University of Greenwich
Faculty of Education and Health

Ghanaian diasporic migrant students: challenges, culture and capitals

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the University of Greenwich for the Degree of Doctorate in Education

May 2021

DECLARATION

I certify that the work contained in this thesis, or any part of it, has not been accepted in substance for any previous degree awarded to me or any other person, and is not concurrently being submitted for any other degree other than that of Doctorate of Education which has been studied at the University of Greenwich, London, UK.

I also declare that the work contained in this thesis is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise identified and acknowledged by references. I further declare that no aspects of the contents of this thesis are the outcome of any form of research misconduct.

I declare any personal, sensitive or confidential information/data has been removed or participants have been anonymised. I further declare that where any questionnaires, survey answers or other qualitative responses of participants are recorded/included in the appendices, all personal information has been removed or anonymised. Where University forms (such as those from the Research Ethics Committee) have been included in appendices, all handwritten/scanned signatures have been removed.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

All glory, honour and thanksgiving to God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit for the grace to complete this thesis!

My sincere thanks and gratitude to the students, their parents and teachers and the Ghanaian church leaders who willingly gave their time and stories to make this study possible.

To my wonderfully supportive and encouraging husband Samuel Slim Mabirizi Male and our children, thank you!

I am eternally grateful to my supervisor, Professor Carl Parsons, without whose unwavering support, guidance, feedback and belief in my research, this project would have probably been abandoned; to my amazing supervisors Dr Adewale Magaji and Dr Priti Chopra, for all their encouragement, guidance, feedback and support. Also, to Dr Maria Papapolydorou and Professor Patrick Ainley, who began this journey with me but left to go to pastures new. I am grateful for your input.

Thanks to all my doctoral colleagues who were always there to lean on and talk things through, especially Mrs Oroma Wogboroma, Dr Nuur Hassan, Dr Toyin Coker, Angel Cueva, Jim Gritton, Nikki Sowe and Bernadette Ryan.

Thanks to Dr Louise Owusu-Kwarteng and Dr Linda Akomaning-Amoh for their encouragement and support.

A special thanks to Shirley Leathers, who was always there to listen and to help.

Thanks to my dad Albert E. Hagan and my mum Rose Quaicoe for their inspiration and encouragement. To my sisters Lydia, Sarah, Georgina and Aba and brothers Enoch, Ebenezer and Bryte for being there for me.

To Pastors Eunice and Yinka Akinrinloye, Bishop Simon and Rev Mrs Elizabeth Iheanacho for all their prayers, encouragement and support.

To all the Avery Hill Security staff, particularly Femi Ojo, Richard Owusu, Idayat Adeyemo, Paula Samedo, Archimedes Laryea and Prosper Gamado, thank you for making my late nights in the library bearable.

All others who supported and encouraged me one way or another throughout this study, thank you!

God bless you all!

ABSTRACT

While adult migration has been well documented and researched in various disciplines, issues related to child migration are often neglected or subsumed under discussions regarding adult migration. This study shows children as agents whose experiences form distinctive migration and acculturation narratives.

Utilising Bourdieu's (1977) theory of practice and Berry's (2005) theory of acculturation, this study investigates the lived experiences of nine Ghanaian, diasporic, migrant children in Key Stages 3-5 in a London secondary academy. These children migrated from Ghana and from within the European Union to the UK. The focus is on the extent to which the learning of these children is affected by their transition, issues of educational provision and the extent to which it accommodates their needs as migrant young people. Perspectives from parents, teachers and Ghanaian community leaders are also sought to explore the subject further.

The study uses a narrative inquiry through semi-structured individual and focus group interviews with the children, parents, teachers, Ghanaian church community leaders and an assessment of students' attainment data. The themes which emerged are the complexities of migration; the impact of challenging behaviour, peer pressure, language, peer and teacher relationships on learning; perceived lack of challenge within the English curriculum, and placement of migrant children in lower set classes on arrival; the capitals that the children possess that enable them to navigate their learning and acculturation, as well as familial and community capitals. The data also raises issues of institutional racism and how this is experienced and managed by the children.

The findings illustrate the complexities, issues, and backgrounds that the children have brought with them on their migration into Britain. The findings also indicate how the actions/choices of some of the children are affected by peer pressure and the desire to belong. Parental, teacher, peer and Ghanaian (church) community support have aided their transition and adaptation into British education and culture. Thus, the capitals of their internationalism, resilience, intrinsic desire to succeed and social/community capitals have served as advantages in their general acculturation. To the extent that 'acculturation' appears to be a one-way process, this could be legitimately construed as institutional racism.

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GLOSSARY OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviation	Full Title
BERA	British Education Research Association
BAME	Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic
DfE	Department for Education
DCSF	Department for Children, Schools and Families
DfES	Department for Education and Skills
EAL	English as an Additional Language
EMA	Ethnic Minority Achievement
EMAG	Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant
ENAR	European Network Against Racism
FSM	Free School Meal
GCSE	General Certificate of Secondary Education
HMCI	Her Majesty's Chief Inspector
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
NALDIC	National Association for Language Development in the Curriculum

OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OFSTED	Office for Standards in Education
ONS	Office of National Statistics
SEND	Special Educational Needs and Disability
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UN4Youth	United Nations for Youth

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aim and context of the study

This study explored the experiences of nine Ghanaian diasporic migrant children at Key Stages 3 to 5 in a London secondary academy who started their education in Ghana or Europe but continued in the UK. It examined the key differences in their academic experiences between the Ghanaian or the European transition country and the British context; the factors that promoted or hindered their learning; the challenges they encountered within the host country and host school, and how they have navigated through and around them. I am myself of Ghanaian heritage with a complex migration experience, having, as a child, moved severally within Ghana to live with my grandparents on both my mother and father's sides and finally migrating to Australia.

Using a narrative inquiry approach through semi-structured individual and focus group interviews with the students, parents, teachers and religious ministers, the study sets out to provide answers to the overarching research question 'How are Ghanaian diasporic migrant students who continue their secondary school education in England affected by the transition?'

The study comprises primarily participants from a London multicultural comprehensive secondary 11 – 19 mixed academy of about 1000 students. The ethnic classification of the school includes a little under a quarter White British and three-quarters minority-ethnic, including large proportions of African and Asian heritage students. Over half of the students speak English as an additional language. The number of students who identified as Ghanaians when the data gathering began in 2014 was 21, of which nine began their education abroad.

The 2011 census estimated that there were 93,846 Ghanaians in England and Wales compared to 56,112 in 2001 (ONS, 2012), an increase of 67 per cent in ten years. One can assume from the census trend that this figure will continue to increase. Issa et al. (2006: 20), citing Greater

London Authority (GLA) calculations based on the 2001 Census (Tables: C0116 and C0116a), indicated that, of the 46,513 Ghanaian migrants who had newly arrived in the UK at the time of the 2001 census, 2,700 (5.8%) were children under sixteen years.

According to the 2011 census, 3,588 children between the ages of 10-19 living in London (ONS, 2011b) and 6,796 children in England and Wales combined were born in Ghana (ONS, 2011c). The data does not specify whether all the children migrated directly from Ghana to the UK or other EU countries. The 2011 census further estimates that 139,214 children aged 10-19 in England and Wales were born within the African continent before migrating (ONS, 2011a). According to the GLA (2017) report, London schools have the highest proportion (70%) of black and minority ethnic heritage students - 'more than double the England average' of 28%. There are also 'very high levels of pupils whose first language is not English' - 41% (GLA, 2017: 24 & 26). In Inner London schools, 50% of the student population have English as an additional language (GLA, 2017).

In the secondary school where I work, and where three-quarters of the children are of ethnic groups other than White British, enrolment of migrant children throughout the academic year is a common phenomenon. Therefore, I am confronted with my own challenges of teaching and assessing students who speak little or no English who arrive in my classroom on a weekly, if not daily, basis, often with little to no warning or prior information. As an educator whose role is to ensure that all students in my classroom access what is taught to maximise their learning, it is a quandary. Having understood the relevance of the synergistic relationship between practice and research since being on the Doctoral programme, one experience, contextualised in the short narrative below, serves as the impetus for this study on Ghanaian migrant children in the school. It highlights not only the monolingual learning context of British education but also the challenges for migrant students and the curriculum-based teachers in the school. Ryan et al. (2010) highlight difficulties encountered by teachers and

newly arrived migrant children, with the language being a challenge for both. They suggest that the continual arrival of migrant children throughout the school year places a considerable strain on classroom teachers who are charged with the responsibility of catering to the English language learning needs of these children without specialist language training. The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (2015) states that teachers acknowledge the difficulties and preparation required in managing a classroom where children have diverse competencies in the language of the school curriculum. The number and diversity of migrating families present a societal level challenge that has received insufficient acknowledgement. It is not simply a matter of training of teachers, small adjustments to the curriculum, anti-racist awareness-raising, or 'special' support. Migration is a global phenomenon to which the 'economically advanced countries', the hosts, should respond with greater investment and more timely and appropriate policy and practice that is not simply about remediation and assimilation.

In mid-November 2012, as my year 10 accelerated GCSE Drama class entered the classroom, a boy announced, 'Miss, we have a new student today; he doesn't speak English!' I wondered how on earth I would get a student who could not speak, read or write in English through a one year accelerated GCSE course weighted with coursework demands totalling 5000 words and a practical performance exam. Feeling utterly inept as a teacher regarding this matter and doing my best to scour the classroom to see who could speak Italian and finding none, I strategically grouped him with students I deemed mature and who would be sensitive to his needs. Noting his Ghanaian ancestry from his surname, I called him and spoke in my vernacular – Fante/Twi. His face lit up; a smile immediately engulfed his face as he replied. A glimmer of hope! I exclaimed within. The first few weeks were spent explaining class activities in our shared language. Students in the various groups in which he worked listened with amazement, visibly glad that their friend could now access one curriculum area. The

memory of my experience as a migrant teenager in Australia soon came to the fore, and I wondered how this newly arrived Ghanaian migrant child might be experiencing his new environment. The challenges of adjusting/transitioning into a new country, school community, and education system and the feeling of isolation, along with having to learn a new language, suddenly became issues that I felt must be explored.

Initially, I felt that my position as an insider, within the institution and the Ghanaian immigrant community, could be an advantage in my research process. As my research process unfolded, I noticed my over-identification, triggered by my own child migrant experience, and my shift towards advocacy emerging in my representation of researched experiences. I recognised that it was imperative that I, as a researcher, sought to be open and unbiased in recording and analysing the experiences of the participants as their own stories. Becoming conscious of ways in which I grappled with not painting over their stories with my story, on the research journey, helped me reflect on implications of my positionality for data representation and analysis in section 3.9.

1.2 Ghana: an overview

Situated in the western part of the African continent, Ghana borders Côte d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast) to the west, Togo to the east, Burkina Faso to the north, with the Atlantic Ocean (Gulf of Guinea) to its south. It was the first Sub-Saharan West-African country to obtain independence from British colonial rule in 1957. Ghana's population is estimated to be 27 million (Afrifa, Anderson & Ansah, 2019). The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) world factbook (2020) estimates that, in 2010, religious groups in Ghana comprised of Christians 71.2%, Muslims 17.6%, traditional 5.2%, other 0.8%, none 5.2%. Ethnic groups consist of Akan 47.5%, Mole-Dagbon 16.6%, Ewe 13.9%, Ga-Dangme 7.4%, Gurma 5.7%, Guan 3.7%, Grusi 2.5%, Mande 1.1%, other 1.4%. There are over thirty languages spoken in Ghana

(Afrifa, Anderson & Ansah, 2019), making Ghana a 'linguistically heterogeneous and multilingual' nation (Opoku-Amankwa, Edu-Buandoh & Brew-Hammond, 2015: 3). Many of these languages and sub-cultural groups understand each other mutually. Akan, the main cultural-linguistic group, represents a constellation of sub-ethnic factions that speak distinct but similarly comprehensible vernaculars of the Akan dialect (Afrifa et al., 2019). English remains Ghana's official language. In this study, both the researcher and the participants are from the Akan ethnic group and thus speak a similar dialect (Fante and Twi) except for those from Italy and the Netherlands who speak Italian and Dutch, respectively in addition. Those who could not speak English on arrival to the UK were fluent in the Akan dialect. All the participants profess to be of the Christian faith.

There is an enduring history of migration of Ghanaians both in and outside the African continent, making Ghana both a nation of immigration and emigration (Anarfi et al., 2003). Ghana's migration and emigration are of identical proportions (Arnold, 2012), but precise data is limited (Awumbila et al., 2008). Britain seems to be the preferred destination for most Ghanaian migrants, and they, therefore, constitute the largest, longest-standing African migrants in the United Kingdom (Arnold, 2012). Whilst colonial links have been commonly used to explain this, Awumbila et al. (2008) point out that Ghanaians are found in many countries of the world - rich and poor. Williams and Morris (2014) suggest that Britain remains the preference for Ghanaians' international migration amongst other European countries, particularly for educational, business and eventual settlement with their families. This is made easier because of the use of the English language as a mode of communication to which Ghanaians are accustomed because of colonisation. Currently, increasing numbers of Ghanaians migrate internationally to work and achieve social mobility, which generates the resources and human capital to economically provide for themselves and their families (Arthur, 2008; Cebotari, Mazzucato & Appiah, 2018).

Kofman (2004) stresses the importance and challenge of 'family unification', a term which can apply to the children participants in this study. Some have migrated from Ghana to join their parents in the UK, while others, although born abroad to Ghanaian parents, have migrated with their family from their interim European country of residence. Still, others were born abroad, sent to Ghana to live with other relatives and later joined their parents. In some cases, either their father or mother migrated first to the UK to survey the country's suitability for the family before being joined by the children and the other parent. The pursuance of global migration by (Ghanaian) parents often lies in acquiring better education for their children to aid their future success and economic capital (UNHD, 2009; Cebotari et al., 2018).

1.3 A study of Ghanaian migrant students in the UK: rationale

Although Ghanaians have made Britain their home for centuries and their population continues to increase in Britain as evidenced by the 2001 and 2011 censuses (ONS, 2012), the literature on this group of Black Africans, particularly children of secondary school age in the UK, is limited (Owusu-Kwarteng, 2010; Akomaning-Amoh, 2018). Research and surveys conducted in Britain about Black Africans are homogenised and fail to highlight the differences between their specific countries and cultures. Currently termed Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic group (BAME), the word 'Black' is an amalgamation of Black Caribbean, Black African and any other Black backgrounds. The issue is compounded when the Black population experiences in Britain have also been homogenised with that of other ethnic minority groups, particularly in education (see the Rampton Report, 1981; Swann Reports, 1985; Daley, 1998; Mirza & Gillborn, 2000; Modood et al., 2004; Demie, 2005; DfES, 2008; Demie & McLean 2007; DfE, 2012a). Whilst recent studies have tended to differentiate between Black Caribbean and Black African, for example, in relation to poverty and attainment (Parsons, 2016) and home language (Demie, 2015 & 2018), with Demie going

further to mention Ghanaians students' attainment, the homogenisation of Black Africans remains commonplace.

Homogenised studies spanning decades have persistently and bleakly reported the failure of Black Caribbean and Black African students in education. However, according to Demie's (2015) study, the Black African ethnic group contains some of the highest achieving language groups with 'Ga (Ghanaians), Yoruba, Igbo (Nigerians), Twi-Fante (Ghanaians) and English-speaking pupils (of African descent) doing better than the national average' (Demie, 2015: 729) whilst Somali and Lingala speakers tend to have very low attainment (Demie, 2015: 729-30; Demie & McLean, 2007). This is further supported by Von Ahn et al.'s (2010) study on Language, Ethnicity and Education in London. Additionally, '…Black African groups' had the highest language diversity and attainment patterns' (Demie, 2015: 731). The key results establish that there are considerable variations in attainment between diverse ethnic groups at the end of both Key Stages 2 and 4. Demie stresses the heterogeneity of the ethnic groups and argues that the distinctive contribution of the language spoken at home supports the disaggregation of surveys on the attainment of racial groups within schools (Demie, 2015). Demie (2018: 215), in making distinctions in attainment by analysing students attaining level 4+ in Reading, Writing and Maths combined by language (EAL) in KS2, also found that students from Ghana who spoke Ga and Akan/Twi-Fante achieved 81.9% and 76.7% respectively contrasted with Caribbean Creole English and Caribbean Creole French 76.2% and 68.6%. Demie's (2015 and 2018) studies highlight the importance of acknowledging pupils' language in education as asserted by John, who argues that the acceptance of children's first language does not only affirm their cultural heritage and improve self-esteem and confidence; it invariably improves their educational attainment also (2006).

They may **all** be 'black' and of 'African' origin, but their experiences, cultural backgrounds and beliefs differ (Aspinall, 2011; Owusu-Kwarteng, 2017), and while it is vitally important

to stand in unity, particularly with regards to racial discrimination, it is also essential to take note of the heterogeneity that this group comprises. In writing about the intersectionality between poverty, ethnicity, gender and school attainment, Parsons (2018: 6) states that the ever-changing nature of the ethnic constitution of England's school population necessitates that 'race-based explanations focus on the particulars of ethnicity and class characteristics of schooling in England'. The emphasis is on race and ethnicity in the context of this study. Demie's (2015) study also concludes that the 'worryingly low achievement of a number of Black African … ethnic groups has been masked by government statistics which have failed to distinguish ethnic groups by language spoken at home' (Ibid: 731).

The lack of understanding of the ‘heterogeneity’ within the Black population leads to erroneous interpretations of ‘Black’ children and their educational needs, thereby failing to make adequate provision for their learning. It is paramount to understand that Ghanaian students, even though they may share similar experiences with other African students, differ culturally from them. Their experiences (educational or otherwise) should be examined independently.

Our narratives offer opportunities for vicarious experience and enable those who read them to extend their reminiscences, which feeds into the process of awareness and understanding (Stanley, 2008). As such, I want to provide a platform for the students to share their experiences in the hope of aiding other (Ghanaian) children should they find themselves in a comparable situation, and so doing, provide them with a voice that is lacking in (educational) research (Nieto, 2004; DfE, 2014a). Students arriving from Ghana are not a homogenous group and are made more varied by their migration routes. Understanding the 'microcosm' of an ethnic group within any population enables the 'macrocosm' to be better understood, so that appropriate provision can be made to effectively meet students' needs in our classrooms and the wider population.

1.4 Theoretical perspectives

Bourdieu’s (1977) theory of practice and John Berry’s (2005) theory of acculturation informed this study. Bourdieu’s cultural capital, field and habitus offer a vital framework that exposes ideas and structures in a societal context (Schubert, 2010a). Bourdieu (1977) considers 'school' as one of the significant fields within a society where preconditioning for society and social order are met because it possesses the ability to govern which pupils meet the requirements or expectations of society or what the social order dictates. His ideological framework enables conceptualisation and description of the diverse players in the school setting, placing them within their own context as well as the context that the school provides. The school has a fundamental position within society, in that it is the 'field' where the 'dominant' or the 'ruling' class projects its cultural capital, and so replicates prevailing power relationships in society. Illustrated in this study is institutional racism, manifested in the disproportionate placement of Ghanaian and other migrant children in bottom set classes in school. Similarly, Bourdieu's concepts regarding the linguistic meaning for a society further reinforce how language is used to accentuate power relations where migrants must learn the language of the society or culture that they currently live in (Bourdieu, 1991; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Schubert, 2010). There appears to be a strong expectation placed on new arrivals to do all the adjusting.

The acculturation theory proposed by Berry (2005) offers a framework by which the strategies and experiences of these diasporic Ghanaian migrant students in Britain and their education can be explored. Berry (2005) suggests four conceptual processes through which migrants acculturate. These are integration, assimilation, separation and marginalisation. He also outlines two contexts in which migrants locate themselves in the host society: conserving their own cultural milieu and interacting with the new. The extent to which the migrants can do this, positively or negatively, falls into the four categories mentioned, providing means to situate the participants' acculturative experiences. Gillborn's (2006) discussion of institutional

racism helped explore the issues of racism and educational inequalities and Riley's (2013) leadership of place in examining the schools' role in enabling the students to feel a sense of belonging. Inspiration has been drawn from Schubert (2010a) and Quaicoe (2011) regarding Bourdieu's theory of practice and Berry's acculturation theory.

This study addresses one main research question: How are Ghanaian diasporic migrant students who continue their secondary school education in England affected by the transition? This gives rise to the following subsidiary questions:

1. How is the learning of these students affected by the transition between different national educational settings?
2. What is the impact of home/family life on their learning and acculturation?
3. What is the role of the community (including school, peer and church) in aiding the students to adapt to living in the UK and progress in their schooling?

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

Studies on migration have predominantly focused on adults and neglected children's and young people's migration experiences (Owusu-Afriyie, 2009; Ansell & van Blerk, 2006). According to UNICEF (2014), the international migration phenomenon is encapsulated within general expressions of globalisation and a new paradigm of mobility to the exclusion of children and young people's experiences from the global and national debates and policies (Seeberg & Goździak, 2016). This study argues that children's migration is important and must not be subsumed under adult migration. Children's migration experiences hold implications for the lives of the participants, resulting not only in challenges that they have experienced whilst in the UK but also experiences and battles that they brought with them.

International migration amongst Ghanaians has created a culture of migration amongst Ghanaian children and produced transnational families. In Coe's (2012) study, which explores how Ghanaian children conceive their mobility, 23 out of the 24 children wanted to migrate abroad immediately if given the opportunity. According to Coe's study, how children perceived 'abroad' was partly due to physical infrastructure, technology and affluence. The children associated much of this with Ghanaian cities as well (Coe, 2012). Migration can be undertaken as a strategy to achieve a better future for the family (Yeoh, Huang & Lan, 2005). According to Coe (2008: 228), due to migration, work constraints, 'or a desire to (make) or save money, Ghanaian parents may be separated from one another and their children for prolonged periods' (Coe, 2008: 228). Termed the posted baby syndrome (Plange-Rhule, 2005; Coe, 2012: 917), family separation occurs when migrated Ghanaian parents leave their children in Ghana or send them back home. They transfer the care of the children to their relatives for a time - until an age where they require little supervision, can engage in employment, and or when legal requirements for migration have been settled (Coe, 2008,

2012). Coe's study further suggests that this is primarily due to the demands of bringing children up abroad, difficulties associated with employment, including low pay and the stresses of living in a country as a migrant (Coe, 2012). Arnold (2012: 4) adds that, although family reunification accounts for a major part of the migration to North America and Europe, both labour and skilled migration is rising; this is particularly true for Ghanaians (Arthur 2008).

