrates the complexities and struggles within a diverse, multicultural and multilingual community and the development of relationships with children and families. It highlights the difficulties migrant children experience when settling in the UK under the scrutiny of the media, which creates a stereotypical view of this ethnic minority group and the stigma attached to them. The literature gives an insight to the experience of segregation and discrimination migrant families can face within the receiving culture, due to the diverse cultural differences and how this affects relationships and friendships in school.

As discussed in section 2.2, some of the key issues within multicultural communities are linked with familiarising themselves with different languages and limited cultural knowledge of the area, which lead to a community of ‘us’ and ‘them’. The receiving community (who are also an ethnic minority group in this research) are very familiar with this divide and have experienced what it means to be stereotyped and ostracised for their differences, yet there is little evidence of any common ground amongst the two groups based on a

shared experience of two ethnic minority groups in one community, which is intriguing (Hall, 1997). There is, however, a theme throughout the literature of national identity and allegiance to their nation, which is shared by both groups. Anderson (1983) reminds us that even if a person has never visited their home country, they can still form a strong attachment to the nation through an imagined community, which is a common theme amongst the South Asian and Romanian community

There is further evidence of acculturation issues within closed communities, firmly maintaining their heritage and resisting integration to some degree, which is especially evident in the attitudes towards migrant families who are discriminated against and classed as second-class citizens. The work of Taylor (2004) and Anderson (1983; 2006) gives an interesting insight into how strong connections to national identity and the creation of imagined communities shape a sense of belonging and comradeship amongst these types of communities in the study. Their theories are thought provoking and offer another viewpoint on how acculturation and integration can be understood rather than misinterpreted as a refusal to integrate and instead have strong values and ideas of national identity and links to their nation.

Whilst the focus of this study is the exploration of the lived experience and construction of Romanian children's identity, it also seeks to gain an understanding of the South Asian (host) community's cultures and values beneath the seemingly impenetrable surface. There are many similarities between the host community and migrant groups who have both faced extreme racism and persecution, branded with similar negative stereotypical labels. I am hoping that the study will reveal a deeper understanding of the host community, offering an insight of how the two groups living separately from the rest of the community affects relationships in the wider community and also the construction of identity of their children.

As highlighted by many scholars throughout the chapter, identity is constructed in social settings, which is part of an active acculturation process and how others respond to it. Considering that identity is also based on

positive interactions with the majority group, sharing their cultural values, this seems to be quite a difficult process for Romanian families due to the exclusion of the host community and viewed as the ‘others’. Within a community of two diverse cultures, it will be interesting to discover how this makes children feel and how it shapes their identity. Evidence shows that cultural divides in community impacts on how children develop self-worth and identity and how they integrate socially, including access to a fair education (Phinney et al, 2001). What is not known is the lived experience as a migrant child as a minority in a diverse community and the experience of being othered.

It is hoped that this study will reveal the lived experiences of these children and give them the opportunity to share their experiences, cultures and heritage with each other to create a better understanding of their backgrounds. It aims to demonstrate that the stigma attached to these children is very real and it sets out to deliver a different view of migrant families, as well as recognise them as an individual within their culture.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodology employed in the research, explaining and justifying the choices made to support the study. It discusses the strengths and limitations of a qualitative, interpretivist paradigm to explore the construction of identity, illuminating the 'truths' or 'realities' of the lived experiences of Eastern European children in a primary school setting. One crucial aspect of choosing methodology is researcher positionality and philosophical assumptions concerning belief, values, ontology and epistemology. This creates a holistic view of how we view knowledge, how we see ourselves in relation to this knowledge and the methodological strategies we use to discover it (Sikes, 2004; Guba, 1990).

The aim of the study is to gain a better understanding of the lived experiences and othering of Eastern European children following a high influx of newly arrived children (mainly from Romania) and observing behaviours within and amongst the host community. The complexities of the community piqued my interest further as it challenged my own knowledge and understanding of this minority group, whilst fake news and media continued to flood through local communities, exacerbating issues and highlighting segregation (Tereschchenko and Archer, 2014). In support of this study, further reading enabled me to explore theories that are discussed in the conceptual framework, underpinning, and justifying an interpretive approach drawing on the works of Roland Barthes and Stuart Hall.

3.2 Ethical Considerations

Prior to conducting the study, it was important to consider ethical concerns throughout the research process. Brinkmann and Kvale (2015, p.97) reminds us that 'morally responsible research behaviour is more than abstract ethical knowledge and cognitive choices: it involves the moral integrity of the researcher, his or her empathy, sensitivity and commitment to moral issues

and actions'. Moral integrity was paramount in the study as the methods deployed involved the children and staff expressing themselves and their lived experiences through artefacts and sharing personal data with the research group, which can make participants vulnerable. It was therefore essential that the data collection and analysis was ethically sound so prior to data collection, an ethical approval request was submitted and granted by the Education Research and Governance Committee at Manchester Metropolitan University.

As the study involved children from the school at which I was employed, there were some important considerations needed before commencing the data collection. The first point was to recognise my position of power as a member of staff and that the children may feel pressured into taking part in the study. Secondly, due to the various languages and cultural traditions, the children and families may not fully understand what the activities were about and what I was trying to achieve, which could lead to the vulnerability of participants. These areas were a crucial point when recruiting participants and great care was used not to involve any vulnerable or looked after children. Following a meeting with class teachers, we came to an agreement on a range of children they felt would be suitable for the study.

Participants and their parents were contacted directly and were made aware of the purpose of the research, why their participation was requested and how the data would be disseminated to ensure that they could make an informed decision. To protect the children's identity, pseudonyms were used and any materials or objects anonymised to ensure confidentiality. As research involving children requires consent from parents/guardians and assent from the child themselves, care needs to be taken that they do not feel obliged to take part, understand what they are consenting to and that they can withdraw at any time (BERA, 2018). The participant information sheet (Appx 3) was intended to inform parents of the details of the study so that they could discuss the details with their child to ensure that they wanted to assent to the study. It also gave the option to discuss the study further and raise any queries.

At the research design stage, I was very aware of some of the difficulties that may arise, for instance the different languages, different cultural values and traditions and reluctance to take part in the study. To ensure that all participants could be heard, I chose activities that were culturally neutral with minimal language necessary, which made participation fair and equal. Being aware that the different languages spoken in the group could pose a problem, a translator was invited to help facilitate the activities with myself and the children. Having a translator as part of the research group enhanced the data collection process as there was familiarity of the cultural traditions. Translation was particularly useful when sharing Identity Boxes as it added richness and depth to the lived experiences of the minority group.

Once the study began, each activity was clearly outlined before commencing and I used my professional judgement to ascertain children's interest and willingness to participate, through verbal and non-verbal discussion. It was essential to remain sensitive to any changes in the willingness of the participants at any stage. For instance, in one particular activity In once particular activity, all of the children agreed and were happy to take part as it involved bringing some artefacts to the next session. At the beginning of the session, one child expressed his reluctance to bring items, but still wanted to take part in the activity. His decision was respected and he was not pressured into bringing artefacts. Instead, he took part in the activity by a means of descriptive discussion with the group.

Masson (2005) stresses that children rarely feel free to decide entirely by themselves due the pressures of the need to participate. In this particular instance, the child did feel free to say no and declined the activity, indicating an equal relationship between the participant and the researcher. The child's refusal to take part but still remain as part of the study confirmed that my ethical procedures had been thorough and fair, allowing the child to decline the activity without the fear of being penalised. It also highlighted that I was able to adapt the activity to enable the child to continue in the study and join the group in a way that he felt comfortable with.

In keeping with the application for ethical approval, every effort was made to ensure that the study was ethically sound and all participants fully informed and supported throughout. All the information sheets included my contact details as well as those of my Director of Studies and Head of Ethics. Once all the consent and assent forms were returned, the signed copies were digitally copied onto a secure cloud server which is password protected and encrypted. All the activities and discussions were audio recorded and stored digitally along with any other data collected throughout the study and also stored in the same way, in line with ethics guidance.

3.3 Researcher Background: A Personal Account

Before moving onto researcher positionality, it is important that from both a personal and researcher perspective that a brief context of my background is included. This is a personal account of my experience of being raised in a racist environment and the friendships forged with South Asian families throughout school, college and beyond. This section intends to offer a deeper understanding of the importance of the study and enable the reader to look through the not so rose tinted lens that helped to drive this study, in search of what it means to belong and how it is influenced and shaped by society.

When embarking on this study, I was already aware of the history of the community and it's conflicts as I was born and raised in Oldham and attended the same secondary school as some of the local families. During this time, the secondary school I attended was gradually becoming more culturally diverse with a sharp increase of South Asian children attending a predominantly White British school. The wider community were predominantly White British with strong views on these 'immigrants'. They were also very vocal about them coming to 'our country' and 'taking our jobs' and only here for 'housing and benefits', suggesting that they 'go back where they came from', which ironically was Oldham. These views became the norm within many families, which only reinforced the stereotype attached to the South Asian families and further widened the gap in the community.

My own upbringing was no different. The same narrow views were shared amongst friends on the council estate where I lived, whilst being raised in a one parent family by an extremely racist father. His views were so strong that any non-white groups were automatically discriminated against in line with the typical stereotypes attached to that group. This included all the derogatory names and terms associated with them which are too offensive to list in my thesis. Regardless of how much I struggled with his views, I would occasionally find myself agreeing with some of the points he made and then immediately reject them. I was hearing my father's extreme views and opinions, but I was unable to reconcile them with my own values and beliefs. I realised later in life that this was due to being inadvertently influenced and conditioned throughout my childhood by my father and it was not what I believed.

During my school years, I had friends from various ethnic groups and was able to experience their culture and family traditions first hand. This was a particularly important time for me and on reflection, was a moment of realisation as to why my views did not align with those of my father. I struggled with his beliefs and derogatory words used to describe these families and my friends. I realised that he had grown up in a predominantly white area and never had the privilege of being part of a wider and diverse community or experience different cultures. His narrow minded view was part of a repetitive cycle which had been passed down through previous generations, with very little progress towards breaking the cycle. I have been fortunate enough to be part of a diverse community, different cultures and traditions, which has enriched my life and enabled me to have a completely different view. This is why my study is so important, from both a research and personal view. We live in a multicultural country with a diverse range of traditions, which should be celebrated rather than discriminated against or we will never be part of a wider society.

3.4 Researcher Positionality

My interest in this study has developed over the past 5 years due to my involvement with families of International New Arrivals (INA) from Eastern Europe, predominantly Romania. I work closely with all stakeholders including families, outside agencies and the pastoral team and the local community. My role is unique as I am a School Business Manager with no connection to, or experience in classroom teaching. My central role in school places me in a privileged position where I work closely with families particularly around post migration issues, integration and supporting the needs of the children and teachers to ensure a smooth transition from the home country.

From a personal position, the location is relatively well known to me, as is the history of the community and its conflicts. I am passionate about the study as it has a deep-rooted connection to my school years and friendships where I witnessed racist behaviour and unnecessary treatment of different cultures. I attended the same secondary school as many of the families in the research group and because of the friendships I made, I am fortunate enough to experience their culture and traditions first-hand, providing me with a completely different view of the community than that portrayed through various media sources. Over time, the community and families were tolerated and made good progress in building relationships and were accepted but are still very much misunderstood.

As the area has become more diverse over time, a familiar cycle of racism has emerged as migrant families share the same community. There is the familiar lack of integration and cultural awareness whilst they are excluded as part of the community, facing racial abuse and attacks. Having lived through the race riots and witnessing the devastation caused, the current situation concerns me greatly and I fear that it could escalate over time. Perhaps what concerns me more is the fact that the South Asian community have already experienced this level of racism and how it can damage a community, yet they seem to be either unaware or uncaring of the situation. Whatever reasons are identified within the study, my hopes are that a level of awareness and understanding can be achieved across the community,

offering an appreciation of diverse cultures living together and the impact they can have on lives.

Due to my role in school, I have a central view of our families' backgrounds and have worked with them and teachers to provide a smooth induction process. The experience gained, has enabled me to create a good understanding of the different groups and cultures and also understand some of the common issues that arise. As an insider researcher with former knowledge and experience of the research location and history, my subjectivity and experience are the basis for the story being told and equips me with the perspectives and insights that shape the research (Glense and Peshkin, 1992). I am also aware that I cannot uncritically impose my assumptions and values in the research, rather, it will be acknowledged and used as part of the inquiry process to enrich the study (Maxwell, 1996).

Whilst carrying out the study it is crucial to recognise my own positioning and to be continually aware of possible researcher bias and my positionality in the study. Whilst acknowledging my motivation for the study, it is also important that I consider how the previous conflicts in the community are ingrained in my memory and how that could impact on my perceptions and interpretation. I cannot assume or expect that this is how the community remember the conflict and could possibly be quite different to my own experience. As Berger (2013) and Holmes (2020) suggest, reflexivity requires continual internal dialogue and critical evaluation of positionality to maintain a balance between personal beliefs and the research and reduce research bias. Bearing these points in mind, it is important that I refer to experiential data to enhance the study that will assist in guiding and redirecting research questions to draw out rich data. In the role of the researcher, I will seek to view participants' experience from the inside, rather than as an outsider, with the capacity to question themselves through a reflexive approach and shaping interpretations through philosophical stances (Somekh and Lewin, 2005).

3.5 Research Questions

The study is guided by the following overarching research question: how are the ideas of belonging created, shaped and manifest in migrant children in a primary school setting? The study will also explore the experience of the South Asian families in the school. In an attempt to answer this question, it was broken down into three separate questions to address specific strands of the inquiry:

1. How do Eastern European children experience belonging in the host community and school?
2. How do stereotypes attached to ethnic groups manifest in the experience of newly arrived children?
3. How do newly arrived children experience loss of cultural links and structures and develop relationships within the host community?

To answer the research questions, a qualitative study was conducted with four children who were ten-years-old in key stage 2 of primary school. The children were from three different ethnic backgrounds, Serish who is Bangladeshi, Arman who is Pakistani and Anna and Stefan who are Romanian. Pseudonyms have been used to protect their identity.

3.6 Qualitative Research

Qualitative research is a broad umbrella term that involves an interpretive and naturalistic approach where “researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meaning people bring to them” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000:3). Qualitative methods offer an insight to the lived day-to-day experience of people’s lives, with the opportunity to reflect on experiences and an understanding of what has happened rather than just being aware of its existence. A qualitative approach also allows meaningful connections to be made between social and cultural aspects of their lived experiences and focusing on their meanings and interpretations (Bryman, 2008).

Whilst qualitative research is used in real world settings to generate rich narrative descriptions of human behaviours, yielding patterns and themes, it is often criticised, stating that it lacks rigour, reliability and cannot be generalised or replicable (Patton, 2002). Whilst bearing this in mind, Denzin and Lincoln (2000) have already stated that qualitative research aims to make sense of phenomena and not to generalise meanings the way the positivist paradigm does. Positivist researchers are distanced from reality, motivated by the principal of unbiased, unadulterated research, observing the natural and universal laws regulating and determining individual behaviour (Cohen et al, 2009). They rely on empiricism to know reality through observations and measurements, using other methods to test hypotheses, remaining emotionally neutral to make distinctions between science and personal experience (Bryman, 2008; Carson, et al, 2001).

When exploring differences in culture and language, qualitative methods offer many different ways to gather a range of data to capture as much of the experiences as possible for interpretation (Somekh and Lewin, 2005). By employing an interpretive paradigm, a wealth and depth of information can be collected, capturing the subtleties and complexities about the subject which is often missed by positivistic methods. If carried out properly, the research can be unbiased, reliable, credible and rigorous (Cresswell and Creswell, 2018). With regards to capturing such subtleties, Cameron (in Mason, 2013) reminds us that when measuring human behaviour, not everything that can be counted counts and not everything that counts can be counted. Whilst interpretive research is a factual, evidence-based approach, it is also to do with what we cannot always see or quantify that adds value to the data, such as nonverbal gestures from participants and also a researcher's standpoint and positionality.

3.6.1 Interpretivism is a Matter of Perspective

An interpretive paradigm focuses on the way people make sense of their subjective reality, with the belief that reality consists of experiences of the external world (Flick, 2006). An interpretative approach is well-suited for exploring hidden reasons behind multi-layered, complex socio-cultural issues as it allows thick descriptions about cultures and communities and a unique way to understand human existence (Geertz, 1973; Van Mannen, 2014). Studies within education often adopt an interpretive approach as it recognises that realities are multiple and constructed with meaning conferred on people, events and objects, sustaining multiple interpretations, where understanding is purely a matter of perspective (Cohen et al, 2018).

Interpretivism argues that there is not one truth or reality as it is subjective and interpreted by individuals, based on their background and experiences and how they attach meaning to it, which is never certain or final (Lather, 2006; Brown and Heggs, 2008). Based on Barthes' notion of mythologies as narrative ideologies, analysis involves the interpretation of visual signs in relation to cultural meaning in attempt to decode the meaning shaped by the sign maker (Spencer, 2011). Any information drawn from signs and symbols is subject to the experience and cultural knowledge of the reader and other external visual influences, such as media, TV and advertising (Barthes, 1977; Hall, 1997). This is particularly important to note when trying to make sense of the lived experience of the participants in the study, as there will be a limited understanding of their background and it could be easily misunderstood or misinterpreted. When seeking to understand their experiences, the information collected is based on making sense of what is important to them and the meanings derived from them. The information can then evolve and be modified through social interaction and interpretation through hermeneutics to make more sense of their experiences (Van Manen, 1997; Davson-Galle, 1994).

Hermeneutics is an essential method in the study as it follows the circulatory process between explanation and understanding of experiences to seek a deeper meaning of the subject. Heidegger (2003) warns that we cannot understand experiences by collecting neutral facts as this is only our conception of the world, which is limited by one's own personal experiences and prejudices as an observer and the ability to understand the life of those observed. As a researcher it is important to be aware of any prejudices or bias, remaining impartial and to allow new knowledge and understanding to develop, in whichever form it appears (Lincoln and Guba, 1994). When working with people from different communities, more sense can be made through the interpretation of spoken and written language as well as symbolic meanings relating to cultures. However, interpreting language can be a complex area due to different cultural meanings and values as well as a limited understanding of the community being studied. In such situations, it is worth considering how much language contributes to the story being told and if a clearer understanding can be conveyed through additional non-verbal means (Gadamer, 2004).

3.6.2 Actions Speak Louder than Words…so I'm told

When trying to make sense of a community and culture, one cannot assume the position and perspective from within the life of the subject, instead we must try to figure out what they think they are or are not saying. Pickering, (2008) reminds us that in order to understand, we must listen to and respect what is said by research subjects and what any kind of evidence might mean and relate to the structural location of the research subject. When gathering information from participants, translations of data (both verbal and non-verbal) need to be very clear and non-judgemental, to ensure that details can be studied in-depth and interpreted with analytical notes to represent the meaning which was intended (Bailey, 2008). When different languages are used, this becomes a more difficult task as we try to make sense of any symbolic meaning or expression, in order to understand it. Gadamer (2004) claims that the use of language created by internal thoughts and dialogue gives the ability to reason and project understanding onto another. We do so

by connecting with our own beliefs and assumptions and revise and transform them as we continue to make sense of the subject, thus, interpretation is a continuous improvement of our sense of what is said.

When faced with different languages in a group, there is even less chance of uncovering the real story of the subject, as translation adds an additional layer of interpretation to the transcribing process and language holds different meanings in different settings and cultures (Bailey, 2008). By considering alternative non-verbal methods, a more interactive approach can be adopted where the participants and researcher can form a trusting bond, absorbing themselves in the culture and their world (Gadamer, 2004). As an outsider to the participants' world, very little knowledge of them will be known apart from the inside knowledge of school. This approach will offer some understanding of their background and culture, which will help to form a bond and an element of trust from the beginning, but caution must be taken not to make assumptions about their situation, allowing the participants to articulate their own stories (Cohen et al, 2018). In my role as an insider researcher, I cannot presume to know their lived experience. It is important to remember that the participants are the experts in their own lives, experience and culture and it is they that are generating knowledge and understanding of their lives which will frame the outcomes of the study (Ansell et al, 2012).

To encourage the natural creation of knowledge, I was guided by the participants' experiences by employing participatory and creative research methods opposed to standard qualitative methods, such as questionnaires and interviews, to encourage the children to absorb themselves in the study. The methods used will focus on the use of participatory practices that seek to understand their lived experience through the children's voices. To draw out meaningful data, the study will be child-led using creative visual and art-based methods, linking specifically with their life experiences.

3.6.3 Participatory Research - Getting to know you

Child participatory research is well-documented, demonstrating how children are able to speak openly about their lives and lived experiences, with the emphasis on their participation in research as competent agents (Christensen and James, 2008; Morrow, 2008; Elden, 2012). This method allows children a more equal way to participate through various creative methods such as storytelling, drama and art activities, used in research to understand experiences of exclusion and inequality that often portray negative assumptions of poorer or marginalised children (Morrow and Mayall, 2009).

The core principle of participatory research is to generate knowledge within a non-hierarchical environment between participants and researcher, creating empowerment when representing their position and reality (Morrow, 2008). The use of creative methods complements participatory research as it aims to be transformative, shifting the balance from individual to group and verbal to visual to stimulate articulation of multiple voices and positions, challenging imposed knowledge (Christensen and James, 2008). Taking the lead from participants encourages them to creatively engage in an active process of producing representations of their world through symbolic, visual, or text-based data without the confines of language and being involved in the interpretation and analysis of that knowledge (Fals – Borda, 2001; Flick, 2002).

Various creative methods employed in the study will create a space for children's voices to be heard, and express themselves in an open arena for social interaction, through visual and written text (Thompson and Thompson, 2008). It allows the research to be led by the children and the freedom to share their experiences in their own way, remaining close to what they want to communicate, rather than being influenced by what they think the researcher wants to hear (Punch, 2002). The reader of the text does not need to know the real meaning of what is written, as it is purely the interpretation that counts when in search of understanding as it is the

knowledge of a given culture and background that helps to clarify the content of the text (Gadamer, 2004). Text gives the interpreter the chance to 'formulate the unformulated' and remain open to reveal the unexpected, because the text challenges the illusions of any presupposed expectations (Iser, 1972).

Interpretations of the stories told will vary from person to person and by the data presented, therefore it is important to obtain as much varied data about the participants' lives as possible to build a more detailed picture (Morrow and Mayall, 2009). In my position as an insider researcher, I cannot assume a particular understanding of the participants lives as I have not experienced their life or cultures. Participants may find some information difficult or too sensitive to share, for example, hidden feelings, shame about their heritage due to any stigma attached to it or controversial issues that they are not allowed to discuss through fear of being judged (Van Maanen, 1979). The participants will also be reflecting on their experiences and understanding of their own situation, especially if some time has elapsed or memories are vague which will affect their interpretation of their stories (Giddens, 1984).

Qualitative research involves many different techniques to extract complex information which Van Maanen (1979: 520) quotes as 'an array of interpretative techniques that can describe, decode, translate and otherwise come to terms with the meaning, not the frequency, of certain more or less naturally occurring phenomena in the social world'. This is a key factor when interpreting stories and experiences. There is no one true meaning as it changes each time they are told, who tells them, to who they are speaking and even choices this make to deliberately withhold information. As part of the hermeneutic cycle, interpretations are created through our own constructions of the participant's stories being told and their understanding of ability to convey them (Geertz, 1973). To enable stories to be understood more clearly, Gadamer (2004) suggests that temporal distance promotes a better understanding, with the distance of time and without the distraction of emotion. Temporality becomes the supportive ground offering a different understanding by illuminating what presents itself in the circulatory process.