Hagell, Coleman and Brooks (2015) explain that 'adolescence' is generally defined as being between ages 10-19, whilst 'young people' are 10-24 and 'youth' 15-24 years of age. For this study, 'children', 'youth', 'young people' and 'adolescents' are used interchangeably because the participants fall within the 11-17 age group. For this study, the 'child migrant' is a person under eighteen years of age migrating nationally or internationally (De Lima et al., 2012).

2.2 International migration and its complexities

According to the OECD (2018), 258 million international migrants were living outside their country of birth in 2017. Whilst adult migration has received much attention in its various facets, it must also be noted that it has diverse implications for children's lives (Seeberg & Goździak, 2016). In an unequal global economy, the consequences of 'structural inequalities make it impossible for families to sustain themselves in their countries of origin' and thus are forced into migration and transnationalism (Schmalzbauer, 2004:1320). In her study that examines the 'caretaking structures', needs, plight and survival tactics of Honduran transnational families, Schmalzbauer (2004: 1318) argues that economically disadvantaged families are propelled into migration and transnationalism because of the global economic system where capital and prospects of employment in the Global North mandate migration

from those in the Global South. She asserts that these families are progressively torn between either plummeting deeper into poverty or dividing their families (Ibid). Whilst this study does not focus specifically on this subject, it is part of the motivation that drives Ghanaian migration, as studies have shown (Arnold 2012; Coe, 2012).

Migration is conceptualised differently by different disciplines (Vishnevsky, 2009); thus, there is a lack of agreement over its meaning (Clarke, 1965; Alonso, 2011). It essentially typifies the movement or spatial mobility of groups or individuals from one geographical locality to another on a permanent or impermanent basis (Hagen-Zanker, 2008; Giddens & Sutton, 2014). Through migration, migrants get opportunities and prospects for advancement (Alonso, 2011). Amidst the sundry motivations for human migration, 'material improvement' remains a sustained influence throughout history (Massey et al., 2008: 1) and applies to Ghanaian migrants. Huge complexities accompany migration, including border controls or the 'bureaucratic machinery' (Hagen-Zanker et al., 2014: 18). According to Czaika and de Haas (2014: 292), migration has become increasingly complex because of the cumulative 'geographical diversity and scope of migratory pathways'. In this study, the varied migration routes that some of the Ghanaian migrant children have experienced are illustrated with different interim locations in Europe prior to settlement in the UK. There is complexity associated with multidirectional flows of migration (Parsons & Smeeding, 2006) and growing numbers of 'new, small and scattered, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants' (Vertovec, 2007: 1024) referred to by Vertovec as "super-diversity" (2007: 1025). He explains that this also comprises the varied migration categories, their associated rights and restrictions, conflicting marketplace practises, 'distinct gender and age profiles', forms of 'spatial distribution, and mixed local area responses by service providers and residents' (Vertovec, 2007: 1025). He suggests that seldom are these variables considered together (Ibid). Vertovec emphasises that super-

diversity challenges what is typically understood in ‘public discourse, policy debates and academic literature’ and calls on ‘social scientists and policy makers’ to consider Britain’s aggregated ethnicities in relation to the multifaceted variables in its numerous ‘communities, composition, trajectories, interactions and public service needs’ (Vertovec, 2007: 1025).

In education, Ryan et al. (2010) acknowledge the significant demographic changes brought about by increases in Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) communities in London and recommends that it necessitates keeping pace with the shifting nature of the culturally diverse groups of students and the languages spoken in schools. This poses a challenge to schools and teachers and the societies in which migrants reside, especially where there is a language barrier. The term "super-diversity" and Ryan et al.'s (2010) assertions highlight the heterogeneous society that Britain has become and justifies research focus on Ghanaian migrant children's migration and acculturation experiences in the UK.

Alonso (2011) states that migration can involve costs to both the nation of origin and the host nation. To the nation from which the migration occurs, he suggests the cost includes the disassembling of familial formations, 'destruction of emotional ties, loss of dynamic sectors of the population, waste of social capital' whilst the host nations are affected through cost associated with generating funds for the integration of migrants and the effects that stem from the heterogeneity of ethnicities and cultures (Alonso, 2011: 3). Whilst some social perceptions may be that migrants are said to bring a deficit to host nations, several studies contradict these assertions. According to Papademetriou (1997: 18), at the collective level, migration profits ‘employers, consumers, and a country’s international economic position’. Notably, migrants also contribute more to the host society in taxes (OECD, 2014). According to an OECD study, migrants embody 47% of the increased labour force in the United States and 70% in Europe (OECD, 2012: 125), in addition to representing approximately a quarter of entries into the most strongly declining jobs in Europe and United States (OECD, 2014: 2). According to

Vargas-Silva and Sumption (2019), in the UK, although it is assumed that a higher portion of newly arriving migrants will continue to be of employment age than the general population, the Office for Budget Responsibility predicts that higher net migration decreases weight on government debt. Hence, migrants are neither a drain on the host nation's 'public purse' nor a 'panacea' for addressing economic difficulties (OECD, 2014: 2). In this study, while possible disassembling of familial formations and destruction of emotional ties may form part of the "cost", it also involves a cost to the children regarding felt experiences of bullying, discrimination and adverse impact on their learning.

According to Hagen-Zanker et al. (2014: 4), migration is socially constructed; the way it materialises cannot be explained merely by 'reductive rationalist approaches or simple push-pull models'. It requires understanding that the way decisions and movements are negotiated and made are 'discrete, dichotomous, or polychotomous' in nature (Özden & Schiff, 2006: 25). It is important to understand the reasons for migrating and the geographical localities from which the Ghanaian migrants and their families, participating in this study, have come and why.

Whilst it is evident from the findings of this study presented in chapter 4 that pragmatic motivation forms part of the reason to migrate, there are other complexities associated with the migration of these research participant Ghanaian children to the UK. This study reports on parental negotiations in deciding which parent would migrate and decisions on which child to take or leave. Added to this is the transnational living arrangement that further impacts these families' and the children's lives and the psychological impact that migration may have on left-behind children. Generally, parental migration is regarded as an approach to improve children's well-being and the lives of other family members (Stark & Bloom, 1985; Cebotari et al., 2018); however, debates surround its benefit and success in improving the lives of those left behind (Adams & Page, 2005).

Zhao et al.'s (2018) study on left-behind children in a rural region in China revealed that, despite the initial intent of parental migration benefiting children, their psychological welfare was adversely affected in addition to the disruption brought to the parent-child relationship, especially where the separation was lengthy. Similar findings have been reported by Yanovich (2015) and Whitehead and Hashim (2005).

Yanovich's (2015) study explores left-behind children in Moldova and Ukraine and the adverse effects of migration on their education and well-being. Whitehead and Hashim (2005) report on both the negative and positive impacts of migration on children. Owusu-Afriyie's (2009) study on left-behind children in Kumasi (Ghana) challenges the notions of the negative impact of migration on left-behind children. He cautions that the psychological impacts should not be exaggerated. This is because his study found the effect to be conditional to the milieu of the individual cases. He states that the children did not experience the sadness that others have found as they were left with their mothers and supported by other relatives. Supporting Afriyie's view is Cebotari et al. (2018), whose study of living in transnational family situations in Ghana showed that, though there may be a decrease in well-being for females living in households affected by divorce or change of caregiver while parents migrate, children whose parent(s) have migrated and are being cared for either by a parent, a family or a non-family member, are equally or more likely to have higher levels of well-being as children in non-migrant homes. Olwig's (1999: 279) study of children of Caribbean migrant mothers also suggests that parental bodily absence is fundamentally not problematic or painful for the children except when there is a lack of regular remittance, social presence and periodic visits. On the contrary, Pottinger and Brown (2006: 4) assert that scientific studies show that children whose parents migrate, especially for lengthy periods of time, suffer from 'loss, grief, and attachments'. The experiences of grief, they state, extend to the parents, and include 'sadness, guilt and anxieties'. They highlight the disruption that migration brings to children's lives and the complexities of psychological, emotional and physical impacts of migration on children

and adults alike. They identify the need for counselling for both the children and their parents. It can be inferred from these studies that, whilst there can be negative impacts of migration on left-behind children, these effects can depend on whom they are left with and the level of support they received, as Coe (2008) found.

The complexities of migration are not in relation only to adults, but also children, particularly with regards to social, educational, emotional and psychological processes in their experience of acculturation. Once migrated, children are also confronted with a myriad of issues such as bullying, discrimination, isolation, linguistic challenges and institutional racism (Condon, 2017; OECD, 2015; Quaicoe, 2011; Reynolds, 2008; Kirova, 2001).

2.3 Children: the forgotten members of the migration debate

Children are massive stakeholders in internal and international migration yet appear largely invisible and are mostly neglected in the debates, theories and methodological approaches in migration studies (Rossi, Jesperson & Saab, 2005; Gardner, 2012). Experts on childhood studies, who generally include ethnically and racially diverse groups of children and young people in their writing, do so without entirely identifying the effects of migration on them (Seeberg & Goździak, 2016). The longevity and the expanse of the literature that discusses the subject of adult migration and experiences are vast. However, according to De Lima, Punch and Whitehead's (2012) briefing report, those that deal with child migration are comparatively new, borne out by an examination of earlier studies by McCarthy (1998), Young (2004) and Hashim (2005).

Crawley highlights the lack of statistical data on migrant children and their experiences. She asserts that in the UK:

> The biggest overarching difficulty stems from the fact that most available national data sets differentiate populations by ethnicity rather than immigration status or background. …virtually all policy approaches to education, employment, service provision, poverty and social cohesion are framed in terms of ethnic origin rather than immigration status.

> Immigrants who are not from ethnic minority backgrounds are generally not considered in analyses of the relationship between immigration status and outcomes. Likewise, those who use ethnic categories to assess outcomes tend not to differentiate between people who are recent immigrants or long-term residents, or between those from the first, second, or third generations. This is reflected in the fact that the experiences of, and outcomes for, immigrant children (both first and second-generation) are subsumed within the literature on the situation of ethnic minority children in general (2010: 552).

Studies on migrant children in the UK focus predominantly on migrant children's English language proficiency for school attainment and league table purposes (Blackledge, 2001; Arnot & Pinson, 2014a). In some cases, migrant children are perceived as a potential threat to a school's achievement/attainment record, and thus schooled separately or given 'alternative educational provision, outside mainstream schooling' for exam purposes (Arnot et al., 2014b: 12), so that they do not mar attainment records for schools competing to be the best based on their GCSE and 'A' level results. Notably, the new Ofsted framework promises to broaden its inspection framework to include cultural capital that provides the opportunity for all students to be better prepared for life than focus predominantly on attainment data (Ofsted, 2019a). The principal aim of the new proposed inspection framework is to 'complement', instead of 'intensify the focus on performance data and measures' (Ofsted, 2019b), and to avoid 'misuse' and 'overuse' of attainment data (Ofsted, 2019a: 44). Interestingly, the new Ofsted framework fails to specifically mention pupils for whom English is an additional language. This appears to have been subsumed under students with special educational needs (SEND) and leaves the interpretation to the reader.

Limitations in the representation of child migrants' issues have led to a simplistic representation of their experiences as being, 'at best, victims of their parents' decisions, and worst, of adult exploitation' (De Lima et al., 2012: 2). Evidence from recent emergent studies highlights the complexities associated with migrant children's experiences from historical, experiential and investigative perspectives (Seeberg & Goździak, 2016; Lynch, 2015; Gardner, 2012; Hashim and Thorsen, 2011; Punch, 2009; Reynold, 2008; Whitehead and Hashim, 2005). The dynamic processes of child migration and the multidimensional impact

on children and young people make them significant participants in migration (Rossi et al. 2005; Owusu-Afriyie, 2009). ‘Children are active and creative social agents who produce their own unique children’s cultures while simultaneously contributing to the production of adult societies’ (Seeberg & Goździak, 2016: 3). They can actively construct and fully comprehend their social lives and environment (Corsaro, 2011; Quaicoe, 2011). Even though childhood is a stage in life that necessitates dependency, support and nurturance from adults (Coe, 2012), children are not passive and must not be an invisible and neglected part of the migration phenomenon. Crucially, children, being contributors and stakeholders in their settings and daily realities (Alderson, 2008; Brooker, 2011), can expose ideas and structures in specific contexts such as school (Schubert, 2010a). This study endeavours to facilitate space for Ghanaian migrant children research participants to narrate their migration and educational experiences and how they feel about their parents’ decision to migrate to the UK. It is vital to hear them express their views as co-constructors and co-contributors to the migration narrative, discourse and experiences.

Ansell and van Blerk (2006) assert that migration holds various implications for children's lives and that these implications are contextualised by the nature in which the migration occurs. International migration studies allude to the multifaceted complexities encountered by adult migrants as they navigate their path in a new country. The complexities include experiencing discrimination, settling in low paid employment (Crawley, 2010) or being unemployed, loneliness and ‘stigma connected to being a foreigner and impact of government policies’ (Christodoulou, 2013: 6) as a part of acculturation within an ‘alien’ culture. If the complexities and challenges associated with migration impact heavily on adults, how may it impact children and young people? The following studies provide further insight into migrant children’s experiences and implications for practice and policy (Condon, 2017; OECD, 2015; Quaicoe, 2011; Reynolds, 2008; Kirova, 2001). Condon's (2017) study explores the experiences of eight migrant pupils from a variety of Eastern European and African countries

who completed five years of second-level education in a local Irish town. OECD (2015) examines challenges that migrant pupils are confronted with and contributions that they bring to their new homes. It highlights policies and ideas that can assist migrant children to be successful in their host environment. Quaicoe's (2011) study investigates the experiences of eighteen newly arrived migrant children from varied cultural and linguistic backgrounds who attend schools (seven) where 98 per cent of their teachers and peers are of Anglo-Celtic origin in Canada. The study also utilises the input of 41 teachers and 11 parents. Schubert's (2010a) study involves 14 migrated adolescents and how they adjust to an Icelandic school and society. Reynolds (2008) studies the experiences and impacts of migrant children in two secondary schools in the UK from the standpoint of inclusion and how this reveals itself in relation to the migrant children's relationships with their peers and teachers, and as well as how the migrant children themselves conceptualise and enjoy their identities. Finally, also set in Canada, Kirova (2001) examines loneliness experienced by migrant children.

2.4 Migrant children: challenges

The literature highlights diverse challenges that confront migrant children, which this study also reports. The ensuing section, therefore, explores some of the challenges that may confront migrant children:

- Learning the English language and EAL provision
- Loneliness/isolation and identity/belonging in school and the classroom
- Linguistic diversity, otherisation and symbolic domination
- Pedagogical practices, classroom experiences and lower educational attainment
- Effects of behaviour on learning, racism, discrimination and bullying
- Negative friendship, peer influence and abrupt changes

Once in Britain, migrant children generally 'must' learn English and develop means to acculturate into their new environment – school and the society. In their interviews with parents, teachers, EMA (Ethnic Minority Achievement) experts and community organisations,

Ryan et al. (2010: 15-16) highlight a variety of challenges that (newly) migrant children encounter. They mention 'language' as the obvious challenge. This, they state, is likely to hinder the formation of new friendships, thus, leading some migrant children to feel isolated or to segregate themselves into 'close-knit co-ethnic' or language groups. They conclude that, whereas migrant children's spoken language might be speedily developed, the proficient and skilled usage of English (particularly writing) will continue to require support (Ryan et al., 2010). In Kumi-Yeboah and Smith's (2016: 11) study, Ghanaian migrant children to the USA expressed language as one of the major hindrances to their academic success and effective formation of relationships. They stated that they encountered challenges in interacting with teachers and peers within the classroom, particularly during instruction. Although they could speak English, the cultural context differed and 'communication appeared to pose significant challenges for the participants and created a cultural mismatch' (Kumi-Yeboah and Smith, 2016: 11). Teachers and other students found it difficult to understand the students when they spoke. Added to this was the teasing and 'put downs' because their accents and culture were different, which participants found hurtful (Ibid).

According to Arnot et al. (2014a), over a million children are presently attending schools in the UK for whom English is not their 'first' language and speak more than 360 languages (NALDIC, 2014). "First Language is the language to which a child was initially exposed to during early development and continues to be exposed to in the home or the community" (DfE, 2013: 7), and they learn English as an additional language (EAL). Nationally, EAL provision is incorporated into mainstream education under the guise of a 'common pedagogic approach' and parity of educational accessibility, making EAL provision a professional obligation (Leung, 2016). According to Leung, the succinctness and the 'hortative tone of the statements on EAL in the 2013 National Curriculum signal an assumption that learning English through participation in the school curriculum is by now a universal principle, and

that teacher diligence in its application is the main issue' (Ibid: 164). As studies have shown, though teachers work incredibly hard trying, it is challenging for them to support migrant/EAL students in a culturally diverse classroom (OECD, 2015). Whilst the basic tenet of equality sounds plausible and promises full integration of the migrant child into the school community, it potentially disadvantages migrant children whose writing skills may require support to come to grips with the demands of standard English for exam purposes. The migrant child's EAL needs being made a teacher's responsibility, places the emphasis on individual teachers and excuses schools, local authorities and academies from funding EAL as one of its priorities. This is particularly pertinent since the removal of the ring-fence protecting Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant (EMAG) funds from being spent on other activities (Strand et al., 2015). By implication, funding for EAL support in schools has been eroded.

Strand et al. (2015) note that Maths is easier for EAL students, but their English requires more support to assist in their understanding. 'It is proficiency in the English language that is the major factor' that necessitates the level of support needed by an EAL student, and 'schools will need to be able to assess this need accurately using their own procedures and expertise' (Strand et al., 2015: 12). They also state that 'recent international arrivals … and Black African ethnic groups are associated with much higher risks of low attainment for EAL students', although other risk factors such as SEND, and FSM are also linked to low attainment amongst EAL cohorts. This means that the underperformance of EAL students in education should be viewed through a wider lens than just their language deficit. Strand et al. (2015: 12) suggest that, because of the broad spectrum of EAL classifications, there may be students who do not require EAL support, but funding should be available for those in the high-risk category - international arrivals within the preceding three years (Strand et al., 2015: 12). This is emphasised by the assertion that EAL students who are not fluent in English underperform in school in England compared to monolingual English speakers (Demie, 2018).

Kirova (2001) highlights loneliness in schools as another major challenge that migrant children must overcome. They experience isolation from peers and loneliness, and although it forms only a part of the migrant child's holistic migration experiences, it is pivotal to their conceptualisation of the world (Paat, 2013). This is because, in school, children are required to not only relate to their peers but adults as well and interactions are governed by specific rules which are 'fundamentally different' from home (Kirova, 2001). 'These are abstractions sustained by the school/classroom community and the requirement that students relate to the world in another way, that is, by mastering symbolic forms … that represent their knowledge and relationship to the self, others, and the world around them…' (Kirova, 2016: 3). According to Kirova, when migrant children arrive at their new destination, they belong neither to the world they left behind, nor the new one, and school becomes the place where they experience the world outside the home (Ibid). She adds that 'with no friends and no way of making themselves understood through language, (the migrant) child feels lonely' (Kirova-Petrova, 2000).

Additionally, where schools are disorganised or lack social (racial) cohesion, migrant children will not only feel isolated but unsafe (Paat, 2013). Isolation, exclusion or prejudice not only impede the degree of trust for others but produce feelings of worthlessness and hopelessness (Eurodiaconia, 2014; Janta and Harte, 2016). ‘The feelings of loneliness and isolation that immigrant children experience also affect how they experience time while they are at school’ (Kirova, 2016: 3). This time is experienced as being lengthy during the school day (Kirova, 2001). Quaicoe’s (2011) study on newly arrived migrant and refugee children in Canada further highlights the issues of loneliness, isolation and particularly, the migrant child’s experiences of belonging.

People’s lives, including migrant young people, are lived in a series of spaces (Riley, 2013: 159-160). Riley invites us to imagine these spaces as ‘islands within an archipelago’ which,

although they ‘share a common climate’, are disconnected by seas which can be perilous (Riley, 2013: 60). Each island having their leaders encapsulating parents, the community in their diversity, residents, the school and the young people themselves. Schools and their leaders of place who understand the "bigger picture" of supporting the young people (migrant child) holistically within the archipelago terrain would 'build bridges, craft boats and teach the islanders how to swim' (Ibid: 160). The variability of the archipelago's configuration will influence the young people's lives and their understanding of their identity, community, and sense of place. Hence, the leaders of these archipelagos could acknowledge the complexities within the archipelago and devise means to make things work effectively for the young people. Three questions arise: to what extent is the school as a ‘physical environment’ a place that is advantageous to learning or challenging for the students and teachers? How may the school as an ‘ecology of relationships’ be healthy and caring or bleak and apathetic? And how is the school as a ‘narrative’, contributing to children’s ‘emotional map, sense of self and sense of their place within the world’ (Riley, 2013: 161).

Riley (2017: 4) describes ‘belonging’ as a sense of being in a place where there is an assurance that one ‘will fit in’ and can safely be in and express a sense of identity. In her book ‘Brit(ish): Race, Identity and Belonging’, Hirsch (2018) takes the reader through her journey in navigating her identity and sense of belonging as a British-Jewish-Ghanaian second-generation female, her experiences through British education and her place in British society. Hirsch travels around various nations within the African continent, aiming to answer the question of belonging that had troubled her as a mixed heritage child growing up in Britain. Having felt more British abroad than anticipated, she recounts returning to Britain and being painfully reminded that she is still an ‘alien’. In Britain, she was frequently asked to explain who she was and where she was from. She experienced identity and belonging as ‘crises of confidence’ and ‘impoverished’ (Ibid: 6-7) growing up in middle-class suburbia in an all-white neighbourhood in Britain. She concludes with her resolve and reconciliation that she is

black and that her identity began from a place of feeling ‘other’ and alien, which ‘evolved in conditions of prejudice and unfairness, and then grew and blossomed into something that [she] cherishes, that enriches [her] relationship with Britain, [her] country’ (Hirsch, 2018: 317). Hirsch’s experience is relevant, not least because of her Ghanaian ancestry, but it is a potent reflection of race, racism, belonging and inequality in Britain as experienced by migrants and the Ghanaian migrant children in this study.

Identity is multi-layered and, whilst encompassing a set of qualities that characterise what an individual recognises as important in constituting who they are, it is also social. It denotes association to and with a group - ‘community, tribe, faith or nation’ (Hirsch, 2018: 21). It is the connection ‘between the individual and the group that makes identity [an essential component] of being a successful human being' (Hirsch, 2018: 21). Thus, ‘Belonging is a foundational human need’ (Hirsch, 2018: 22). This sense of belonging, identity and acceptance is beautifully encapsulated by Maya Angelo; ‘the ache for home lives in all of us, the safe place where we can go as we are and not be questioned’ (Angelou, 1986: 196), surely a challenge to British education and society.

The concept of place is indissolubly connected to young people's 'lives and experiences in our schools as they seek to find a place for themselves' (Riley, 2013: 4). It is, therefore, vital for school leadership to not only focus on the inner mechanisms of the school community, but to consider the ‘external realities’ of the community where the school is located - ‘its aspirations, housing, transport, socio-economic features, ethnic composition and how they interact with each other as well as patterns of mobility and transformation’ to help (migrant) children/young people find their sense of place, identity and belonging (Ibid). The emphasis is on school senior leaders to work with the community to ‘cross boundaries, influence and shape communities and to unleash potential’ of the young people (Riley, 2013: 4-5). Riley adds that these features (past and present) impact the social conditions, suppositions and views that

‘children and their families bring to their education experience’ and serve as a ‘reminder of the transience, transition and transformation’ as well as a reminder of feelings and emotions, identity and belonging that is associated with ‘place’ (Riley, 2013: 5). In support of Riley’s view, young people are frequently characterised in obstructive ways that limit them and obscure their potential. We must go ‘beyond the narrow stereotypes of what our children and young people can achieve and can be’ (based on their race and ethnicity) (2013: 10).
Riley sets out a framework for school leaders and how they can work with the community, parents and the young people themselves to foster understanding, collegiality and a sense of place and to frame discussions around issues of loneliness, isolation and belonging in school and the classroom. Schools remain a significant institution in society that does not only arbitrate the principles and guidelines of society but offers pupils the setting to encounter and engage with their peers to navigate relationships (Schubert, 2010b). According to Schubert, it is also the milieu in which migrant children 'make their first systematic contact with their new society' (Schubert, 2010b: 308), and so it is important to the lives and well-being of migrant children for them to feel that they belong and would be accepted for who they are, and in turn afford them the comfort and safety to express their identity.

Welply’s (2017) research into how children from migrant backgrounds viewed their ‘first’ or ‘home’ language found that the otherisation of their language propels them to construe their 'first' language as substandard (Welply, 2017). The way migrant children are classified and characterised in school when they newly arrive shows a propensity to 'produce, reproduce, and reinforce their social position as immigrants, refugees, or linguistic, cultural, or visible minorities' (Quaicoe, 2011: 18). According to Welply (2010, 2015 and 2017), language has emerged as a new form of classification being used to discriminate against some (migrant) groups. This, he states, promotes discriminatory and detrimental views of migrant children as the 'other'. Schools are commonly charged with the responsibility of ensuring that children are

endowed with the social, cultural and linguistic skills required to function efficaciously in their academics and society for the future (Department for Education, 2013; Welply, 2017). Therefore, they are central to the debate regarding the integration of migrant children and multiculturalism (Welply, 2017; Arnot & Pinson, 2005). Migrant children in Britain may need to therefore find means of dealing with the symbolic domination of the English language as the only legitimate language. The importance of language and its effect on an individual or group is captured in the following quote:

> Language is the place where actual and possible forms of social organisation and their likely social and political consequences are defined and contested. Yet it is also the place where our sense of ourselves, our subjectivity, is constructed (Weedon, 1997: 21).

Language, and related tensions within British schools, could be considered as having a significant impact on shaping the felt experience and sense of identity held by migrant children. Young (2014) argues that the symbolic violence on migrant children with regards to their linguistic capital is damaging to their well-being, a view supported by both John (2006) and Couëtoux-Jungman et al. (2010). Britain's linguistic diversity could be perceived as an opportunity to celebrate multiracialism, multilingualism and inclusivity.

Bourdieu contends that there is a single tacitly accepted legitimate form of culture and language in any given society which functions as a uniting ideology validated by institutional spaces (Bourdieu, 1991). According to Welply (2017), these subtly acknowledged legitimising norms invariably invalidate and exclude others. The monocultural and monolingual spaces in Britain replicated in schools excludes migrant children, and thus, ‘otherised’ them. Although referring specifically to refugee children, it is equally applicable to migrant children; Arnot (2014a) finds that, despite support for linguistic diversity in British schools, migrant children feel excluded by the way that schools handle linguistic and cultural differences. In the arena of language, the identity of the minority groups is constructed and reconstructed by those of the dominant group (Heller, 1995) and extends beyond language to

include race, literacy, gender, cultural competencies and class (Blackledge, 2001). Emphasising Heller and Blackledge's point, John (2006) makes a strong case against the British education system's lack of understanding, invalidation, demeaning and devaluing of the Black heritage languages, particularly the Caribbean heritage language speaking students. He argues that this is arrogant and ignorant on the part of the British elite - 'English chauvinism' (John, 2006: 328). He also asserts that whilst local educational authorities supported and sponsored the teaching of the mother-tongue to children of other languages such as Bangladeshi, Chinese, Turkish, and whilst teachers were encouraged to view the procurement and dexterity in these children's mother-tongue as fundamental to their learning of English as an additional language and their access to the curriculum, Caribbean children were seen as incompetent and sent to 'educationally subnormal' schools on account of their language (spoken and written) not being the Queen's/standard English (John, 2006: 352), and tests used to measure the children's ability. Tests rightly deemed biased by Coard (1971) and supported by Richardson (2007) and John (2006). Coard's study observed that the test, which was predicated on proficiency in 'standard' English and served as the measure for the child's ability to progress in mainstream schools, pivoted on race, class and social and cultural capital, thus, causing children of the Indian Sub-continent and others to receive EAL support on the grounds that they arrived in the UK with acknowledged foreign languages, to the disadvantage of Caribbean children who were not deemed as EAL, but rather, their language relegated as a ‘broken’ version of the English language (John, 2006: 328; Richardson, 2007).

These practices reflected significantly and, to some extent, instigated by widespread recurrent themes around race and intelligence theories of racial inferiority based on genetics advocated during the 70s (John, 2006). The recognition and value placed on the first language of these EAL students, for example, those of the Indian Sub-continent and others, fosters a sense of well-being and self-esteem which John (2006) argues contributes to their educational attainments. In the same way that the lack of validation, acceptance and recognition of the

black (Caribbean) heritage children's language affects their well-being, self-worth and invariably, their educational attainment (John, 2006).

Importantly, this study examines the practices of the school regarding the Ghanaian migrant children in its care and argues that their experience is not in isolation but rather emphasises the continuity of a historical narrative about the persistence of issues of inequity and discrimination experienced by many BAME children. Education and race in Britain have been a political issue and one of enormous concern to Black communities for over half a century (Gill, Mayor & Blair, 1992; John, 2006; Warmington, 2014), leading to the establishment of the Black working-class movement in education (John, 1986), and the battle to make schooling in Britain equitable – a venture that academics such as Gus John and others have.

Schools and teachers may feel ill-equipped to cater for the needs of migrant children due to the linguistic diversity that they are confronted with (Mallows, 2012; Young, 2014). However, schools should not be spaces of social and cultural reproduction without the engagement of critical thinking. There is the argument that it should be a place where the prevailing power relations within British society are challenged to make it an environment of social and cultural transformation (Blackledge, 2001).

Ghanaian migrant children learning the English language and being able to function academically in schools, and ultimately more fully within the society, is understood simplistically (Young, 2014) and side-lined as an issue by the legitimisation power or symbolic capital of the English language (Blackledge, 2001). Migrant children can only function within the remit of English, which can be limiting to their learning, and their valuing of self as bilingual, polylingual children in Britain (Couëtoux-Jungman et al., 2010; Young, 2014), especially where they are not provided with the support needed (EAL or otherwise) because they are deemed to be advanced bilingual learners. John (2006: 341) asserts that the degree to which a group characterises and establishes who they are in a domain and 'become

confident, self-respecting people is the extent to which their language is developed, intrinsically respected, and is the medium through which they externalise their very being' and that interfering with it will erode not only their self-esteem, sense of individual and collective identity but also their ability to value other languages.

Other challenges identified by Ryan et al. (2010: 15-16) include the children having to become accustomed to an educational system and curriculum that differ from their previous experiences. This includes pedagogical practices in the classroom such as the physical layout of the classroom space, learning and teaching styles, discipline and at times, the informality of student-teacher relationships in the British classroom (Welply, 2010). Kumi-Yeboah and Smith (2016: 10), in a U.S. study of 60 Ghanaian-born migrant children, states that the students reported struggling with 'pedagogical and curricular processes' because the 'institutional delivery and classroom atmosphere' was dissimilar to their Ghanaian experiences of being recipients of knowledge from teachers rather than the co-construction and interactive learning environment. They also report experiencing difficulties in navigating school and classroom in a culturally new setting (Kumi-Yeboah and Smith, 2016: 10). Kumi-Yeboah and Smith's findings become relevant to this study as it explores the Ghanaian migrant children research participants' classroom and pedagogical challenges.

An additional disadvantage for migrant children includes educational underachievement. OECD (2015) reports that, in the majority of receiving nations, the attainment of migrant students whose parents were also born outside the host country is poorer compared to their second-generation counterparts or those of the non-migrant milieu. Supporting this view, Janta and Harte (2016: 3) postulate that while it may vary from country to country, migrant children - 'first, second or higher-order-generation migrants' generally exhibit a propensity to 'lower educational' attainment and largely exit education earlier than their native counterparts. The gap, according to the OECD (2015) report, is wider in reading than in Maths or problem-

solving. The report cites linguistic barriers to textual understanding as the key obstacle to the educational achievement of these students. Judging by these assertions, the Ghanaian migrant student seems to be already at an educational disadvantage from the inception of their educational journey abroad. According to the European Network Against Racism (ENAR) (2008: 5), additional 'indirect and structural forms of discrimination such as admission policies, lack of appropriate supports and the curriculum itself were among the factors' found to contribute to lower educational attainment'. The aggregate linguistic and cultural differences experienced in the life of an African migrant child place much strain on their educational and academic performance (Obiakor and Afoláyan, 2007).

Another challenge that confronts migrant children is that of the behaviour of children in schools in England and how this impacts learning. Williams and Morris' (2014: 10) study found that 'inappropriate behaviour' does not only 'disrupt lessons' but can be 'damaging to learning'. Reinforcing this view, according to Her Majesty's Chief Inspector (HMCI) (2014: 4), disruptive behaviour has a 'detrimental impact on the life chances of too many pupils'. The report also states that students indicated that disruptive behaviour hindered their learning and that irregularity in the application of 'behaviour policies' infuriates students and parents alike.

In this study, the influence of peers (both negative and positive) is important. Tomé et al.'s (2012) study found that the behaviour of adolescents is directly influenced by peers. This influence may be exhibited in the young person's life through fashion, speech and the adoption of antisocial behaviour (Padilla-Walker & Bean, 2009). You (2011) reported similar findings, suggesting that they are to be expected because young people's acceptance in a group is among the main indicators for measuring negative and positive experiences in school. Studies about friendships and peer relationships indicate that the building of peer relationships is more pronounced in adolescence (Brown, 2004; Padilla-Walker & Bean, 2009). Whilst it is generally believed that peer influence can be both positive and negative, most studies tend to

concentrate on the negative influence of peers, according to Padilla-Walker & Bean (2009). Petraitis, Flay and Miller, (1995) believe that a young person does not have to witness a behaviour to subscribe to it, but the perceived acceptance by his/her peers provides the impetus for joining in.

As indicated by Tomé et al.'s (2012) study that the behaviour of adolescents is directly influenced by their peers positively or negatively, and whilst the negative peer influence appears to be the dominant of the two (Padilla-Walker & Bean 2009), this study also highlights positive peer influences as capital that aids learning and acculturation. Positive peer influence in this context comes through relationships with peers in school, outside the school and through extra-curricular activities. The impact of extra-curricular activity is explored in section 2.5.

Ryan et al. (2010: 15-16) found that migrant children experience racism, discrimination and xenophobia. They are confronted with damaging stereotypes from other students, 'parents and even some teachers' (Ryan et al., 2010: 15-16). They see that such experiences are not confined to only Black students but may also be problematic for White East European migrant children, particularly during an economic recession (Ibid). Additionally, migrant children are confronted with the challenge of bullying. This is a recognised feature of schools in the UK often associated with racism (Condon, 2017) and has a varied detrimental impact on those affected (James et al., 2008) often streaked with racism (Byrne et al., 2010). According to Hoare et al. (2011) and Green et al. (2010), bullying, in addition to violence, normally presents itself in the form of name-calling, verbal assault, and teasing. DfE's (2012) report on behaviour states that 22% of children aged 10 to 15 (in the UK) were 'frightened or upset' by bullying, and an estimated 90% of this occurred in school. Likewise, Chamberlain et al.'s (2010) study reported that 29% of students in years six, eight and ten had experienced bullying in and outside school within a year. Riley (2013) makes us understand that school, and the sphere

which young people occupy in and around it, can be intertwined with the concept of space. Using the school as an example, Riley explains that it is a section in the school where teacher presence or authority may not only be lacking but a place where powerful student relationships, positively or negatively, emerge, such as discrimination and bullying (Riley, 2013: 18) which are significant issues, particularly for migrant children.

In Kumi-Yeboah and Smith (2016), the participants report experiencing discrimination. As previously noted, this was both linguistic and cultural. Ghanaians and other migrant children are not only at 'risk of discrimination, bullying and social exclusion' within schools and in the wider community (UNICEF, 2014: 16; Janta & Harte, 2016), but also have to deal with the conflict between their new culture and its values and their own. They must negotiate their way, not only in that society but also in schools and perhaps at home, where parental expectations could conflict with those of their acculturative behaviours and identity (Arthur, 2008; Lin, 2008).

In their new environment, migrant children are confronted with abrupt changes to their lives that are not of their making (Kirova, 2016). In this study, abrupt changes were encountered in Britain and before migration, presenting them with disruptions, battles, and life experiences prior to arrival into their new life in England.

According to UNICEF, 'a positive migration experience can set young migrants on a successful path towards capitalising on their accomplishments and developing economic and social assets for their future' (UNICEF, 2014: 6), whilst negative experiences can have a calamitous impact on the child's 'short and long-term future' (Ibid). Adolescence is a critical developmental period of transitioning from childhood into adulthood, and it is crucial to protect, shape, develop, and support their human and cultural capital, which can be sustained and consolidated, to enable effective transitioning into adulthood (UNICEF, 2014). Thus, it is imperative for schools, the community, parents and guardians and the government, (through

policy) to support migrant children to adapt and steer their way through the educational and societal challenges. This is where parents, schools (teachers) and community participation are crucial as Britain becomes increasingly diversified.

2.5 Migrant children: factors contributing to educational and acculturation success

To help migrant children deal with some of the challenges mentioned above, Villegas and Lucas (2002: 21) assert that teachers (and schools) must be culturally responsive to create a culturally and linguistically equal and safe environment for all its students. They offer a vision of culturally responsive teachers who are: (a) socio-culturally conscious, (b) have affirming views of students from diverse backgrounds, (c) see themselves as responsible for and capable of bringing about change to make schools more equitable, (d) understand how learners construct knowledge and are capable of promoting knowledge construction, (e) know about the lives of their students, and (f) design instruction that builds on what their students already know while stretching them beyond the familiar (Villegas & Lucas, 2002: 21). To enable teachers to survive the ethnically diverse educational environment, Lander (2011) suggests that, they must be equipped with the essential initial and ongoing training to deal with teaching in multicultural educational settings such as race and ethnicity lectures/seminars dedicated to challenging internalised racism, the formation of otherness and stereotyping, even as John (2006) calls on teachers and students of African ancestry to confidently organise and unite with groups with similar interests, to challenge racism and racial inequalities to engender change.

In this study, factors that support academic and acculturation success are explored below:

- Student-teacher relationships and teacher support
- Resilience, aspirations and desire to succeed
- Parental involvement in education (explored in 2.9)
- Religious/faith and community support

- Extra-curricular activities
- Policy, leadership and curriculum provision

Teachers play pivotal roles in students' education, social and academic experiences, development and successes in life (Baker, Grant & Morlock, 2008). Male's (2010) study on what motivates year eight boys to learn found that students' positive relationships with their teachers aided their learning. Similarly, O'Connor, Dearing and Collins' (2011) study highlights the significance of positive student-teacher relationship being instrumental to constructive behaviour and positive socialisation in children. Both Baker et al. (2008) and O'Connor et al. (2011) attest to positive student-teacher relationships providing security and safety in schools and the development of a sociological and academic trajectory and better outcomes for pupils. Furthermore, it promotes the desire in students to aim for higher educational attainment levels (Dika & Singh, 2002). Fundamentally, students profit from the care and direction that teachers provide within positive student-teacher relationships (Croninger & Lee, 2001). Teachers can form a crucial basis of social capital for their pupils (Muller, 2001). According to Muller (2001), in the classroom context, social capital is the experience that pupils gain from teachers, which enables them to appreciate that they are not only cared for but that they are also expected to thrive academically and socially. Relevant to this study is the relationship between students and teachers and how teacher support and positive relationships promote the learning and adjustment of these Ghanaian migrant children in school in England.

The importance of a positive student-teacher relationship is understood as crucial to the academic achievement or failure of children (Tomlin & Olusola 2006). Kumi-Yeboah and Smith (2016) report on the acknowledgement of teacher support to be a noteworthy resource that aided the academic success and acculturation of the Ghanaian-born migrant students who participated in their study. Most notable is the teacher support received, which enabled them

to understand concepts explored in lessons as well as those that helped them to 'adjust and improve' in their academic work (Ibid: 10). Coming from an educational setting in Ghana, where the teacher is revered and the sole provider of knowledge, the participants also positively commented on pedagogical strategies of an 'open approach to instructional delivery' and cordial teacher response in discussions and 'project-based learning' activities (Kumi-Yeboah and Smith, 2016: 9).

Pertinent to this study is the positivity Ghanaian migrant students appear to hold and their desire to succeed and aspire to higher education; hence the inclusion of resilience, aspirations and desire to succeed being addressed in the review of literature (Kumi-Yeboah and Smith, 2016: 8). This serves as a cultural capital that may enable them to forge on regardless of the challenges that they may encounter. It can be argued that this perception can be equally applied to migrant students generally. Suárez-Orozco et al. (2008) suggest that migrant students do not only view education through the lens of positivity and possess higher aspirational values, but they are also more hopeful about the future than their native counterparts. Obiakor et al.'s (2000) study of 16 African migrant men in America found that, while subjected to discrimination in its various forms, they sought opportunities to become successful. This was due to their persistence, diligence, 'education, dedication, self-awareness, self-responsibility, family values, and faith' (Obiakor & Afoláyan, 2007: 268). Although the Obiakor et al. study focuses on the experiences of adult males, it resonates with the experiences of these migrant children in this study, particularly in terms of their self-awareness, family values and faith.

Kumi-Yeboah and Smith (2016: 8) found that most of the participants described 'working extremely hard in school to get good grades'. Moreover, they exhibited positive sentiments and aspirations about academic achievements (Ibid: 8). Demie's (2013: 32) study of pupils of African descent, largely Ghanaians and Nigerians, discovered that the success of the students

in their GCSE was partly due to their ‘high aspirations’. Williams and Morris (2014) hold similar views. Also, according to Naidoo (2015), the success of the migrant children in her study (mainly girls) was due to the cultural and ethnic capitals (aspirations) instilled in them by parents creating a familial high aspirational environment. She concludes that ‘ethnicity and cultural background affected not only educational and vocational aspirations but also impacted on the imagination of the parents and students’ (Naidoo, 2015: 102).

Cassity and Gow (2005) and Naidoo (2009) note that African refugee students consider education to be of vital importance. Additionally, ‘aspirational capital’ (Dumangane, 2017: 877) sponsors a philosophy or a position that empowers people of ethnic minority origins to aspire to heights beyond their current context (Yosso, 2005; Basit, 2012). Yosso argues that ‘aspirational capital’ challenges the conventional views of cultural capital where it is understood as being deficient within the Black community.

Using Bourdieu’s framework, ‘capital’ is conceptualised as a commodity acquired and convertible for a person’s use (Bourdieu, 1984). Faith, in the context of this study, may be perceived to be an asset that has been passed on from parents to their children; it may form a facet of their upbringing that develops resilience, may provide hope in challenging situations and may build character. Connecting education to an individual’s principles and beliefs may also show its potential to affect academic aspiration and success as well as generate perseverance (Regnerus, 2000). Dumangane's (2017) UK study discovered faith to be an asset that served as a motivation for academic success, in addition to enabling the participants to circumnavigate negative situations whilst growing up. According to Regnerus (2000), connexions with faith have been discovered to positively impact the educational hopes of young people. Dumangane (2017: 876) reminds us that there are scholars who have interpreted social capital within the family and the community as a vital builder 'of young people's future human capital that emerges from the development of community norms, expectations and

values arising from close personal relationships and ties'. Ghanaian migrant children who participated in this study appear to have been impacted by their associations with the religious community, which is a significant feature of their Ghanaian community. To Bourdieu, habitus is a symbol of one's 'way of being', or daily routines learnt through systems of lasting, interchangeable dispositions that operate on the grounds of 'perceptions, appreciations and actions' in which religion appears to be a significant capital (Bourdieu, 1977: 82-83). According to Agbiji and Swart (2015), religion is inextricably intertwined in African society; it permeates all avenues of life and informs the ontological understanding of African traditions, values, principles, morals, behaviour and social relationships (Mbiti, 1999). Chitando et al. (2013) argue that many Africans are profoundly religious, and their unconscious resort to religion may suggest how entrenched religion is within their lived experiences inside and outside the African continent. Faith organisations may provide a positive and supportive social setting and may offer a moral guide (Mbiti, 1999; Maluleke, 2010; Chitando et al., 2013; Agbiji & Swart, 2015). Religious beliefs are explored in this study because they appear to be important aspects of the research participants' shared experiences.