In this particular case, the participant's stories are made up of historical events with more than one single storyline or occurrence, where the conclusion is neither deduced nor predicted (Ricoeur, 1983).

As stories are recalled and reflected upon, participants will be making interpretive links looking back in time, to reconnect with an experience and reconnecting with a particular memory or certain actions. Temporal distance allows both the participant and researcher space to consider narratives discussed through the circulatory process and offer a new understanding of stories being retold (Van Maanen, 1979). On the other hand, temporal distance can also prompt certain memories or actions that participants are painful or ashamed of, particularly in the case of Eastern European families, leading them to choose a more embellished version of events to fit their imagined future (Ricoeur, 1983).

Considering that stories are constructed, the truth will be distorted, changing each time the tale is told, becoming multiple stories being retold and reinvented. There is also a possibility that the children will withhold meaningful data for personal reasons, such as shame or fear of being judged or difficulty in communicating. By using a creative/participatory approach, the different methods employed will enable and encourage children to be as open as possible in a safe environment and their voice to be heard, sharing their experiences.

3.6.4 Participatory and Creative Research Methods with Children

The aim of this chapter is to explore the creative, participatory research with primary aged children in school. It was my intention to source research written by a range of authors, but particularly with South Asian and Romanian authors to get a different perspective from people of the same ethnic background as the children in the study. Whilst I have explored many research and articles to allow a wider scope of creative research methods, I did struggle to find a range of Romanian and South Asian authors in this area. However, that is not because it isn't there, more that the research

might be differently framed and I am not well connected to South Asian scholarship. The research that was explored however, offers a varied view of creative research methods with a good foundation for future studies.

There is an increased emphasis on participatory research around children's rights and citizenship (Johnson et al, 2014), which has led to a more inclusive approach to research and creating a space for children's voices to be heard (Mason and Steadman, 1997). Participatory methods allow children to remain close to their experiences by becoming co-researchers and co-constructors of knowledge and meaning, articulating what they want to communicate (Literat, 2013). Their role within the research holds an equal collaboration between them and the researcher, exploring the perspective of the children about issues that affect them and taking action towards positive change in their lives (Kleine et al, 2013).

Participation develops the growth of understanding and knowledge, which is driven by the participants working alongside the researcher with data collection, analysis and dissemination (Boyden and Ennew, 1997). Participant led research is particularly important in the case of marginalised children as it offers alternative ways to express themselves and their experiences creatively rather than being restricted by language or text (Flick, 2009). Creative visual methods engage children in joint knowledge production with less emphasis on language, enabling them to remain closer to their experiences, sharing what they consider important. In child-centred participation, as an adult, the researcher is unable to be a full participant in a child's social world as they can never truly be a child again and so need to be guided by the participants (Punch, 2002).

Considering that the researcher cannot think like a child, it is crucial that creativity allows the children to think creatively and utilise a range of methods to express their experiences. Creative methods can draw on inventive and imaginative processes such as art, storytelling and drama serving as a constructivist tool for children to describe experiences and give meaning to them (Chambers, 1997). Other qualitative methods include the use of

photography, video, IT and media as well as interviews and observations (Bulfin and North, 2007), however, the study aims to employ a different approach to stimulate more personal memories and experiences where words and language are inadequate to describe feelings and sensations (Brown, 2009).

Understanding children's migrational journey can be a difficult task, however, there is a wide range of creative methods available that can be adopted to tease out their stories and experiences. One popular method often used with younger children is role play. Children learn through playing games and pretend play, allowing expression, feelings and emotion to be acted out sharing stories and experiences (Vlaicu, 2014). Role play allows children to interact with situations that are similar to real life, encouraging communication and exchange of opinions. Kalkman and Clarke (2017) argue that role play produces powerful narratives that reflect the underlying meanings of children's experiences. Furthermore, role play is also a form of border crossing where the children involved are able to share their culture rather than abandoning it, which then supports and strengthens a sense of belonging in a new environment or country.

A study by Kubanik (2021) expands on the work of Kalkman and Clarke's role play, which explores language ideology and socialisation among Romani children through pretend play. The activities were based on the instruction from teachers, spoken in the local language rather than Romani, with the aim to support language acquisition and teach socialisation. Doubek et al (2015) explains that much academic literature portrays Romani children growing up in a non-stimulating environment in poor Romani settlements with behaviour problems, focusing on non-compatibility with socialisation. This opinion is largely based on assumptions, constructed from a history of discrimination and amplified stories about them, without the recognition or inclusion of social agency (Christensen, 2008; Timmer, 2010). Kubanik's study, demonstrates how children's social agency and active participation in research dilutes the assumptions found in more conventional child led

research in order to hear the voices of children and stories of their culture and traditions, through adopting a creative approach.

Creative and arts-based research supports social research in data collection, analysis and interpretation, using a range of methods such as painting, drawing and photography to name a few (Franz, 2010; Kara, 2015). Within research studies that explore the lived experiences of migrant children, art-based methods offer a way to express emotional and symbolic aspects of people's lives that cannot always be conveyed through language (Dunn and Mellor, 2017). Art in research promotes a form of understanding derived through empathetic experience, providing a deep insight as to what others are experiencing, especially in sensitive topics like culture and identity (Eisner, 2008).

When researching cultures and communities, it is common for researchers and community groups to work collaboratively to generate new information as well as enabling participants voices to be heard. In such research environments, art-based methods are useful for investigating topics with high levels of emotion as it is linked with creativity (Kara, 2015). In a study conducted by Rasool (2017), a variety of art-based methods were used to capture everyday experiences of everyday people as part of the Imagine project. The project connected communities through art-based methods such as storytelling, writing and visual images to understand the everyday language and literacies of different communities in Rotherham.

As part of this study, community partners were brought together to co-produce research by involving them in the whole process, from research design to dissemination. This inclusive approach enabled the narratives of ethnic minority women's lives to be shared, bringing their stories of migration and identity into the heart of the study. One particular activity used creative writing and visual arts to explore cultural heritage and British identity by recreating the Union Jack. The flag was decorated with images that they felt represented Britain today, such as music, religion and symbols of multiculturalism and diversity, prompting further discussion (Rasool, 2017). This method also enabled participants to express their emotions, passion

and hopes of how they imagined Britain. These types of activities can be replicated when working with migrant children as it can stimulate and open their minds to a range of creative techniques in order to express themselves.

Co-production is not only an inclusive research method, but a powerful way of sharing common areas of interest and expressing life experiences and emotions. Another effective method when working with community groups is the use of shoe boxes filled with personal items relating to the research being conducted. There are a range of ways this method can be deployed depending on the purpose of the study. One particular example is a shoe box activity working with dementia patients, where patients and families create memory boxes to help stimulate long term memory (Heath et al, 2019). The aim of this exercise is to enable the patient to tap into old memories and make connections with who they are and those around them. Heath et al (2019) stress that the items in the memory box should stimulate all senses to have the best outcomes. If this activity is successful, it can also improve mood, self-esteem and overall wellbeing.

This method is very flexible and can be adapted to carry out activities with children research carried out by Greenhough et al (2005) and Brown (2018). Both share similar concepts where children are encouraged to fill shoe boxes with items that represented their lives and homelife. The activity also generated a lot of discussion, developing speaking and listening skills amongst children in the group. The method can be expanded on by integrating the activity into the existing work on stimulating and developing writing as the children write about their items. This also gives teachers a deeper insight to their home lives especially when there are different cultures that may be different to the majority group. Both Brown (2018) and Greenhough et al (2005) stress that despite the positive results from the study, this method is not flawless. Non participation can be problematic as some children may not want or able to participate, possibly because of sensitivity in the area being discussed, however, potentially, the activity can boost confidence and self-esteem when their out of school lives are accepted

by peers and teachers.

Through the medium of art, the children involved in the study will be able to tell their own story of who they are and offer an insight to their multiple identities instead of the stereotypical, one-dimensional view (Gee, 2014). Images are a floating chain of signifiers where the reader can choose some or ignore others to interpret the content of the image to create meaning. Drawings contain connoted messages, as the viewer sees more than shapes, form and expression, constituting a code represented through pen strokes, however, interpretations can be wide and varied (Barthes, 1977). As explored by Barthes (1977), the meaning behind images is not solely constructed by the creator, rather between the creator and viewer depending on the level of knowledge and understanding between both parties and signs contained in the message (Barthes, 1977). It must be noted however, that the content or message conveyed by a drawing is likely to be incomplete as it is impossible to reproduce everything, unlike a photograph which captures the very moment, untouched and freezing the memory in time (Sontag,1978). Where data is incomplete in such instances, there will be gaps in the stories told and an incomplete data set. The flexibility of creative research methods lends itself well to such instances, as it is able to tease out and capture information by employing a range of methods to collect rich and more complete data.

The next section discusses the various methods employed and how they offer a different insight than more traditional qualitative methods through participatory research. It also explores the advantages and limitations of how a child participatory approach can co-produce research and contribute to the quality of data collected, including a deeper understanding of the lived experiences of migrant children in the community.

3.7 Qualitative Research Methods - A Case Study

The following research is based on a small-scale investigation in the form of a case study, which explores the lived experience of migrant children settling in a UK primary school. A case study lends itself well to this particular research as it allows a narrow-focused exploration and insight into a small number of participants' lives rather than attempting to gather information about the whole community (Denscombe, 2014).

Case studies are characterised by in-depth studies based on real people in real situations with the focus on processes, interactions and relationships, enabling participants to provide a rich and vivid description of events (Yin, 2009). A case study approach assumes that social reality is created through social interaction situated in certain contexts, seeking to identify and describe situations whilst assuming that things may not be as it seems under the surface (Somekh and Lewin, 2011). It invites questions of *how* or *why*, giving voice to research participants rather than being largely interpreted, evaluated, or judged by the researcher whilst data is gathered systemically and rigorously (Dyer, 1995).

One of the strengths of a case study is that it can be applied to a research activity using multiple methods to explore and interrogate the data to achieve a thick description (Geertz, 1973; Somekh and Lewin, 2011). In terms of small-scale investigations, this approach is suited to researchers seeking an in-depth understanding of phenomena contained within boundaries limited within the investigation of the context, providing a unique example of real life situations by establishing cause and effect (Cresswell, 2018). Further investigation can then assist in a deeper understanding of the complexity and embeddedness of social truths, offering the researcher an insight into the dynamics of situations and people (Adelman et al, 1976).

An exploratory case study approach offers more than one tool for data collection in a narrative form, generating a rich source of evidence to explain a phenomenon and also to highlight variables in the data set (Yin, 2009). A

particular criticism of case studies is that they tend to lack rigour, claiming that a case study researcher can be sloppy, allowing equivocal evidence or biased views to influence the direction of the findings (Yin, 1994). There are also limitations of case studies, such as any data collected is not generalisable or replicable as case studies tend to be small and limited within the sample cases (Cohen et al, 2011). These limitations can be disputed depending on the purpose of the study as this method enables unique features to be captured that can be lost in large scale data and provide insights to understanding a specific given situation (Nisbet and Watt, 1984). Case study findings tend to appeal to the reader for naturalistic generalisation with similar research interest, illuminating more general issues (Stake, 2005). Where single experiments can be replicated, case studies can also contribute to a growing pool of data and help to generalise a broader theory (Yin, 2009).

When exploring suitable participants for the study, I decided not to use a larger sample than the 4 participants who were chosen for their particular characteristics and experiences in the study. Within a small-scale case study, individuals are selected not because they represent their population, rather, for their relevance to the research topic to illuminate the phenomena being studied (Flick, 2009). This enabled a deeper understanding of the participants' experiences, not to generalise the findings, but to contribute to existing theories (Yin, 2009). Using a smaller sample of course, introduces further limitations such as the exclusion of other pupils' perspectives, experiences and stories; however, a future large case study could build on these findings by broadening the sample.

3.7.1 Participants – a pen portrait

The study included two Romanian children, one Pakistani child and one Bangladeshi child all aged ten years old from two very different backgrounds and cultures, living within the same locality and community. The Pakistani and Bangladeshi children were both born in the UK and the two Romanian children migrated to the UK when they were three years old. Before

reviewing the methods, a pen portrait has been included to introduce the participants.

Stefan is a 10-year-old Romanian boy who moved to the UK when he was 3 years old. He lives with his mother and father and has an older sister that lives in Romania with their grandmother. He has very little contact with family ‘back home’ and has not been home since moving to the UK. Stefan enjoys playing football with other boys in school but does not associate with any of them outside of school. He has many friends in the community where he lives and maintains strong friendships with other Romanian children in the community. Stefan is a seemingly happy and laid-back child who takes part in the wider school activities and is very popular with staff and children.

Anna is a 10-year-old Romanian girl who moved to the UK when she was 3 years old. She is part of a large family ‘back home’ and also has many siblings, including a disabled brother. Anna is a shy girl who finds it difficult to make friends other than with Romanian children and has a large friendship group in the community. She lives in close proximity to other family members who have also moved to the area and helps to support the community network by looking after younger siblings and relatives. Anna has an interest in the caring profession, aspiring to be a nurse so that she can continue to look after others.

Armaan is a 10-year-old Pakistani boy who was born in the UK. He has a large extended family in the UK and in Pakistan who he has visited on a number of occasions and with whom he has regular contact. Armaan is a confident and popular boy with many friends in and out of school and enjoys playing sports and going to Mosque. He is very ambitious and very aware of money and material items which drives his aspiration to become a dentist.

Serish is a 10-year-old Bangladeshi girl who was born in the UK. Her family heritage is steeped in Bangladeshi history where her grandfather lives and who also visits her regularly in the UK. She is very interested in her Bangladeshi heritage and learning the language as well as learning Arabic. Serish is a confident girl who has friends both in and out of school. She is

very family orientated and enjoys spending time with her cousins – particularly younger members for whom she can help to care. Serish is passionate about working with children and aspires to be a childminder.

3.8 Overview of methods

During the research design process, the various methods were chosen based on techniques that allowed the participants to express themselves and share their stories with the research group. The activities were then organised into a structured timeline to guide the data collection process, forming a data collection map (Appendix 7).

When selecting participants, I sought advice from class teachers as to which children would be more likely to be open and talk about their heritage, culture and experiences, choosing one girl and one boy from the groups. I also ensured that there were no child protection issues or Looked After Children (LAC) status for the children that took part. During the study, I was also fortunate to have the support of a Romanian interpreter who is a member of staff at the school who knew the children well and whom they trusted. The inclusion of an interpreter was invaluable to the study as there was a range of languages spoken at home and throughout the community. The range of languages spoken by the children and their linguistic heritage was mapped to offer a clearer understanding of the multilingual environment in which they live (Appendix 8).

To address the aims of the research, a range of participatory data collection methods was employed, which were child centred and child led. They included artwork/drawings, identity boxes and group discussions to encourage different ways to elicit children's perspectives. In the planning stages of the chosen methods, interviews were not initially included, as the study was more focussed around creativity, however, developments from the discussions prompted further exploration. The interviews only took part with the Romanian children as there were certain situations where there was clearly a reluctance to share certain information in front of the other children.

All activities during the data collection period were recorded to capture a rich and in-depth source of data that was later transcribed and analysed after each activity. I initially planned to use data from videography, as it is a useful tool that preserves the temporal and sequential structure of the activities undertaken between both speech and unconscious movement amongst the participants (Knoblauch et al, 2006; Lemke, 2009; Tochon, 2009). However, as suggested by Heath et al (2010), the presence of a video camera can influence behaviour and therefore can distort and undermine the quality of data. During the first activity, there was a noticeable pattern of dominance with one set of children and reluctance to participate from the other, therefore, I made the decision to exclude video recording and make an audio recording instead.

3.8.1 Mind mapping

Mind mapping is an alternative communication method suited to the children in the study due to their multilingual heritage and the researcher working in English. It helped the children to access stored information in either linguistic or non-linguistic form (mental pictures or sensations), enabling them to make meaningful connections and communicate a given task in their own way (Marzano et al, 2001; Novak, 1998). Mind mapping was a useful method for this particular group of children in the study as it creatively engaged them, tapping into more visual and symbolic versions of memories rather than relying on language alone (Novak, 1998). This approach also enabled the participants to recognise and depict relationships, patterns and connections as well as similarities across the research group, despite the different languages amongst the group. From a researcher point of view, mapping also enabled me to assess their level of understanding of the given scenario, which informed the process and any adjustments required before moving onto the next step of the research (Marzano, 2001).

The mapping activity sought to gain a basic understanding of the children's individual lives in a shared community, exploring any initial similarities and an opportunity to create an open, positive research environment. Once the

group had been briefed about the activity, the children were asked to bring along some photographs of themselves, friends and family members to form part of the discussion and activities. It was then explained that the use of the photographs can be used to prompt memories and experiences of home and their homeland to help them to complete their map individually.

The first activity included 3 individual mapping sessions: ‘All about me’, ‘All about my family’ and ‘All about my school and community’. During this activity the children were encouraged to discuss and ask questions about each other’s maps, prompting further questions and discussion. The advantage of mapping being carried out in collaboration with others is that it can raise some unexpected connections and questions, however, the maps can be reviewed, amended and extended to develop a shared understanding of specific scenarios (Maxwell, 1996). This activity was also modelled by both me and the interpreter to ensure they understood what was being asked of them, demonstrating different ways to present information. It was made clear that they were free to respond in whatever form they felt comfortable with, whether it was through symbols, drawings or writing, or a combination of all forms of communication dependent on skill level and preference.

Once the group had reflected on and discussed their maps, they were asked to think about what they had learned from the activity, enabling me to explore how the outcome of the activity would inform the next activity, sharing artefacts in the identity boxes.

3.8.2 Identity boxes

To facilitate the next activity, the data was gathered through the implementation of the identity box project (Brown, 2018). The idea behind identity boxes was developed from the original memory box, which are used for dementia patients to support memory retrieval and help trigger memories (Brown, 2019). In both cases, the boxes are created to represent experiences and emotions by the way of sharing artefacts, such as photographs and other memorable objects that represent the individual and

their memories of home and life experiences. Visual data through artwork is also a valuable tool as it increases the information that children can share and becomes more real and palpable to the participant and explainable to the researcher (Driessnack, 2006). Children generally respond well to drawing tasks in research as they tend to situate themselves in the centre of the story as they imagine it being acted out on paper as well as giving an insight to households and family structures (Johnson et al, 2014: 26). Using a more practical, participatory approach, ensured that the children were able to guide the research journey based on what they felt was important when telling their own stories. This form of co-production of research empowers participants, providing opportunities to learn and reflect, which can be useful in highlighting relevant questions that the researcher might miss. Co-production can also enhance the effectiveness of research outcomes, as the study is co-led and created by the participants as experts in a given subject (Durose et al, 2012).

Identity boxes were chosen as they are a proven method when working with groups and communities, especially when working with different languages (Brown, 2018). They are also an exploratory tool that allows participants (the children) to share their objects and experiences with a group. This method is especially effective as it passes control to the participants which means that they dictate what they want to share based on what they are comfortable with, rather than being asked questions they may feel uncomfortable with. The researcher's role is to facilitate the activity and be guided by participants in creating new knowledge about the contents of the boxes.

When working with multilingual children, words are often unable to describe emotions or the meaning of situations, however, connecting with objects can manipulate and recall memories through touch (Eccleston, 2016). The practical application of identity boxes is used as a method to elicit and analyse participants' experiences, identifying characteristics and traits to use as a comparison and how we identify and see ourselves (Brown, 2019). The creation of the boxes allowed the children to share meaningful objects that represent their identity or the imaginary self, depending on what image they

wanted to project to others (Syker and Burke, 2000). However, it must be noted that identity and image are fluid and are actively constructed, dependent on external factors such as socioeconomic and political contexts and sense of belonging to the children involved (Gee, 2000; Tajfel, 2010).

As part of the activity, the participants created their own identity boxes containing meaningful objects that represent their experiences, feelings, or emotions in response to given questions as part of the study. The aim of the box was to allow the children to focus and deepen their thoughts and reflections to enable them to express their experiences easily with minimal need of language (Brown, 2019). During this activity, the children examine one box at a time (excluding the owner of the box) and discussed the items enclosed whilst being audio recorded, whilst one child scribes.

The children were given resources to make notes and invited to draw any relevant links to the object on a shared group sheet of paper. Once the children had recorded and debated the meanings behind the objects and asked questions, the owner of the box was then asked to tell their own story behind the objects. Following the explanation behind the items, the observing group presented their interpretation of the objects presented giving their opinion and feedback. At the end of the activity, there was time to reflect on initial thoughts and how any drawing or notes compared or differed to the owner's meaning behind them, adding or amending any details before moving on. The process was repeated until each child had discussed their identity box with the group.

One of the strengths of this type of approach is that each group of children are able to tap into each other's culturally diverse backgrounds with equal membership and voices heard (Bell, 2009). It can also possibly highlight some conflicting opinions within the group, which is normal, however, with careful facilitation, the line of questioning can be adapted to explore emerging topics (Creswell, 2009). This will encourage a positive discussion around initial thoughts on the activity and how they were able to understand

what the objects presented meant to the group and also their personal meaning to the owner.

At the end of the session all the data was reviewed as a group and a discussion held about their perception of their experience of the study. A group discussion was also held to discuss what they had learned about each other since embarking on the project, exploring thoughts and perception of each other's identities and any revelations. This exercise was also useful in sharing their lived experience with each other as it offered an alternative understanding or view on the different cultures and groups of people from different backgrounds, living within a shared, yet divided community.

It is important to consider that the information shared in study, including the items presented are part of a selection process by the individual participants, making an active decision in what they want others to know about themselves (Gee, 2000). There was a risk that participants would include and exclude items, symbols or information depending on which social group they think they should or should not identify with and how they wish to be perceived. The aim of the activities was to learn not only about the biographical information of the research group, which some of the children may already know, but inviting them to share something more private and personal with each other. It was not the intention to be used as a representation of truth, but a constructed representation of a personal and individual experience, giving shape to ideas and opportunity to explore different cultures and identities. As explained by Brown (2019), the use of identity boxes can help to collect a rich source of unknown data, experience and identity, by allowing the participants to share as much or as little as they wished.

3.9 Thematic analysis: method and process

As part of the case study, I used a thematic analysis approach based on the work of Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-phased method to code data from the focus group discussions and interviews. Thematic analysis is a flexible

research tool that aims to reflect reality and unpick the surface of reality by searching data sets to find repeated patterns of meaning to provide a rich and detailed account of data (Braun and Clarke, 2006). It also lends itself well to exploring participants' lived experiences, perspectives and behaviour that influence and shape particular phenomena to gather data to offer a deeper understanding of the research questions (Creswell, 2014). It is also useful when summarizing data as it forces the researcher to have a well-structured approach to data handling and produce a clear final report (King, 2004).

Thematic analysis is considered a flexible method that can be used to analyse most types of data including interviews, observations, vignettes and visual methods across both small and large data sets (Saldana, 2009). While thematic analysis is flexible, it can also lead to inconsistency when developing themes derived from the data and lose sight of the research questions. Braun and Clarke (2006) warn of expecting themes to just emerge from the page, suggesting that themes are actually created by thinking about the data and the links we create to understand them. As an insider researcher, I was conscious that I was in a privileged position of having a connection with the families, however tenuous that might be and the need to remain impartial and at a distance so as not to make assumptions and have an effect on what I reported. Part of this process involved recording my initial thoughts in the form of a reflexive journal as an auditing process to enhance methodological rigour, which enabled me to recognise any researcher bias (Smith, 1999; Braun and Clarke, 2013).

When following the six-phased thematic analysis method created by Braun and Clarke, it is important to note that it is not a linear process. Thematic analysis is an iterative and reflective process, which develops over time, constantly moving back and forth between the phases and across the data sets. Whilst the data aims to explore a range of views or opinions, generalizability is not necessarily the aim of a small-scale study and therefore, transparency of the data should be tested thoroughly to strengthen the outcome of the findings and reliability (Creswell, 2013). This reflective

cycle ensures that themes are reviewed and defined, with attention to codes or themes that were previously missed or dismissed that may offer more rich information to prevent any loss of meaningful data. It also ensures that data can be collected until it reaches saturation, where no further patterns or themes are emerging, strengthening the validity and reliability of the research (Guest et al, 2006).

During the first stage of the analysis, I familiarised myself with all the data by revisiting all the recordings, personal notes, reflections and observations, making additional notes, before transcribing the recordings from each activity and focus group discussions. I initially began typing up the conversations as I listened to the audio recording, however, this was a very slow process and I found that I was missing certain elements of the conversations. There was also quite a lot of cross talk in the recordings, which at times made it quite difficult to identify who was speaking and how they linked with each of the participants in the discussion. At this point, I needed to use a different and more accurate method and so I listened to the audio through headphones and spoke the conversations aloud into the PC's microphone, which was then converted into text in a Microsoft Word document.

When undertaking the transcription process, I listened to the recordings repeatedly to ensure the data was being accurately documented, which was a very lengthy process. Although listening to the recordings was quite time consuming, it gave me the advantage of reconnecting with the activities and conversations, reliving the discussions. One particular strength of the data collection methods used in the research was the ability to capture another layer of data from the physical, psychological and cultural components of non-verbal cues, offering thick description (Jolly, 2000). I was able to recall the body language, gestures and reactions of the participants, whilst reflecting on some of the more non-verbal responses and interactions that had prompted further exploration. It also highlighted additional conversations I had not remembered and the dominance of certain participants in the group. By using this form of transcription, it also gave me the opportunity to

reflect on my own notes that I had made and insert them at the appropriate points, building a thorough picture of the stories being told.

By the second stage of analysis, I was completely immersed in the data and noting overall impressions and specific issues that stood out throughout the transcript. Whilst making notes, I was aware of some emerging themes, such as ‘isolated’ communities and families, various languages and family traditions that had already been identified in literature in chapter 1. However, as I was still in the very early stages of engaging with the data, it was still too soon to begin making assumptions about themes (Creswell, 2005). Whilst organizing and making sense of the data, it was clear that there was a lack of understanding and knowledge of each of the participant’s religious beliefs and cultures, which was evident when sharing information during the activities. For example, the artefacts shared by both the Romanian and South Asian children, such as prayer scarves and beads represented the same rituals in church and mosque. However, both groups were unaware that they shared these similar processes and that it was not exclusive to their culture and religion. Further stories of home also shed new light onto experiences and more commonalities between the groups such as ethnic classification and arranged (and often illegal/underaged) marriages which took place ‘back home’.

Whilst some of the data was as expected based on my experience of the community, as an insider researcher, I was very conscious that this could skew the data or cause research bias, therefore, reflexivity continued to be an important part of the research process (Smith, 1999). There were certain points where I was being drawn into the stories, perhaps becoming a little too close to the data and needed to detach myself slightly. To ensure that a professional distance was maintained, notes from my journal helped me to be guided by the participants’ experience from the inside based on their lived experiences, whilst reflecting on the data and to refine the understanding of the responses of the participants’ and their lived experiences (Janesick, 1998).

The coding process began with the first data set and progressed systemically until all the data was coded, using Microsoft Word to organize the coding. When sorting through the transcriptions, coding was processed virtually a line at a time to ensure every piece of data was included in the analysis to identify similarities and differences (Miles and Huberman, 1994). All data relevant to the research questions was coded at a semantic level provided by the summary from the transcripts, using colours to group specific comments or words. This provided common codes such as homelife, religion and family units, which were far too broad as they encompassed many areas of their lives without uncovering the more implicit meanings that underpinned the codes. When hearing common phrases and having some knowledge about them, it is easy to become subsumed by the story or drawn into an assumed theme, focusing on the semantic level of words or context and not think about the latent meaning behind a phrase to delve into a deeper meaning or understanding of the data.

To ensure that all the data had been thoroughly explored, the semantic codes were broken down further to identify latent codes, which were researcher driven to explore implicit meanings behind the data (Braun and Clarke, 2013). The separation of latent and semantic codes was not always possible and occasionally codes shared both elements. For example, shared coding can be seen in a discussion with a child who referred to ‘stick to her own kind’, which on a semantic level can be interpreted as segregation from other cultures or ethnicities, yet on a latent level, the meaning behind this related to family and community processes and rituals.

On completion of coding, the data produced over a hundred codes, which clearly demonstrated a number of related or duplicated codes, suggesting that they would reduce when the data was revisited to represent a basic theme (Attride-Stirling, 2001). Basic themes are made up of codes or tags that make little sense on their own and need to be read within the context of the organizing themes, which considers all codes to be able to represent an overarching theme derived from the data (Attride-Stirling, 2001). Once all the basic themes were reviewed, the process of conducting a number of cycles

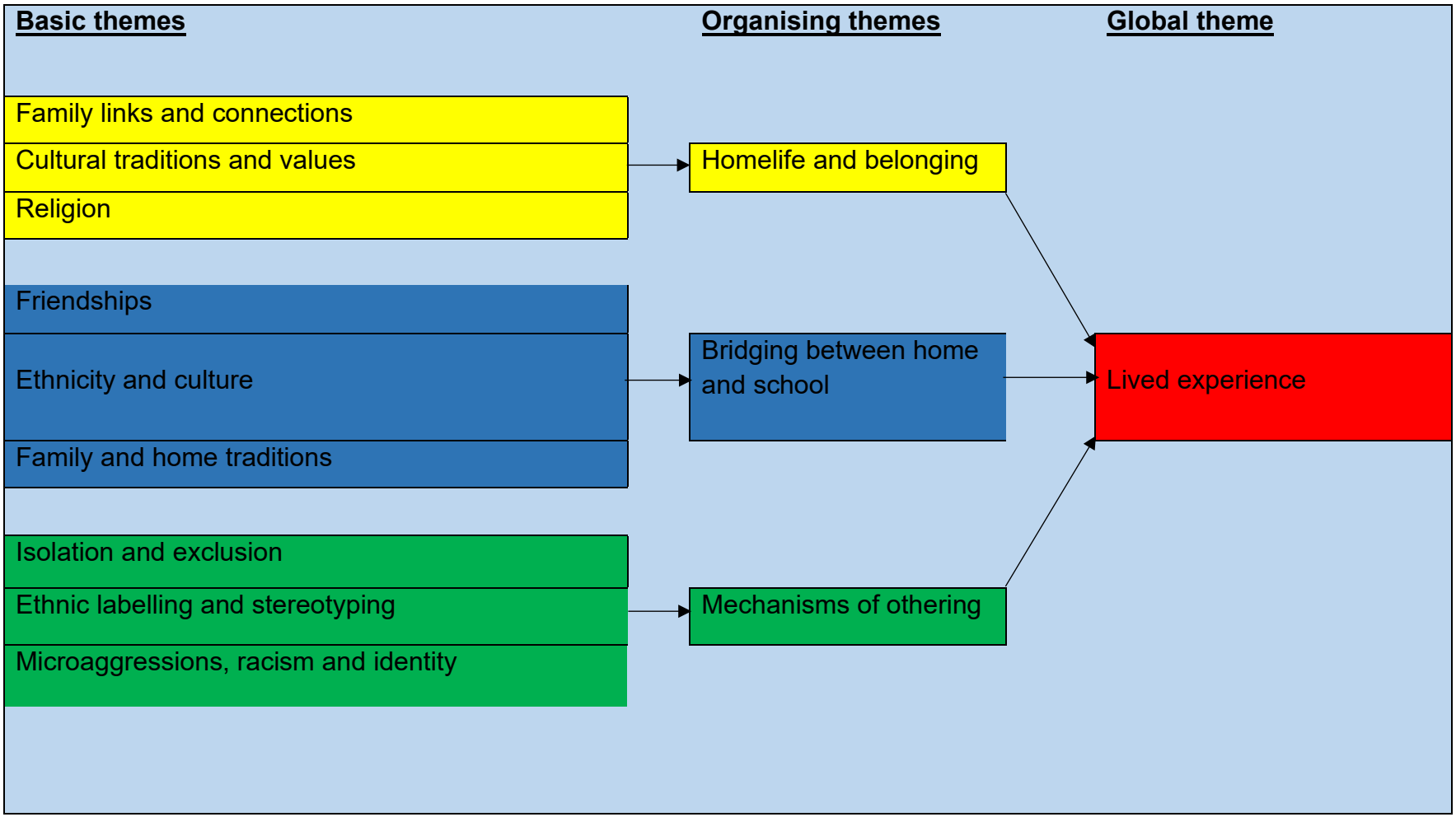
of analysis and reduction to identify overarching themes took place (Braun and Clarke, 2013). Once the process of refinement was complete, three overarching themes were identified from the data set and presented in a thematic network.

3.9.1 Results

The analysis of the data identified three overarching themes, which relate to the research questions. Firstly, ‘Sense of belonging’ contains themes that address a variation of factors that migrant children highlight about their experience in a new country and issues deemed important when making new connections and settling in a new community. The second theme ‘Bridging of home and school’ includes themes of race, culture, religion and also friendships, demonstrating the dynamics of moving between home and school. The third theme ‘Mechanisms of Othering’ addresses individual groups, ethnicity, homeland and cultural differences, which demonstrates some of the tensions and struggles encountered within the community.

An adapted visual thematic map was compiled to reflect the last stage of the coding process and will be reviewed as the analysis progresses.

Thematic Map



The next section presents the findings and discussion from the data collected from the two groups of children and staff, with thoughts and reflections on the original research questions.

Chapter 4: Findings and Discussion

4.1 Introduction

When embarking on this study, the focus was based on the lived experience of Eastern European children in a UK primary school setting and the effects of othering on the construction of identity. As their experiences unfolded, there were many commonalities between the migrant families and the host community, some of which were expected and some that offered an interesting insight to the two different cultures within a shared community. My initial understanding of the community (which I know quite well) was a somewhat skewed version of their experience and reality. When revisiting the literature in chapter 2, I found that the literature did not reflect the experiences recorded in the data, nor any other supporting documentation to give an insight to their lived experiences.

Whilst focusing on the Eastern European children, it was difficult to ignore the striking similarities between them and the South Asian families that had not been that obvious from an outside perspective. This new understanding offered a different view that led to a deeper understanding of the two groups' culture and acceptance or non-acceptance of outside groups. It also allowed a period of reflection on the original research questions and how they also need to be reviewed to answer relevant areas based on the data collected and findings.

This chapter focuses on the research findings, interpretation and discussion of findings and how it relates to the original research objectives. It will analyse the main themes that emerged from the data generated to offer an insight of the lived experiences of two ethnic minority groups living in a shared diverse community. The chapter will conclude with a summary of the findings before moving on to the conclusion.

The data was collated through creative data collection methods as well as additional interviews and discussions for more clarity. All the data was

organised and analysed using a thematic analysis framework (Braun and Clarke, 2006), which created three main themes, each of which had three sub-themes linked to them to support the findings.

The data offers a deeper insight into the lived experience of Eastern European children and how ideas of belonging are created, shaped and manifest in migrant children. The following research questions were used to gain an understanding of their experiences:

1. How do Eastern European children experience belonging in the host community and school?

2. How do stereotypes attached to ethnic groups manifest in the experience of newly arrived children?

3. How do newly arrived children experience loss of cultural links and structures and develop relationships within the host community?

Section 4.2 focuses on homelife and traditions as part of belonging in the community which discusses cultural traditions and values, focusing on language, ethnicity and culture. This is then followed by the mechanics of othering, which explores isolation and exclusion, ethnic labelling and stereotyping.

4.2 Home life and belonging

The first section focuses on the findings from homelife and belonging, exploring areas that are important to the group when discussing their own culture, beliefs and values amongst two ethnic minority groups. It also explores how migrant children position themselves in the new community and how they perceive the host community. The findings from the data also offer an insight to the importance of home language and religion and how they contribute to a sense of security and belonging when living in a diverse community.

4.2.1 Family links and connections

When completing the activities with the children, there was a strong link to family that became a dominant thread throughout the study. All the children come from large families both in England and their home country and lived within large supportive family networks either within the same household or community. Both Asian and Romanian families tend to have a strong support system, relying on their ethnic group for social, emotional and practical support (Anna: map, Serish: ID box., Armaan: map). Polistina (2009) suggests that this is partially due to cultural and family traditions, but also the lack of understanding of other cultures and beliefs in the community and other family structures.

The family support also extends to connections 'back home' where the children mentioned that they keep in regular contact with absent family and some of them visit home occasionally. When discussing family with the group, Armaan had a very strong connection to family in Pakistan who he frequently visits as well as having a large family in the UK. Although he says that he likes to visit family 'back home', he prefers to be back in the UK. Family is important to him, however, life is very different in Pakistan.

> My grandad and grandma live in Pakistan and some aunties and uncles. We go back home and see them. There's not much roads, just sandy. Not many cars…people ride bikes. It is kinda boring. When you're there and you still have 2 weeks left, you like, wow! I wish I was back in England (Armaan:Map)

He also mentioned how his family stay in Pakistan for periods of time as well as having a permanent home in the UK, however, he likened his visits to a holiday and is quite happy to come home again.

The experiences and memories of 'back home' for Armaan were very different to those of Serish with whom we had a particularly interesting discussion. There were vivid stories told of 'back home' in Bangladesh, whilst

sharing objects from the identity box with the group and offering a colourful and detailed image of home.

Serish:ID Box 1

> …it is a fridge magnet I bought when we went to Bangladesh. It reminds me of my time back home (Serish:ID Box)

The objects were accompanied by stories of 'home', which were narrated with such passion and detail suggesting that she had visited many times before, however, in an earlier conversation she said that she had never visited Bangladesh. The items were presents from her grandfather when he came to England and the stories that he told her.

> My grandad always brings me presents and tells us what it is like in Bangladesh (Serish:Map)

When considering this statement, the contrasts between Serish and Armaan suggest that Serish's experience of home is based on stories passed down as opposed to stories of actual events and experiences of home in Pakistan. The vivid stories told by Serish were not actual memories of home, rather, they were constructed from the stories told by her parents and grandfather. This is common within migrant families as there are always at least two

different locations called ‘home’ – their ancestral homeland and the current country of residence (Huang et al, 2016).

Backlund and Williams (2003) suggests that the connection to the homeland is very much dependent on past experience and number of visits made, forming a strong place attachment, which can be seen through Armaan’s experience. Serish on the other hand had formed a strong place attachment to Bangladesh because of collective memories, hearing others’ stories and memories of the homeland. Taylor (2004) suggests that a collective memory is developed through stories, artefacts and rituals which all contribute to the creation of a social imaginary where people imagine their social surroundings based on their understandings and common practices to shape solidarities and boundaries. Whilst this is true of both Armaan and Serish, there was a significant difference between their connections ‘back home’. It was evident that Serish’s link to Bangladesh was so deep-rooted that it had become the focus of her family connection and experience, even though she had never visited before. As explained by Halbwach (in Coser, 1992), the ‘memories’ that she was experiencing may have been formed in the past, yet they were constantly shifting and being shaped in the present through a collective experience within the home, keeping her history and heritage alive.

There was a fine line between the stories and reality, which kept crossing and merging, referring to her ‘time in Bangladesh’ where she actually believed that she had visited. When discussing comparisons with schools in England and Bangladesh, there was some confusion about the story.

> I think I liked school more in Bangladesh. We don’t do homework…its more fun and class is colourful (Serish: Map)

Interestingly, this type of connection was only evident with Serish and not amongst the other participants, highlighting a strong place attachment with the homeland. Anderson (2006) argues that these connections and vivid memories are a way of creating an imagined community with shared origins and interests and a wealth of knowledge surrounding the culture and

nationality. These cultural constructs are a way of preserving and connecting with national identity whilst at the same time holding power over people through an ideology that people believe and live within. This is evident amongst South Asian groups as they do not necessarily desire to return to the homeland with many being comfortable in recreating home and traditions in diverse locations creating a sense of belonging as a nation to shape solidarity and national identity (Anderson, 1983).

Both Serish and Armaan's families have transnational ties, which help to maintain family links in both countries, yet the strong connection to Bangladesh was becoming an imagined idea of home, particularly for Serish. Anderson (1983) and Brubaker (2005) suggest that family traditions and values can shape the lived experience of different cultures and ethnic groups as they live within an imagined community where the ancestral homeland is considered their true homeland, regardless of whether they have been to the homeland or not. When exploring the stories from Serish, her experiences and memories were more powerful than just living in an imagined community. She was unable to distinguish between the stories and realty as she was absorbed in the notion of home in Bangladesh. This highlights how powerful an imagined community can be and how it can exert a much stronger hold on an individual than a real one.

Serish's memories were very vivid and convincing and as suggested by Holland et al (1998), was a stage for her performance that was created from a deep-rooted connection and belief in her links to Bangladesh. Conversely, this was not evident with Armaan who had first-hand experience of home, yet preferred home in the UK, which prompts the question as to why this was. With such a strong connection to family in Pakistan, I was expecting Armaan to also have a strong link with his family heritage and culture yet he did not really care too much for visiting family 'back home'. It appears that his limited understanding of Urdu and lack of commonalities with his cousins in Pakistan was a significant factor for feeling that he belonged to the group, but also the fact that there were no modern conveniences to which he was accustomed.

The next item from the identity boxes was provided by Anna who shared a photograph with the group of her family in Romania before they came to the UK.

Anna:ID box 1

> This is my family… we liked going to the beach and the park in Tecuci...I miss them (Anna:ID Box).

This photograph was one of many that Anna talked about that held special memories of home and her family. She chose to share this special photograph because it was the last time all her family were together before moving to the UK. It was also the last time she saw her friends. Whilst listening to Anna share her memories, there was both sadness and fondness in her voice. At the time the photograph was taken it was an innocent family snapshot taken by a passer-by, yet now it holds a different meaning. Photographs can be a very powerful tool in not only interpreting reality and capturing a specific moment, but also how their meaning can change over time. Sontag (1978) reminds us how

> Photographs are a way of imprisoning reality, understood as recalcitrant, inaccessible; of making it stand still. Or they enlarge a reality that is felt to be shrunk, hollowed out, perishable, remote. One cannot possess reality, one can possess (and be possessed by) images…p 249

Anna's attachment to this photograph suggests that it represents and provides a strong connection to her family, capturing a happy moment which has been frozen in time. Although she cannot see or visit her family, the photograph is a way of allowing her family to be present or available through the image.

Anna is part of a large family with 5 brothers and 4 sisters, which was presented as very strong evidence of a link to home and family connections, clearly demonstrating that 'back home' is where memories, feelings and stories are rooted rather than here in the UK.

> We came to England to get help for my disabled brother and we lived with my aunty… me and my sisters help mum in the house with my brother and our aunty comes round to help. We moved house and we live near my aunty and cousins (Anna: Int)

The Romanian translator (RT) supporting the study explained that she was familiar with the town that the children came from, mentioning the living conditions, housing and education system. She explained that families are either rich and live in 'castles' or in extreme poverty living in overcrowded, rundown houses. This is the main reason why so many Romanian families come to the UK for a better life, education and work, to allow them to send money back to their families (RT:1).

This tight knit Romanian community is very resourceful and self-sufficient in which the children are treated as young adults and assigned roles in the family (Katz, 2004). As in other cultures, Romanian children take part in caring for siblings, cooking and cleaning and supporting older relatives in the family. However, that is usually from quite an early age and as a

consequence, impacts on their education resulting in high absence rates in school (Manzoni and Rolfe, 2019). Many Romanian families strongly believe that family is the most important priority, even over their child's education. The children are included in mature activities from the outset, learning different skills to support the family's needs and even the extended community in which they live (Katz, 2004).

In addition to the photograph, Anna also shared two special presents from her mother and a friend in Romania.

Anna:ID Box 2

The doll was given as a 5th birthday present from her mother when they came to the UK. This was special to her as she did not have any other dolls and it was also her first birthday in the UK. The teddy bear was from a friend in Romania whom she has not seen since leaving the country. Both items held strong memories of family 'back home' and looked sad when talking about them. Being separated from family 'back home' affects the way migrant children settle into the host country as they face a range of social and emotional challenges, such as loss of familiar language and losing cultural links from home, which can cause a sense of loss or grief

(Eisenbruch, 1990). Both the photograph and teddy bears shared with the group held significant meaning and emotions for Anna and appeared to represent the sad experience of leaving her home and family in Romania as if frozen in the moment of a sad farewell. Taylor (2004) highlights the connection between social imaginary and objects in representing cultures, stressing that they are crucial in underpinning meaning and values. As highlighted by Brown (2018), objects and artefacts are not only representatives of culture, tradition and practices which shape identities and belonging, they represent memories and a sense of belonging. For Anna, the treasured objects were a connection to her life and loved ones 'back home' whom she yearned to see and this offered a reminder of her cultural practices, belonging and continuity of her life that had been left behind.

When discussing family with Stefan, his memories and experiences of home were quite different to those of Anna. Where she had expressed sadness at the separation from her family 'back home', there was very little acknowledgment of his family. He is a happy, laid-back character who did not give any indication of missing family members in Romania since migrating to the UK, in fact, it was quite the contrary. His memories and stories were very much grounded in his life here, including his popularity with his peers and those around him, with a degree of confidence about him. Interestingly, there was a shift in the level of confidence as the conversation progressed. He explained how his grandparents and sister lived in Romania and also an uncle who lived in Germany, however, he only had contact with or sees his uncle when he visits the UK.

> FL: Do you see any of your family or stay in contact with them?
> Stefan: Err…(shrugs shoulders) not really. Sometimes my uncle comes to England as a holiday
> FL: What do you do when he visits?
> Stefan: He tells me about Germany and teaches me German and I teach him some English

There was no further discussion about the other family members in Romania and there was an obvious reluctance to talk about them. It is evident that Stefan was uncomfortable, with a notable change in his body language as he crossed his arms and looked down towards the floor. Without drawing attention to him and making him feel uncomfortable, we moved onto the next activity.
When the children began to share their identity boxes, Stefan said he had forgotten it for a second time and so he was unable to share objects with the group, but still participated in the activity verbally, describing special and memorable objects.

He talked about a family wedding that he had attended before moving to the UK and gave a clear description of the smart blue suit and tie he had worn.