Extra-curricular activities have also been researched as having a positive impact on students' attainment (Freeman, 2017) and partaking in extra-curricular activities may promote significant academic performance (Gerber, 1996; Lewis, 2004) and sponsor good behaviour in pupils (Massoni, 2011). Demie and McLean (2007: 121) and Williams and Morris' (2014: 10) studies strongly support these views. For instance, Williams and Morris' study highlights students' participation in 'drama, football, music, sports and dancing' as boosting confidence, 'assertiveness and team-building skills' (Williams and Morris, 2014: 10). Additionally, according to Demie and McLean, one of the areas that supported the academic success of Black African children who participated in their study was their involvement in extra-curricular activities such as 'widening participation and intervention programmes, breakfast

clubs, sporting and cultural activities, arts and drama' (Demie and McLean, 2007: 421); it was a source of 'great strength' and had a 'motivating and positive impact', particularly on those in the gospel choir (Ibid). According to Sadker and Zittleman (2010), one out of every four students engages in extra-curricular activities in schools. In a wider context, extra-curricular activities have come to comprise church and community-based activities as well (Eccles & Barber, 1996; Lewis, 2004), and this study explores the effect that such extra-curricular activities may have on the Ghanaian migrant children research participants, in contributing to the capitals that may have enabled acculturation in British education and society.

Literature on Black African heritage students highlights various factors that contribute to the perceived underperformance, of this group of students, in British education. Demie (2013) and Tomlin and Olusola (2006) are examples of studies that investigate good practices that promote the educational success of Black pupils. Both studies strongly indicate that school leadership that supports inclusivity and equality in their school ethos and promotes a curriculum that caters for the needs of the diverse groups of students produces achievements for Black African students. Riley's (2013) work on how school leaders can make schools a place of belonging and equitable for pupils becomes relevant here as part of the strategies that can help migrant children to progress in education and to find their place. An important principle found is that whilst the leaders accept and recognise the significance of students attaining good exams grades, their aims and actions extend further to include bridging and strengthening the young people's lives and their community within the schools (Riley, 2013). They do this by 'reaching out to the community; bringing the community together; challenging street life and enabling young people to see their place in society' (Riley, 2013: 155).

2.6 Framing this study: Bourdieu’s theory of practice, race, ethnicity and inequality

Societal and cultural inequalities are reproduced through concealed connections within academic competence and cultural heritage (Bourdieu, 1977). Exemplifying Bourdieu's notion of educational disparities, Van de Werfhorst (2010) finds that children coming from privileged families succeed academically and ultimately in life, as the schooling system, ethos, and culture are in similitude to their experiences at home. Those without this opportunity from home encounter difficulties in schooling due to their inability to adapt to its culture and may subsequently underperform and perhaps drop out of the system altogether (Van de Werfhorst, 2010). The education system legitimises class (Sullivan, 2002), cultural and social inequalities in schools (Mills, 2008), consequently reproducing inequalities normalised within the broader society. Linking this to race and ethnicity, the example taken for this study relates to the placement of children of African descent in lower set classes and raises the issue of institutional racism (Gillborn, 2006). This is also exemplified in the researched differential treatment of students of African descent to Caucasian students, particularly with regards to dealing with discipline and implementation of the school’s behaviour policy (Gillborn, 2006).

Hassan (2015: 44) rejects Bourdieu's theory of practice as simply an analytical and theoretical tool. He argues that it focuses heavily on the elite's ability and dexterities that contribute to and maintain inequality within society whilst neglecting the roles of race and ethnicity that his study of Somalian parenting styles describes. Bourdieu's theory of practice (1977, 1982 and 1991) has been heavily criticised for its exclusion of ethnic minority groups or race (Winkle-Wagner, Ward, & Wolf-Wendel, 2010).

Bourdieu proposes that 'curriculum and assessment regimes' are avenues whereby stratification of cultural capitals is achieved through the formal educational process; thus, the rules of the "schooling game" are geared to perpetuate inequalities (Thomson, 2002: 4). According to Tuck and Gorlewski (2016: 200), 'education policy in the United States today is

perceived, developed, and enacted in ways that put Whiteness in the most powerful position of every racist ordering. White, primarily middle-class norms of language and culture, are consistently privileged in institutions of public education, regardless of the presence of teachers and students of colour.' It could be argued that this is the case in British education, and, indeed, Gillborn et al. (2012: 123) argued that much reporting of white working-class underachievement serves to maintain the 'privileging white interests'. They add that this is because educational disparities linked with 'social class do not appear to be equally important for all students' irrespective of their ethnicity; policies are created and implemented through racist ordering, meaning that many of the learners whose experiences of school are most negative are Black and Brown (Gillborn, 2005; Henig, Hula, Orr, & Pedescleaux, 2001).

Highlighting this grip by the dominant group that is deeply embedded in the education or "schooling game", Bourdieu acknowledges that attempting to rectify this power imbalance is difficult so that the position of the privileged or dominant group is maintained (Bourdieu, 1998).

Children, parents and teachers can be as perceived as possessing the ability to act because they are capable of reasoning for themselves. Schools, teachers and policy makers, have the potential capacity to make educational outcomes equitable through just and fair groupings/class set, timetabling, curriculum provision, teaching methods, and teacher-student-home relationships (Thomson, 2002). It must be noted that whilst schools, teachers and policy makers and the system alike may not set out to be consciously discriminatory towards students of African ancestry, according to Bourdieu, the schooling game positions all involved to play the 'game' that results in the discrimination and the creation of social difference amongst children (Thomson, 2002).

2.7 Recent history of race and racism in England's education system

Gillborn (2006) makes a riveting exegesis of the entrenched nature of institutional racism in British education. Referring to the Stephen Lawrence inquiry report, he asserts that on the surface, the UK's educational system appears to be committed to inclusive and equal opportunity regarding race; however, it is the main source and perpetrator of racial inequalities. He further asserts that 'there is compelling evidence that the English education system has a case to answer' with regards to institutional racism (Gillborn, 2006: 88). He cites documented reports on race and education dominated by the persistent underachievement of Black/African Caribbean students (Gillborn and Mirza, 2000; Gillborn, 2006).

Demie (2013) reasons that the causes of the underperformance of Black students in Britain are varied and multifaceted. It includes negative 'stereotyping', the 'low teacher expectation' of Black students, 'exclusions and headteachers' poor leadership on equality issues (Demie & McLean, 2007: 416). Demie (2013: 2) further argues that the gap in 'knowledge and understanding by teachers and policy makers' of the cultural multiplicity of minority groups is a primary drive of underachievement amongst Black students. Low expectation of teachers towards children of African descent also features prominently in a recent study in the UK by Akomaning-Amoh (2018) where Ghanaian students and their parents' voices resonate in unison about low teacher expectation and its negative impact on attainment and children's self-belief. According to Ofsted (2019c), teacher expectations can be stereotypically linked to a student's race or cultural milieu, and this can affect a student's self-belief.

Tomlin and Olusola (2006) believe that, whilst studies have generally indicated low teacher expectations of Black children, their study did not find this to be the case. Instead, the headteachers they interviewed had a theoretical and practical knowledge of the challenges that confront Black students, which is reflected in the inclusive nature of their curriculum and the school's equality and inclusive policy (Tomlin & Olusola, 2006). The implication here is that

it is the school leadership team that promotes inclusivity and equality in their ethos and policy to enable students of African descent to progress academically, as was found by Demie (2013). According to Rosen (2016), a teacher's negative comment on a student's ability has an impact on how that child will feel about their future and the motivation and effort he/she may apply to their work to do well in school. Undoubtedly, teacher expectation, whether high or low, has serious consequences on the lives and academic achievement of children of African descent (Demie, 2013; Akomaning-Amoh, 2018).

Gregory, Skiba and Nogueira (2010) also link the attainment gap of Black pupils with disproportionate exclusions and harsher discipline. 'Attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping' (Macpherson, 1999: 49) – that is 'institutional racism' – evidenced in a variety of studies, which conclude that 'many white teachers hold systematically lower expectations of Black and other minority ethnic students and often respond more quickly and more harshly to perceived signs of unruly behaviour or inappropriate attitudes' (Gillborn, 2006: 89). According to Williams' (2015) study, this is because white teachers hold 'ethnic deficit' views of Black families and students. Also, teachers' cultural and social dispositions influence their views of Black students, thus leading to the disparity of treatment or disciplining of Black children in schools (Williams, 2015). These processes, Gillborn states, are given institutional impetus by the usage of "selective" pupil grouping (through tracking, streaming, setting and the like) having been discovered to persistently and disproportionally place numerous Black students in bottom set teaching groups (Gillborn, 2006). Strand's (2012) longitudinal study of young people in England and Akomaning-Amoh's (2018) study on Ghanaian students in the UK support Gillborn's (2006) assertion about the disproportional placement of Black, especially Caribbean students in lower set classes, especially when the child is perceived to be an EAL student (Akomaning-Amoh. 2018). The placement of students in bottom set classes

has major consequences for their exam results. Wiliam and Bartholomew's (2004) of 955 students in 42 schools found that, on average, students in the top set gained almost half a GCSE higher than those in other upper sets. This result becomes even bleaker for those in the bottom sets, leading them to conclude that it is not the school that a child attends that matters, but the set that they are in (Wiliam & Bartholomew, 2004).

Fifty years ago, Coard (1971) highlighted three significant means by which teachers massively hinder the progress of Black children in mainstream education - it is by being blatantly discriminatory and condescending, in addition to placing low expectation of Black children's aptitudes. These aspects, he adds, prevail in British education (Coard, 1971). Whilst Coard's findings and stipulations may be perceived as dated, current studies (John, 2006; Lander, 2011; Andrews, 2013, 2014 and 2016) continue to affirm prejudicial treatment against Black children in schools. Coard (1971) was making the point 50 years ago about the over-representation of Black children in special schools. More recently, it is still evident that Black children are over-represented in Special schools if one calculates figures presented from the Annual Schools Census (DfE, 2019, Table 5). Teachers' lower expectation of Black students is also examined in Gillborn et al. (2012) where Black, especially Caribbean middle-class parents not only share their own experiences of such in school but voice their perceptions and concerns about this issue regarding their children. Also, accentuating this issue autobiographically as a second-generation Ghanaian who was schooled in the UK is Owusu-Kwarteng (2010); she reports that she was not expected to aspire to university education and was encouraged to aim below her potential and expectations in school.

In Maths, where this was most evident, students were placed in sets where the highest attainment that could be achieved is grade 'D' – below the pass rate of 'C' (Gillborn & Youdell, 2000). According to the current grading system of 9-1 in England, the pass is grade '4' and above (DfE, 2018). Gillborn further asserts that there cannot be a clearer example of

institutional racism than Black children being disproportionately entered for an examination where the highest grade that can be achieved is deemed as a failure. Gillborn et al. (2012: 129) states that low teacher expectation of Black children becomes even more apparent at the 'point of selection when students are placed in hierarchical teaching groups or denied access to high-status subjects and examinations'.

Racism and education are together part of Britain's history, where education has persistently disadvantaged migrants and ethnic minority children, particularly those of African heritage, and more particularly Afro-Caribbean children (John, 2006).

Post Second World War saw numerous migrants from the British Commonwealth countries, especially from the Caribbean and African countries, migrating to Britain - an era and a generation encapsulated as the Windrush generation (Warmington, 2014). 'Few of the migrants could have guessed what problems that they would encounter' because whilst there was employment, acceptance into British (white) society was problematic (Phillips and Phillips, 1999: 83). They navigated life in the UK socially and educationally with minimal support and much hostility (Phillips and Phillips, 1999). Soon, the children of these migrants entered British education. Warmington (2014: 31) argues that 'post-war Black Britain' did not truly gain permanence until the 1960s and 70s; it was through education and the struggles of the Black children and their parents that this permanence was formed and cemented, and has since set the tenor of discussion regarding race and education, and in one way or another, the issue of national identity amongst the Afro-Caribbean communities in Britain (Warmington, 2014).

During the 1985-86 teacher dispute, John (1986) made a poignant speech about the Black Working Class Movement in Education and Schooling, in which he outlined the racial discrimination and the struggle of Black parents and their children for educational equity in British education which mandated the formation of Black Parents Movement. He questions

the objective of the British social history and the class formation and its purpose and functionality within education. He asserts that it places ‘a quality stamp on students and produces different “commodities” for different functions within the economy’ (John1986: 3). Thus, it appears that there is an insidious plot to compartmentalise certain groups of children to meet certain demands within the labour market.

The notion of the ‘deracialisation of education policy’, with the advent of the National Curriculum, according to Gillborn, causes the issue of ‘race’ in education to be coalesced with other classifications (Gillborn, 1995: 33). Gillborn specifies two features with regards to the deracialisation theme and argues that it deprives ‘race’ of any distinct significance and repudiates its entitlement for recognition; secondly, that the persistent refusal to accept ‘racism as anything but a small-scale problem of individual ignorance and prejudice’ denies the ubiquitous nature of racism and the probability that ‘structural factors are implicated’ (Ibid).

Central to the debate about educational underachievement of black pupils in British education, is the claim that Gill et al. (1992) make that it has primarily been due to the fact that the British education system which forms part of the broader ‘structural and institutional racism, helps to promote the educational failure of black pupils through teacher attitudes and expectations and the routine [historical] processes and procedures of the school culture’ (Gill et al., 1992: 3).

Mac an Ghaill’s (1992) exploration of the reconceptualisation of Black students’ schooling experiences, concludes that the main ‘problem in the schooling of black youths is racism’ (Mac an Ghaill, 1992: 56). Furthermore, the British education system forms part of the driving forces that inadvertently assist in keeping ‘black people in a position of structural subordination’ (Ibid: 56).

The purpose of the 1944 Education Act was to allow all children, regardless of their background (creed, social, gender, financial or cultural), to have quality education.

Regrettably, decades on, it still appears that educational achievement/success is firmly linked to one's ethnicity, class, disability and cultural capital, (Dorling, 2014; Tomlinson, 2008, 2014 and Cole, 2017). Janta and Harte (2016) suggest that at the European and national levels, anti-discrimination laws and policies are vital in framing social and educational systems, while researchers Brind et al. (2008); Crul & Schneider (2009) and Sirius (2014) argue that clear anti-discrimination laws must be completely enforced in the education system on all grounds of discrimination and that teachers, parents and students must be empowered to report prejudicial and discriminatory behaviours in educational programmes and institutions (Janta & Harte, 2016). The Equality Act 2010 and the Race Relations Amendment Act 2000 aimed at preventing discrimination and exclusion of migrant children and indeed discrimination on the grounds of their race, ethnicity or national origin should be implemented.

The very concept of inclusion in government-funded schools implies that all children are provided with high-quality education free of any form of discrimination. In this context, the assumption is that schools provide a convivial school community where each child is afforded the liberty and the opportunity to hold and develop their own cultural or ethnic identity (Reynolds, 2008; Blanco & Takemoto, 2006) as well as excel in their schooling. Therefore, schools are mandated to work towards cohesion and the creation of strong positive relations between students of diverse backgrounds (DfES, 2006). This being the case, schools (and indeed teachers) must do what is necessary to avoid any form of discrimination and inequality that would make a child feel that they are unfairly treated because of their race.

2.8 Ghanaians in London: identity formation, networks/associations, belonging and social capital

Ghanaians are one of the oldest West African groups in London, and the vitality of their culture has meant that the very concept of what is African derives from Ghanaian culture for many Londoners (Eshun, 2014). Strong ties and networks are considered necessary for

Ghanaian migrants to receive relevant information and help, and are inherent in the Ghanaian social formation, community ties and identity in the diaspora, exemplified by studies in Britain (Vasta & Kandilige, 2007), Germany (Schmelz, 2009) and the USA and Europe (Arthur, 2008). Undoubtedly, this assertion above can also be made about other migrant groups; it has formed a consistent frame of acclimatisation not only among West Africans for many years, but also by the Caribbean Windrush generation (Gus, 2006). Associations such as the Trinidad and Tobago Association, the Jamaican Nationals Association and the Guyanese Association currently exist, as well as the Black Parents Movement. Collectively, these associations have been significant in supporting their groups in a variety of ways, for example, in seeking employment, with schooling and resisting racial discrimination and marginalisation (in its various forms) of the people of African and Caribbean ancestry in the UK (John, 1986 & 2006, Phillips & Phillips, 1999 & 2009; Matthews, 2018).

Upon arriving in their new destinations, Ghanaians can establish themselves into varied organisations or 'associations'. The establishment of these is not only efficacious in ensuring the survival of Ghanaians in the UK but also enables them to establish enduring social networks, and thus ease the acclimatisation processes (Orozco and Rouse, 2007; Vasta & Kandilige, 2007). These associations are a resource to enhance involvement in the social and economic activities in the new destinations and for a collective or shared identity (Vasta & Kandilige, 2007). The adult Ghanaians and the Ghanaian migrant youth/children may draw their sense of identity from their 'Ghananianness' as well as their 'blackness'. Similarly, religion can also play a significant role in the formation of identity, socialisation and affirmation amongst Ghanaians in both Britain and within the wider Ghanaian diaspora (Schmaltz, 2009). Mörath (2015) suggests that Christians form the majority religious group within the Ghanaian diaspora. The organisations, associations and religious connections form 'the centrepiece of Ghanaian migration culture' according to Arthur (2008: 101) and serve as

a means of dealing with the challenges associated with migration and being resident in a new country (Tonah, 2007). Crucially, the importance of social and cultural capital, captured in the practices of associations, religious communities and families to help Ghanaian migrants to access resources in the host society (Arthur, 2008).

Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992: 119) define social capital as the totality of the resources - actual or virtual, that an individual or a group accumulates by 'possessing a durable network of institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition'. Palloni et al. (2001) explain that social capital enables migrant networks the interpersonal ties that connect them to through relations of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin.

Identity is described as the unique characteristic of a person's character or a collective feature of a group relating to their 'sense of self' (Giddens & Sutton, 2014: 138), 'the sense that someone has of who they are, of what is most important about them' (Haralambos et al., 2013: 729). Relating this to children, it is the conceptualisation of self-awareness that distinguishes them from their parents and family to occupy a position within society as an individual (Jary & Jary, 1991). How and with what group migrants identify once settled in the host country, brings to the fore the question of self-identification and national identity amongst the indigenous population (Alexander, 1996). 'Human groups that regard themselves as biologically or culturally different often live near to each other' (Haralambos et al., 2013: 160). Thus, 'habitus finds similar habitus' as one is attracted to those of his or her own culture, race or ethnicity to avoid being and feeling isolated or alienated (Oliver & O'Reilly, 2010: 22).

In coping with racism and other challenges associated with migration, for many Ghanaians' 'strong work ethic, entrepreneurial acumen, cooperative family spirit, and altruistic sense of community anchored in traditional Ghanaian ethos and mores provides them with the strategies to confront and deal with uncertainties such as racism, marginality, discrimination, and the status of being a foreigner, black and African and outsider looking-in' (Arthur, 2008:

Vii). Naidoo’s (2015) study affirms the notion that migrant parents commonly view education as an avenue for social mobility (Naidoo, 2015). It is argued in the UK that a major theme within the nation's educational debates is the failure to meet the expectations of first-generation migrants, especially from the Caribbean and their children (John, 2006).

2.9 Familial capital in the education of children

The institution of the family is a highly esteemed concept amongst Ghanaians and parents play a diverse and vital role in the education of their children (Arthur, 2008). Encapsulated in some of the diverse roles are communications between home and school in its various forms, which includes parents attending parent evenings to discuss their children’s progress with teachers as well as engaging in activities that support their children’s learning. For instance, helping with homework (Eccles & Harold, 1996) and instilling the value of education in their children (Williams & Morris, 2014; Kumi-Yeboah & Smith, 2016). This type of parental involvement is on the whole considered to be supportive and beneficial to children’s educational experiences and future prospects (Epstein, 1996; Jeynes, 2003). Moreover, evidence suggests that categories of augmented parental involvement in the education of their children increase students’ development and achievement (Jeynes, 2003, 2007).

In relation to African parents and therefore Ghanaians, a key finding in Demie and McLean (2007: 415 & 419) shows that in all the schools investigated in the study, ‘79% of black African pupils achieved five-plus A* - C GCSEs compared to 48% nationally and 57% in the Lambeth Local authority schools.’ The educational success of the African heritage students (Ghanaians included) was partly due to the high value that the African parents placed upon education, ‘good parental support’ and ‘high expectations’ which are placed on the children to succeed (Ibid). Williams & Morris’ (2014: 10) study on the academic achievement of Ghanaian and Nigerian students in Camden found that practically ‘all the young people shared

the view that active parental involvement in their education is the most significant factor that contributed to their GCSE success'; a view supported by Kumi-Yeboah and Smith's (2016) study. The minor difference they highlighted is the 'levels of support gained based on the parental socio-economic' status (Williams & Morris, 2014: 15). However, the major difference in their findings suggests that the 'more affluent parents (45%) could afford to pay for extra (one to one) tuition than the less affluent of the 12% who could not, 55% of them sent their children to supplementary schools' where children are taught in groups (Williams & Morris, 2014: 15). They also state that 'most of the parents see education as a window of opportunity for achieving financial success and status' (Williams & Morris, 2014: 10). This study highlights the extent to which Ghanaian parents support the education of their children to prevent underachievement. For instance, in Williams and Morris's (2014: 17) study, a Ghanaian parent states: 'In my eyes and in my world, successful education for my child is a task that I must accomplish because failure is not an option'. 'For migrant parents, the imagination becomes a source of aspiration, especially in situations where they may be at a disadvantage' (Naidoo, 2015: 106).

The significance of education is an integral part of Ghanaian the mindset of many Ghanaian people: it is perceived by many, as the tool to social mobility; hence, parents may endeavour to instil the value of education in their children from an early age (Owusu-Kwarteng, 2010). Many Ghanaian children may, therefore, grow up with this understanding which forms part of the cultural capital that they possess. For example, Kumi-Yeboah and Smith (2016: 9) report that the majority of the participants in their study viewed education as a means to 'move up' the social ladder. The children also emphasised parental support and advice to be pivotal aspects of their academic and acculturation success.

According to Yeoh, Huang and Lan (2005: 312) for transnational families (and migrant parents), the education of their children is an endeavour undertaken to augment 'social,

cultural and symbolic capitals', and therefore instil ideals into their children that produces strong aspirations for education and the desire for a bright future (Naidoo, 2015). According to Thomson (2002: 5), 'Bourdieu sees the (partial) production of privilege and disadvantage through school education as a 'practice' or 'game', in that the children who are most successful are those who already possess, by virtue of who they are and where they come from, some of the cultural capital that count for school success.' Thompson further argues that school success is both based on and realised in, material differences manifested as social cultural and economic possessions. While some parents may not be able to send their children to a 'high paying school' (Thomson, 2002), they may understand the importance of supplementing their children's education. Maylor et al.'s (2010) study on supplementary schooling in the UK report that supplementary school enables students to develop positive attitudes towards education while increasing their confidence, in a variety of ways such as speaking out or asking questions in and outside formal classroom setting as well as improving parental engagement and parent-teacher relationships (Ibid: 12).