> Stefan: I was with my grandma and we had a nice time…my grandma does – did everything for me at home
> FL: Do you still have contact with her?
> Stefan: Not really

There was a sense of pride and confidence when he talked about his grandmother, but also some sadness was expressed in his gestures when he said he no longer had any contact with her. He also talked about times with his family in the park and having fun when he was ‘back home’. This child was normally a relaxed and seemingly confident boy who always smiled, yet the memories he was sharing clearly had an impact on his emotions, which were reflected in his body language becoming very closed and lack of eye contact. When he did eventually talk about his family, it appeared to be a sensitive area and possibly traumatic for him, which prompted me to query his usual confident character and if he was struggling with the lack of contact with his family, as well as living within a different culture even though he appeared to have adapted to the host community well. Berry (2013) stresses that acculturation is not a straightforward process with newcomers joining the host community facing internal struggles about their culture and how they fit in or not. He argues that acculturation results in both cultural and psychological changes affecting the behaviour of an

individual and the success rate of settling in a new environment. When unpicking Stefan's stories and behaviour it was difficult to ascertain how he had experienced integration and assimilation due to the lack of background information, however, from the conversation it was clear that he was troubled by the experience.

From my observations of his behaviour, it appeared that Stefan's reluctance to bring his identity box (if he did actually make one) was due to the emotions attached to his family 'back home', with which he seemed to be struggling. Placement attachment to his homeland was also very prominent, highlighting the emotional bond with his grandmother. In early infancy, it is common for a child to have more than one familiar person to whom they direct attachment behaviour, particularly in their first year (Bowlby, 1969/1982 in Cassidy and Shaver, 2014). Although his main caregivers are his mother and father, there was a strong attachment to his grandmother whom he spoke of with such admiration but no longer had any contact with since he and his family migrated. Instead, he chose to chat freely about his uncle who visits him and without the need to engage with actual objects and memories relating to his grandmother.

Whilst there is an evidently strong attachment to the homeland, I would argue that the social relationship and bond with his grandmother is much stronger than a place attachment. From an outside perspective Stefan appears to be settled in the host community with good relationships, friendships and his psychological needs met with his immediate family in his environment. The reluctance to talk about family 'back home', however, suggests that he is uncomfortable and by absorbing himself in the new community he can forge friendships and recreate a new home, creating a sense of self and belonging away from home. Holland et al (1998) and Berry (2013) reminds us of how constructing an alternative storyline and adopting a specific character enables individuals to project a certain image. However, as Berry (2013) reminds us, in the case of migrants there is usually a very different unseen story.

4.2.2 Cultural Traditions and Values

When discussing traditions and values, the group had very similar views cross both cultures. All the participants in the study are multilingual, where languages such as Urdu, Bangla, Romani, German are spoken and all participants in the study would be classified within the school system as having English as an Additional Language (EAL). Whilst discussing home language, it was clear that the children used two languages (Urdu and Romani) as their first language to communicate with family and spoke English in school. Tereshchenko and Archer (2014) suggest that maintaining their home language is important as it helps to reduce anxieties or pressures during the transition period and to also communicate with others that have the same language whilst settling into their new environment. For schools working with new arrival children, this raises the question about how an inclusive teaching environment is developed to support children by promoting and raising awareness of the home language in the lessons and resources.

There were various languages spoken between the children, consisting of Urdu, Bengali, Romanian and German as well as English. The multiple languages are important and necessary as it enabled families to communicate due to the lack of English in the family home.

> In my house, we speak English and Bangla because we're from Bangladesh…I can write it too. I'm also learning Arabic (Serish: Maps)
>
> Mmm…I can speak some Urdu, but not very well. Mostly speak Urdu when visiting family in Pakistan. There's only me and my uncle who speak English in Pakistan (Armaan: Maps)

When discussing home language with Anna and Stefan, they discussed the difficulties in not only trying to learn English, but also hearing other languages around them at home and in school. The community that they live in has a range of Urdu, Punjabi, Bengali and Romanian, so trying to communicate with others is incredibly difficult and frustrating. This is quite a difficult situation for Romanian children and families as they are a minority group living within a larger, dominant ethnic minority community where

English is rarely used. On initial assessment it can appear as if each group are excluding the other, however, Sökefeld (2006) argues that the use of the home language in the home is extremely important in keeping families together and able to communicate and maintaining their home and transnational ties.

> I sometimes speak English to my sister and teach her some words, but mum and dad do not understand so I speak Romanian (Stefan: Int)

> When I came here I couldn't understand them. Not just English, but the other language as well…people would laugh and shout things because I was different and my language, but Miss A teaches me English to help me (Anna: Int)

Wong (2000) argues that interventions are a valuable resource for multilingual pupils, however, it can also emphasise the differences between the majority and minority groups in the school and become more susceptible to further ridicule and devaluation of their language. This illuminated Anna's position as she expressed her feelings of ridicule for the cultural and language differences, which resulted in her feeling very self-conscious about being different. Anna also referred to Miss A teaching her English within a small intervention group taught separately from the rest of the class, which highlighted her differences to the rest of the Asian pupils.

Anna described her family situation and how they are part of a large Romanian cluster and support network. She said she feels safe in a familiar environment as it makes her happy as it feels like being 'back home' with so many of them living together and also speaking the same language. Her parents have very little English and can only communicate in Romanian and so she feels happy that she can still communicate with her parents. Schwartz et al (2014) argue that developing English in the home is a struggle as migrant children speak in their mother tongue, to enable them to communicate with family members. When considering how Anna felt about standing out in school as being different, there was an element of her struggling with upholding an allegiance to her national identity, sustaining her

cultural traditions and language, whilst at the same time experiencing embarrassment for being different to the others.

Conversely, when chatting with Armaan about family traditions ‘back home’ in Pakistan, he explained how they had similar practices and traditions, but the lifestyle there did not really appeal to him as he had very little knowledge of the hometown or little experience of Urdu. He mentioned that he likes to visit family but would not want to live in Pakistan because he does not have any friends there or understand the language. When I asked about his time with family and friends in Pakistan, he indicated that he visits home because this is a regular tradition and partially because he has no choice as his father insists that he needs to see his family. He said that it is not that different as they do the same things in Pakistan as they do at home (UK), such as Mosque and family/religious celebrations.

> Miss. It’s ok. I mostly stay with my cousins. I can still have my normal life, but I do not wanna say big words…they speak another language and you have to learn another language so it is gonna be difficult (Armaan: Maps)

Hall (1997) argues that although ethnic groups struggle with social interaction amongst peers, language is instrumental in forming our identity and construction of self, which connects families and cultures. Where this does not seem to pose too much of a problem for Armaan, he is lacking certain skills to join in and be a part of family traditions in Pakistan. Where second language acquisition enables access to home traditions and cultures and bringing families together (Cummins, 2011), Armaan appears to be in a reasonably balanced position were traditions and languages are the same at home and in Pakistan, yet still very limited to experiences outside his own family culture and traditions. Wong (2000) suggests that whilst this approach is conducive to maintaining family traditions and to promote a sense of belonging, it continues to promote an exclusive environment within each group.

Further discussions with Stefan offered a different view of family tradition and shared his experience of home and family. He was very proud of his ability to be able to communicate with different members of his family and the community due to his multilingual skills.

> Stefan: Miss, I can speak Romanian, English and some German. My uncle teaches me when he comes to England on holiday and I teach him some English. I sometimes speak to my friends (Romanian) in English and they do not know what I'm saying (laughing)
>
> FL: That's really good! And what about at home? Do you teach your parents English?
>
> Stefan: Sometimes. They do not know much English though.

When comparing Stefan to the other children in the group, it seemed that his ability to communicate with various family members and friends gave him the advantage of accessing many different groups and experiences as well as maintaining his family connections and traditions. Cummins (2000) highlights the importance of taking as many opportunities as possible to develop a second language, but this is not always possible in the family home. In addition to developing a new language, this impacts on confidence and produces a sense of pride and belonging in the receiving community. This was a noticeable difference between Stefan and the other children, where he demonstrated a modest level of confidence and self-assurance. Sökefeld (2006) suggests that when Romanian children are given the opportunity to tell their story, they develop self-confidence and are more likely to interact with children from the majority group. Whilst this demonstrates a positive step in forging friendships with children in other cultures, it did not illuminate any further information on his family background which could suggest that Stefan is prepared to move forward with his life.

A follow up discussion with the Romanian Translator (RT) revealed that many of the Romanian families in the area choose not to get involved with school directly because of their background and the reputation Romanians have in the UK. There have been a number of English classes offered to parents in school, but not a single person has signed up for a session.

> The families believe that whenever the school ask them to get involved with anything, school fairs, parents evening etc, they are suspicious of hidden reasons. It is because they are Roma gypsies and always had a bad reputation both in Romania and in England (Anna: Int)

These types of stories are common in the community where the Romanian families are stereotyped within the community through the media, creating a skewed reality. Hall (1997) argues that the representation of ethnic groups is crucial to how they are viewed by the receiving society and any differences highlighted can create negative stereotypes, leading them to be othered in the community. Hall (1997) reminds us how media (especially television) has the power to create and signify such images through its visual and documentary character, acting as a window on the world showing things as they really are. They appear to 'reproduce the actual trace of reality in the images they transmit' (p 76), however, this is a naturalistic illusion that produces the effect of 'reality' through elaborate coding.

Definitions of 'reality' are sustained through selective coding sending specific messages to form a general consensus of what is normal or real in society. These messages are decoded by one's knowledge and understanding of the world that constructs rather than reflects representation of certain groups or ethnicities, creating myth. Barthes' (1977) theory of mythology highlights how cultural myths create a collective consciousness of a particular group based on what people think they know about specific cultures, which is usually based on stereotypes produced by the media or false reports. Both Barthes and Hall refer to the construction of meaning behind symbols and images and how they strip away the true meaning and replace it with another. Barthes (1977) argues that myth has the ability to make itself look neutral and innocent, giving a historical intention and natural and eternal justification. For example, the cover of *Paris-Match* in the 1960's portraying a black soldier wearing a French uniform connotes Frenchness, militariness and inclusion of ethnic difference, which is supported by Hall's coding theory.

Whilst it appears that Stefan had established good communication and links with many different groups outside the family home, any mention of family

usually closed the conversation quite promptly. Stefan's reluctance to talk and shut down when discussing family prompted me to question his thoughts and feelings of his own culture and how his ethnicity is portrayed through media. The negative stereotypes around Romanians led me to think that this was a sensitive area and perhaps caused some embarrassment, yet he was a popular boy with friends and with a very good command of the English language. As Taylor et al (1977) point out, motivation is a key feature in the process of migrants learning the host country language, which raises the question about Stefan's position. Perhaps his motivation was to learn English to enable him to develop a range of friendships and detach himself from his ethnic group due to the reputation. This would also facilitate assimilation and a sense of belonging in the community to become one of them rather than the other.

4.2.3 Religion

When discussing religion, all of the children discussed Church and Mosque and realized that there were many similarities across each of their religions. Anna talked about how they read the bible and described the visits to church when she lived in Romania and all her family would meet there for the service where they would sing and pray and then all go out to play at the end. She missed these times and found it difficult not going to church during the pandemic. Serish expressed the same feelings about going to Mosque.

The first item was presented by Serish, which caught the attention of the others in the group

Serish: ID Box 3

Anna: I know what those are, they are prayer beads
Serish: Yes, they are called Tasbih and I got them from my grandma. We use these to count how many times we have said ‘Alhamadulilah’ in prayers. I hold it in my fingers and move to the next bead every time I say it.
Anna: What does that (Alhamadulilah) mean?
Serish: It means ‘All thanks and praise to Allah’.
Anna: I do this too when I say my prayers
(Serish and Anna: ID Box)

Anna: ID Box 3

In response to Serish the two items above are a bracelet and a scarf. Serish thought the beads were pretty and had been given as a present from a friend, but they were actually prayer beads that represented the same thing as the Tasbih beads.

> It is like yours but mine is a bracelet. You count the beads when you say the Jesus Prayer and when you count all the beads you stop… and my scarf as well. This is my scarf for prayers (holding up scarf) Anna: ID Box

There was an element of surprise expressed from Serish when these items were shared whilst inspecting them and making a mutual connection with them. She had not realized that both Christian and Islamic religions shared similar rituals and processes as she responded with ‘but how? That’s just like what we do at Mosque’. Armaan was equally surprised and perplexed by this knowledge and seemed to be struggling with this shared religious tradition, which prompted me to question their views on their understanding of their beliefs and those of others.

When examining the beads, Anna already knew the meaning and value of the Tasbih beads, yet the others were very surprised to learn of the similarities with Christian rituals. As the local community has evolved over the years, the South Asian families had failed to notice or acknowledge the similarities between themselves and their neighbours who have different cultures yet share the same religious rituals (Nye, 2007). Within such a large, close-knit South Asian community, rituals involving objects such as scarves, Tasbih beads and Mosque are an integral part of life at the heart of the community and are very much a part of and symbol of their heritage and culture (Cantle, 2005; Berry, 1980). Barthes (1977) reminds us how images of cultures are represented through signs and how they are transmitted through the media and how they are read and can be misrepresented. Through the symbolic presence of their culture, South Asian families are easily identified and assumptions are made about their culture through the media and the myth produced as a result. Conversely, the lack of objects and symbols displayed by the Romanian families within school (for example prayer scarves) highlighted the lack of understanding of the Romanian

culture which also creates a certain image about them and their religious beliefs, yet they share many cultural traits.

Discussions with a colleague led her to believe that they would or should know about the religious practices from Religious Education (RE) lessons and British Values. The RE curriculum in school adheres to the National Curriculum Framework for RE (NCFRE), which informs local authorities when making RE syllabuses. Considering that different religions are taught in school, it was suggested that when living amongst an Islamic religion they do not see the different religions first-hand and therefore do not recognise the similarities. If a majority group are dominant within the community and very closed, the minority group would be less significant and therefore continue to preserve their ethnic and cultural norms and values, who do not see beyond their own community (Heath and Demireva, 2014). Hall's representation theory (1997) clearly demonstrates the importance of symbols in a community such as this because it highlights sameness rather than otherness with common interests, which can promote a sense of belonging to a culture or group.

The strong connection to their faith was further demonstrated through certificates achieved in Mosque, which was shared with the group.

Serish: ID Box 3

> I got them in Mosque. When we've done our lessons and finish (the course) we get a certificate (Serish, ID Box)

The group was very interested in the certificates and asked why she had received so many of them. She explained that you read the Qur'an at Mosque in sections at a time and then she is tested on the readings and she was clearly making good progress. This was confirmed by Armaan who talked about his experience of learning the Qur'an.

Armaan presented a miniature Quran to the group that his father had brought back from Pakistan.

> Dad got me this from Pakistan. It is a miniature Quran to carry around all the time. It is really small and I can take it everywhere I go…he says I must always read the Quran (Armaan: ID Box)

Amaan spoke passionately about learning the Quran, attending lessons and prayers, including each time he goes to Pakistan. What was interesting about the artefacts shared by Serish and Armaan was the strong connection and relationship with their faith demonstrated through the objects and discussions. There was a very strong sense of how religion was an important part of defining who they were and becoming, to the point that their religion was more important than their nationality. Conversely, whilst there was a strong link to faith with the Romanian children, the objects and stories from Anna and Stefan were based less around religion and more centred around family, which is where they experienced a strong self of belonging. Probyn (1996) argues that people and communities participate in certain groups and rituals to belong and feel rooted to a common collective. The sense of belonging arises from the attachment to a familiar locality or symbolic place or cultural and religious factors. Crowley (1999) and Anthias (2016) expand on the notion of belonging and community, stressing that it is also linked to cultural competence and practices, where ideologies and politics of belonging create imaginary boundaries. Religion is clearly an important part of the children's lives with a strong connection and sense of belonging

through its membership. However, due to the differences of symbolic meaning linking the Romanian children to religion, such as prayer scarves and tasbih, they are instantly perceived as not sharing a similar religious practice that places them on the outside of that imaginary border, creating a difference of us and them.

4.2.4 Summary

When exploring the theme of Home as a sense of belonging, both groups of children shared many similarities, such as living within large, closed communities and relying on their ethnic community for social and practical support. With both groups of children, there were strong transnational ties to their family and heritage to maintain a family link and sense of self and belonging. Armaan visits home regularly, but feels more comfortable in the UK, whereas Serish had a strong connection to the homeland when in fact she had never been before. It was intriguing to hear how her memory of home was entangled in a world of what was real and fantasy, living through an imagined community. Drawing on Anderson's work on Imagined Communities (2006), Serish's connection to her ancestral homeland is a prominent and integral part of her life although it is imaginary and not actual memories. As Anderson famously quotes:

> Nation: it is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion (p. 14)

Yet through the means of artefacts, literature and media, Serish can relate to the community, customs and rituals. Although it is unlikely that she will meet, or even know the names of the people she learns about or what they might be doing, Serish is aware of and can relate to their simultaneous routines and practices and feel a part of that community (Anderson, 2006. p 26). This depth of insight and connection into a shared community illustrates just how

imagination can be much stronger than reality, to the point where Serish confuses the realms of real and imagined.

Anna presented her memories of home which were frozen in time through precious photos and artefacts, through which she could live and relive the home traditions within her new community. Stefan on the other hand seemed quite settled in the new community yet was very reluctant to talk about home or share any artefacts and focussed on his life in Romania. He did however feel at ease talking about his life in the UK and some stories of 'back home', which he seemed more comfortable with. As previously mentioned, Eisenbruch (1990) and Bhugra (2004) warn of the effects of social adjustment and how it can impact on mental health through culture shock and even experiencing a sense of bereavement. Stefan's disconnect with home was highlighted in the data suggesting that he had assimilated into his new life in the UK but was struggling with coming to terms with the absence of his family in Romania, which was noted in his tone of voice and body language. Stefan's response could also suggest that he has a complex relationship with 'home' with a more complex story of shifting a sense of belonging.

As identified in the study, family and homelife is extremely important to the children as it offers stability and security in a new community (Tereshchenko and Archer, 2014). Language was highlighted as an important part of cultural traditions and values for all the children, where the home language was maintained within the home to ensure families could communicate and maintain transnational ties. For the South Asian children, the home language was the norm at home and in the local community as they are the majority group in the community, whereas Stefan had learned different languages to enable him to fit into the community. As highlighted by Cummins (2000), maintaining links with family 'back home' and in the UK means that the children need to be able to communicate in many languages including English, which has placed a strain on relationships at home and has been a contributing factor in segregation amongst the two ethnic groups. Stefan however was reasonably fluent in different languages which certainly helped

him to make friends in school as well as communicate in his mother tongue with his family.

When looking at the experiences of the Romanian children, Stefan has a more settled experience of living in the host community and has assimilated quite well but continues to struggle with his dual identity. Berry (2013) reminds us that assimilation is a long process and how migrants respond to their new environment varies. He goes on to explain that assimilation involves maintaining cultural values whilst adopting that of the receiving culture. In Stefan's case, he is very confident on the outside, claiming to have many friends in school and can speak many languages but has some separation issues that he struggles with. This was manifested in his reluctance to bring any artefacts to the session and reluctance to talk about family 'back home', referring to past experiences in the present tense and then correcting himself by replacing it with the past tense.

Conversely, Anna was far more rooted to her home culture, rituals and experiences, and lacks confidence in her new environment. She is very aware of being 'different' to the rest of the children and the community, demonstrating an element of insecurity due to the stigma attached to her ethnicity. Whilst she would like to forge new friendships in the host community, she is very wary in doing so due to her vulnerabilities of being part of a stigmatised group. When discussing family and culture in Romania, she is far more confident, finding a sense of belonging in an imagined community by recreating home in the UK amongst the Romanian community. As highlighted by Anderson (2006), nationalism can be so strong that individuals have a deep-rooted connection which enables communities to be created regardless of inequality or exploitation, which is demonstrated by Anna's story.

The items and stories shared by the group demonstrated the importance of their beliefs and the similarities between the two groups, which was highlighted by Anna when discussing prayer scarves and beads. Individual religious beliefs were not discussed in detail as the focus was more about

the rituals behind the items and how they formed the foundation of their cultural processes and way of life. Interestingly, the Asian children were surprised that Romanian children knew what the items represented and how similar their items were when relating to their religion. This highlighted the narrowed view of shared practices and religion due to the families being the dominant group in the community, not realising or understanding the similarities between themselves and the Romanian children. It also reinforced Barthes' theory of myth and Hall's theory of representation and how symbols, or the lack of them, produce a certain impression of them, or a group, without really knowing they shared such a special link. It appeared that the differences in cultural dress and rituals with the Asian families was a very prominent representation of their culture, which resulted in them being a very visual and dominant presence of the community, resulting in the exclusion of other. As Hall (1997) explains, it is the representation of groups through symbolic meaning that create a particular image or narrative about them, as does shared images portrayed through media that stereotype and deliver a specific narrative (Barthes, 1977).

Amongst both groups of children there is evidence of belonging through their familiar connections with home and a strong link with their heritage, involving maintaining links with absent family. The children explained that some had direct contact or visits with absent family or in the case of Serish, the memory of home, through stories and artefacts. However, this proved to be a struggle for some and contact was not easily maintained. From the discussions it became clear that language is a contributing factor of belonging as it links to both heritage and being a part of the wider community. Regardless of having different religions in the group, it was not the rituals and procedures that set them apart, but the very things that connected them through a body of support, community and belonging. Hall (1997) and Barthes (1977) argue that representation of different cultures is largely symbolic which highlight their common connection. The revelation of shared practices and artefacts amongst the group enabled them to make that connection could suggest that the Romanian children might have had a

different response and experience when they arrived in the community, creating a shared sense of belonging through religion.

4.3 Bridging between home and school

Introduction

The next section focuses on elements of the children's lives that contributed to bridging between home and school. It begins by looking at friendships and what part they play when living within an ethnic minority community in a close-knit community. It then moves onto ethnicity and culture, exploring similarities and differences and what it means to the children within the community they live and how it shapes their lives. The last subtheme looks at family and home traditions, exploring the different values and routines within the family unit and how they inform their own ideas and views of cultural values.

4.3.1 Friendships

When discussing friendships, there were mixed stories from each of the participants. Stefan had put on the map that he had 'lots' of friends. When we discussed this further, he confirmed that he does have lots of friends, both in and out of school. He came across as quite a confident young man, sitting back in his chair, open body language and smiling. As he lives amongst a large Asian community, we chatted about the types of friends he has.

> Stefan: Erm, mainly Romanians. I play with the Romanian kids out of school, but everyone in school. Got lots of friends!
>
> FL: Why not everyone when out of school?
>
> Stefan: Dunno… just do not (shrugs, body language closes a little and looks down).

At this point Anna was looking slightly uncomfortable and the translator asked her if she was ok and asked about her friends. She responded by dropping her head and becoming silent before answering that she does not

have any friends. When asked who she plays with at playtime, she said that she plays on her own or ‘stick to my own kind’. When asked what this meant, she responds in Romanian to the translator ‘own kind – the Romanian kids’.

> Anna: (Translated) the other Pakistan children smile at me, but they… do not really involve me or include me in anything. They want me to play and then I say I do not want to. But I do want friends though.
>
> RT: ok, so you would like friends in school. Do you have friends outside of school?
>
> Anna: (Translated) yes. Romanian children. They have the same background and language as me.

The difference in confidence between Anna and Stefan was quite stark. Stefan was almost boasting about the number of friends he had, whereas Anna was very shy and seemed embarrassed about not having any friends. Her comment of ‘stick to my own kind’ was intriguing and made me wonder if there was a deeper, more personal meaning behind it. At a basic level, there is the security and familiarity of being part of her own ethnic group, maintaining strong relationships and a sense of belonging and remaining separate from the other children, restricting the development of friendships. Anthias (2018) argues that whilst shared values are not a prerequisite to belonging, experiences and practices help to identify and develop commonalities in a group. As previously noted, Stefan appeared to be in a very different position to Anna. Stefan shares many common connections with various friends both in and out of school and seems quite comfortable and settled in his environment.

Olsen et al (2010) claim that is not uncommon for migrant children to face a range of social and emotional challenges when building friendships due to differences in language, however, this did not appear to be the case for Stefan. The friendships he had made gave him confidence to find a way of belonging in the community and even though they may not be similar or of the same ethnic group, he managed to share a space of commonality with various people in his community. Contrary to Stefan’s story, Anna had not managed to build friendships with others in school and was finding it difficult

with the absence of familiar friends, family and routines, referring to a teddy she shared with the group.

> (Translated) When I came to England in a new house, I have no friends. There are lots of Asian families living here, but not many Romanian families. I was sad. In Romania I had lots of friends on my street and my cousins so we all played together. This is a present from my friend in Romania before we
> came to England. I miss her…I do not know if I'll see her again (Anna: ID box).

Since arriving in the UK, she had very little contact with family and none with friends so the teddy she shared was very special to her as it was an important part of her migration story. The idea of the children sharing artefacts was to enable them to share items that represent who they are or a snippet of their life. Brown (2018) argues that artefacts can add creativity in prompting memories connected to objects and offering an expressive way of sharing information. When discussing home and friends, the teddy held

many memories for Anna. This object was clearly special to her because of the link to special friends in Romania whilst explaining that she does not have friends in school. Again, the link to home and imagined communities was highlighted when describing living in a Romanian community where most of the people were extended family rather than new friendships. She described it as like being ‘back home’ with all her family who support each other, especially with younger children and relatives. This is an integral part of living in a close knit in a small community, with Samanani (2018) explaining how this type of supportive network is an important cultural structure and also where an imagined community is developed to reinforce a feeling of home from home. The recreation of home allows families gain a sense of belonging amongst a new culture as it confirms their solidarity of a single community and enables families to embrace their culture and national identity (Anderson, 1983).

This also seemed to be a common theme when discussing friends ‘back home’. Armaan explained that when he visits family in Pakistan, he does not have any friends outside of the family and feels quite lonely. When considering Hage’s suggestion of a shared space of commonality in a group (In Çaglar,et al, 2014), this experience somewhat diminishes for Armaan in terms of relationships or friendships as there is no connection with the other children there or ability to share experiences, regardless of being from the same ethnic group. Armaan’s own experience enables him to empathise with Anna, recognising that this was how she felt away from her home and family ‘back home’.

Both Serish and Armaan mentioned friends in and out of school and similarly only play with Pakistani children. Furthermore, all their friends are from Mosque, though Serish mentioned that she sees her cousins frequently and helps to take care of her young cousins. It was interesting that the children’s idea of friends was restricted to extended family rather than those that they would associate with in school, yet this was something that seemed to be accepted as part of their culture. This is common practice as identified by Heath and Demireva (2014), where South Asian families and Romanians live

in close knit communities relying on family and the local community for family support with religion being an important feature in their lives, however, it limits the relationships with the wider community. Anthias (2018) argues that in the development of identity and belonging, it is important to question 'what' we belong to or identify with. Being part of a community, whether that is school, a neighbourhood or extended family group, is about the spaces and places where people feel accepted as members and experience social inclusion. It prompts the question as to what type of community Anna and Stefan are trying to be part of, or as Anderson (1983) suggests, they find a sense of belonging within imagined boundaries of home that is recreated in their own ethnic group.

Whilst the group were discussing friendships in the community, Stefan gave a similar account of friends 'back home', explaining that he had many friends 'back home' who he used to play in the park with and 'mess about'. He no longer has any contact with them.

> Armaan: Do you miss them?
> Stefan: Yes…no, not really. You get new friends. I have lots of friends
> FL: I think I might miss my friends
> Stefan: Yeah, but you get new friends. I got lots of friends here!

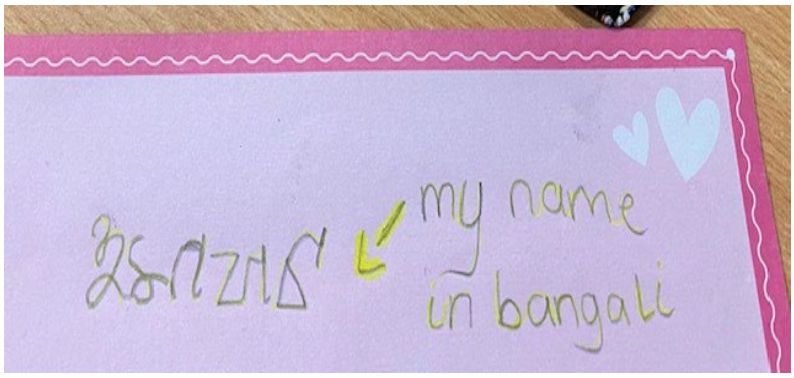
His body language becomes very laid back as he relaxes back into his chair with open arms and the others laughed as if to doubt him. When asked what was funny, one of the group says 'yeah, he has lots of friends!' This sarcastic comment seemed to imply that perhaps Stefan was not as popular as he had stated. Taylor et al (1977) and Hage (2014) stress the importance of having some form of motivation to learn the language of the 'host country', whether that is to simply learn another language, secure employment or conversing with those of the same language. When observing Stefan's confident character, it appeared that he was motivated to learn to speak English to enable him to make friends with the others. This enabled him to forge friendships without fear of losing his ethnic identity and absorb himself in different cultures, be it a shared commonality or true friendship.

Both Anna and Stefan had disclosed their feelings about loss of home and friendships. It is common for migrant families and children to experience multiple stresses including the loss of cultural norms and social support system. However, the experience can be much more difficult if they are unaccepted by the majority culture, impacting on confidence and self-esteem (Bhugra et al, 2011). Stefan appears to be able to hide these feelings to some extent, although the other children seem to doubt his claim of having lots of friends, almost making fun of him, yet he appears to have integrated quite well and identify with those in the host community. Anna's experience of integration is somewhat fragmented, where only some segments of Romanian life are integrated into the host society and vice versa. Due to her strong connection to home and the differences between the two cultures, it appears that Anna does not want to share a collective social identity with the community, however, given her experience of migration and the difficulties faced, this could be a self-preservation mechanism. Anna mentions that she would like friends, but only has Romanian friends and instead firmly places her personal identity and sense of belonging within her own ethnic group.

4.3.2 Ethnicity and Culture

When exploring ethnicity and culture as a group we were trying to gain a good sense of what it was like to live in a diverse community with different cultures and values. There were a few different scenarios that offered an insight into their lives to give a better understanding of their backgrounds.

Serish had very strong cultural links to Bangladesh through stories of home and frequent visits from family who brought gifts back that represented their culture. Even though English is spoken in the home, they mainly speak Bangla as this is their home language. Serish shared some special objects with the group to demonstrate her family culture and the connection to home.



This is my name in Arabic…and these are cooking pots from Bangladesh. My grandad uses them all the time to cook with (Serish: ID Box)

Serish had a very vivid imagination of home, which included detailed stories through the artefacts presented and ‘memories’ of time ‘back home’, even though she had never been there. In fact, Serish was so absorbed in the idea of home that she referred to visits made in the past, telling a story of their time spent there. This demonstrates just how powerful the imagination is and can transcend over time and space to create new images of self and the world one lives in, almost like a fantasy, but completely believed by an individual (Wenger, 1998). Anderson (1983) describes this connection as being plunged into a familiar landscape created by the artefacts and stories told to form an imagined link between home and an imagined reality. The connection is so powerful that the imagined community becomes more powerful than reality.

Discussions with Anna were quite the opposite of Serish, as she had first-hand experience of life back in Romania and migrating to the UK.

Anna told the group about her experience of moving into the local community in the UK

> There were lots of Asian families living here, but not many Romanian families. It was different coming here. The people are different. They look different and their clothes. I was a bit scared so just played with other kids from Romania on my street and my cousins.

When asked why she was scared, she said they looked different to her. Their clothes were very different and the lack of a common language made her feel nervous. More precisely, she referred to herself looking different to them and feeling like she 'stood out' or 'did not belong', due to cultural differences and the lack of other Romanian families in the area. The anxiety was based on her own experience and other Romanian families who have previously been subjected to hate crime and become a target of resentment since the arrival of Eastern European families in the area and the lack of support they would normally have at home (O'Connor, 2016; Samanani, 2018).

Stefan also described his experience of moving to the UK, which was a similar experience, yet approached from a different angle.

> Yeah, it was a bit weird. They looked different and I couldn't really understand them very much…I did not care. I just played with them, my friends and cousins in my street (Stefan: Map)

The lack of cross cultural awareness, traditions and beliefs can inhibit the exploration of cultural perspectives, although Stefan appeared to be more aware of the differences between himself and the local community (Anning, 2010). Stefan had the advantage of having some knowledge and experience of other languages, which gave him the confidence to involve himself in the community. Although Anna had a slightly different experience to Stefan, they were both from similar backgrounds and had noticed the cultural differences in their new community. This was also apparent with the South Asian children as both lack cross-cultural knowledge. A report from Manzoni and Rolfe (2019) argued that schools were instrumental in the development and understanding of multicultural societies, including opportunities to develop

constructive partnerships with parents and the community. This lack of cultural awareness not only highlights the visible differences of the two cultures, especially that of any newcomers, but also has an impact on them when trying to integrate into the new community (Bhuga, 2004). The loss of social structures and traditional cultural links from home also affects relationships and the acculturation process, as does the exclusion of any newcomers (Nye, 2007). In Stefan's case he was able chose who he made friends with rather than feeling excluded and unable to join friendship groups.

Anna and her family have lived in the same community since arriving in the UK and attended the same school but has some experience of school in Romania. She described the experience as being a little different to school in the UK. She explained that they did not wear school uniform and had shorter school days, as well as having all her friends there. Due to the differences mentioned, she much preferred the Romanian school. Armaan agreed with the reasons for her preference and summed up how he thought it must feel coming to a new school in a different country.

> So even though you like being here, the school is a bit weird because now they are (Romanians) all around like English people and in their school over there they were speaking their own language (Armaan: Maps)

The acknowledgment came from his own experience of going back to Pakistan where he too struggled to understand Urdu and had no friends. Even though he enjoyed visiting family, he did not want to live there as he felt out of place even with familiar cultural values. Bourdieu (1977) explains how cultures create a sense of identity through sharing similar forms of cultural capital through symbolic elements such as material belongings, credentials or education that are acquired through being part of a social class and positioning. Cultural capital is also a source of inequality where some forms of capital are valued over others. When Armaan goes back to Pakistan, social position is in a different space to that of his family due to socioeconomic factors and differences in cultural capital, which affected how he communicated and interacted with his family. Armaan also made

reference to the lack of material belongings, such as games and computers, which illustrates the differences between ‘home’ in Pakistan and in the UK. He was more accustomed to his life here whereas his family had strong cultural roots in Pakistan.

While the children were perceived as lacking cultural capital my study shows the rich multilingual experiences the children had at home. As demonstrated in chapter two, the children’s linguistic histories are a powerful form of cultural capital that enables families to remain connected through language and also to connect with and gain experience of different cultural traditions and values. The multilingual experiences highlighted in the study demonstrate that the families do have a rich bank of cultural capital and life experiences, however, this is often misunderstood by the wider community.

Bourdieu’s (1977) concept of cultural capital involves accumulating cultural knowledge over time that confers social status and spaces, creating a sense of collective identity, which is linked to his or her habitus. Whilst habitus is rooted in a child’s upbringing, social structure and is influenced by family, it is not static and evolves in response to changing experiences (Edgerton and Roberts, 2014). When considering Armaan’s position within the community, he appears to have a wider range of cultural experiences than the others in the group, which is why he struggles when he visits Pakistan. His life experiences thus far have been influenced by exposure to different experiences, cultures and social interactions, which have become more receptive to other cultural influences (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

A lack of other cultural traditions can result in acculturation issues as families tend to hold onto structures, routines and values to maintain their own familiar culture. When discussing Romanian culture with the RT in a separate conversation, she explained that some of the families tend to stay in their own community due to feeling intimidated by the host culture or fear of hate crime due to their ethnicity and the reputation they have as a race (RT: Int)

> When you asked child A to take part in the study originally, her father said that she could as long as she did not talk about what goes on at home. She never told anyone, including the children that she was gypsy because she was embarrassed. They have a reputation in Romania and the UK for being poor and stealing. Stefan is also gypsy, but he seems to have settled quite well. (RT: Int)

The stigma attached to Romanian families can impact on how well they settle and integrate into the community as they are usually the victim of racism (Kanter et al, 2017). When considering the statement above from the translator, it was interesting to hear how Stefan has always been very content and interacts with other children regardless of how many friends he may or may not have. His confidence around other children was very noticeable and he did not appear to be embarrassed about his ethnicity. On the contrary, he was actively trying to involve himself in different groups in school. Samanani (2018) suggests that this is not uncommon amongst migrant children as they are trying to blend in with the rest of the group and become part of the majority group. When different cultures face discrimination, they either embrace their culture or suppress it due to the embarrassment, or in some cases they rebel against their roots in attempt to seem more British (Sime et al, 2017).

Whilst the majority culture in the community is of South Asian descent, this type of discrimination is not confined to Romanian families, but also amongst the host community, which was the root of the race riots in 2001 (Cantle 2001; Ritchie, 2001). The lack of knowledge and interest in each of the communities often produces a negative and narrow view of the families due to a lack of cultural experience, biases and prejudices (Bourdieu, 1977). This was highlighted during the conversation with the children when they realised they shared a lot of different aspects of their culture. Hall (1997) argues that a lack of cultural knowledge creates or reinforces an ‘us’ and ‘them’ environment based on preconceived ideas of each other. This is usually through negative and invalid representation of groups based on reputations or stereotypes attached to different cultures.

Barthes (1977) supports the notion of representation stating that misunderstandings and differences of ethnic groups can be based on the understanding of how one imagines a reality outside their own norms, creating a myth. In the case of migrant families, Barthes (1977) and du Gay (1997) explain how media and advertising can be a persuasive means of conveying such myths to specific audiences for specific reasons: for example, the negative coverage of immigrants and the alleged strain on the economy or Brexit. Hall (2007) argues that by carefully encoding and transmitting certain images and information to a targeted audience, the message will then be decoded by the recipient to reach a desired outcome.

4.3.3 Family and home traditions

This area of the study is important when exploring the lack of bridging between home and school as family and home traditions are deep rooted and important to their culture. With the majority of the children and staff in the school being South Asian there is a good understanding of the Muslim culture and traditions, however, other than the stigma attached to the Romanians and negative media coverage, the Romanian children are less understood in school and the community (Adair, 2015). Whilst we can learn about the different cultures in school, we do not fully understand what it is like to live within them if they are different to our own. The discussions with the children and RT gave a better insight into family traditions and priorities, offering a different view and appreciation of how the Romanian children balance home and school life.

During a discussion in the activities, there were a number of areas that the children appeared to have in common. Religion was a large part of their lives for both groups of children, which was expected from the previous discussions in the first theme. Family traditions that were most prominent were those linked to supportive networks, extended family and the wider community. As highlighted in a report by Sanduleasa (2014), it is Romanian tradition for female members of the family to be the main caregivers and home makers, including older sisters and aunties, whilst the men go out to

work. As for Stefan, he only mentioned his grandmother ‘back home’ and his relationship with his uncle. He appeared to have a good relationship with the wider community that maintained and recreated his Romanian heritage, where he felt he belonged.

For both Stefan and Anna, extended family enables them to preserve their national identity as they continue family traditions in the home and community. Anna is one of the eldest daughters in her family and her role in the home is helping her sister and mother to care for her disabled brother as well as chores in the house. Her father works as a driver and her brothers are rarely home. She explained that she misses school to stay at home to help sometimes as it was difficult for her mum with very little support. When discussing family traditions with the RT, she commented that this is quite common for the girls to do chores in the house and they are frequently absent from school to help with family. Government statistic from 2019 show that such reasons for absence are common to many ethnic groups in England and it is also noted in previous years in a report from Roth and Toma (2014) who studied the vulnerabilities and wellbeing of Roma families and children, exploring the occurrence of persistent absence and high levels of mobility.

When discussing absence and mobility rates with the RT, it was noted as a common occurrence in Romania.

> The children do not always finish school…they move around frequently or are taken out of school to work on the land and also marry off the girls at 14 years old (RT: Int)

When asked about illegal marriages in Romania, the translator explained that it is either a monetary agreement between the two families where the marriage is carried out secretly and the girl lives with the boy’s parents until she is 18-years-old. A lot of families also arrange marriages just because they want to ensure that they marry the right person. Although there is no recorded data on the number of underage Roma weddings, they are

generally organised by Roma families who are demonstrating their culturally valued customs, however, these ceremonies are not legally binding (Roth and Toma, 2014). Arranged marriages, however, are more complex. Herta (2019) suggests that the combination of poverty, marginalisation and poorly understood community traditions, as well as the fear of mixed marriages, economic factors and keeping wealth in the community can all contribute to the practice.'

In terms of the value of education, there are similarities between the Romanian and Asian children in the community where it is still traditional for many girls not to go on to further education once leaving school as they tend to marry and take up the prominent role of caring for the family and children and extended family (Heath and Demireva, 2014). This tradition can be due to cultural differences in what are considered appropriate roles for both men and women, with gender roles clearly defining household duties with the male being the breadwinner and the female being the homemaker (Casey, 2016). This tradition also serves to maintain their home language as it is crucial in maintaining family links to prevent the breakdown of communication and family relationships (Cummins 2011).

A discussion about aspirations with the group highlighted a link to maintaining traditional family values as Serish explained how she would like to have a career in childcare, referring to babysitting for her cousins. She explained that her mother and aunties stayed at home and looked after the family and young children whilst her dad and uncles had jobs in the takeaway and the airport. Armaan explained that his mother looked after the family and home whilst his father worked for Microsoft. Contrary to Serish's idea of the future, he had a very clear vision of his own, which involved earning a good salary.

> I want to be a dentist cos they earn a lot of money (laughing). Yeah, cos when you have brace it's *really* expensive…when you're old and they cost like £2000 or something

Anna had a different vision of her future and aspirations, yet still involved a caring role. Being one of the main caregivers for her disabled brother, she had had the good fortune of meeting the nurse who regularly visits the house to treat her brother. This had inspired her to explore a career in nursing.

> My brother is disabled and every week a nurse comes like 2 times a week and they say 'you wanna be a nurse, you wanna be a nurse'? Like yeah and then, then she always talks to me about everything being a nurse…think I might like that.'

This was an interesting conversation because it was contrary to what reports and media imply about the poor work ethic and benefit seeking amongst Romanian families. Anna's father works in a carwash and her mother is a full-time carer, which could have quite easily resulted in her following in her mother and sister's footsteps, as this appears to be the traditional path in her family. Living within deprived area could have impacted negatively on Anna or influenced or reduced her aspirations due to the lack of experience and role models in her life. However, research from Kintrea et al (2011) shows that deprived neighbourhoods should not be classed as areas where aspirations are always low as they can be influenced by social class, culture and direct experiences. Once again, the stereotype of Romanian families was reduced to a myth transmitted through media and bad press rather than conveying positive aspects of Romanian families.

Stefan was a little unsure about his future and aspirations and tried to draw on his parents' experiences and employment. His father is an Uber driver and his mother does not work. He had lost contact with family 'back home' and misses his grandmother and the only constant is his uncle in Germany who is a manager in a shop.

> FL: So, if you could do any job in the whole world what do you think you would like to do?
> S: Like a manager or something.
> Translator: You are very good at talking to people, would you like to be a leader? Someone who stands in front of people with a microphone and speak to people?
> S: yes, I could do that
> FL: That's a great idea. I can imagine you doing a job like that.
> S: My uncle in Germany is good at talking to people

There was an element of pride expressed in his body language as he talked about his uncle. There was clearly a close connection with him and he is a prominent role model in his life who he looked forward to seeing when he visited the UK on holiday. This role model is important for him as his uncle can influence the way Stefan views the world and people around him, although generally, children adopt a similar view of the world as their friends and family and develop ideas of themselves, their expectations and their future, which is very important in achieving a sense of belonging (Furlong et al, 2003).

4.3.4 Summary

When working through the various elements of bridging between home and school, it became apparent that friendships were very important to all the children but looked very different for each group. Initially, it appeared that the Asian children had a strong network of friends and relationships, yet on further discussion, it was very much limited to immediate friends and extended family members, with the exclusion of other children in the community. There was evidence of values and traditions, friendships and community groups as well as strong support networks. This was reflected in the discussions with the children, stating that they had many friends at Mosque, but again, no friends outside that group, which came as a surprise considering the wider community network.

Both Romanian children had different experiences of friendships, which highlighted the differences in levels of acculturation and where they felt positioned in the community. Stefan was quite settled in school and due to learning different languages had the confidence to be able to make friends, whereas Anna had not. It appeared that she was uncomfortable with making friends, but also demonstrated a level of loyalty to her ethnic group where she felt other friends outside that group were not acceptable. There was a notable difference between the types of friendships of both groups, where the Romanian children had a wider range of friends in the community that

extended further than immediate family. Olsen (2010) suggests that due to a smaller number of Romanian families in one area there are fewer opportunities to create networks, until the community develops further and the Romanian community becomes more established.

Ethnic and cultural links highlighted the similarities between the children through stories and artefacts. Again, strong connections were made to the homeland with an element of culture shock for Anna when describing the physical differences, such as traditional dress, languages and the densely populated area of South Asian families to which they had relocated. This highlighted the issue of standing out in such a diverse community and leading to discrimination and hate crime, which widens the gap of integration even further. Interesting data also showed a similar experience for Armaan returning to Pakistan where he felt as if he was on the outside even though he was amongst his own family and culture.

Family traditions revealed the values and roles of family members in each household, both in the UK and in the homeland. There was evidence of very similar cultures where there is still an expectation of following family traditions where the boys and men are the breadwinners whilst the girls and women stay at home to look after the family. In some instances, it was noted that they would be married quite early on and even illegally in Romania. This developed into exploring options for the future when leaving school, with both Anna and Serish expressing an interest in further education and careers moving forward.

4.4 The Mechanisms of Othering

Introduction

This particular section focuses on the findings that contribute to the mechanisms of othering, identifying how and what causes isolation and exclusion within the different cultures of the group and how that impacts on their lives. It also explores how the different cultures are othered and stereotyped according to the ethnic labels and stereotyping associated with

them through different sources of media, reputation and perception of the other from both perspectives. The last sub-theme looks at the findings from data focusing on microaggressions, racism and how that impacts the construction of identity when living within a diverse community.

4.4.1 Isolation and Exclusion

When exploring friendships in theme two, the data initially suggested that the Romanian children did not really have any friends outside their own ethnic group in school or family unit out of school. There was also a similar theme emerging with the Asian children that suggested that family traditions and routines can lead to a similar situation of separation of groups in the community.