Whilst the current nature of supplementary schools in the UK centres on complementing schooling by certain cultural groups and individuals, the importance of its historical context in relation to Black children and crucially to the issue of racism and educational underachievement and teacher expectation of Black students must be noted. "Blackness underpins the movement" of supplementary schools (Andrews, 2014: 1). According to Andrews (2013, 2014 and 2016), Black supplementary school, spanning over five decades, began as a movement rooted in the ideology of Black resistance to racial discrimination and deficit in the education suffered by Black (largely Caribbean) children within the British education system. The "blackness" transcends religion, language and culture of the Black population (African ancestry) to a joint struggle against racism and the subjugation of Black students (Andrews, 2014). One of the means by which Black students' education was (and is)

affected, which led to educational underperformance, and thus the establishment of Black supplementary schools, was through the low expectations and attitudes that teachers (predominately white) had of Black pupils (Andrews, 2014 & 2013). According to Andrews (2013), Black supplementary schools formed part of the strategies that were put in place 'to hold the mainstream schools' system to account for its failings towards Black children' (Andrews, 2013: 13). Educating Black children about their heritage/identity, building their self-esteem and empowering them to effectively compete in mainstream education persists as a challenge within the British education system. (John, 2006; Gillborn et al., 2012; Andrews, 2013).

2.10 Ghanaians: the concept of childhood, discipline and parent-child relationship

In the Ghanaian context, the cornerstone of the values that many children are taught is respect for elders, and children, thus, must communicate with an adult with the greatest reverence and respect (Adu-Gyamfi, 2014). Adu-Gyamfi (2014) asserts that the Ghanaian cultural beliefs behind the concept of childhood and respect are one-directional – from children to adults. Proverbs, sayings, 'tales and myths' are used by adults to teach children ethical/moral behaviour and societal relationships (Adu-Gyamfi, 2014: 6). Furthermore, children are viewed as agents in need of leadership, guidance and support (Adu-Gyamfi, 2014). The well-behaved child is a credit to parental child-rearing strategy, thus earning the parent a standing within the community, according to Coe (2008). These traditional cultural values and beliefs form the guiding principles of the child-parental relationship (Adu-Gyamfi, 2014). Hence, within many Ghanaian families and communities, it is not acceptable for children to disagree with or challenge an elder/adult's decision, or retort when an elder is speaking (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005; Adu-Gyamfi, 2014). Whilst this forms part of discipline, physical punishment is prevalent, and it is an accepted norm by children and adults within the Ghanaian context (Twum-Danso Imoh2013). While the majority (66%) of the 158 children who partook in the

(Twum-Danso Imoh2013) study believed in the effectiveness of physical punishment, 76.6% believed it should not be illegal. 7% preferred being 'advised' or 'losing' privileges (Ibid: 2013: 477-478). Physical punishment is rightly legally restricted in some countries of the Global North, which may appear to be interference within the private space of the home not allied with the beliefs and practices of some of the Ghanaian parents who may then, in response to a combination of factors, send their child or children back to Ghana (Coe, 2008). ‘Discipline is greatly valued in child-rearing in Ghanaian society’ (Poeze, Dankyi, Mazzucato, 2016: 118; Coe 2008), and it can be perceived as an act of love by both the parents and the children themselves (Twum-Danso Imoh, 2013). Twum-Danso Imoh (2013) stipulates that within the Ghanaian setting, there are core principles that many believe must be inculcated into children during childhood, this comprises ‘responsibility, respect, obedience, honesty, humility, reliability and the fear of God in order to become ‘good’ adults’ (Twum-Danso Imoh, 2013: 477). These objectives of enculturation form the basis of Ghanaian parenting and parenting styles (Twum-Danso Imoh, 2013). Furthermore, religious teachings, especially Christianity, form the key component in explaining and justifying the use of physical punishment by many parents and provides a basis of comprehending these socialisation norms with, in many instances, the shared perception between adults and young people that the child then grows up to become a well-behaved, truthful, disciplined, dutiful and responsible member of society (Twum-Danso Imoh, 2012; 2013:479). It is under these socialisation conditions and beliefs that participants in this study appear to be raised.

2.11 Theory of acculturation

Rising levels of international migration over several decades have fuelled theoretical and empirical attention to the concept of acculturation to understand how migrants adjust, transition and adapt in the host country (Ward & Arzu, 1999; Andreouli, 2013). Berry has extensively worked on the concept of acculturation (Berry, 2005; Berry et al., 2006; Berry and

Sam, 1997 and 2012). According to Berry (2005), acculturation is a bifold mechanism of change that occurs culturally, and psychologically as cultural groups and their discrete agents interact. It conceptualises the phenomenality that results when 'groups of individuals having distinct cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups' (Redfield, Linton & Herskovits, 1936: 149). While this classical definition of acculturation required an objective study of intercultural interaction and change, it has currently become inextricably linked with the shedding of one's (migrant) non-western cultural values, ideals and norms for that of the West (Liebmann, 2013). Notably, however, the acculturative process is not independent of migrants or non-Westerners, but inclusive of the host countries and cultures - the "West", which must also adjust to the migrants within its borders. Hence, currently, acculturation is hardly viewed as a simplistic process of one culture (migrant) adapting to the culture of the country of settlement (Andreouli, 2013). Additionally, Berry (2005) finds that the acculturation amongst clusters of cultural groups and their distinct members as they engage possess potentiality for conflict. Consequently, the need for negotiation becomes vital in attaining outcomes or results that are flexible and adaptive for all involved (Berry, 2005: 697). He further states that group-level acculturative approaches or strategies comprise transformations in 'institutions, social structures and cultural practices'; whereas the individual level includes modification in the person's 'behavioural repertoire' (Berry, 2005: 699).

In this study, it can be argued that a large number of migrant Ghanaians have generally become habituated to the British mode of life in politics, dressing and language through the influence of colonisation and long-term affiliations. However, individual changes in behaviours in the acculturation process of the research participants as young migrants are evident. While acculturation experiences can be normalised, for example, where the cultural interactions result in reciprocal adaptations of language, food, forms of dress and social interactions typical of each cultural group, it can also be conflictual, and thus, stressful (for the migrant child)

during cultural interactions (Berry, 2005: 697-699). A significant component of all acculturation phenomena is the degree of unpredictability in which this may occur and how individuals seek to steer their acculturation strategies and adaptations. In a familial context, the degree or speed at which its members acculturate may lead to a further rise in 'conflict and stress' and create supplementary problematic adaptations experiences for the individual in the family (Berry, 2005: 700). For example, a child migrant, by virtue of their age, might acculturate or adapt faster than a parent who may want that child to retain his or her tradition or cultural heritage within the host nation (Nigbur et al., 2008; Brown et al., 2013).

Berry et al. (2012) posit that migrant parents may bring their values from their country of origin with them and endeavour to maintain them, not only within their new society but also inculcate them in and through their offspring. Usually, these values differ from those of the new environment (Berry et al., 2012). These values, according to Georgas et al. (1996) include stronger family interdependence and respect for parents (elders) which is less prevalent in the parenting practices where the emphasis is on children's autonomy and right to participate in decisions that impact his/her life (Greenfield, 1994; Rothbaum et al., 2000). Migrant parents, therefore, may encounter the challenge of teaching their children the values of their culture of origin, which often differ from those in the host society. The children being exposed to the values of the current country of residence and the values being taught at home, may comply or adhere less firmly to their parents' values (Berry et al., 2012). Consequently, migrant parents and their children may experience greater value disparity in their families than those in their place of settlement which causes conflict amongst migrant families (Berry et al., 2012).

In exploring the acculturation of Ghanaian migrant children into British education and culture, Berry's (2001, 2005, 2008) four-dimensional acculturation model becomes significant. Berry proposes that, following migration, migrants are not only confronted with the decision about whether to maintain their original cultural heritage but also how to interact with the culture of

their new destination. Their responses result in four acculturation approaches or strategies, namely integration, separation, assimilation, and marginalisation (Ward & Arzu, 1999; Andreouli, 2013). In assimilating, migrants maintain their cultural heritage whilst they forge relations with the dominant culture of the host nation; while separation denotes the retention of the migrant culture, and therefore does not generate relations with the host country's dominant culture. Marginalisation materialises when migrants neither retain their original heritage nor participate in the culture of their settlement; whilst the integrationist migrants retain their original culture and the culture of the country of settlement (Ward & Arzu, 1999; Berry, 2005).

Berry (2005: 702) suggests that to conceptualise where the migrant is arriving from in order to generate cultural topographies for comparison with the host country, a thorough understanding of their acculturation requires commencing with a 'fairly' complete examination of the societal contexts. This includes the country of origin and its cultural features that follow the individuals into the acculturation process and the political, economic and demographic circumstances to establish the motivation for the migration. The host country's historical experiences with migrants and migration, as well as its attitudes towards migrants, pluralistic cultural society and multiculturalism, must also be considered (Berry 2005). Positive attitudes to migrants will be shown in the receiving country's thoughtful and culturally sensitive migration policy, for example, in healthcare and in the school curriculum both historically and attitudinally, resulting in a positive multicultural philosophy (Berry & Kalin, 1995), whilst the opposite would be true for the host society whose migration agenda would be that of eradicating or eliminating diversity through assimilationist policies, and others still, through marginalisation and segregation. Interestingly, Berry (2005) also suggests that, even within a culturally pluralist society, with a good multi-ethnic record of its acceptance of migrants, there can be certain racial groups that can experience rejection, hostility and discrimination. This appears to be true in Britain with its treatment of Black

African/Caribbean people, particularly in education as explored earlier in this chapter (John, 2006; Gillborn, 2006; Gillborn et al., 2012).

2.12 Conclusion

This chapter explored issues that children and adults encounter during migration. It examined the complexities associated with migration and how the theorisation of the current international migration phenomenon is challenging. It has also explored the otherisation of migrant children, which marginalises them through symbolic violence as well as social reproduction and institutional racism, where children of African descent are discriminated against in education to the detriment of their attainment, identity, belonging and self-worth. It has examined the persistent failure of the British education system to meet the needs of BAME children. The issue of supplementary education in the UK and its rationale for children of African heritage have also been explored. Furthermore, migrants' parental involvement in the schooling of their children, with a particular focus on Ghanaian parents has been explored, in addition to the formation, shaping and retention of shared Ghanaian identity and social capital.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Examining the experience of Ghanaian students in education in an English secondary school having begun schooling elsewhere requires a range of data gathering methods. To uncover how these students are affected by the change in their education, cultural transition, and adaptation requires data from, most importantly, the students themselves and from teachers, community persons, parents and school records to complement and triangulate.

3.2 Philosophical underpinnings of the interpretivist paradigm and narrative inquiry

Explicitly or implicitly, every researcher carries their values, beliefs and identity into the study (Greenbank, 2003). These shape a preferred paradigm (Creswell, 2015: 16), including their epistemology and methodology (Greenbank, 2003). The researcher is an 'embodied agent whose identity shapes his or her work and that their research ideas materialise from their biographies and relate to their emotions and identities' (Hammersley, 2005: 148). The researcher must reflect on the bias that this might lead to. Morse et al. (2002) rightly emphasise that this must be an integral part of the research process throughout and not just at the end to ensure validity, reliability and rigour. I examine issues of my positionality in section 3.9.

This study utilises a narrative research method within an interpretivist paradigm which 'stresses the socially constructed nature of reality; the intimate relationship between the researcher and the respondent(s), as well as the situational constraints that shape the inquiry' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003: 13). Data collection provided several interactions with the student participants, getting to know them within the school and home contexts - visiting to interview parents, siblings and interacting with the family. The shared migration experiences, language and cultural heritage as Ghanaians, as well as the knowledge and understanding of our everyday reality as Ghanaian migrants living in London, contributed to building a strong rapport. This was most evident when the researcher was openly welcomed into participants'

homes, received as part of the family and given the responsibility to be a surrogate parent to the children whilst they were in school. This conceptualised, if not actualised, the Ghanaian tradition that it takes a community to bring up a child. My goal was to 'seek how social experience is created and given meaning' (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003: 13).

'Narrative is retrospective meaning-making', according to Chase (2005: 641), and involves telling our past 'lived' experiences through stories (Bochner, 2007: 203). Each person (the Ghanaian migrant child) brings their own 'baggage', or past 'life (immigrational) experiences', to the situation of living in the UK and experiencing their educational and acculturative processes (Webster & Mertova, 2007: 28). The discussion will focus primarily on the children's perspectives. The adult and the community voices help to validate, cross-check, enrich and even conflict with these perspectives to create a broader, collective, picture. My shared experience with the participants as a past migrant child enabled identification and understanding of the participants' experiences for this retrospective meaning-making. Having had similar experiences as a Ghanaian student who furthered her secondary school education abroad and encountered similar challenges, the aim was to provide a platform for the participants to share their migrational biographies and possibly help others in the acculturation process, but also to test out theoretical notions of capitals (Bourdieu) and acculturation (Berry). Knowledge is socially constructed and 'multiperspectival' (Mitchell & Egudo, 2003).

The 'positionality challenge' arising from both my insider position in the institution and my own similar migration experience and ethnicity to the student research subjects is addressed in section 3.9. Crucially, 'narrative inquiry captures and analyses life stories, documents critical life events, and stories valuable for potential research' (Webster & Mertova 2007: 13). The individual narratives of the studied participants constitute collective early experiences in Britain. They may support the creation of a model of the young Ghanaian persons' migration. Stories reverberate in a manner that other forms of information cannot; thus, we identify with

people's stories and look for similarities and differences that resonate with our own. In my case, I found this to be true in that the respondents' narratives, in some way echoed my own as a Ghanaian teenager. Arriving from a foreign country already accustomed to a set of values, beliefs and upbringing in the country of origin, then encountering different ideals and culture, was a challenging experience. Whether prepared or not, I was confronted with challenges which included at times repudiating my own culture to 'fit in', socially and educationally. Even the simplest experience of dietary change had a profound impact on me. This positioned me to interact with the participants in an understanding, supportive and empathetic manner, yet I had to be cautious not to over-identify.

The narrative inquirer must understand that the individual voice is just as important as the collective. 'For society comprises human lives, and if we can begin to understand the framework that lends meaning to these lives, then we have taken the important first step to being able to access the wider framework of meaning that is the binding agent of a culture' (Andrews, 2007: 491). Andrews's statement shows how narrative research can build a collective 'knowledge base without relinquishing the respect for the individual voice' (Trahar, 2009: 9). Although the individual voice is paramount in this study, I looked for common themes that arose.

3.3 Sampling

This study applies the purposive sampling method (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007). The participant selection was based on the criteria set out below. The achieved sample consisted of nine secondary school age Ghanaian students from years 7-13 (seven males and two females) who had arrived from Ghana, often via other European countries and had lived in the UK for eight years or less (table 3.1). This was not only to allow a collection of data to be generated from a variety of perspectives and experiences based on length of stay in the UK, but also to enable data on Key Stages three to five to be collected. Since 'narrative inquiry is

best for capturing detailed stories or life experiences of a single life or lives of a small number of individuals' (Creswell, 2007: 55), a small sample is considered appropriate. Condon (2017) and Schubert (2010) have carried out similar studies on migrant children using samples of eight and fourteen participants, respectively. Qualitative research projects are 'designed to discover meaning through fine attention to text or images', not requiring large samples (Richards 2010: 10).

In the first instance, a brief meeting was held with Ghanaian students in my school following a general invitation made via form tutors or myself. Twelve students came to the meeting; some were born in the UK and consequently did not fit the selection criteria. A snowballing technique (Mertens, 2015) of referral was attempted by those who may know someone meeting the criteria as the number of potential participants was limited. An information sheet detailing the purpose of the research (Appendix 1) was sent via these students to distribute to family members and acquaintances from Ghana. Additionally, friends, families and some leaders of local Ghanaian communities and churches were approached. No additional participants materialised from these attempts. An ethical consideration meant that I should not include students I was currently teaching as it was felt that it might impede the freedom that the participants need to comfortably narrate their experiences, which might include their relationship with their teachers and the effectiveness of their teaching. Also, being one of their 'current' teachers might prevent detailed and honest information from being divulged. Another consideration was the imbalance of power that this might exert on the students if they were to be interviewed by a teacher who assesses their work. According to Greene and Hogan (2005), power is frequently credited to adults over children, in that children fear saying something deemed objectionable by an adult. Cloke (1995) expresses the view that children are generally not accustomed to being asked their opinion and feel that their views are ignored by adults, such as teachers.

Following the initial interest, potential participants were given a letter (Appendix 2) and an information sheet (Appendix 1) to be taken to their parents or guardians, with the Greenwich University consent form (Appendix 3). This officially invited them to participate in the study. Participants were encouraged to read and discuss the information with their parents/guardians. Opportunity was given for them to ask questions or seek clarification from me if required (Bell, 2005). Parents were recruited as a result of their children's involvement in the study. Fortunately, there were no refusals or drop-outs from the children or parents.

Teachers were enlisted to the study by virtue of having taught or currently teaching one or more of the participants. The two Ghanaian teachers were approached because of their nationality, currently teaching some of the participants or have had experience in teaching Ghanaian migrant children in the UK. The rest of the teachers were selected based on participants' timetables as well as their availability for an interview. It was also important that they came from various ethnic backgrounds to help enrich the data, so that it is not biased towards a BAME perspective or gender. In all, fifteen teachers of various ethnicities were approached, but seven participated in the study. My objective of generating data from teachers from a variety of ethnic backgrounds was achieved – BAME, White British, White Irish and White South African (table 3.2). The EAL coordinator was specifically approached, firstly because of her position in dealing with migrant children who have newly arrived in the school; secondly, and most importantly, because her role became the topic of discussion having been mentioned by four of the participants during the interviews with regards to EAL provision or the lack thereof. This made her an asset to the research to ascertain information about the support that the participants received when they arrived at the school. The community or Reverend minister was approached because of being Ghanaian and leading a predominantly Ghanaian congregation and knowing some of the students and their families.

Demography of participants

Table 3.1: *Students*

Participants	Gender	KS at the time of interview	Arrived in the UK from	Length of stay in the UK at the time of interview
Ebo *	M	4 (5)	Ghana	5yrs
Kwame *	M	5 (5)	Ghana	6yrs
Araba	F	3	Italy	1yr
Ekow *	M	3 (4)	Italy	4yrs
Kwesi *	M	3 (4)	Italy	3yrs
Abena	F	5	Italy	6yrs
Kofi	M	3	Italy	6yrs
Kojo *	M	4 (5)	Netherlands	1-2yrs
Kwabena	M	5	Italy	2-3yrs

* Also participated in the focus group.

Two participants came to the UK directly from Ghana, six from Italy and one from the Netherlands. Two focus groups discussions were planned, one of five and another of four students, but only one was actualised due to the children's availability.

The table below sets out the information on the adult participants – parents, teachers and reverend ministers. Mr Quaicoe (teacher) doubled as a church elder and provided interesting data from two perspectives.

Table 3.2: Parents, Teachers and Reverend minister

Parents		
Child of interviewee	**Gender of the parent interviewed**	**Job**
Ebo	M	Self-employed
Kwame	F	Medical field
Ekow	M	Transport sector

Kwesi	F		Hair and Beauty	
Kojo	F		Student and caterer	
Abena and Kofi	F		Medical field	
Araba and Kwabena	F		Medical field	
Teachers				
Name	**Gender**	**Years Taught**	**Job Role**	**School Staff Ethnicity**
Ms Owusu	F	16	Business/ICT/Economics	Black African (Nigerian)
Mrs Nyamekye	F	9	Science Teacher	Black African (Nigerian)
Mr Osei	M	35	Humanities	White British
Mr Appiah	M	17	Music	White Irish
Ms Panyin	F	30	EAL Coordinator & Teacher	White South African
Mr Quaicoe	M	22	Science Teacher	Black African (Ghanaian)
Mr Mensah	M	8	Science Teacher	Black African (Ghanaian)
Reverend Minister and Church Elder				
Name	**Gender**	**Years as a minister/Elder in the UK**		**Ethnicity**
Rev Minister (Esi)	F	25yrs		Black African (Ghanaian)
Church Elder (Mr Quaicoe)	M	15yrs		Black African (Ghanaian)

3.4 Methods of data collection

a. One to one interviews with: students; parents; teachers; church community leaders
b. Focus group interview
c. Observations
d. Attainment record.

These sources of data allow triangulation and offer checks on the reliability and validity of the findings. Thomas (2017) suggests that triangulation in research provides a view from a multifaceted perspective and promotes confidence in the findings.

The methods were piloted. Gray (2009) rightly states that piloting is crucial because it helps the researcher recognise ‘redundancies’, clarify questions and remove ‘ambiguities’ whilst

determining the length of time it will take (Cohen et al., 2011: 118). Bell (2010: 151) advises that, however small the research sample is or the time constraints of the study, a researcher must trial their data gathering methods as it eliminates ‘bugs’ from the data collection tool and reduces the likelihood that research participants will experience difficulties. Morse et al. (2002) suggest that whilst authentication approaches might be challenging in pilot studies where data are thin, its usage in qualitative studies must be to perfect the data collection methods rather than to generate analytic theory or framework. As the sample was small, piloting of the interview schedule was conducted with six migrant children of mixed gender from Italy, Portugal and Nigeria. The parent interview schedule was piloted with a friend and teacher interview schedule with a colleague (see appendix 4 for interview schedules). Bell (2010), emphasising the importance of trialling the research questions and interview schedules, suggests that researchers who cannot find participants like the research subjects, use anyone willing to help. Piloting proved useful as it allowed some of the questions to be clarified and modified, length of interview times approximated, and ambiguities removed (Cohen et al., 2011). As a result of the piloting, several questions were rephrased, one of which was ‘What has the role of friendship been like in your settling in the UK?’ This was simplified to ‘How have your friends helped you to live in the UK and go to school here?’ (Appendix 4a).

3.5 Interviews

Individual interviews were with the children, parents, teachers and reverend ministers. The one-to-one interview was preferred to enable the children to give their individual immigration experiences (Appendix 4a). This is with the understanding that children are cognisant and competently able to articulate and conceptualise their experiences (Quaicoe, 2011). A focus group, ‘being particularly valuable in giving access to social interaction’ (Edwards and Holland, 2013: 38), was used to elicit further information from the participants in a group context which was expected to encourage participants to talk more, sharing perceptions of

'shared and common' experiences (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013: 375), and therefore allow a co-construction of their narratives (Riessman, 2008). I moderated the discussion using questions (Appendix 5) to help maintain its focus on the research topic (Gill et al., 2008; Edwards and Holland, 2013). These questions were given to the participants days in advance and spaces were provided to make notes or write questions that they may have had prior to the discussions (see Appendix 5).

Riessman (2008: 23) advises that a significant change in the conventional application of interviews is required when applied to generate data through 'oral narrative'. Promoting Mishler's model, Riessman proposes that the traditional 'gives way' to a collaborative/co-constructed interviewing process, where the narrative account and meaning are jointly constructed by both the researcher and the participant(s), thus, making them 'two active participants' (Riessman, 2008: 23). The aim of a narrative interview then is to generate detailed accounts, rather than brief answers or general statements to questions posed by the researcher in the conventional interview approach. Co-construction of interviews does not signify that the researcher and the participant(s) have shared views (Capps & Ochs, 1995), but that the researcher aids the shaping of the 'narrative' through the way questions are asked; for example, starting with my own experiences to contextualise the questions for the participant, I commenced with, 'I had waited a long time to see my dad, so I was excited when I found that I was going to travel to so see him; how did you feel when you found out that you were going abroad to see your dad/mum?'. This was in addition to the 'verbal and nonverbal' responses of head nodding and hmmm, erm and uh-huh (Wells, 2011: 27). Also, I ensured that what was being measured - the 'variables' - 'the critical events' (Webster & Mertova, 2007) were adequately reflected in the questions (Cohen et al., 2007); the questions covered the events of the participants' migration, acculturation and their educational and cultural transitions in the UK. The interview questions were devised in part from my personal experiences as a migrant teenager to Australia as well as from Quaicoe's (2011) study.

One way that the narrative researcher engages with the interviewee is to ask open-ended questions (Webster & Mertova, 2007: 85) that facilitate extended responses to aid the storytelling. If the purpose of the interview is to generate 'narratives of experience', storytelling must be invited (Riessman, 2008: 23; Webster & Mertova, 2007: 85). Open-ended questions (Appendix 4 and 5) included 'Can you describe how you found out that you are travelling to the UK, and how did you feel about it?' I wanted varied choices by which the respondents can effectively answer the questions, rather than closed questions that limit the response and only affirm the researcher's control (Drever, 2003: 13). An example of where a question did not seem right was when two of the children asked about the year they were in, challenged my assumption and informed me that they were technically in the year ahead since they were near the end of that academic year.

Additionally, open-ended questions generated flexibility and allowed further probing with the possibility of going into more depth (Cohen et al., 2007). Asking open-ended questions encouraged the respondents to narrate their stories. One question that elicited extended responses from the participants was how they found out that they were coming to the UK and how they felt about it. Another was about their experiences of living in the UK.

The interviews were conversational on a one-to-one basis, lasting between forty-five minutes and an hour, and were audio-recorded. The conversational elements to the interview enabled 'co-construction' and helped the participants who found it difficult to provide extended responses, 'talk' naturally and feel at ease, whilst the semi-structured approach (Appendix 5) helped steer the interviewees when they were stuck. This provided flexibility for the participants to express themselves. The youngest, who was also the quietest participant, benefitted from the semi-structured and co-construction techniques of the interview where it was required to elicit their detailed narratives. Semi-structured interviews are shown to comprise vital questions that help to define the areas to be examined (Gill et al., 2008: 291), but the interviewer has the freedom to probe further, seek clarification and elaboration to

answers given (Gill et al., 2008; Gray 2009; May, 2010), hence providing a basis for a dialogue (May, 2010).

I had to adapt the interviewing process to suit the needs of the participants. Two of the participants (a student and two parents) opted to do the interview in Twi or Fanti language because it was much easier for them to express themselves, while others decided to speak English. A second opinion was sought about certain meanings of words/phrases to ensure that meanings had been correctly translated and interpreted.

The interview, with its multifacetedness, benefits and popularity (Drever, 2003; Hartas, 2010; Jacobs and Sorensen, 2010; May, 2011), is not without limitations. Amassing vast amounts of data that may not be fit for purpose, in addition to '*endless burrowing* and *broadening methods to analyse data'*, are challenges associated with the narrative method (Webster & Mertova, 2007: 115). This is best managed by concentrating on th*e 'critical event'* - the events critical to the experiences of the participants in relation to the research focus (Webster & Mertova, 2007: 115). To focus on the 'critical events', addressing the following areas became pertinent:

- *Educational contexts – British and abroad*
- *School/Teaching and learning experiences – British and abroad*
- *Relationship with teachers*
- *The school community, their community outside school (including faith community) and home environment and the impact on their learning and acculturation*
- *Acculturation experiences and strategies in school and Britain in general*
- *Friendship/peer relationships*
- *Language issues*
- *Parental involvement in learning/education and acculturation.*

The interviews centred on the events 'critical' to the migrational, acculturational, and educational experiences of the participants, rather than the participants' 'whole' life stories. For example, 'What is the one thing or experience that you can say has really impacted or affected your life (positively or negatively) because of migrating (coming) to Britain?'

Basit (2010: 15) advises that it is not 'entirely possible' to eliminate bias in interviews due to the subjective nature of the experience for both the interviewer and interviewee; however, the problem can be minimised by:

- the researcher keeping an open mind about the kind of information to be generated.
- asking further questions from the interviewee to check the validity and reliability of previous responses (Ibid).

Parental interviews offered some confirmation on participants' narratives and, in some cases, provided additional information to what the children had said.

This study focuses predominantly on the children's learning, school and classroom experiences, transition and their acculturation to a new culture. Since the children were of secondary school age, and the nature of the enquiry required them to speak about their personal experiences, I was aware that they might divulge information that might be sensitive or defamatory, especially of teachers, other students, or possibly their parents or communities. As such, precaution was taken to inform them not to mention the names of people. Furthermore, transcripts were made available to the participants for their final approval should they wish to see them. This iterative approach was adopted due to the nature of the enquiry – it is their 'biography' which must be respected. A narrative inquirer's goal is to recognise the importance that the narrator ascribes to events and not whether their narratives are precise depictions of actual events (Chase, 2011).

Generally, the interview was a varied experience in that, whilst some of the participants were candid and jovial, others were reserved (but not fearful). Reticence is highlighted by Cohen et al. (2011) as one challenge that a researcher who is working with children might have to overcome. Where the children were quiet or monosyllabic with their responses, rephrasing or rewording the question helped (Pollack, 2014), as had been found in the pilot. Likewise, summarising what had been previously stated prompted additional information. Furthermore, contextualising the question in the form of a likely shared experience or scenario with the

child participant enabled the interview to progress. On other occasions, the question was skipped for the next one and revisited, or the interview was conversationally guided to ease its flow. Brief notes were made during and shortly after the interviews in relation to mannerisms and relevant non-verbal responses observed. It is worth noting that I had tremendous fun interviewing the children in the focus group; not only were they confident, articulate and supportive of one another, but there was also so much laughter and bonding in the room which was a privilege to witness.

3.6 Observations and attainment records

Thomas (2017) states that observation is a vital means of data collection in social research. It involves judicious and methodical viewing and recording of behaviours or actions. The unstructured observation was appropriate for this study, where the researcher submerges themselves in the 'social situation' (Thomas, 2017: 226 & 229). Observations became useful during cover lessons where I was afforded the opportunity to observe some of the participants in their classes (Appendix 6). Covering a lesson is where another teacher is sent to cover a class while the usual teacher is absent. In some of these instances, I was just an extra adult in the room with little to no interactions with the students as they already had a teacher (a trainee). Trainee teachers are not meant to be left on their own with a class of students. When I was a cover teacher for the lesson, my responsibility included ensuring students' safety and presenting them with work already set by their teacher. The observations included the:

- set of the class
- behaviour and engagement of the child in the lesson
- the child's interaction with the teacher and peers.

Both the children and their parents were informed, and consent was sought that, where possible, the children will be observed around the school (Appendices 1a and 1b). What the children and parents did not know was the time or place where the observations would take

place. Also, being in a privileged position as a researcher who works in the research site, I had access to students' attainment data which could be used to ascertain the progress of the participants. Parents and students were asked permission to use current attainment data as this was also in their possession, having had it sent by the school as part of the school/parent communication and reporting. This was the route that naturally emerged. The headteacher was aware of the research and the possible use of the students' records. The use of observations and attainment/progress records was to enable holistic data to be generated alongside the interviews.

3.7 Analysis

This study applied inductive thematic analysis, where the classified themes are firmly connected to the data, as Patton (1990) and Braun & Clarke (2006) have said, rather than imposed by the researcher's theoretical predisposition. Thematic analysis thus deals with the classifying, examining and 'reporting patterns/themes in the data' (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 79). A theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 82).

According to Mertens (2005: 420), qualitative data analysis is at times represented as a rather 'mysterious process' where the findings progressively 'emerge' from the 'data through some mystical relationship between the researcher and the sources of data'. In actuality, the phases of the data collection and analysis demanded an incredible amount of work (Ibid: 420). Patton (1990: 372) makes an excellent point that, although 'there are suggested guidelines and procedures as to how one may analyse qualitative data, there are no rules'. Supporting Patton's position, Cohen et al. (2011) state that there is not a singularly distinct or precise means of 'analysing or presenting qualitative data' (Ibid: 537). Nonetheless, they suggest that the analysis of qualitative data encompasses 'organising, accounting for and explaining the data'

(Ibid: 537). Patton further suggests that 'the application of the guidelines requires judgement and creativity and that because each qualitative study is unique, the analytical approach will also be unique' (Patton, 1990: 372). Finally, he advises that 'because there are no absolute rules, the researcher must do their very best with their full intellect to fairly represent the data and communicate what the data reveals, given the purpose of the research' (Ibid: 372).

I ensured that none of the data were misplaced. Copies were made for safe-keeping until the completion of the study. Throughout the data collection process, some analysis occurred, a method termed the 'flexible design' research (Robinson & McCartan, 2016: 404). This reflected on impressions, relationships, patterns and commonalities (Patton, 1990; Stainback and Stainback, 1998; Mertens, 2005). The subsequent stage of the data analysis cautiously and systematically studied all the data to seek correlations, contrasts, categories, concepts, themes, and ideas as well as weaknesses or gaps (Stainback and Stainback, 1998; Mertens, 2005) through immersing myself in the data. The handling of the data was underpinned by Braun & Clarke's (2006: 87) six phases of thematic analysis – *familiarisation with your data*, *generating initial codes*, *searching for themes*, *reviewing themes*, *defining and naming themes,* and *producing the report*.

Data was finally 'examined in the light of the body of knowledge in the form of constructs or theories' (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Mertens, 2005: 423). Notably, 'one of the benefits of thematic analysis is its flexibility' (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 78), and this is the very reason why thematic analysis was preferred. Crucially, data were categorised into themes and interpreted without biased or preconceived views.

Validity and reliability deal with the rigour of the processes applied throughout the research and trustworthiness of the findings (Roberts et al., 2006). They are associated with how effectively the tools employed by the researcher measure the focus of the study (Punch, 1998). In ensuring the reliability and validity of this study, the parents of the participants and teachers were also interviewed, and their narratives were used to triangulate and measure the reliability

and validity of the responses of other participants. It is important to point out that the participants' narratives were not met with scepticism, but that I felt the interviews with the parents and teachers would strengthen the narratives. Polkinghorne (1988) stresses that the reliability of stories is not the strength of the measurement, but rather the trustworthiness of the notes or transcripts (Mertova and Webster, 2007: 21). In adhering to this, the interviews were transcribed in their fullest form – as the narrator had narrated it, including non-lexical sounds made by both the researcher and participants. Evaluation of a narrative revolves around its validity. Interpretations are trustworthy if they are plausible and reasonable, and they are supported by reports by the narrator, and alternative interpretations have been considered (Girden, 2001: 50). As mentioned above, a second opinion was sought about certain meanings of words/phrases to ensure that meanings had been correctly translated and interpreted.

3.8 Issues of ethics

This study adheres to the ethical guidelines of the British Education Research Association BERA (2018) guidelines, which include, for example, honesty, transparency, anonymity, confidentiality and the right to withdraw. All participants were given pseudonyms that are characteristically Ghanaian to maintain anonymity. Additionally, parental jobs such as 'medical field' or 'self-employed' were not precisely specified to maintain anonymity (see table 3.2). Similarly, the issue of confidentiality amongst the participants and the researcher is vital and was strictly adhered to. However, had any child revealed information that indicated that they were in harm's way, it would have been disclosed as appropriate (in line with the school's child protection procedure). Correspondingly, I was aware that, should it be needed, arrangements would be made to refer children to the school counsellor if any of them became upset. Fortunately, such intervention was not required. Confidentiality matters associated with disclosing or divulging information within a group context were explained to the children (Appendix 5 for the focus group interview schedule).

Data were audio-recorded but only by consent; no one objected. The benefit of audio recording the interviews is that it aids the researcher not only to focus on the manner of the interview, but also being able to refer back (Robinson & McCartan, 2016), and providing a considerable advantage in the transcribing and analysis phases. Participants were assured that the data would be used purely for this research and its related activities/dissemination (for example, conference presentations, publications) and was only revealed to my supervisors. Any data shared from the findings was anonymised. Data for the purpose and duration of this study was securely stored on a password-protected computer. Hard copies were placed in a locked cupboard.

As this study involved participants under the age of 18, I sought permission from both the parents/guardians as well as the participants themselves. Consent (Appendix 3) was sought in the form of a letter (Appendix 2). Attached to the letter, was an information sheet (Appendix 1) detailing the nature of the research as it is crucial that participants and their parents/guardians understand the purpose of the study and what it involves. A strict non-coercion rule was observed, and participants could excuse themselves at any stage. Before commencing the project, permission was also sought from the university's ethics committee and subsequently from the head of the school by email which was verbally approved in a conversation as the email was not initially replied to.

The interaction with the participants occurred in a classroom within the school premises. It was imperative not to inconvenience participants; teachers were interviewed in their classrooms and at a time convenient to them, as were parents in their homes.

Power imbalance is an issue that every researcher working with children or anyone deemed vulnerable must address. This issue was addressed by seeking consent from the children as well as giving them the power to withdraw from the study at any time. As previously stated, I did not include students that I directly taught where power imbalance is more explicit and might not allow them to fully express themselves. My judgement is that observing students

during a cover lesson did not raise power issues because these observations were incidental and did not assess nor report on the students' progress. Also, there were no signs of discomfort or holding back from the students, and I feel I had sensitised myself to such possibilities.

It is vital for a narrative inquirer to understand that ethical treatment of the data demands negotiation, respect, mutuality and openness of the participant and the researcher (Clandinin, 2006). In any research, authenticity and honesty of both the researcher and the respondent(s) are vital, and this was strictly adhered to. Finally, having had a similar experience to the participants, I had to continuously reflect on my position, values, assumptions and suppositions as a researcher (Morse et al., 2002; Savvides et al., 2014). I had to ensure that boundaries were not blurred and that the analysis and interpretation of the data were objective.

3.9 Reflexivity, objectivity and bias

Researcher reflexivity is vital in any social research but particularly in qualitative research because it demands that researchers examine and clarify their position and how this affects the research process (Berger, 2015). Morse et al. (2000) argue that this must be ongoing from the study's inception. Recognising and communicating one's own 'location' (which might change over time), provides transparency and honesty, strengthening the study's ethics, reliability, and validity (Savvides et al., 2014). One part of this process is the insider/outsider tension, which I experienced. Being an insider researcher presented immense opportunities of access and ease for developing relationships but with this came challenges that I had to manage. Maykut and Morehouse (1994: 123) rightly remark that the view of the qualitative researcher is one of contradictions, in that, while it is to be intensely "tuned-in to the experiences and meaning system of others - to indwell- and at the same time to be aware of how one's own biases and preconceptions may be influencing what one is trying to understand". This invited me to reflect on my positionality and background and be open to notice ways in which I may be 'taking sides' (Becker, 1967) in terms of advocacy and in terms

of methodological challenges encountered in framing, interpreting and representing participants', especially children's, voices through my data collection and analysis process (Court & Abbas, 2013; Savvides et al., 2014).

As explained earlier, the subject of this study came primarily from my encounter with a Ghanaian migrant child from Italy who was placed in my GCSE class, prompting nostalgic thoughts that brought my own experience as a migrant teen to the fore. Inexorably, I came into this research with my own biases and suppositions, particularly regarding how a Ghanaian migrant child's experiences could be. While my insider knowledge helped shape some of the questions generated for the interviews, it quickly became apparent that my experiences differed from the participants. For example, before the data gathering, I held the view that my encounter with the Ghanaian Italian migrant child was an anomaly and that the majority would have travelled directly from Ghana. It quickly became apparent that this was an erroneous assumption as I was confronted with varied migration routes and experiences of the children and their parents. This shifted my thinking and caused me to re-examine and adapt the questions I had prepared for the interviews. Asselin's (2003) suggestion came into play where I had to bracket my assumptions and recognise that I might not understand a more recent migration sub-culture whilst I may identify with the group participating in the study. I strived, therefore, to approach the study with an open mind (Asselin, 2003; Greenbank, 2003). Whilst there is no neutrality in research but the extent of the consciousness of one's biases (Rose, 1985; Greenbank, 2003), the inclusion of my biographical narrative (Skeggs, 1994) or context (Angrosino, 2005) has enabled my positionality and experiences to become more transparent and allowed me to juxtaposition it with those of the participants in terms of their attitudes, beliefs, and sense of identity (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009; Savvides et al., 2014).

On the one hand, I wanted to draw on my sense of self as an insider to present, with certainty and assurance of plausibility, findings that could be accessed by others; on the other hand, I experienced the haunting uncertainty of whether my constructions as an 'insider' could be

representative of diverse subjective lived experiences (Becker, 1967). This is a concern I grappled with throughout the study because my childhood experience of being a migrant child triggered my memories and emotional responses in my interaction with children participants. In addition, I was immersed in the research setting, with an ethnographic approach, as a practising Christian educator and I believed some participants and children would respond in a similar fashion to me because we shared the same religion, traditional values, and linguistic traditions.

My situatedness in the study implicitly shaped my choice of questions which had implications for data collection, interpretation, and analysis. I strived to be objective and could not transcend my own subjectivity though engaging in reflection enabled me to notice and transform its implications for my research process through transparency. I took into consideration how my own socio-cultural and religious background and life experiences shaped my positionality which could influence how I made sense of the study, particularly in the data collection, analysis, and interpretation stages. Triangulation of data enabled me to be responsive in ensuring reliability of data quality and interpretation and to reduce potential bias.

However, Becker (1967: 239) argues that it is impossible for sociological research to be without 'personal or political' sensitivities or contamination; thus, there is an inevitability to taking sides in research. The issue then is not whether I, as a researcher, take sides or not, but to make explicit whose side I am on and how this impacts the study. This study explores migrant children of Ghanaian descent whose educational experiences and reception in an English school were riddled with racial and linguistic prejudices and lack of support. There is an injustice here that I feel strongly about as a Ghanaian migrant, an educator and as a Christian, and I believe that where there is an injustice, empathy, and compassion towards those who are vulnerable to experiencing that injustice is necessary. Becker (1967: 239) fittingly argued that 'we cannot avoid taking sides, for reasons firmly rooted in social

structure', which, in the context of this study, recognises the structures and processes that seek to disadvantage migrant children in the English education system.

My immigration history impacted both the data collection and analysis, permitting me to approach the data with some cultural insight and awareness and to report certain themes easily (Berger, 2004), for example, the theme of the complexities associated with migration and transnationalism, having experienced it myself. This advantage also gave me the motivation to pursue the subject-matter and enabled me to see content that perhaps a complete outsider may have missed (Berger, 2015). The impact of these shared identities or empathy also afforded me the advantage of not only understanding the research topic and therefore the questions to ask and explore, but also subtle reactions, responses and tacit content that participants provided (Kacen & Chaitin, 2006; Padgett, 2008; Berger, 2015). It also meant that I was alerted to aspects of the data, for example, the feeling triggered by the adverse undertone of feeling like an outsider (Berger, 2015). Being an insider comes from being a Ghanaian migrant researching other Ghanaian migrants' experiences and from being a teacher eliciting information from my colleagues in the same institution.

A contentious area is my positionality as a Christian and my identification with the Ghanaian community, values and norms, and the issue of what role Christianity plays in regulating the lives of Ghanaians, and my interpretation of its impact on this study and the data analysis. As I understand that my Christian views and values as well as my identification with the participants, particularly the children and the parents, with regards to the above point may be perceived as a constraint, I was careful to ensure that the data also spoke for itself through a process of data triangulation. I was also aware that the data presented, relates to a relatively small sample, and therefore, it does not speak for the majority of Ghanaians in Britain, and cannot be generalised. The issue regarding the treatment of migrant children who have newly arrived in the country, within the British education system, persists and there is commonality in how they are perceived and received, particularly children of Black African heritage (John,

2006; Kiramba, Kumi-Yeboah, & Sallar, 2020), and that is central to the research focus of this study.

The main opportunities afforded by my position were accessibility to both the participants and their narratives (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009; Savvides et al., 2014), and hospitality and trust that forming relationships with them afforded, as well as access to data that perhaps a complete outsider may not have had the privilege of gathering (Hellawell, 2006). Having my insider positionality in terms of familiarity with the subject and the participants was, as outlined, of immense benefit. I was also acutely aware of the dangers associated with blurred boundaries, which Drake (2010) rightly highlights carry the risk of the researcher projecting and imposing their own beliefs, sensitivities, perceptions, values, and predispositions on the data and its interpretation and analysis. Triangulation of data facilitated my ability to contain some of the issues regarding bias in the research and counteract my values brought into the study (Greenbank, 2003; Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). To sustain my process of reflexivity, I became a part of a colloquium group of peers on the doctoral programme. This group did not only serve as a support network but became a sounding board that scrutinised and critiqued my methodological processes particularly during the time of my data collection, interpretation, analysis and presentation. Additionally, I understood that self-reflection/supervision in the form of recording my thoughts, feelings and reactions were useful in helping me to notice my assumptions and in enhancing my process of maintaining transparency through reflexivity in my research process (Berger, 2015).