During a discussion with Anna, she told me about the time that she first went to school in the UK and how she felt lonely and sad. She explained how her father had taken her to school on the first day and was ‘scared and started crying’ (Anna: Int). She made friends with some of the Romanian children, but felt excluded by the Asian children, explaining how the children were not unkind to her, but told her that they could not play with her because she was not Muslim so the Romanian children stuck together instead (Anna: Int). With a rise in islamophobia and anti-Muslim sentiment, it is understandable that families will be very cautious about who they allow into their community. This type of exclusion by the host community tends to narrow their cultural experiences and any shared similarities, but more importantly, their awareness of a shared heritage of Muslim identity, which is overshadowed by the majority group (Casey, 2016). Furthermore, this prompts the question about the content of the school and mosque curriculum and how children learn about different cultures, but more importantly, the awareness of cultural similarities and how that unites them as an ethnic minority group.

Armaan’s experience when visiting family in Pakistan demonstrated a similar disconnect and sense of belonging even though he was with his own family. As discussed in the previous themes, although family is important to him, he

finds life difficult in Pakistan partially due to a different language, but also because of the cultural differences. One particular anchor point that enabled him to make a connection was shared mealtimes where all his family would come together, which was also a shared tradition in the UK. He expressed how this particular ritual was very important and brought them together as a family, so language was not quite so important as he felt more comfortable in a larger common group. Rasool (2018) supports this statement, explaining that food plays an important part in South Asian culture and identity. It reinforces customs and traditions that are connected to family and community such as Ramadan and weddings. Although Armaan was aware of the shared cultural connections and his struggles with the differences in Pakistan, he seemed to find comfort and a sense of belonging within shared rituals such as mealtimes.

The two instances of culture and different languages highlight how a new environment can contribute to the feeling of detachment, even in the case of Armaan who is already familiar with the culture. When adapting to a new environment, exposure to the receiving culture is necessary to prompt and facilitate changes in a migrant person's cultural identity (Berry, 2017). Settling into a new community and forming relationships will depend largely on how they are received by both the host and heritage culture. It will also affect how they are included within the new community and how they contribute to becoming part of the community (Berzonsky, 1990). Whilst the integration of a new ethnic group is based on how they are received, both groups are equally separated from the wider community in different ways.

> I have lots of friends at school and Mosque, but do not really see anyone out of school (Serish: Maps). Yeah, I have friends in school, but only one out of school…I only see them on a Thursday and Sundays (Armaan: Maps).

The stories told by each child had a common link where the children were isolated within their own group, both in and out of school with the Romanian children excluded by the host community. Heath and Demireva (2014) suggest that this could be a complex situation where the majority group

preserve ethnic norms and values that run counter to those of the broader society, maintaining inward looking communities with the exclusion of outsiders. Due to being the largest Asian community in Oldham, the families maintain a very strong cultural bond and historically have resisted change and newcomers, which forces other ethnicities to build their own community within, but not as part of the wider community. Considering the race riots in 2001 and 9/11 attacks, it is not uncommon for Muslim groups to resist the majority group, forging a reactive ethnicity in response to threats, exclusion and discrimination in favour of solidarity (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001).

This type of reaction to assimilation is also evident amongst the Romanian families, due to their reputation, as a way of protecting their heritage and culture, with a reluctance to assimilate into the majority ethnic group or culture. Berry (2017) argues that whilst migration involves the loss of certain social structures and cultural links, families are often faced with the difficulties of settling within a majority ethnic community. This was also highlighted in a report from Safran (1991) who points out that where such differences are not easily accepted or issues resolved, it can lead to families feeling dislocated and isolated within diasporic groups.

Connectedness is a social process of everyday life produced through interaction with other people and specific socio-cultural contexts, defining and configuring what it means to belong (Wright, 2015). Anderson (1983) and Calhoun (2003) suggest that when migrant groups feel they are unable to connect with the host community, they are more likely to search for others in the same ethnic group and create a shared community which recreates home. This was demonstrated by Anna who had experienced a similar situation where she was unable to connect with the other members of the school and community and chose to remain within her own ethnic group and recreated rituals of ‘back home’ with other Romanian children who all shared the same cultural values. Although there is evidence within this study of a different outlook between Anna and her sisters, which indicates a shift in thinking about the traditional role of Romanian girls in a family and shared aspirations for the future.

Anna, Stefan and the RT confirmed the importance of the Romanian families going to church and their strong Christian beliefs, but due to the area, churches are not locally accessible. With Romanian families housed in more deprived areas such as Oldham and within a predominantly South Asian community, there are several Mosques in the locality, but not so many churches that were open (ONS, 2019). This had been an issue for the families as the cost implications of travelling and transporting a disabled child meant that they had not been able to go to church. Eisenbruch (1990) and Bhugra (2004) stress the importance of routines and traditions of migrants when settling in the receiving country. Not only do they struggle with new languages and cultures, they also miss family traditions and gatherings such as attending church, which can affect their mental health, causing a sense of loss of cultural identity.

Church is an important part of family life and culture for Romanian families who embrace Orthodoxy as an element of national belonging and identity. Constantin Schifirnet (2013) suggests that it is the shared experiences, folk customs, social and political exclusion that draw the communities together though their religion and sense of belonging, yet they were struggling to maintain this connection, which affected their connection to home and identity. This lack of connection to their religious rituals and processes affects social structures and groups when moving into a well-established community, which only emphasises and strengthens the connection with home and national identity rather than encouraging integration (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001).

4.4.2 Ethnic Labelling and Stereotyping

Many migrant groups arriving in the Oldham area are placed in settled communities within the borough, which are predominantly home to South Asian families, represented through dress, language and religion. Romanian families residing amongst the existing Asian community also have their own distinctive representation of their culture in the same way that draws

attention to the difference to the rest of the community. The children in the study openly discussed their thoughts and ideas of ethnicity and the differences shared in the community.

During the mapping activity, Anna explained what it was like becoming part of the local community:

> It was different coming here to England. The people are different…look different and their clothes too. People (other children) laughed at me because I look different to them and my clothes (Anna: Map).

When asked how she thought that they looked different, she described the colour of their skin and traditional clothing worn by the people in the community. She felt that she stood out and was laughed at due to her ethnicity, language and differences in traditional clothes. The observation of her own ethnicity and that of the host community suggested an element of surprise at the large Asian culture in relation to the smaller Romanian community, which made her uncomfortable. When families migrate, quite often the children are too young to have any input into the destination or receiving community. For many families, such as in this instance, relocating can be a culture shock especially when moving to a densely populated South Asian community. Berry (2017) and Pantiru and Barley (2019) explain that when an ethnic group moves to a community which is heavily populated by another ethnic group, acculturation issues can arise. From discussions with the children there was evidence that the cultural differences had impacted on how newcomers settled in the area.

Stefan also spoke of the time his sister came to stay and how she was sworn at by some Asian children, calling her a ‘gypsy’ and a ‘thief’. The translator explained that the Roma Gypsy children never disclose their ethnicity because it is embarrassing for them as they are usually known for being poor and stealing. Hall (2000) argues that the representation of cultures is fabricated by media and the news which is then imprinted in the public’s mind causing the reputation to remain attached to that particular group. Within the Roma Gypsy community, this reputation has stayed with the

families and become a familiar descriptor of their ethnicity, which is generally a distorted representation. As an ethnic minority group residing in a South Asian community, Romanian families have different cultural and physical differences which can result in being singled out and facing unequal treatment by the majority group due to being the most dominant group with more power (Wong, 2000). As the number of Eastern European migrants have increased, some members of communities have reacted negatively towards their new neighbours, becoming a target of resentment, claiming that they are coming to the country and taking jobs and benefits (O'Connor, 2016).

This type of ethnic labelling is partially created from false or inflated media coverage distributing inaccurate information and also from the lack of cross-cultural awareness resulting in a lack of respect in cultural differences in the form of stereotyping (Anning, 2010). As discovered in the data, the two different groups share many similarities in their cultures. Both groups have specific family traditions related to style of dress, supportive family network and share similar religious practices, yet they are labelled as the 'other' feeling excluded, emphasising how 'they' differ from 'us' and not fitting the norm. Brons (2015) offers an alternative view on differences, explaining how othering is self-other distantiating and dehumanising the other. However, not necessarily in the form of superiority and other inferiority, rather that the other is alien to their culture and values. This then creates a virtually impenetrable border between 'us' and 'them', justifying social exclusion and discrimination.

Whilst agreeing with Brons, within inter-ethnic relationships, it is inevitable that prejudices can lead children to compare their own culture and beliefs reinforcing the grouping of children as 'them' or 'Other' (Hall, 1997), however, being othered is not something that only happens to migrant families. Further discussions with the RT highlighted how there is a clear divide amongst Romanian groups where Gypsies are persecuted back in Romania, creating a bad image and reputation and portrayed as all being criminals (RT: Int). This is a familiar theme across the community where cultural myths

encapsulate a collective consciousness of them through shared narratives and cultural rituals. Barthes (1977) considers myth as a mode of language through signification which is defined by its intention rather than its literal meaning. The function of myth is to remove reality and produce a signifier without depth, distorting particular images or signs to appear natural and removing the opportunity to construct meaning.

Myths are not read as such, rather they are received and do not require any interpretation through a code, only a certain cultural knowledge is necessary to understand the message. Barthes (1977) argues that those who consume myth, such as tabloid readers, do not see images as myth, but what an image signifies. However, myth only occurs if the consumer is a true believer and the message is successfully delivered (Robinson, 2011), for instance, Barthes' example of a black soldier saluting the French flag on the cover of a Parisian magazine denoting that the French are militaristic and that France is a great multi-ethnic empire. Another example is French red wine, which Barthes (1977) referred to as the French nation's totem drink. Again, the denotation serves the purpose of creating an ideology of Frenchness and what French life is like and about. Such ideologies also create stereotypes of nations, ethnicities and cultures, where myth is created and consumed by those who believe it to be true, especially through the deployment of tabloids and media.

Ethnic minorities are often faced with stereotypical views created by the media and tabloids, portraying a false or distorted view of them and this study highlights some of the common myths around their culture and ethnicity. During the activities, both the Romanian children told the group that they were Roma Gypsies, but they had never disclosed this information to the other children until this point, due to the possible repercussions that they were familiar with. Anna felt embarrassed about being a gypsy, which is possibly why she is so wary and untrusting of the community in which she lives. Hall (2000) suggests that when individuals or groups are stereotyped or othered, it can cause them to either adopt the host culture or choose to remain within their own group as it avoids further issues or ridicule. It

appeared that Anna felt that she had no other choice but to remain within her own group due to the stereotype attached to Gypsies, but still maintained her loyalty to her heritage even though she felt ashamed of the reputation they had. Conversely, when initially discussing friends with Stefan, he seemed quite confident with his friendship group with no mention of personal experiences of discrimination and ethnic labelling. Agreeing with Hall (2000), Berry (2017) highlights how stereotypes force individuals to re-evaluate and renegotiate their identity and positioning in the new community and if they choose to assimilate or not. For Stefan, it appeared that his friendships were a way of assimilating into the local culture and to distance himself from the stigma attached to his ethnic group to find his place in the new community.

Following a separate interview with Anna (with some translation), she disclosed that she had witnessed a racist attack on her family when they first arrived in the UK, by people she thought were Asian.

> There was always trouble where we lived. People would always shout things at us and throw things at the house. One day two men broke into our door and came in the house shouting and swearing and throwing things around. They said they 'we want our bike back, you stole our bike' and swearing, but we did not have a bike! (Anna:Int).

She said that nobody was physically hurt, but her mum and sisters were very upset and scared. The distress in her voice and change in body language demonstrated how much she had been affected by the event and the trauma was clearly evident as she retold the story. This is a typical hate crime attack provoked by media coverage labelling and placing Romanians in the context of crime and social problems, which only marginalises them further and prevents living peacefully in a mixed community (Hammarberg, 2011). Furthermore, ethnic labels and stereotyping in such a situation as this reinforces the myth of the other, reducing all migrant families to criminals or identified as deviants which can impact on subsequent behaviour (Becker, 1963; Hall, 2000; and Barthes, 2015).

Barthes' work on myth highlights how media can fuel hate crimes against minority groups by distorting images and stereotypes of certain groups.

Whilst Bathes reminds us that myths have no room for interpretation, Hall (1997) argues that tabloids and media are more than capable of constructing a specific narrative to its readers through the process of encoding images to portray a specific story to reach a specific audience. Advertising and media are a prime example of where a message is encoded and then decoded by the viewer, however, the end result is often very suggestive to portray an intended message. Both Hall (1997) and Barthes (1977) agree that stereotypes are constructions of stories. They take images, emptying reality and its history, whilst at the same time filling it to carry a different meaning with any real meaning stripped away and replaced by a myth. As explained by Hall (2007), encoding is used specifically to make the reader believe what is intended by the creator and as a result, people are constantly plunged into false nature, which is actually a constructed and skewed system.

When considering the Romanian children's experiences and those of the Asian community, there was a similar theme of discrimination where the community have experienced decades of racist abuse and attacks for similar reasons. The Asian families in the community share similar stereotyping issues, not dissimilar to the Romanians, including derogatory remarks towards the deep rooted traditional cultural lives they lead (Cantle, 2001). On further exploration, neither of the South Asian children reported any experiences of stereotyping or racism, which prompts the question as to whether the lack of external connections and relationships shields them from the racism and negative stereotypes. If so, this could indicate that there is still a reluctance towards integration and living in a mixed neighbourhood with different customs, religions and values (Ritchie, 2001).

Contrary to Anna's embarrassment about the history of her heritage, both Serish and Armaan had a very strong and proud connection to their background with no knowledge of the riots and the devastation caused as a result. Their strong family and community links were extremely prominent in the conversations and prompted me to think about their cultural values and support system. The families have very strong family ties and live in a self-sufficient community, but do not refer to racism in the area. The situation

presents itself as though the families live separated from the rest of the town and therefore do not experience the same issues. However, this is contrary to belief in the case of Romanian parents who report issues to the school about the South Asian community. When considering imagined communities, Anderson (1983) argues that migrant groups find comfort and security within a familiar environment, whether that is an existing community or a new one, they recreate home in a new country.

Whilst agreeing with Anderson's recreation of the homeland, it is clear how the South Asian community is a prime example of what it actually means to live within an imagined community, maintaining national identity and values. Perhaps this is a direct result of their own experiences of migration decades ago and as stated by Hall (1997), it is a way of avoiding further issues by reinforcing their national identity and heritage in a familiar environment where they feel safe. As an observer from the outside looking in, the South Asian community appear to manage and control what penetrates their cultural community, protecting their families whilst on the outside there are microaggressions and racism aimed at their community.

4.4.3 Microaggressions, Racism and Identity

Following on from the sub-theme of Ethnic Labelling and Stereotyping, it was important to explore the effects of stereotyping further and how stigma manifests itself in newly arrived children and how this impacts on the construction of identity.

When exploring the lived experiences of the Romanian children in the group, they explained that their families had migrated to the UK for a better way of life, to find work and also to seek support for a disabled sibling. Initially, Stefan did not have any issues when moving into the community and he made many friends both in and out of school, however, he did disclose some issues that his sister had experienced who was subjected to derogatory comments and racial abuse. Hall (2007) reminds us how ethnic groups can be portrayed as the other with a set of distinctive cultural stereotypes

attached to them creating a less favourable opinion of them. This is quite a common occurrence amongst Romanian families in the area as there is a general assumption that all Romanians are gypsies, who are commonly labelled as thieves and scroungers, amongst other negative things.

This late disclosure from Stefan about his sister prompted me to revisit my journal entries and see if my initial thoughts about this seemingly popular, over-confident character who had lots of friends may not have been completely true. Perhaps as Holland et al (1988) suggest, Stefan has constructed his own narrative to portray a different life, taking control in the lead role to feel part of the community. Samanani (2018) claims that when migrants join a new community, it is not uncommon for them to re-evaluate their cultural values and try to fit in with the dominant culture, whether it be either embracing their culture or suppressing it due to embarrassment of the stereotype attached to their culture. Although he had not mentioned having any issues and was very convincing when talking about having lots of friends, I was curious as to what he was not saying and how much of the story remained untold.

When reflecting on journal entries, there were snippets of information I had noted that gave a different view of his experiences. There were frequent changes in body language, which included a very open and laid-back posture and being overly confident at times when the conversation was about himself, yet when discussing family, he became very closed, shrinking back into his seat with a lack of eye contact. As highlighted by Rochmah et al (2020), body language and gestures are a primitive form of language expression that expresses a concept, belief or feeling, which can offer an insight to what a person is saying in a nonverbal action. The change in body language by Stefan and the reluctance to comment or contribute to conversations was also noted when Anna was discussing her experiences of being singled out because of her ethnicity. Stefan’s actions, body language and words (or lack of) highlighted the shifting between the actors he played in his constructed narrative to both project an image of how he wanted to be

portrayed and also to protect himself from the stigma attached to his ethnicity.

Contrary to the stories from Stefan, Anna had spoken openly about her experience as a migrant and her issues associated with the stigma attached to her culture causing her to have very little trust in the community outside her own family network. This has clearly impacted on the way she views the other culture and how she positions herself in the community, purposely detaching herself in her own family community. Nye (2007) explains how multicultural societies need to observe and learn about the communities they live in to appreciate their differences. Bearing this in mind, there is a possibility that it could lead to social distancing between the different cultures, but it would enable them to accept and tolerate diversity rather than resorting to negative stereotypes. Within the community, Anna's differences were not accepted and as a result she experienced negative behaviour such as laughing at her because she looked different, which is a clear example of the microaggressions inflicted due to the lack of understanding of her culture. There was also evidence of stronger aggressions and racism from her previous story where the family were accused of stealing a bicycle and forced their way into the house, which further demonstrates the stigma attached to Romanians.

The assault that she said she and her family experienced was a result of the label attached to the reputation of Romanian migrants. One main issue with labels is that they are frequently used as prominent identity markers, which can determine social relationships depending on the reception of migrants (Phinney, 2003). On this occasion, it was a negative experience of exclusion and discrimination, which caused Anna to be frightened by the local people. Whilst they live in the same community, they have a limited understanding of each other's cultures or the desire to learn about them either. Instead, the ignorance of each other reinforces a clear divide in the community creating an 'us' and 'them' environment (Hall, 1997).

Whilst facilitating the activities, there was a strong sense of natural separation amongst the group. Not only were the two cultures very separate

within the community, but the relationships between family and friends were equally as limited. Both Serish and Armaan had very strong cultural links which were grounded in their religious beliefs and also strong family links, which were clearly the foundation of the community support system. Although this is very common for this community, they have limited friendships outside the family network, with friends being part of the family.

> I have lots of friends in school in class and lots at Mosque, but I do not see anyone out of school (Serish: Map)
>
> I have friends in school, but only 1 out of school…on a Thursday and Sunday (Armaan: Map)

I found this quite intriguing when the children explained the arrangements with friends out of school as they were very limited to a small number of people or groups. The Romanian children were in a very similar situation where they rely on family for support, yet they do have friends in the community and not just limited to extended family.

> I stick to my own kind…I play with other kids from Romania on my street and my cousins (Anna: Int)
>
> I play with Romanian kids out of school, but everyone in school (Stefan: Map)

The two groups clearly remain separate within their shared community; however, the Romanian children appear to have a more flexible approach with friendships within their own group. Whilst the Asian families live within a well-established community and hold strong cultural values, traditions and historic events, the Romanian families live separately within their own space on the perimeter of the community. Both Nye (2007) and Hall (2007) point out that the lack of understanding about different cultures widens the social gap, creating forms of stigma and stereotypes through a perceived social representation of the other. The stereotypes assigned to each group denies the possibility of any meaningful discourse about or with them which then becomes a permanent exclusion or access to each group (Hall, 1997). As explained by Bhugra (2014), the experience of migration can have a huge

impact on mental health and cultural bereavement, especially families who have escaped persecution or a catastrophic event in their home country. If the host community rejects or alienates the new arrivals, poor self-esteem may occur and any chance of integrating will be shut down.

Whilst stigma is attached to Romanian people in the UK and regularly in the tabloids, they are also persecuted in Romania where Gypsies are Othered by non-Gypsies.

> Back home, they have a bad reputation for being thieves and experience racism from other Romanians…even in school the teachers are unkind to Gypsy children and treated unfairly (Translator: Int)

Roma Gypsies who live in Romania are discriminated against in their own community and when they migrate to the UK, they are faced with a similar situation when they are Othered. Some parents have even compared the way they are treated to the way 'the Nazis treated people' (Translators: Int). If Romanian families feel that they are being persecuted both at home and in the host country because of their ethnicity, it is not surprising that they would choose to remain detached from the rest of the community to avoid further problems. Anna seems to have struggled with assimilation due to the stigma and the microaggressions she has experienced, whereas Stefan has managed to settle into the community rather well. As stated by Erikson (1968) the impact of social interaction and relationships shape the development of a child (and the whole lifespan) as they experience various obstacles and conflicts that play a role in their growth as a human being. Both Anna and Stefan have dealt with encountered different experiences where they have both reacted differently whilst at the same time renegotiating their identity to feel they belong.

Given that identity develops through changes in a social environment, exposure to the receiving culture is necessary to prompt and facilitate changes in a migrant person's cultural identity. Phinney et al (2001) stress cultural identity is constantly evolving, shifting understanding of one's identity in relation to others around one. Furthermore, children who develop

relationships within the host community develop a sense of belief about themselves and their culture, strengthening identity, opposed to negative, racist comments that instil doubt and dislike of self, causing an identity crisis (Erikson, 1968). A study by Zagefka and Brown (2002) examined the impact of acculturation in both migrants and the host country to understand intergroup relations and assimilation, which found that assimilation is not always possible or even wanted. With the children in this study, it prompts the question as to whether assimilation is that important to the two groups as they are very settled in their individual cultures and environment. Whether assimilation is successful or not, Zagefka and Brown found that regardless of whether immigrants choose to assimilate or not, they risk being ostracised by both the host and heritage culture, which then creates more issues for the families involved.

Isolation and exclusion uncovered a number of issues, particularly with the Romanian children where stories of separation from home highlighted the need to find a space in which they belonged. Whilst Stefan was seemingly comfortable in the host community, it also gave an insight to his life behind the ever-changing characters he was playing to reveal the loss of his family that he felt. Anna however was far more open about her experiences of exclusion and how her ethnicity excluded her from the community, which impacted on her ability to integrate. This particular section also further highlighted the lack of social inclusion, experiences and connectedness that is conducive to feeling part of the whole community, but on the other hand, perhaps that is not what they actually need.

Both the Asian children had experienced feeling detached in different ways in their own contexts. Armaan explained how he felt different when visiting home due to the both an unfamiliar language and a difference of culture to some extent, prompting him to empathise with Anna as he could relate to feeling excluded in another country. Serish, however, was so engrossed in her Bangladeshi heritage that she was displaying a sense of grief for the home she had never visited. Her feeling of belonging and connectedness to the homeland was so powerful that she seemed to be disconnected from her

actual life in the UK whilst simultaneously excluded from her heritage in Bangladesh.

Ethnic labelling and stereotyping highlighted the experiences of being different within a diverse culture and environment. Visual differences such as clothes and race were discussed and how this automatically gave a certain impression of them, which was usually one of prejudice and discrimination. The Romanian children shared experiences of being labelled as Gypsies and thieves, receiving derogatory comments and treatments due to the stigma attached to their ethnicity. The effects of this had impacted on Anna's decision to remain in her own ethnic group to protect her from further racism, which isolated her further. Interestingly, Stefan appeared to be unphased by the stereotypical views and comments, however, behind the confident, smiling exterior, there was evidence of being affected by this experience (Stefan: Int)

The assumption that all Romanians are Gypsies is a common stereotype amongst families in the local area and can lead to microaggressions (Hirsch et al, 1987). Stefan had said that he had not experienced any negative experiences relating to his ethnicity, although his sister had many years ago. Regardless of this experience, he has still managed to assimilate in the host community and make friends, however, Anna has experienced a difficult time when trying to settle in the host community. She disclosed that she had experienced some microaggressions and racism a few years earlier when a group of Asian men barged their way into their home making accusations of stealing. This is something that upsets her deeply and has impacted on how she views the people in her community, unable to build trust in others, particularly Asian people. There is a noted difference between how both Anna and Stefan had settled into the community. I feel that Stefan's confidence and ability to speak good English has boosted his self-esteem and enabled him to make friends, whereas Anna has had a very different experience and feels more comfortable with her own community.

When considering the Asian community, the data highlighted that the Asian children have not experienced any microaggressions or racism, regardless of

the race riots in 2001. However, they have a very close knit community and do not include outsiders. Due to these restrictions, there is a gap in understanding of each other's culture and therefore do not forge friendships due to the stigma attached to their cultures. The negative effect of microaggressions and stereotyping can stay with the affected group and instil doubt and dislike about themselves and cause an identity crisis. Considering Barthes, Hall and Anderson's work on representation and imagined communities, it is more likely that the Asian families have settled over many decades in an imagined community carrying out rituals from 'back home' in Pakistan and Bangladesh and also culturally visually represented by their dress, traditions and language.

4.4.4 Summary

Whilst the aim of the activities was to gain an understanding of how the stigma attached to Romanian families affected the experiences of newly arrived children in the host community, the data highlighted very similar shared experiences with the South Asian children. There was a notable gap in an understanding of each other's cultures, although, the Romanian children had a good level of knowledge about the Muslim community.

The collection of data provided a wealth of knowledge about the two cultures, uncovering more similarities than differences, through story telling of connections to home. When unpicking the stories, it became apparent that all the children had very strong cultural and family networks, which offered a sense of belonging in their individual communities, which can be perceived as two very separate groups that excluded the other. When exploring the lived experiences of the South Asian children, there was evidence of the children being protected from racism by being part of a closed community to the point of friendships being limited to family members or from Mosque (Serish and Armaan: maps). The Romanian children also lived in a similar closed community finding comfort and belonging in the wider Romanian community which suggests that the families attempt to recreate a sense of home, connection and belonging to their national identity.

The Romanian children were very aware of being excluded from their peers in school, although this was not due to the stigma attached to their ethnicity. During the activities, the South Asian children had clearly evidenced there were exclusive community networks within it, however, the negative experiences highlighted by Anna had resulted in detaching herself from the other children. Stefan however had a different view where he wanted to be a part of the wider community with friends, but again, only had friendships within the Romanian community. The reluctance to extend his network of friends linked back to the stereotyping of Romanians, which restricted his relationships outside his own ethnic circle. A combination of stigma, stereotypes and cultural traditions amongst the two groups present different issues, which contribute to an ‘us and them’ environment.

In the next section, the focus is based on answering the research questions, which will be discussed in more detail.

Chapter 5: Overview of Data

5.1 Theme 1: Homelife and belonging

Family values and traditions appear to be an integral part of life and how the children develop their own sense of self. Families are reliant on the extended community for support, with the exclusion of the wider community. There is evidence to demonstrate close ties with 'back home' either through stories told by the children or visiting family. This includes the Romanians maintaining the home language with very little need to learn English due to their support network (Anna, Int), whilst second and third generation South Asian children are taught their home language to enable them to communicate with their family, which is spoken within the home (Serish, ID box). From the data gathered, it appears that the home language is very important to the children as it enables them to be able to communicate with extended family both in the UK and also to maintain family values and traditions (Armaan: Maps). It would appear, therefore, that maintaining the home language for both Asian and Romanian families is very important in how they maintain family communication and relationships and a sense of belonging in their individual ethnic groups in the community.

When exploring experiences of home further, friendships were highlighted across both groups of children, offering an interesting view of the types of friendships and their significance. Whilst friendships did not necessarily have a direct link to homelife, it was a significant contributor to how the children positioned themselves not only in the local community, but within their family and extended community. It also gave an indication of how the two groups perceived each other, linking to cultural traditions whilst blinkered by their own ethnic group and values. For example, the data highlighted that both groups had many friends in school, yet both groups did not have friendships outside their ethnic group outside of school. It was noted that the Romanian children had a specific group of friends that were limited to family or friends who lived in their street as it was likened to 'being back home playing with

my cousins and friends' (Anna: Maps). Similarly, the Asian children described having many friends in school, yet they only had one, and even no, friends outside of school whom they only saw on specific days.

When exploring data collected from discussions and stories with the group, it appeared that friendships were shaped by family and cultural values, that didn't appear to promote a wider friendship group. The experience of friendships as part of homelife within both groups appeared to offer a particular structure for each ethnic group, building a strong sense of belonging by connecting with family and the community. There was evidence of this amongst both groups where the Asian children had strong friendship groups in Mosque, as did the Romanian children within their own extended community. There was a sense of friendships being important in school, however, there was evidence of Anna preferring to remain within her own ethnic group in school. Anna gave an example of being invited to play with the Asian children in school but felt reluctant to join in as she preferred to 'stick to her own kind'. This was due to sharing the same language and background, both in and out of school with other Romanian children, which had been reinforced by a past experience of not being able to play with the Asian children as she was not Muslim.

The connection to homelife was further highlighted by a deep sense of belonging when Romanian children referred to home, describing fond memories and experiences of family 'back home', clearly demonstrating the loss, or sense of bereavement, they felt. On further investigation, the importance of home was strongly linked to family in Romania for Anna and Stefan due to their absence since relocating to the UK. Similarly, Armaan talked about his family 'back home' in Pakistan and the memories he had of his time there. Although there were mixed emotions about Pakistan and England, he clearly had a deep connection to Pakistan through the stories told. Conversely, the Bangladeshi child in the group described vivid memories of home and family, although she had not actually visited. These 'memories' had been recreated from stories told within the home, which were deep rooted within the family to maintain family links and traditions.

5.2 Theme 2: Cultural traditions and values

The data has a constant thread linking to religion, which is demonstrated through the artefacts the children brought that symbolize or represent who they are within that culture and family network, including their experiences/stories of their culture. Stories of religious links and rituals was demonstrated by the items shared with the group, for example, the prayer beads and scarf were quite a revelation to Serish and Armaan. They could not understand how or why the Anna also had the same items that were part of their religion. This element of surprise was not reciprocated though because Anna and Stefan were already familiar with the local cultural dress and religion, including symbolic items such as the prayer scarves and beads (Anna: ID Box). They were also familiar with regular activities and discussion in school around Asian culture such as Ramadan and Eid (Anna: ID Box, Stefan: Map).

Whilst both groups of children are part of large extended families, each of them has similar roles within the home and family, which also links to cultural traditions and homelife. The data highlights traditions such as self-sufficient families where the girls tend to help out in the home with chores and looking after siblings from a young age, whereas there is an absence of the boys' involvement with family life. This appeared to be a familiar cycle within their families, noting that their older siblings lacked aspirations for their future and chose to follow family and cultural tradition. This was evident as the girls in the group were clearly focused on a caring role in the family, which had been influenced by female role models whereas the boys had been influenced by father figures/uncles who had jobs in a professional role (Anna: Int, Stefan: Map, Serish: Map).

There is a clear sense of belonging within the families, their culture and local community through various role models and family traditions, which seems to have had an impact on how the children perceive themselves and their position in the local community where they live. During the study, it became

apparent that family and cultural values were so strong, through stories told or deep-rooted rituals passed down through the generations, that the children were being shaped and moulded into images of previous generations to maintain cultural values and beliefs. When reflecting on Serish's experience, this was a clear example of how strong connections to a particular culture, stories and artefacts can manifest themselves into the individual, creating an imagined community of how they perceive themselves and those outside their group.

When considering the context of a shared community, the creation of an 'imagined community' appears to be due to a migrant background from previous generations when settling in a then predominantly white area and also one of the needs for self-preservation of culture. However, this way of life may not be intentional. Anderson (1983) reminds us that the strong attachment to culture and need to remain a separate group is an interesting concept. Each generation tends to repeat the same cycle from a very young age and have very little lived experience (if any at all) of the 'homeland' that they live within. There is a notable difference with the Romanian families living within this shared community. They create an imagined community primarily due to migration experiences and the reputation that precedes them, but also for self-preservation and protection from the stigma and stereotyping of their ethnic group (Anna: Int).

5.3 Theme 3: Mechanics of Othering

Building on the data in 4.2, there are similarities between both groups in the community, with evidence of separation and exclusion between the different ethnic groups. Evidence highlights how restricted friendships and relationships do not promote integration and actually widen the gap further as families remain in their own ethnic groups. The idea of 'home' is so strong within the imagined community that it is not a case of one group that 'other' the other group, leaving them on the outside, instead they remain detached, suggesting that they subsequently 'other' themselves.

There is evidence in the data of Romanian children feeling stigmatized by the Asian community in which they live due to their clothes, skin colour and reputation of thieving gypsies, often experiencing aggressive attacks or encounters with people in the community (Anna: Int, RT: Int). This was highlighted in the interview where it was mentioned that Anna did not trust the people in her community due to the negative behaviour experienced. However, the conversations with the participants suggest both ethnic groups are stigmatised and stereotyped, sharing many similarities and experiences which continue to be a cyclical process, passed down through generations. This study raises interesting questions about how and why this happens at such a young age as primary school children and what facilitates this. In an attempt to address these issues, my findings from the study can be used to develop relationships with families in school to improve and develop induction and inclusion policies and bring families together from all ethnic groups in the community.

Within both groups of children, family values are very important, with parents having a major influence on how the children develop and learn in a social environment. They clearly have a major impact on shaping and developing their children's beliefs, attitudes and opinions, which is highlighted in the data. The stigma attached to the Romanian families appears to be deep rooted in the local community, contributing to the segregation of the wider community. The false or inflated stories in the media construct an image of

their ethnic group, which then leads the rest of the community to form various opinions about Romanians and refer to them in a derogatory manner through parents or family members speaking about them in a negative manner. These opinions are then fed down to the children who become programmed to think the same thing and hold the same views as their families.

This type of experience was referred to in a discussion with a participant (Anna: Int) who shared her experiences of how these stereotypes impacted the integration process when arriving in the UK. Conversations with some parents in school have also indicated a negative and skewed view of Romanian families based on their ethnicity, focusing on the reputation of thieving gypsies and taking jobs. The conversations with these particular Asian families implied a threat to the Asian community due to the difference in morals, values and beliefs, causing anxiety in intergroup relations due to the lack of knowledge about the norms of the other group. Interestingly, the Asian community are familiar with being stereotyped, yet in this instance, their perception of Romanian families was of a lower status and presenting themselves as a superior group and engaging in stereotyping.

During the data collection sessions, all the children had many things in common, such as homelife, family and religion. They also shared a common link of migrant backgrounds, yet this did not appear to encourage any bonding or sense of belonging within a wider migrant community. When linking the data back to the conceptual framework, I referred to the race riots, which was a contributing factor to segregation amongst the Asian and white community. The stereotypes and stigma attached to their ethnicity and race caused an ‘us’ and ‘them’ situation, othering each group and leading to a closed, exclusive community. Since the arrival of the Romanians in the Asian community, they have created the same situation as the one they experienced first-hand, appearing to either not understand or choosing to ignore the similarities and difficulties they share (Serish: ID Box, Anna: ID Box, RT: Int). It could also suggest the possibility of power dynamics where the majority group feel they have a higher social status based on the reputation of Romanian families (Bourdieu, 1977), whilst the Romanian

families also have similar views of the neighbouring Asian families, reinforcing the ‘other’.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

This final chapter concludes the thesis by drawing on my own findings and answering the research questions before moving onto the implications of the research and the contribution to knowledge. It will also consider the reliability and validity of the study, including the limitations and end by reflecting my doctoral research journey.

When embarking on this study, the purpose was to gain a deeper understanding of the lived experience and othering of Eastern European children when migrating to the UK and living with and amongst a South Asian community. This was highlighted as an important research topic whilst working with newly arrived families in the school. It was evident that newly arrived children were struggling to settle in a new community, especially within a different culture and that induction policies and procedures did not meet the needs of the children. Part of the problem was due to not knowing enough about the families or their background to ensure appropriate data was collected to improve policies. The rationale for the study was based on previous research (Tereschenko and Archer, 2014) and the experiences of a number of primary school aged children and families who were isolated and excluded from the local community. As the study progressed, there was a slight shift in direction of the lived experience, with the data highlighting a strong sense of self and belonging. The stories and discussions that took place were firmly rooted in their own family heritage and nationality rather than wanting or needing to be accepted by the host community. Interestingly, this was also reflected in discussions with the South Asian children, offering a similar insight to their lived experiences and heritage.

In order to understand how ideas of home and a sense of belonging shapes the migration experience, it is important to understand how people live within the wider community and school community. It is also crucial to gain an

insight into how ethnic groups coexist, not only from a migrant child's point of view, but also from the existing South Asian community and children with whom they share it. This will involve a greater insight into the local history of the area and engagement with the wider community when understanding how stories are passed down through generations. It is equally important to explore how these multiple histories and stories create a sense of belonging within close knit groups, leading them to remain separate, constructing and reinforcing an imagined community.

A greater understanding is needed of how and why families in the community share many similarities of homelife, national identity and rituals between the two groups of children, yet fails to promote any form of bonding as marginalised groups. There is a need to unravel the deep-rooted values of family and national identity in both groups to understand if this is a conscious decision to retain their heritage with exclusion to outsiders or if they genuinely feel detached from the wider community. This then prompts further investigation into the othering of these two groups and subsequently all migrants and new arrivals. The study has demonstrated that as a whole, both groups are othered in a way which has been created by and done to themselves rather than to each other. Bearing this in mind, this raises further issues on a larger scale around integration and acceptance of being part of a multicultural community due to the exclusion of other ethnic groups. To understand the community on a deeper level requires further exploration about the broader social forces that affect their decision to live amongst and within a single ethnic group. National identity is clearly an important aspect of each of the two groups, as are their religious beliefs, however, the level of deprivation in the area means that the communities have an integral support network on which they rely heavily.

From an outside perspective, Casey (2016) argues that regardless of levels of deprivation, most ethnic minority groups tend to live in more residentially 'segregated communities', some of whom are less inclined to live alongside other communities. This can be linked to self-preservation of national identity and culture, or fear of ethnic and racial harassment. Either way, the lack of

contact with other minority groups reduces community cohesion and reinforces the myth and stereotype of ethnic minority groups as different more broadly. On the other hand, it also reinforces the imagined community, which allows them to recreate the homeland rather than developing some interaction with different the ethnic group in the shared community.

6.2 Answering the Research Questions

6.2.1 RQ1. How do Eastern European children experience belonging in the host country?

As outlined in the conceptual framework, migration is a long and difficult process where families and children experience a range of emotional challenges (Olsen et al, 2010). Migrant children retain strong attachments to their heritage and cultural traditions and face incidents of racism due to being different to the existing community. Aside from their differences, they are also stereotyped against a range of various negative reputations, which can be perceived as two cultures that isolate themselves within a shared community.

During the study, there was evidence of very strong connections to family support and networks, which became the basis of how the Romanian families settled in the community. Due to the negative view of Romanian families within the wider community, the children found a sense of belonging amongst their own family, friends and the larger Romanian community. There was a difference in the Romanian children's experience where Stefan had reported minimal experience of racism and stereotyping and had assimilated into the community and made friends with the children in the host community. Anna however had experienced microaggressions and racism first-hand, which had resulted in her being very wary of the local predominantly South Asian community and unable to trust them.

The data highlighted that even though the Romanian children found a sense of belonging in different ways, such as assimilation or the basis of how they arrived there was through family traditions and cultural connections. Their different experiences had determined how their migration story would shape

belonging and their lives in a different culture. Although Stefan had some issues directed at his ethnicity, he was determined to make friends and absorb himself and belong in his new environment, which was clearly linked to his confidence, whereas Anna's experience had shut down communications and relationships with the host community. This self-protection method had contributed to how, and to what extent (if any), they chose to interact or engage with the host community.

When comparing the data with the South Asian children, this was also a common link where they shared very similar experiences to the Romanian children. Their shared experience of discrimination and racism had forced them to become very protective, with the exclusion of others as a way of self-protection and preservation of culture and customary ways. The powerful cultural links were evident within the South Asian families who have been very protective of their heritage and community since the devasting race riots. Again, this was highlighted within the study where the children had not experienced any racism or been aware of the riots.

Although the riots are part of the community's history, this was never discussed with the children and it was not raised by them either, which leads me to believe that this is not at the forefront of the community any longer. However, more than 20 years later it is occasionally talked about in the local media due to the severity of the incident and how it shook the community. Perhaps that says more about how I experienced and remember the riots and the devastation caused, which has made me more sensitive to racism in the same community. Whilst the incident was many years before the arrival of Romanian migrant families and would probably not interest them, it could possibly be a piece of history used in an attempt to unite them as a stigmatised group and forge a sense of empathy and understanding and appreciation of their different cultures.

6.2.2 RQ2. How does the stigma attached to ethnic groups manifest in newly arrived children?

The Romanian children's experience of living in the UK had impacted differently on them, both resulting in very different experiences of migration

and assimilation. Stefan appeared to have settled with minimal disruption, whereas Anna had experienced racial abuse. The data demonstrated the feeling of detachment felt by both children and the way in which they dealt with it. Where Stefan had experienced racism through his sister, he was still determined to ‘fit in’ to the community and make friends with children in the host community. Anna in comparison had been affected by her experiences of stereotyping, stigma and racism, which had caused her to shut down communication with the other ethnic groups in the community and school as a way of protecting herself and her family.

Regardless of the different approaches to migration, the experiences of both Romanian children had impacted on how they identified with the community and also their link with home and family. Both the need to be part of the popular group, and also to be completely separated from it, impacts on their values and identity and how they shape their views. The two different responses to the stigma attached to the Romanian culture demonstrated the different ways of managing the difficulties they faced and developing their identity. Stefan, for example, acknowledged the discrimination against his family, yet he continued to forge friendships with the host community. This clearly demonstrates his determination to be part of the community, renegotiating his identity throughout to maintain his position amongst his peers This however seemed to be at a cost to his emotional state as he was unable or reluctant to talk about his family ‘back home’, which was an uncomfortable experience for him. He seemed to disconnect from his ethnicity and construct an alternative reality that allowed him to be included in the host community, whereas Anna was completely disconnected from the host community, protecting her heritage and family links.

The discrimination experienced by the Romanian children clearly affected how they responded and dealt with it, whether it was by embracing their new environment or disengaging from it. With both situations the Romanian children were completely aware of the stigma attached to their ethnicity, which manifested in the protection of their heritage. Although Stefan had chosen to assimilate into the host culture and forge friendships, his family’s

experience of racism had impacted on how he connected home to his new environment and school. This was highlighted during activities where he was very careful about what information he shared with the group to protect the memories of family and home. This was very different to Anna's experience where the stigma caused her to shut herself off from the host community and rebuild her home in the large Romanian community and reliving her memories of home.

6.2.3 RQ3. How do newly arrived children experience loss of cultural links and structures and develop relationships within the host community?

Both groups of children had been introduced to each other's cultural traditions and values through the study, gaining an insight to their different lives. The South Asian children were surprised at the common rituals and similarities in family tradition as they had not forged friendships with the Romanian children to gain an understanding of their background and lives. As the study suggests, this is due to the two groups living separately within a community where their lives exclude outsiders. The Romanian children however were already aware of South Asian traditions and awareness of their shared rituals and traditions.

The activities in the study offered an insight to the different backgrounds and their heritage, which resulted in a moment of realisation that they were very similar, regardless of ethnicity and religion. The Romanian children were far more aware of these similarities, yet the Asian children did not recognise this, only their apparent differences. The data highlighted the difficulties of living in a densely populated South Asian community, where the Romanian families felt excluded and unable to observe religious rituals due to the lack of churches and the need to travel. From the South Asian children's point of view, the shared community has a very supportive network and they are able to attend Mosque, of which there are many and they are accessible. As highlighted in the data, religion is equally important to the Romanian children, yet they were not able to go to church.

Perhaps the most prominent piece of data was the impact of the lack of interaction and understanding of the Romanian families by the South Asian hosting community. This not only left them on the outside of the local community, but also projected a negative, stereotypical view of the families that caused racist incidents and traumatic experiences. The Romanian families had moved to the UK for a better life and for some, to escape persecution, only to be relocated in a community that did not understand their cultural traditions and shared values or experiences, resulting in being othered and stereotyped. Whilst Anna had shown a complete disengagement with the host community, Stefan had tried to absorb himself in the community and make friends, regardless of the prejudices against his ethnic group.

6.3 Contribution to Knowledge

The purpose of this thesis was to understand how ideas of belonging are created, shaped and manifest in Romanian children and to understand the lived experience to support newly arrived children. In order to understand how ideas of home and a sense of belonging shapes the migration experience, it is important to understand how people live within the wider community outside of school, not only from a migrant child's point of view, but also from the existing South Asian community with whom it is shared. This understanding involves a greater insight into the local history of the area and engagement with the wider community when understanding how stories are passed down through generations. This process includes exploring how these multiple histories and stories create a sense of belonging within close knit groups as they remain separate whilst living within an imagined community.

Issues around stereotyping and the stigma attached to migrant families affects the way children assimilate into a new culture, especially within a predominantly South Asian environment. Over the decades, the current community has faced racism and hate crime due to their differences, through stereotypical views and labels attached to their ethnicity. Since the arrival of the Romanian families, this cycle has been repeated and the stigma attached

to them has formed an image of another ethnic minority group of which very little is known.

The study suggests that whilst both South Asian and Romanian communities remain very focussed on family and community life, which can be perceived as actively segregating themselves, Anderson (1983) reminds us how these two communities reimagine the homeland and all the traditions and values attached to it. Whilst it appears that there is little progress in bringing the two communities together or sharing each other's cultures, the relationships established in the small group created for this study demonstrate a different outcome is possible. The four children had a positive experience, gaining an insight into each other's culture which enhanced their appreciation of the similarities between them, rather than emphasising and reinforcing a sense of difference. More importantly, it created an opportunity for the children to be heard and represented in a way they felt most comfortable with in a safe environment.

Due to the different languages and cultures of newly arrived children, the school has struggled to understand the needs of these families and therefore how to support and induct them into the school environment. Current policies and procedures in school tend to cater for the majority ethnic group (South Asian) who are well established in the area and the school already has a good understanding of their needs. This approach has informed how the school deals with new arrivals and multilingual children, with expert knowledge and experience of the majority group. However, a gap remains in understanding the needs or cultural values of Romanian children. It is not enough to focus on language alone to induct children from other countries by using the same procedures. A greater understanding is needed of how families in the community share many cultural values and similarities of homelife, national identity and rituals.