In terms of the lived experience of participants, I was able to recognise and make visible in the study that 'not all populations are homogeneous, so differences are to be expected' (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009: 56). In support, Savvides et al. (2014: 414) argue that since culture has countless intersectional shades such as gender, age, social class, it is highly probable that both researchers and participants will inevitably locate themselves in unshared terrains. Like Court and Abbas (2013: 486), I understood and accepted that the qualitative researcher then is a

"traveller" who encounters and experiences different individuals and settings on the research journey rather than a 'miner', excavating evidence from 'the ground to produce authoritative and objective research outputs' (Savvides et al., 2014: 413). Furthermore, I came to the consciousness that a "successful research activity requires a high level of rapport and trust between researchers and the researched. Such trust and other ethical research processes are more likely to increase its credibility" (Ibid: 414).

As mentioned previously, I had two major advantages in carrying out this study: being an institutional insider and having had very similar migration experiences as a child. Bracketing my values, beliefs and assumptions was not easy. As an adult, educator and Christian, I found myself empathising with the perspectives and concerns of parent participants, particularly about challenging behaviour exhibited by the children and the need to put them on the 'straight and narrow path'. My religious beliefs and firmly held traditional values, my position as a teacher and one who desires that children behave well in and out of school also impacted my initial data interpretation and analysis. It meant that much of the data was initially interpreted through these lenses. However, I grew to understand that my researcher's identity and belonging *with* the research participants was fluid (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009; Savvides et al., 2014), and I could weave in and out, continually reminding myself that, while I may have shared or similar cultural, linguistic, religious, or even professional contexts with participants, they are unique individuals holding their own unique identities, experiences, and narratives and hearing the voices of children participants was paramount.

I saw myself simultaneously as an outsider to the lived realities of children as diverse participants offering research data from a separate or different viewpoint (Labaree, 2002; Savvides et al., 2014). This process invited me to distance my values and beliefs - faith or otherwise, from the data and allow what has been narrated by the participants to emerge from the triangulated data that was also facilitated by socio-cultural connectedness. As Greenbank suggests, 'objective', scientific, quantitative methods 'often fail to provide adequate insights

into the social and contextual complexity of the educational process' (Greenbank, 2003: 794), and it was precisely this 'contextual complexity' that I sought in the research study.

3.10 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the philosophical and epistemological positions that underpin this study, the rationale for choosing this research design and the methods of data collection and analysis. It has discussed the advantages and limitations of narrative research and explained the ethical considerations that guide this investigation.

As an educationalist who works with children of secondary school age and recognises the complexities of the human nature - the differing personalities, experiences and challenges that they present, I believe in an inquiry that is socially constructed; where there is a close relationship between the researcher and their respondent(s) and how social experience is created and given meaning (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003: 13). As such, as an interpretivist (qualitative) research, narrative inquiry in the form of one-to-one interview was the best data gathering method to address my research questions with added value from focus groups discussion to the interview data, much preferred to issuing questionnaires.

Narrative inquiry allowed me to gather data in a 'holistic' manner, whereby I was not only able to listen to what was said but also observed the respondent's body language and mannerisms as implied by Jacobs and Sorensen (2010) – what is said and how (Heritage et al. 2006; Bailey, 2008) it is said are just as vital (Riessman, 2008). In addition, I preferred the personal contact and the mutual respect between myself and the participants to make them feel valued whilst also affording me the opportunity to clarify any areas of ambiguities during the data collection process as pointed out by Drever (2003). Moreover, in the teaching profession, when one wants to ascertain information or survey opinion or share ideas, 'the natural thing to do is to talk to people' and listen to their stories (Drever, 2003: 1).

CHAPTER 4: DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This study explores the extent and ways in which Ghanaian diasporic migrant students, who continue their secondary school education in England, are affected by the change to their education, transition and adaptation. The table below sets out the subsidiary research questions and the data collection methods used.

***Table 4.1**: Research questions, data collection methods and sources*

Subsidiary research questions:	Data collection methods and sources
1. How is the learning of these students affected by the transition between different national educational settings?	• Student 1-1 interviews • Student focus group interview • Parental interviews • Teacher interviews • Observations • Attainment records
2. What is the impact of home/family life on their learning and acculturation?	• Student 1-1 interviews • Parental interviews • Student focus group interviews
3. What is the role of the community (e.g. school, peer and church) in aiding the students to adapt to living in the UK and progressing in their schooling?	• Student 1-1 interviews • Student focus group interviews • Parental interviews • Teacher interviews • Rev minister and church elder interviews • Observations • Attainment records

The analysis and discussion are based on data from interviews with nine children, seven parents, seven teachers (one also serves as a church elder) and one reverend minister. In addition, there was a focus group discussion involving five of the children which sought to elicit further data within a group context. The children's school attainment records were also used to ascertain their current progress and their GCSE results. The themes below emerged from the analysis of approximately 18 hours of interviews with the children, parents, teachers and the focus group, four observations and attainment and progress data.

Table 4.2: Emerging themes

Subsidiary Questions	Themes
SQ1 How is the learning of these students affected by the transition	Educational transition: • The complex realities of migration for these Ghanaian students • The disproportionality of migrant children in bottom sets, linguistic challenges and insufficient EAL provision • The effect of challenging behaviour on learning, peer interaction, bullying, friendship, shared ethnicity and extracurricular activities • Teacher support, relationships, stereotyping and low teacher expectations
SQ2 What is the impact of home/family life on their learning and acculturation?	The impact of home/family life on the children's learning and acculturation: • Capitals - parental aspirations (monitoring, provision, advice and guidance, supplementary and education) • The children's acculturation and tensions with parents
SQ3 What is the role of the community in aiding the students to adapt to living in the UK and progressing in their schooling?	Community support: • The role of the community (including church and school) in helping the students to adapt to living in the UK and progress in their schooling • School community: teachers, racism and lack of support • Acculturation reciprocity and conflict – institution, society and individual levels

The setting of this study is a London, non-selective comprehensive 11 – 19 mixed secondary academy with approximately 1,000 students of diverse cultural backgrounds with three-quarters being minority-ethnic. There are over 70 different languages spoken and over half the student population speak English as an additional language. The school's GCSE progress 8 score of 4 (C) – 9 (A*) in 2017 is 44% for all the students, of which 20% were Black Africans; none were Ghanaians. This was preceded by 43.5% grade A* - C in 2016 of which the Ghanaian students' attainment was 66.7%. The school's overall grading is significantly below the national average and the Ghanaians students score significantly higher.

A profile of each of the children is provided below. These profiles present succinct narratives that each of the children has brought to this study to understand their varying experiences of migration, ambitions and acculturation. The profiles used a mixture of data generated from

the children, their parents and teachers. Pseudonyms typical of Ghanaian names are used for anonymity for all the participants.

4.2 Profiling the children participants and key parental information

Kwame

Kwame was born in Ghana and came to England at the age of '10 - 11 in August 2010'. His mother had left him with her friend at the age of three, while she migrated to Britain to study. Kwame found out on his birthday during a phone conversation with his mum that he 'will be going to London'. He was 'happy and sad at the same time' because 'there's lots of opportunities in London'; he 'will be getting to see mum' and will also be 'experiencing new things,' but 'did not wanna leave my friends and my family in Ghana'. An only child, Kwame is a confident young man who is currently doing Engineering in 6th form. He wants to go to university to study engineering, but 'would not mind being a footballer as well'.

Kwabena

Kwabena is 17 years of age. He was born in Ghana but, aged one, he moved to Italy with his mother to live with his father. He 'lived in Italy for 14 years before coming to England in 2015'. His younger sister, Araba, also a participant in this study, was born in Italy. He currently lives with his mum and sister in England whilst his dad resides in Italy. Kwabena reports adapting to living in England, 'making friends' and 'getting closer to them because of football'; 'going to church with his friends' and 'revising with them for GCSE exams'. Kwabena is currently studying A-Level Physics, Maths, IT and Italian. He wants to attend university and become a civil engineer.

Araba

Araba was born in Italy and arrived in England in 2015. She was sent to live in Ghana when she was a year and a half and returned to Italy aged three; this was to enable mum to work due to the 'difficulty of being a migrant parent working in Europe'. Like Kwabena, Araba has

learnt English as an additional language through having private tuition at home in Italy prior to migration. Araba started secondary school in the UK. She 'liked life in Italy and misses the place', but she also likes England. She 'misses her friends… and will settle in England (even better) if she could play volleyball. Her teacher says: 'despite the fact that this school has children with challenging behaviours and although she is surrounded by all of this in the class that she has been put in … she is committed to her work, and her understanding is **very** good.' Araba involves herself in various extra-curricular activities within the school and mentoring programmes to support younger students.

Kwesi

Kwesi is a fourteen-year-old boy who arrived in England in late 2013 with his brother and father to join their mother who had migrated from Italy to England nine years earlier. He was born in Italy but was sent to live in Ghana at the age of two, for three years. Amongst the reasons for being sent to Ghana were, 'learning to speak both Twi and English' and to enable his parents to work. He 'returned to Italy at the age of five'. He is the youngest of four siblings. Kwesi enjoys playing football and Nintendo DS, having grown out of playing with YU-Gi-Oh and Pokemon cards. Kwesi is a bright, confident and articulate young man who wants to be a mechanical engineer and aims to attend university.

Ekow

Born in Italy, Ekow came to England with his mother and brother late in 2012 and began his British educational journey in year six. Ekow's father moved to England permanently after Ekow's mother's death. Ekow is the last of six siblings. He loves playing football. He is part of his school's dance group, which competes locally and regionally, and he is also a dance leader, leading workshops for year six students transitioning into secondary school for which he was recently rewarded at a whole school assembly. He reports that he was scared when he first arrived, especially 'on his first day of school in year six, when (he) realised that it was weird because (he) couldn't understand nothing and couldn't speak English at all.' As time

went by and he 'got to know people, it was alright.' He wants 'to go to university to do accountancy or actuary studies'.

Abena

Born in Italy, Abena has been in England for six years, arriving towards the end of the academic year in 2012. She is in England with her mum and two younger brothers; her brother Kofi is also a participant in this study. Abena 'couldn't speak English at all' when she first arrived and had to 'attend English as an Additional Language (EAL) class in school'. She wants to be a midwife because she wants to 'help women to bring new life into the world'. Abena enjoys going to school in England and was 'excited' when she discovered that she was coming because 'most of my (extended) family members were coming here'. Unfortunately, 'it was a shock' when she got here because she thought 'the place was going to be classy, but it was not.' 'Pictures deceived me', she exclaimed. She expected 'the houses to be more nice and clean and (wished) the environment was cleaner'.

Kofi

Kofi is Abena's younger brother who was also born in Italy. Currently in year nine, Kofi began his English education in the middle of year four. He 'felt scared' when he 'first started school here' because he 'didn't know what the children were saying'. 'It was hard' … 'and even harder for me to pick up because of the language.' He 'then started to pick up and catching up with the language and to speak it.' Kofi was placed in a small group within the classroom comprising native English speakers who struggled with reading as well as students learning English as an additional language. This made it 'easier', and it 'helped' him because if he 'didn't go to that special group', then he 'would not be able to catch up to the rest of the kids in the classroom.' Mum explains that 'Kofi is a fast learner who learnt English faster than Abena and made friends quickly.' Kofi is a member of his school's football team; he likes maths and football and would like to be an accountant. Both Abena and Kofi received private tuition for English and Maths costing an average of '£150 a month from year 7 to 10'.

Ebo

Born in Ghana, Ebo was left with his grandmother at the age of two when his mother migrated to join Ebo's father in the UK. Ebo arrived in the UK in 2010 with his two younger brothers. His brothers were born in the UK but sent to Ghana at the age of five months and two years to enable the parents to work. He has a younger sister who was also born in the UK and although she visits Ghana, she has not lived there on a long-term basis. Ebo commenced school in England in year six and moved to his current school in year eight when his family moved to the area. Ebo is a gifted musician who plays musical instruments for church and school. He is also a talented master of ceremonies who has hosted several school shows, some of which I have had the pleasure of sitting in on. He also founded and led the school's gospel choir. He provides musical services at functions, working with his father to earn additional income. Ebo 'wants to be a pilot' but having done his research, he is under no illusion as it is a highly competitive field 'and, since he is a black person, will experience racism; it will be difficult'. He also wants to be a musician and to take the skills that he has learnt in the UK to the music and performing arts industry in Ghana.

Kojo

Born in Amsterdam, Kojo was sent to Ghana to live with his 'auntie and father when he was nine months' and returned to Amsterdam at the age of five. He came to the UK in 2014 to year nine. Prior to this, he came to the UK with mum and siblings for holidays to see family members and to ascertain if they wanted to permanently move to the UK, 'but Kojo didn't like it'. He is the eldest of three boys. He didn't want to move to the UK because he 'misses the place (Amsterdam) and his friends' and particularly, he didn't like the idea of wearing a school uniform, having come from an education system that did not require it. Kojo likes playing football and loves cooking. He is a confident, friendly young man who wants to be a lawyer or chef.

The significant investment by some of the parents to supplement their children's education necessitates the need to provide information of their socio-economic standing, career or qualification to further understand the children and their families. Abena and Kofi's mother work in the medical field as does Kwame's. Kwesi's mother is in the hair and beauty industry, having been prevented from continuing her education due to family circumstances; her educational level is equivalent to year 6. Araba and Kwabena's father work in the medical field, whilst their mother, having begun a teacher training course in Ghana, left to join him in Italy. The language barrier prevented her from continuing her education in Italy; she works with the NHS. Similarly, Ekow's father's secondary school education was interrupted by migrating to Italy. He works in the transport sector. Kojo's mother, having qualified and worked in the hospitality industry in the Netherlands, is a student in the UK. Ebo's father is a qualified secondary school teacher but left teaching to become self-employed. Some of the parents migrated from Ghana to Europe as skilled workers or economic migrants seeking better career prospects and remuneration (Arnold, 2012); some are second-generation migrants themselves and others are students who remained in the UK after studying.

Statistics indicate that migrants, particularly those of African descent, are likely to be unemployed or employed below their educational or qualification level (McGinnity et al., 2020). Whilst studies on race, ethnicity and class often associate affluence or the concept of the middle class with whiteness, it can be argued that this is a misrepresentation of people of African/Afro-Caribbean origin (Wallace, 2018). Whilst confidentiality prevents parental jobs in this study from being specified, it can be stated that some of these parents are working below their educational qualifications. Ghanaian migrant parents place a high value on education (Demie & McLean, 2007; Williams & Morris, 2014; Kumi-Yeboah & Smith, 2016). This, perhaps, propels these parents to supplement their children's education regardless of their economic status or class. Whilst being a migrant of African origin may be a disadvantage as statistics suggest, the disposition and aspiration of these parents for their children exceeds

their current limitations. Thus, their aspirations are rooted in middle-class ideology. This is seen not only in their aspirations for their children to do well, but also in supplementing their children's education. It is generally reported that migrant parents' aspirations for their children to excel in the host nation academically, socially and economically can be applicable to other migrant groups particularly from Asia and the Caribbean. Supplementary education, parental social and economic capitals are explored further in section 4.7.

4.3 The complex realities of migration for these Ghanaian students

It is essential to understand the motivation behind the migration of these families to the UK, how they negotiated the migration and how the children felt about migrating (premigration tensions/battles) and their transnational family living arrangements. Children bring their own distinctive narrative to the migration debate (see 2.3). The children participants expressed their views about their parents' decisions to migrate and how they were impacted emotionally and psychologically. Children, being 'active and creative social agents', generate their own unique cultures while simultaneously contributing to adults in this migration context.

Apart from two who migrated directly from Ghana, the rest of the children came to the UK from within Europe – Italy (six) and the Netherlands (one), some having been born in Europe (six) or came as an infant (one) from Ghana to Italy. Also, one is a third-generation Ghanaian migrant child born in Europe, typifying the long-standing nature of the Ghanaian diaspora. Two children migrated directly from Ghana to the UK, and in Kwabena's case, from Ghana to Italy before travelling to the UK. Table 4.3 below displays the migration complexities and multidirectional routes. The children being of school age, these migration experiences do not only have implications for a disrupted childhood but also for their education and family (transnational) living arrangements. The table below maps out the children's migration routes from Ghana, Italy, the Netherlands, culminating with the UK.

Table 4.3: Migration routes and experiences of the children

Age	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
Kwame	Born and left with a friend in Ghana											UK Primary School	UK Secondary School						
Kwabena	Ghana	Went to Italy	Lived in Italy													UK Secondary school			
Araba	Italy	Sent to Ghana		Returned to Italy								UK Secondary School							
Kwasi	Italy			Ghana			Italy						UK Secondary school						
Ekow	Italy									UK Primary School		UK Secondary school							
Abena	Italy												UK Secondary School						
Kofi	Italy									UK Primary School			UK Secondary School						
Ebo	Born/lived with mum in Ghana		Left to live with grandparents in Ghana									UK Primary School	UK Secondary School						
Kojo	The Netherlands	Sent to Ghana to live with his father and auntie as a 9-month-old				Amsterdam									UK Secondary School				

Three of the children understood why migrating to the UK was intended to be to their advantage: *"there's lots of opportunities in London and I get to experience new things"* (Kwame); *"because you get a lot of opportunities here in the UK"* (Kojo); *"I think they brought me here to see a different way of life and a different system;… to get the knowledge and to go back to Ghana and apply the knowledge…"* (Ebo). Seven out of the nine children did not want to migrate; thus, they are not only subjected to a disrupted childhood and education but must also come to terms with an imposed migration decision. Ekow states: *"First, I didn't want to come, but on the day that I was coming, I was just like, "I don't mind, let me just go" 'cause obviously there's nothing I can do about it, so I might just come."* Slumping in his chair, Kwesi states: *"I wasn't happy! It was too sudden 'cause I knew we were going to leave, but then, my dad told us all of a sudden, like, it was on a Monday I think, to pack our bags, we're gonna leave on that same day … I wasn't ready for it… I was happy living in Italy. It hurt that I had to lose* my *friends…"*

Ekow and Kwesi's responses to migration encapsulate the general mood of how the children felt about their parents' decisions to migrate to the UK. Clearly, both were displeased. Kwesi felt that the move was *"too sudden"* and Ekow that "*there's nothing I can do about it"*. Ekow expressed his desire to return to Italy in the focus group discussion *"I've always wanted to go back to Italy. I still do!"* Araba heard her parents *'saying that they wanted to go to London to live for a while but didn't think that they were actually going. And then… they started saying that they had already booked a flight but, I didn't feel like it was real; I thought that it was just a joke and that we are gonna come back, …'* Whereas Araba was surprised and thought her parents were joking about migrating to the UK, her brother Kwabena takes it further by emphasising the idea that it should be *'obvious'* that he did not want to migrate – *'obviously I didn't want to come because I was used to living in Italy and I had friends there …'.* Kwame on the other hand was both *'happy to be going to see mum'* and *'sad' to leave friends and family in Ghana'*. Kofi *'was excited, but also scared.'* Although Abena thought '*It was funny. Because my father was talking about it and I was excited. … most of my family members were coming here. I was like "when are we going?"* Ebo was *"excited"*; however, his excitement was due to travelling on a plane for the first time rather than migrating from Ghana to the UK. During the focus group discussion, Kojo stated emphatically that he '*still wants to go back to Amsterdam!*' particularly *'in the first year that I got here'.* However, he adds *'… but I have adapted to the lifestyle here, it would feel kind of weird going back because I haven't been there in like a very long time.'* But his mum *'had to put* (her) *foot down and 'force him'* to migrate to the UK.

The children's responses express the battles, tensions, challenges and experiences involved in migration. Some expressed trepidation, some excitement, shock and denial. Others displayed a mixture of excitement and fear. Whilst these children may have had little say about having to migrate, they are clearly affected by parental decisions having fully expressed their

preferences. Being uprooted from a place of security and comfort is anything but 'simplistic' (De Lima et al., 2012). Children are stakeholders and active agents in the migration phenomenon, and it is vital that children's experiences are not subsumed within those of adults (Gardner, 2012; De Lima et al., 2012). The evidence illustrates that children actively construct and fully comprehend their social lives, environment and experiences, as the literature suggests (Corsaro 2011; Quaicoe, 2011) and are legitimate co-constructors and co-contributors to the migration narrative.

The complexities that surround migration decisions and the experiences of transnational living and at times multiple separations from family members and communities affect relationships with family members (Coe, 2008). The motivation for migration can rest on parental/adult decisions and their desire to provide a better future for their children (UNHD, 2009; Baird, 2015). Of the four parents from Italy, three stated that the African heritage children, although they go through the Italian education system and acquire relevant skills and qualifications, are relegated to jobs below their educational qualification or find it difficult to get a job. Two of the parents migrating from Italy talk of *'Black children have gone through the education system there and they have the qualification, but you can't find any work'* and *'when you finish school, you won't get the proper job ... Italians are a little bit racist.'* **(Araba and Kwabena's mum and Ekow's father)**

Abena and Kofi's parents brought their children to the UK because they wanted them to *"learn the English language"* and believed that British education *"is better"* for the single reason of the supposed "capital" that the English language confers.

Kwame's mother brought him to the UK because *"he is my only child",* after leaving him with a friend at age three: *"... Also, the person he was living with wasn't my real sister, ... so the only way is for me to bring him here ...*" **(Kwame's mum)**.

The migration to the UK was a parental decision intent on providing a better future for their children. To these parents, their children's educational opportunities in the UK are believed to provide them with the linguistic and cultural capitals for their future economic well-being (UNHD, 2009; Baird, 2015). This seems to outweigh how the child feels or the disruption to their lives and education, bearing in mind that some of these children have been schooled in three different countries in their young lives. The decision to migrate involved difficulties that both children and parents had to manage, which Hagen-Zanker et al. (2014: 4) suggest cannot be explained by the simple 'push and pull' notion because how migration materialises is socially constructed, 'discrete and dichotomous' in nature (Özden & Schiff, 2006: 25), and in many respects, unique to each family, their migration journey not being a simple Ghana to England journey. There was no indication in the data from parents that they considered how their children would feel about their decision to migrate. Few parents would reflect on UNICEF rights of the child in making decisions (UNICEF, 2016).

Associated with migration are the transnational family living arrangements. Kwame was left with his mother's friend at the age of three whilst his mother migrated to the UK and lived for 7-8 years before he was flown as a lone minor (cared for by the flight crew) to the UK: *"Yeah* (pause) - *it was, I'd say it was quite difficult 'cause I had to take the plane on my own. ... I remember I had a little card-thing so that they can identify who you are..."* **(Kwame)**.