Through the use of creative and participatory methods, the study was able to draw out stories of home and belonging to co-produce data that developed a deeper understanding of cultural values. This offered a wealth of knowledge

about both groups, which was instrumental in unravelling the myths of their cultures and informed the development of new policies that will be disseminated through the school and other similar schools in the borough. As Oldham is in one of the most deprived areas of the UK, there will always be a constant stream of migrant families and asylum seekers and a need to understand their needs and how we are able to meet them, regardless of national identity. The outcomes of this study will therefore offer recommendations for curriculum material to enhance current strategies to support how we understand and connect the wider and diverse communities In the current climate we will undoubtedly be faced with a number of issues that will require a deeper understanding of needs and support for an ever widening range of ethnic backgrounds and migrant experience.

My original contribution to knowledge is that the study was conducted in Oldham with two ethnic minority groups of children, using a less conventional way to collect rich data about the lived experience of the two groups. By employing art based methods, I was able to reach the children on a mutual level where they led the research in a way they felt most comfortable with, sharing and telling their stories. The study was a collaboration between all participants rather than led by the researcher, which enabled the children to co-create the research on their terms and share much more about their lives than imagined. Due to the novel way that the study was conducted, the findings will be an original contribution to the field of migration studies, childhood studies and art based methods with children. The outcomes of the study can be shared with other schools to be used as an alternative approach to working with migrant children to gather crucial background information about their lives and will also inform policy on how children need a different approach when inducting new arrivals and also working with families throughout the school career.

6.4 Strengths and Limitations of the Research

The case study succeeded in capturing the lived experience of Romanian children and how their ideas of belonging are created and shaped. It also enabled me to gain an insight and deeper understanding of the lives of the South Asian community who are the dominant culture, creating a range of connections and points of interest across the two ethnic groups. The mind maps provided a rich and wide range of data highlighting areas that were important to the children and also the commonalities. An outcome of the mapping exercise prompted the children to think about important aspects of their lives, identity and nationality with the aid of artefacts presented in identity boxes. This enabled communication through a symbolic means, reducing the need for language and verbal expression. The combination of the activities with thematic analysis in chapter 3 was effective in highlighting unknown facts about the children and their culture that had not been revealed until this point.

The methods used in the case study has strengths in exploring these lesser known areas of the different cultures and traditions with less emphasis on language and more on use of creativity. On the other hand, employing such methods also introduced limitations. The first limitation arises through the interpretative approach of research, which relies on the work of the researcher as an instrument, where any interpretation is potentially mistaken. Stories or events can easily be mistaken, as realities are multiple and constructed, relying upon several layers of interpretation where understanding is purely a matter of perspective (Cohen et al, 2018).

Another limitation is the size of the study, which limits the generalisation of the findings. An interpretative paradigm is often criticised as it is not generalised or replicable, instead, it aims to make sense of phenomena rather than generalise (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003; Patton, 2002). When undertaking the research, it was never the intention to generalise the findings, but to draw attention to issues within the study and the wider field. This rationale behind this small-scale study was to seek an understanding

and capture a piece of the participants' background to inform future policy and practice, with the possibility of extending the study further.

Whilst conducting the study I was very conscious about my relationship with the children due to working closely with the families and also my position in school. This introduces the issue of conscious and unconscious bias, which could inadvertently guide research questions and interpretation of answers, skewing the data (Bryman, 2008). To reduce this bias, the participatory methods employed meant that the children were in control of the activities, giving the freedom to share information that they felt was important around the discussions and research questions. By placing myself on the perimeter of the study I was able to facilitate the activities with minimal input whilst the children took ownership of the study, which helped to reduce researcher bias.

6.5 Recommendations for Future Practice and Policy

The findings from the study have offered an insight into the lived experience of the children and highlighted some important gaps that are crucial in supporting migrant children when they are inducted into a new school. The study contributes to the knowledge of how migrant children find a sense of belonging in the host country and how stigma and stereotypes affect their wellbeing and sense of being othered. The study has offered a valuable insight into the children's lives and changes that can be made to support new arrivals that come to the area. By reviewing existing policies and strategies for induction, the study can be used to inform inclusion and diversity policies, exploring how a school with a majority ethnic minority on roll receives a new minority group to ensure they are not invisible and are part of an inclusive education. This information can also contribute to policies designed by the local authority and adopted by schools, to create an inclusive induction process across the borough, not only for migrants, but for all newly arrived children.

6.6 Reflections on my Research Journey

Within this final section of the thesis, I specifically focus on my personal journey of the EdD. I will consider how my original research aims shifted along the journey, how my thought processes and understanding of the study has changed and my reflections on the research methodology and the outcomes.

The key driver for undertaking this study was highlighted when working with migrant (newly arrived) children and the first-hand experience of their struggles when arriving in a new country. This included asylum seekers from war-torn countries such as Iraq and Syria, who arrived with very little, if any, support from outside agencies. My role as a non-teaching new arrivals member of staff was to work with the New Arrivals lead teacher to devise a plan for induction, which is where my research began. As the research has developed, it was clear that there was more to supporting these children than just being treated as a new arrival. The study revealed that while the school, including myself, had continued to induct new arrivals using the same processes that had always been in place, centred around the needs of the majority South Asian children, this did not necessarily best serve the experience of those arriving from a range of disparate ethnic backgrounds and experiences.

Reflecting on the use of the research methods employed has helped me to understand that the use of creative, participatory methods with the group enabled a unique insight to their lives where the research was co-created, which I was privileged to be a part of. It has also highlighted that this was just a tiny part of their story that had begun to emerge. In the future I would like to continue this research further using co-productive research methods, collaborating with other groups and researchers as part of a larger study group. This might be the end of my thesis, but just the beginning of my research journey.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Manchester Metropolitan University

Participation Information Sheet for Staff

Research Title: The Experience of Othering and Construction of Identity of Eastern European Children in Primary School.

1. Invitation to research

I am currently completing a professional doctorate at Manchester Metropolitan University and carrying out a study in our school. My research will focus on the experience of 'Othering' of Eastern European children and identity construction within a primary school setting. This information sheet explains what the research is about.

2. Why have I been invited?

If the Headteacher consents to take part in this study, I will be working with teachers and children in school to gain a greater understanding of how othering and stereotyping affects and shapes their identity in school.

3. Do I have to take part?

It is up to you to decide. I will describe the study and go through the information sheet, which I will also give to you. I will then ask you to sign a consent form to show you agree to take part. You are free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason.

4. What will I be asked to do?

The Department of Education and Ofsted have highlighted the need to address the educational support for children with English as an Additional Language (EAL) and International New Arrivals (INA), ensuring that they have the same learning opportunities as non EAL/INA. However, cultural and language barriers often lead to children being differentiated. This research will give an insight into how primary schools are dealing with this.

I am interested in gaining an understanding of the lived experience of EAL and INA children and improving cultural understandings amongst all ethnicities in school. I believe this research will give professionals more understanding of challenges and barriers to learning and more cultural awareness to enhance the inclusion procedure.

I will contact you to arrange an initial meeting to discuss the interview process and gain your consent. I will agree convenient dates to carry out the interviews

and informal observations of day-to-day activity. Interviews will take place in an allocated room within your school. Interviews will take up to 45 minutes and will be video/audio recorded for clarification of the interview.
Each participant will be asked to share a precious artefact to discuss with each other and the meaning of them.
All data collected will be kept secure throughout collection and analysis. Participant anonymity and confidentiality will be maintained throughout the research project.

5. Are there any risks if I participate?
There are no major risks involved. Some people may feel uncomfortable being interviewed/video recorded, but every step will be taken to put the interviewee at ease. If you are uncomfortable with the research, then you are free to withdraw at any time.

6. Are there any advantages if I participate?
There will be no direct advantages or rewards, financially or otherwise. You will be part of a positive and constructive piece of research that will give you an objective insight into how EAL/INA view their lived experience in the host country and the challenges they face within your own and other primary school settings.

7. What will happen with the data I provide?

- When you agree to participate in this research, we will collect from you personally identifiable information.
- The Manchester Metropolitan University ('the University') is the Data Controller in respect of this research and any personal data that you provide as a research participant.
- The University is registered with the Information Commissioner's Office (ICO), and manages personal data in accordance with the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) and the University's Data Protection Policy.
- We collect personal data as part of this research (such as name, telephone numbers or age). As a public authority acting in the public interest we rely upon the 'public task' lawful basis. When we collect special category data (such as medical information or ethnicity) we rely upon the research and archiving purposes in the public interest lawful basis.
- Your rights to access, change or move your information are limited, as we need to manage your information in specific ways in order for the research to be reliable and accurate. If you withdraw from the study, we will keep the information about you that we have already obtained.
- We will not share your personal data collected in this form with any third parties.
- If your data is shared this will be under the terms of a Research Collaboration Agreement which defines use, and agrees confidentiality and information security provisions. It is the University's policy to only publish anonymised data unless you have given your

explicit written consent to be identified in the research. **The University never sells personal data to third parties.** We will only retain your personal data for as long as is necessary to achieve the research purpose.

- You have the right to see any data we collect about you.
- Parts of the data may be made public, e.g. in reports or presentations on the project. This will be done in a way that prevents you from being identified.
- All data collected will be encrypted and stored securely in accordance with MMU's data storage policy.
- For further information about use of your personal data and your data protection rights please see the University's Data Protection Pages.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The data will be transcribed, analysed and reported and will be used in my thesis, in a presentation and possibly a journal to help inform policy makers and other educational institutions.

I may also publish our findings in a variety of formats, including academic journal articles, reports, social media or books. If you want to hear more about my completed project, I can provide you with copies of any publications. You will not be identified in any of these outputs.

Who has reviewed this research project?

The research project has gone through a rigorous screening process by my two tutors, two additional scrutineers and the ethics panel for assessment before approval was granted.

Who do I contact if I have concerns about this study or I wish to complain?

If you have any general queries about the project, please contact Fiona Liddy (researcher) Fiona.J.Liddy@stu.mmu.ac.uk 0161 770 8321 or Dr Alexandre Pais (supervisor) a.pais@mmu.ac.uk 0161 247 2000.

If you want to make a complaint or talk to someone else about the project, you can contact the Chair of Human Ethics for the Faculty of Education, r.nemirovsky@mmu.ac.uk 0161 247 2023

The Data Protection Officer for MMU is Christopher Woolley dataprotection@mmu.ac.uk, 0161 247 4696. More information can be found here https://www2.mmu.ac.uk/data-protection/

Alternatively, all of the above can be contacted via post at:
Manchester Metropolitan University
All Saints Building
Manchester
M15 6BH

The ICO is the Information Commissioners Office, external to MMU the UK's independent authority to oversee data protection can be found here https://ico.org.uk/.

If you have any concerns regarding the personal data collected from you, our Data Protection Officer can be contacted using the legal@mmu.ac.uk e-mail address, by calling 0161 247 3331 or in writing to: Data Protection Officer,

Legal Services, All Saints Building, Manchester Metropolitan University, Manchester, M15 6BH. You also have a right to lodge a complaint in respect of the processing of your personal data with the Information Commissioner's Office as the supervisory authority. Please see: https://ico.org.uk/global/contact-us/

THANK YOU FOR CONSIDERING PARTICIPATING IN THIS PROJECT

Appendix 2

Manchester Metropolitan University

Staff Consent Form

Title of Research Project: The Experience of Othering and Construction of Identity of Eastern European Children in Primary School
Name of Researcher: Fiona J Liddy

Please check any boxes below to which you agree and give consent

□ I have read the information sheet and understand the purpose of the research project and what participation will involve.
□ I consent to take part in the above research project.
□ I understand that participation is voluntary and that I can withdraw from the project at any time.
□ I understand that I may be asked to participate in an interview that will be video/audio recorded, transcribed and de-identified for later analysis.

□ I understand that information gained during the study may be published but I will not be identified and all personal information will remain confidential.

□ I give permission for anonymised quotes in reports, articles or presentations to be used.

□ I would like to receive regular updates on the results of the project.
Name:_____
Signed:_____

Appendix 3

Participation Information Sheet for Parents

Research Title: The Experience of Othering and Construction of Identity of Eastern European Children in Primary School.

Invitation to research
I am a School Business Manager and a researcher currently completing a professional doctorate at Manchester Metropolitan University. My research will focus on the experience of Eastern European children within primary school who have come from another country and are unable to speak English. This information sheet explains what the research is about.

2. Why have I been invited?
Your child's school has been invited to take part in this study due to the unique demographics of the school and community.

3. Does my child have to take part?
It is up to you to decide. We will describe the study and go through the information sheet, which we will give to you. We will then ask you to sign a consent form to show you agreed to take part. You are free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason.

4. What will my child be asked to do?
Once parents have consented to their child participating in the study, I will have a chat with your son/daughter to explain what I am doing and ask if they would like to be involved. They will be given an information sheet containing the details, which they can keep and have some time to decide if necessary. It will be made very clear that they do not have to take part if they do not wish and there is no pressure at all to do so. They will also be told that they can leave the study at any time.

If they do wish to take part in the study, they will be asked to take part in discussions with myself, other children and teachers, which will video/audio recorded. We will also ask them to bring a special object that they can talk about and share with the group. They will also take part in some art activities too.

5. Are there any risks if my child participates?
There are no major risks involved. Some people may feel uncomfortable being interviewed or video recorded, but every step will be taken to put the interviewee at ease. If you are uncomfortable with the research, then you are free to withdraw at any time.

6. Are there any advantages if my child participates?
There will be no direct advantages or rewards, financially or otherwise. Your child will be part of a positive piece of research that will give an insight into the experience of new arrivals in the UK and the challenges they face within school.

7. What will happen with the data I provide?

- When you agree to participate in this research, we will collect from you personally-identifiable information.
- The Manchester Metropolitan University ('the University') is the Data Controller in respect of this research and any personal data that you provide as a research participant.
- The University is registered with the Information Commissioner's Office (ICO), and manages personal data in accordance with the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) and the University's Data Protection Policy.
- We collect personal data as part of this research (such as name, telephone numbers or age). As a public authority acting in the public interest we rely upon the 'public task' lawful basis. When we collect special category data (such as medical information or ethnicity) we rely upon the research and archiving purposes in the public interest lawful basis.
- Your rights to access, change or move your information are limited, as we need to manage your information in specific ways in order for the research to be reliable and accurate. If you withdraw from the study, we will keep the information about you that we have already obtained.
- We will not share your personal data collected in this form with any third parties.
- If your data is shared this will be under the terms of a Research Collaboration Agreement which defines use, and agrees confidentiality and information security provisions. It is the University's policy to only publish anonymised data unless you have given your explicit written consent to be identified in the research. **The University never sells personal data to third parties.** We will only retain your personal data for as long as is necessary to achieve the research purpose.
- You have the right to see any data we collect about you.
- Parts of the data may be made public, e.g. in reports or presentations on the project. This will be done in a way that prevents you from being identified.

- All data collected will be encrypted and stored securely in accordance with MMU's data storage policy.
- For further information about use of your personal data and your data protection rights please see the University's Data Protection Pages.

What will happen to the results of the research study?
The data will be transcribed, analysed and reported and will be used in my study, in a presentation and possibly a journal to help inform policy makers.
I may also publish our findings in a variety of formats, including academic journal articles, reports, social media or books. If you want to hear more about my completed project, I can provide you with copies of any publications. You will not be identified in any of these outputs.

Who has reviewed this research project?
The research project has gone through a rigorous screening process by my two tutors, two additional scrutineers and the ethics panel for assessment before approval was granted.

Who do I contact if I have concerns about this study or I wish to complain?
If you have any general queries about the project, please contact Fiona Liddy (researcher) Fiona.J.Liddy@stu.mmu.ac.uk 0161 770 8321 or Dr Alexandre Pais (supervisor) a.pais@mmu.ac.uk 0161 247 2000.
If you want to make a complaint or talk to someone else about the project, you can contact the Chair of Human Ethics for the Faculty of Education, r.nemirovsky@mmu.ac.uk 0161 247 2023
The Data Protection Officer for MMU is Christopher Woolley dataprotection@mmu.ac.uk, 0161 247 4696. More information can be found here https://www2.mmu.ac.uk/data-protection/
Alternatively, all of the above can be contacted via post at:
Manchester Metropolitan University
All Saints Building
Manchester
M15 6BH
The ICO is the Information Commissioners Office, external to MMU the UK's independent authority to oversee data protection can be found here https://ico.org.uk/.
If you have any concerns regarding the personal data collected from you, our Data Protection Officer can be contacted using the legal@mmu.ac.uk e-mail address, by calling 0161 247 3331 or in writing to: Data Protection Officer, Legal Services, All Saints Building, Manchester Metropolitan University, Manchester, M15 6BH. You also have a right to lodge a complaint in respect of the processing of your personal data with the Information Commissioner's Office as the supervisory authority. Please see:
https://ico.org.uk/global/contact-us/

THANK YOU FOR CONSIDERING PARTICIPATING IN THIS PROJECT

Appendix 4

Manchester Metropolitan University

PARENT/CARER CONSENT FORM

Name of Researcher: Fiona J Liddy

Please check any boxes below to which you agree and give consent

□ I have read the information sheet and understand the purpose of the research project and what participation will involve.
□ I consent for my child to take part in the research project.
□ I understand that participation is voluntary and that I can withdraw from the project at any time.
□ I understand that I my child may be asked to participate in an interview that will be video/audio recorded, transcribed and de-identified for later analysis.
□ I understand that information gained during the study may be published but I will not be identified and all personal information will remain confidential.
□ I would like to receive regular updates on the results of the project.

Name:_____
Signed:_____

Parent of:_____

Date:_____
___

Contact details:_____

Appendix 5

Child Information Sheet

Manchester Metropolitan University

What is a study?


A research study is what you do when you want to learn about something or find out something new.

Why is this study being done?

I am doing this study to find out how children feel when they are unable to speak English in school when they have come from another country. I want to know how it makes children feel when they are making friends and any issues they may have when doing so.

What will happen to me if I take part?

If you are able, you will be asked to write your name on a form
This form is to say that you understand the study and what will happen. You will be given your own copy of the form to keep, as well as this leaflet.

If you take part in the study, you will be asked to take part in discussions on your own and with other children and teachers, which will be video recorded. We will also ask you to bring a special object that you can talk about and share with the group. We can even do some art activities too !

Do I have to say yes?

No–not at all. It is up to you!
Just say if you do not want to join in. Nobody will mind. If you change your mind, that's ok too.

What shall I do now?

Now you know about the study you need to think about if you want to take part in the study.

Who can I ask about this?

Your mum or dad (or carer) have been given information, but if you have any questions or would like to talk to anyone about this study, please speak to Mrs Liddy in the office.

Thank you very much for taking time to read this. Please ask any questions if you need to.

Appendix 6

Manchester Metropolitan University

CHILD ASSENT FORM

Assent Form for Children

To be completed by the child and their parent/guardian

Please circle all you agree with:

Has somebody explained this study to you? Yes/No

Do you understand what the study is about? Yes/No

Have you asked all the questions you want? Yes/No

Have you had your questions answered in a way you understand? Yes/No

Do you understand it is OK to stop taking part at any time? Yes/No

Are you happy to take part? Yes/No

If any answers are 'no' or you do not want to take part, do not sign your name. If you do want to take part, please write your name and today's date

Your Name:

Today's Date:

Your parent or guardian must write their name here too if they are happy for you to do the study

Parent/Guardian Full Name:

Parent/Guardian Signature:

Today's Date:

The researcher who explained this study to you needs to sign too.
Researcher Full Name:

Researcher Signature:

Today's Date:

Appendix 7

Data set map

Quantity	Data
1	Researcher
1	Translator
4	Participants
2	Mind maps
5	Shoe boxes
15	Artefacts
2	Audio recordings/observations
2	Follow up discussion (1:1)

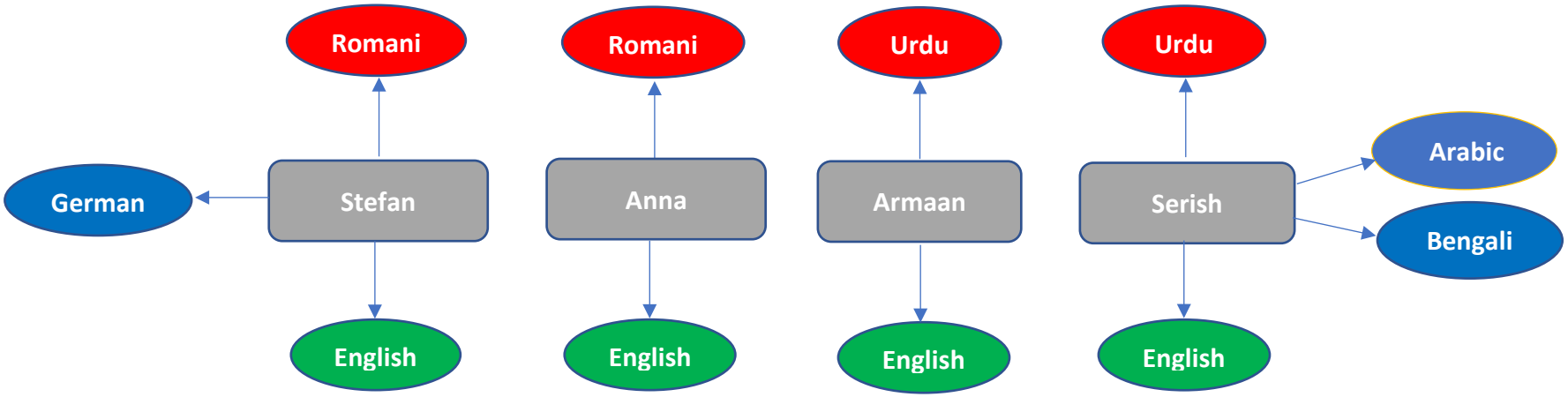
Phase 1: Discussion and Consent		Details
W/B 21.09.2020	• Meet with year 6 teachers and SENCO to discuss the study • Discussion about children who would be suitable participants and to check non were vulnerable • Met with the children to explain the project	3 teachers 1 SENCO 5 children
W/B 28.09.2020	• Meet with the children and a family member to explain the study and answer any questions	

W/B 12.10.2020 – 24.10.2020	• Consent/assent forms sent to participants and family - one child less due to the father not wishing his child to take part • Signed consent/assent forms returned	5 sent 4 returned
26.10.2020	Half term	
05.11.2020	Covid lockdown	
W/B 07.12.2020	• Discussion with the participants about research design – one child less who did not return to school following covid lockdown	4 children
Phase 2: Activities/Data Collection		
10.12.2020	• Group meeting to undertake mind map exercise 'All About Me!'	4 children 1 translator 1 researcher
11.12.2020	• Shoe boxes taken home by children, translator and me to complete the Identity Box exercise	6 shoe boxes
16.12.2020	• Boxes shared in the next session with the group - one child did not bring their box • Participant led session with me facilitating and translator taking notes.	5 shoe boxes Notes taken for each activity

	• Feedback from identity boxes to ensure it was an accurate reflection of the outcome of the activity	
17.12.2020	• Additional 1:1 discussions with two children for additional data collection	2 children
Phase 3: Data Analysis		
W/B 04.01.2021	• All data was collected from the participants and the audio recordings, notes and observations were reviewed	2 maps 2 audio recordings (maps and artefacts)
W/B 18.01.2021	• Data transcribed from the recordings made and cross referenced notes with the audio recordings	
W/B 15.02.2021	• Data sorted and categorised in readiness for coding through thematic analysis	
W/B 08.03.2021	• Coding process repeated until saturation is reached	

Appendix 8

Linguistic Map



Key

First/home language

Second language

Additional language