Ebo's father left his pregnant wife in Ghana while he migrated to the UK. He was joined by Ebo's mother after two years and she subsequently gave birth to Ebo's two other brothers in the UK. They were two years and five months respectively when they were sent to Ghana to join Ebo who was living with his grandmother. Two reasons are offered to explain taking them to Ghana. The first is the difficulty in raising children abroad as migrant parents and the second was to enable their children to bond with each other. The three boys were later reunited with their parents and met their youngest sibling (sister) for the first time:

"Ebo was born in Ghana; when I was coming (to the UK), *the mother was pregnant. …the rest were born here, but the working life here was very difficult* (with little children) *so, I took them home… I didn't want Ebo growing up forgetting about his brothers …" (***Ebo's dad)**

The psychological impact is evident:

"*… I didn't know how to relate to them* (parents). *Even now I am still scared of my father"* **(Ebo)**

Ebo did not see or know his father until his parents went to Ghana to bring him to the UK. Like Ebo's brothers, Araba was born in Italy and sent to live in Ghana for three years; whilst Kojo was sent to Ghana from the Netherlands when he was nine months old: "*When he was five years, I brought him back. When he came, everything was so new for him..."* (**Kojo's mum**). Likewise, Kwesi: *"...I took him* (Kwesi) *to Ghana when they were young, he spent three years in Ghana."* **(Kwesi's mum)**. Kwesi's mother lived in England for over nine years before the rest of the family joined her at four-year intervals.

Ekow migrated from Italy to the UK with his mother and older brother for three years whilst their father lived and worked in Italy; he migrated to the UK when Ekow's mother died.

'My dad was saying that he was gonna come but he didn't, ... because I lost my mum, so obviously my dad had to come…' (**Ekow**)

Araba was without her parents and brother when she was sent to live in Ghana as an infant. Some of the families continue to live in transnational settings. The transnational family lifestyle is a "knock-on effect" of international migration and presents challenges for these children and their migration experiences in Britain. They all want to have their *'dad living with them here'*. Not only have the lives and education of these children been disrupted by their move to the UK, but they also continue to live with the emotional and psychological impact of transnationalism and their parents' decisions.

Hagen-Zanker et al.'s (2014: 4) argument is certainly true with regards to these Ghanaian families and their children; for the children to migrate to the UK, negotiations were made by the parents as to which one of the parents will migrate with the children, and in some instances,

which of the children will migrate first. These dilemmas are increasingly associated with international migration where families live transnationally (IOM, 2010), with family interactions across national borders/spaces causing some problems but may also be enriching, beyond the experience of their locally born fellow students.

Coe (2008) explains that, because of migration, Ghanaian parents (families) are frequently separated from each other for lengthy periods of time. 'Transnationalism challenges the conventional ideal of the 'family' as being a unit physically together in a geographic place' [and] 'care-giving responsibilities and obligations are renegotiated' (Asima, 2010: 294).

Whilst parents and the children can both benefit from migration because of the prospects it offers, the psychological and emotional impact of transnational living on children are realities associated with migration found in this study. Particularly for the two left behind (in Ghana) children, the psychological and emotional impact is evident '*… I didn't know how to relate to them* (parents). Four children who currently have their fathers living outside the UK desire to have them living in the UK with them.

Whether migrated alone, with parents or left behind, the literature delineates a variety of complexities, challenges and the impact of migration on these children (Whitehead & Hashim, 2005; Pottinger and Brown, 2006). The adverse psychological impact that parental migration has on left-behind children (Zhao et al., 2018) are evident in this study but Owusu-Afriyie (2009) cautions that this negative impact should not be embellished. In his study, the children lived with their mothers and possessed social capital of community-based support which may have lessened the adverse effect of parental migration. Coe (2008) argues that the absence of the parent of Ghanaian migrant children is not felt by the children as neglect, nor is it seen negatively so long as the child's needs are met (as, in this study, they appear to have been). The same child who appears estranged from his father also relished the *'provisions'* that the parents provided from the UK in their absence. Like Coe's (2014) study, the left-behind children and Ghanaian migrant parents develop a 'repertoire' or a 'tool kit' (cultural capital)

to combat restrictive migration policies and practices of the West (Coe, 2014: 14). This affords them ‘flexible family arrangements and the possibility to advance economically while providing a secure emotional and physical basis to which (they) can eventually return’ and maintain close ties whilst abroad (Coe, 2014; Marchetti-Mercer, 2016: 2). The parents’ decisions to leave their children behind in Ghana or send them to Ghana as they engage with life as migrants meant that children learned and maintained Ghanaian values, culture and language (Coe, 2008).

The “cost” of migration has not only been the disassembling of familial formations but also the disruption of emotional ties and their childhood. Migrant children are often confronted with abrupt changes that they did not bargain for (Kirova, 2016). Evidently, these children *‘miss their friends’*, family members and lives prior to migration - *‘I was happy living in Italy. It hurt that I had to lose* my *friends…’*. Whilst others expressed shock – ‘*It was too sudden…’*. Despite the difficulties before their migration, the data suggests that these children have not allowed it to prevent them from settling in and pursuing their education and acculturation. This has been made possible because of their cultural, social, ethnic and community capitals (sections 4.6, 4.7 and 4.8). Cultural capital, being a disposition acquired through experiences and education (Bourdieu 1986), these children are endowed with cultural capitals possibly enhanced by their internationalised and multilingual milieus.

While parents/adults encounter difficulties, for example, decisions to migrate which parents to migrate and which to stay behind, so do children and young people. Even though the child’s needs may be met by migrated parents which may cause less pain to the child, there are far more reaching consequences to migration than Coe’s (2008) or Afriyie’s (2009) studies found. These children began their education in Ghana, Italy or the Netherlands before arriving in the English education system. Hence, they can compare the educational experiences of their country of origin and the English context. It is apparent in the data that the children’s learning has been affected on several levels both positively and negatively.

There was a perceived lack of challenge in the English curriculum. Eight out of the nine children, including all the six who went to school in Italy, stated that they found the curriculum content in England easy. This appears to be mainly in maths. They indicated that they had learnt what they were currently being taught two to three years earlier. This featured in both the individual and focus group interviews and was corroborated by the parents: *"...imagine maths, ... equations for a boy in year four will be like in year five or six over here.... So, when I got to this country, I found everything easier. Because in Italy, I used to do much harder stuff."* He cites an example of another student from Italy with a shared experience.

This student happens to be Kwabena *"...you know the boy Kwabena in year 11, he used to live in Italy. He came here, I think this year... the people told me that when the teachers gave him GCSE stuff...he done it in five minutes. That's what I mean!"* **(Ekow)**

"*... I joined in year 11, so I would say that I had already done them in year 10, so I would say that in Italy, they are one year ahead."* **(Kwabena)**

"...I find it easier than it was in Italy because there are a lot of things in the subjects that I am doing now which I have already done in Italy two years ago, so I already know them. Like for example in maths, there are loads of things that I have already done and in Science too"... "Well, when I first came here, I was a bit scared cos I thought that I wasn't going to do enough work in English, and it was going to be too hard for me. But then when I moved up to set three, I started thinking that maybe it wasn't that hard and that I can improve and now I am in set two and I am fine with it." (**Araba)**

Equally, Kwame, who migrated from Ghana, explains that he found what he was taught in Ghana challenging, but *'easier'* in the UK.

"... And maths, ... when I was in Ghana, I found things difficult, but when I came here, it started getting easier 'cause the things they were teaching (in the UK)*, I already done."* **(Kwame)**

Kwabena and Araba's mother, Ekow's father Kwesi's mother say much the same

"...in Italy, they learn a lot! The educational standard there is a bit difficult ... It's too easy for them here". "And in Italy too, they learn a lot! too much ... When they came here newly, they do good, but later they come to size (par) *with the people here" ... "They came to the UK and ... I realised the standard of their learning has gone drastically down"*

Mr Mensah, a teacher who has taught both in Ghanaian and the British educational contexts, opined that the Ghanaian science curriculum is "harder" than in the UK:

*"The syllabus is harder; it's a lot detailed. For instance, if you take something like "Integrated Science", it would include Agricultural Science, Physics, Chemistry and Biology ... But here is combined Science ..." (**Mr Mensah**)*

He provides examples of students that he taught in his previous English school who were both Ghanaian migrant children. One who came in year 11 would say to every topic: *"'Oh, I have done it!'. She got the highest marks in almost every test"*

The majority of the children believe that schooling in England is easier than where they have migrated from. Roberts (2016a) argues that Italian education is teacher-centred, rote learning, humiliates children by requiring them to repeat a year and places excessive demands on children regarding homework and testing, while UK education centres on learning through curiosity and interactivity. She concedes that "many Italian parents going to the UK worry that their kids don't do enough" (Roberts, 2016b). In some respects, Italian education is like Ghana's – the demands on children, memorisation, rote learning and repeating. Teachers in Italy were commented on positively: "*They were good to you... they were really supportive'.*

Kojo was shocked at the difficulty of exams that he sat in Amsterdam; *"... in Amsterdam there was just a lack of work. I felt like, aw yeah, I'm the best at this, but when it came to the exam, I was like, "woah." I was really supposed to learn this. I wasn't supposed to sit back, and just act as if I already knew everything"*. The relaxed learning environment or manner of Dutch schools may explain Kojo's laissez-faire approach to his education in the Netherlands. Likewise, Ebo, who *"did not study when he went home"* due to *"stubbornness"* and lack of independent work at home. Even with this, he states that he *"never got below seventy-five per cent in a test,"* which he believes is amongst the lowest marks when he was in Ghana.

Overall, the children's and their parents' assessment of their education and performance seems to indicate that the children who lived in Italy did well in school, were focused and that certain educational practices and expectations could motivate (or demotivate) the children to

seriously engage with learning before migrating to the UK. The UK curriculum content was reported as unchallenging for most children on arrival, particularly in Maths.

The migration experiences are varied and specific to individual families. They do not report their initial encounters with the English curriculum as challenging or that they were behind. This makes it all the more surprising that they are put in low sets on arrival.

Transnationalism has benefited both the parents and the children although there have been challenges regarding bonding with parents. The multiple changes in location and carer experienced by the young people are exceedingly disruptive for young, developing lives but the English classroom is not reported as an intellectual challenge.

4.4 The disproportionality of migrant children in bottom sets, linguistic challenges and insufficient EAL provision

The set placement of these migrant children arriving in the UK and its impact on the learning of these students is an important issue. Araba stated that she was put in set 4 and was moved up twice within a year. This is similar for Kwesi and two teachers commented:

"Normally, when here, they (Ghanaian migrant children) *are put into bottom sets more often than not. This is simply because they are perceived to be from Africa, so they are put into bottom set."* **(Mr Quaicoe)**

"(Chuckles with disappointment) *I think it's a terrible shame and this isn't just for Ghanaian migrant students that a number of kids for whom English is not their first language get put into 'the lower sets', because* (could sense frustration in his tone and in body language), *because their English isn't yet that good, ..."* **(Mr Osei)**

The children were aware of the differences in behaviour and learning attitude of the students in the "top" and "bottom" sets, and state:

"…in top set and second set, you see more kids focused and stuff." **(Kojo)**

"…Bottom set classes don't take learning as important as top set classes. Well, in set three, there's confusion 'cause of students misbehaving. Because of this, teachers don't really get to teach a lot. Students chat all the time; some are mean and rude to the teachers and to each other. There's too much confusion! In top set, sometimes some of the students misbehave, but is it a lot better in there because we can actually get more work done." ***(Kwesi)***

More challenging behaviour is exhibited in lower set classrooms. Both Kojo and Kwesi judge that more students in the top and second set classes seem to *"focus"* in lesson and as a result, are able to *"get more work done"* but the opposite is true for the bottom and third set classes where they were mostly placed. This view is supported by teachers who say:

(Frustrated) *"I mean I hate to say because again we shouldn't make those kinds of equations but in some of the lower sets, behaviour management and poor attitude to learning is more of an issue than it is in some of the higher sets.* **(Mr Osei)**

"When migrant children come from Ghana or Africa, they're usually put into the naughty groups - bottom sets whereby a child who's got the potential becomes disengaged because they are not challenged enough… As a result, that child is not going to be learning anything that enables them to achieve their full potential." **(Mrs Nyamekye)**

Mr Osei's statement indicates that, regardless of ability, students for whom English is their second language, along with Ghanaian migrant children whose understanding of the English is not problematic, are deliberately placed in lower set classes, where *"poor attitude to learning is more of an issue"* and *"behaviour management is a struggle"*. This agrees with the children's point about behaviour in lower sets classes being problematic. Referring specifically to Ghanaian migrant children, Mr Quaicoe implies that the placement of these students is based on their race/ethnicity rather than their ability. Mrs Nyamekye uses the phrase *"naughty groups"* to describe the behaviour of the bottom set students. She adds that able migrant students of Ghanaian or African ancestry who are placed in these classes are unchallenged, therefore disengage with learning and subsequently fail to reach *"their full potential"*.

Below, Ms Owusu, considering the placement of Ghanaian migrant children in bottom sets, highlights it as *"another issue",* and suggests that a variety of issues confront these children, and those of African heritage, in the school. The students may have believed that the curriculum content in England was easy because they were incorrectly placed in lower set classes.

Ms Owusu also mentions that Ghanaian migrant children, due to perceived language issues, are placed in lower ability groups until a teacher, (usually of African descent) points out that the child's ability is above the group's level and he or she is moved up:

Ms Owusu: *That's another issue, because of the language issues, they tend to place them in a lower ability group until a teacher spots them and complains that they need to move up... They do assess them but what I've noticed in the school is that they put late intakes into the lower ability group and then gradually move them out if a teacher complains…*
R: *So how often do you think that happens in relation to African or Ghanaian migrant children?*
Ms Owusu: *I feel quite often it does happen until a teacher complains.*
R: *From your experiences, what would be the ethnic background of the teachers who complain about these students for them to be moved up?*
Ms Owusu: *Well, sometimes black teachers pick it up after interacting with the students and realising they can do better, and you have some white teachers too that will identify the potential in the child.*
R: *Would you say the ratio, 50:50?*
Ms Owusu: *Probably 60:40… More black teachers speaking up.*

The movement of students into the upper set can be instigated on the basis of teacher judgement with Black teachers being the more likely advocates. Ms Panyin, being aware of the potentially prejudicial treatment of the grouping of migrant children of Ghanaian/African descent on her list who might also be EAL students, states that she is *"sort of vehement"* and *"sort of assertive"* as the EAL coordinator, to ensure that the migrant (EAL) children *"that come through her hands"* are not placed in bottom set classes if they are deemed to *"be good students"*, especially if only their understanding of the English language is lacking. She provides an example of *"the right way to do it"* - based on the child's ability - strengths and weaknesses in that specific subject. This suggests that as the child's language skills develop to the level where he or she can access the curriculum, their needs must be re-evaluated so that the appropriate level of provision can be made. The phrase *"sort of"* suggests that although she has some level of authority, the final decision rests with more senior staff to place (Ghanaian) migrant children in class sets below their ability:

"If they are good students and it's clear that all they need is the English, but conceptually they are very strong, first of all, I'll ask if they can do the school's admission tests as well because that's English, Maths and Science, so certainly the Maths will show probably quite well… I

always make recommendations after the assessment, that they would go in a set 1 or 2. If it's just the language they need, they shouldn't be put down in set four. Obviously, the average is that they might be put in set 3 or 4. I have fought a long time against the sort of, not prejudice, but the idea that if they come from another country, they should be in a lower set. So yes, I agree (that migrant children are put in lower set classes whether their ability demands or not).*"* **(Ms Panyin)**

Also, Ms Panyin mentions that she assessed Abena who was withdrawn from some mainstream lessons to attend EAL classes for two years, and Kojo and Kwesi who did not require such intervention after being assessed. Her statements below also indicate that Ghanaian migrant children in this study, along with others who have attended this school in her 18 years of being there, have generally not needed EAL support because they are considered *"advanced-bilingual learners"*. Using the medical term *"triage"* to indicate the urgency or level of EAL support needed, she concedes that although the *"English"* of these children *"still needs some support",* the resources available do not extend to them.

"...I remember Abena when she was in the beginners group first year. She was in the post beginners in her second year, and she took the Cambridge exam and passed... So, she was a case in point that I remember very well. But they (Ghanaian migrant children) *can speak English and they can get around in the language, but their English still needs some support but because they are advanced bilingual, the resources, the triage that we have to apply doesn't reach to that."* **(Ms Panyin).**

"I did assess him (Kojo)*, he came from Holland, ...he was a very confident boy... he had learnt English in Holland - I did do an initial assessment on him and then passed him over to the school and said, look, this boy needs to do the school assessment/admission test. He's strong!" (***Ms Panyin)**

"... He (Kwesi) *did have some English because I did do the assessment with him and his brother ... But again, he wasn't weak enough to be in an EAL group ..." (***Ms Panyin)**

Kojo, having been assessed by Ms Panyin and found not to need EAL support, was *"passed ...over to the school"* to be given the school's assessment or admission test. It is unclear whether this was done. What is clear is that Kojo was placed in set three classes, as was Kwesi who was also assessed by Ms Panyin and *"wasn't weak enough".* Perhaps due to lack of funding, only one student received EAL support where more would have benefitted, going by their attainment results (table 4.5).

Mr Osei makes a valid point about the placement of Ghanaian migrants, and indeed migrant children generally who are also considered to need EAL support. Appearing frustrated, angry and continually hitting the top of the table with his right index finger, he proceeds:

"...I think what happens to them in this school is wrong...because a huge number of those classes are also classes that have a high proportion of lower ability students in them. So, it's kind of putting the EAL students and the (Ghanaian) *migrant students with the low ability students. So, then they're not getting the necessary good language modelled and high levels of discussion of the subjects going on. And I think it's a great mistake that that happens...* **(Mr Osei)**

It appears then that Ghanaian migrant children who may not have the EAL coordinator "fighting" on their behalf not to be placed in bottom set classes, may miss out on having the *"good behaviour"* and *"better attitude to learning"* modelled for them in these classes and might underachieve. This supports Mrs Nyamekye and Mr Osei concerns. Evidently, Araba and Kwesi were moved to the top and second sets. Incidentally, in a lesson that I covered, Kwesi was in top set Science class. The data indicate that whilst others are *"moved up"* due to teacher *"complaint"*, some do remain in lower sets.

Araba was moved up two sets within a year in English. This suggests that she was either incorrectly assessed or placed in a lower set without much thought, perhaps due to an assumption of her language level/skills or ability when she arrived, which was clearly wrong because both her and her brother were assessed by the EAL coordinator and, like Kojo and Kwesi, they were deemed to be *"advanced bilingual learners"* and referred to the school's admission team to be assessed, so that they could be correctly placed. The school's admission test should be able to give a clear indication of which set the child should be placed and its inability to do that raises much concern as it appears to contribute to the lack of challenge in the curriculum that these children have experienced. Not only are they not being challenged in the lower set classes, the poor behaviour in these classes also prevent effective learning from taking place. This is examined below.

Table 4.4 *Class set*

Participant	Class Set placed on arrival	Moved up	The number of times the students were moved up	Subject student was moved up in	Final Set
Ebo	3	No	0	Nil	3
Kwame	2	Yes	1	Eng and Sci	1
Araba	4	Yes	4	Maths, Eng and Sci	1
Ekow	3	No	0	Nil	3
Kwesi	3	Yes	2	Maths and Sci	1
Abena	4	Yes	2	Maths, Eng and Sci	2
Kofi	2	Yes	2	Maths, Eng and Sci	1
Kojo	3	No	0	Nil	3
Kwabena	3	Yes	1	Maths	1

The majority of the students appear to have been placed in set three. Of the nine students, two were placed in set two, five in set three (second bottom set), two in set four (bottom set). Six students out of the nine were promoted – one in one subject, two in two subjects and three in all core subjects. Furthermore, it appears that there was no attempt made by the school to accept and celebrate or even identify their language or bilingualism as a strength; instead, they were just expected to learn the English language, assimilate and to get on with schooling when clearly, these children would have benefited with a structured intervention programme that welcomes and supports them in their educational transition in the UK. In Kiramba, Kumi-Yeboah and Sallar's (2020) study of second-generation Black African migrants, a student remarks "It's like they [teachers] don't recognise what I bring to the classroom" (Ibid, 2020: 10). Balogun's (2011) study also found that, while young Black African migrants bring rich cultural traditions, diversity, previous educational experiences and unique skillsets to the educational setting abroad, these strengths are neither recognised nor acknowledged by teachers and policymakers (Kiramba & Oloo, 2019). Although these studies are US based, it is a startling reminder of the scale of the issues facing young migrants of Black African and Caribbean heritage. In this study, ironically, the strength of the children that was acknowledged came from the notion that they can speak the English language adequately, and

therefore did not require EAL support though their written English still needed support (See also section 4.6).

The children being placed in a set/group below their academic capability prevents them from being able to engage in *'meaningful discussion and work'* and effectively progress. Hallam and Ireson's (2007: 3) study of ability setting reports that students in lower sets were offered 'less access to the curriculum, less opportunities for discussion, less homework, less detailed feedback with much easier work and moved at a slower pace'. The key words captured in this are 'less', 'slow' and 'easier'. It is no wonder that these Ghanaian children placed in lower sets underperform. The placement of these children in a lower set is a common practice within the school and remains unaddressed.

Equally surprising is the teachers' assertions that the upward mobility of these students to upper set classes materialises only because of 'teacher complaints' and of the '60 to 40 percentage ratios' of African ancestry teachers campaigning for the upward mobility of these students. The data suggests 'promotion' is justified by the evidence of high interim and yearly test results.

Whilst the children appear to be fully committed to their education/learning and academically excel when they were abroad and upon initially being in the UK, their progress dwindles to par with that of the English children - '*When they came here newly, they do good, but later they come to size* (level) *with the people here...'.* Ghanaian children in these bottom set classes are reportedly encouraged to coast along, which could affect their learning and, subsequently, their progress. This is important, as it suggests that, over time, the children's academic level deteriorates after arriving in England. Studies on class set largely report on its negative impacts on students' motivation, behaviour, attainment and examination results (Ireson et al., 2002; Wiliam and Bartholomew, 2004; Dunne et al., 2011). This study raises concerns about students' groupings/class sets not only because of its implications for students' progress, but

also equality and the disproportionate representation of EAL/migrant students and students of African/Afro-Caribbean heritage in these classes as others, such as Dunne et al. (2011: 485) have found and have questioned 'the lack of mobility between sets, and the over-representation of particular social groups in low-attainment classes'.

The data also indicates language and accent are additional challenges impacting on learning and acculturation. The issue with language was multifaceted, spans beyond their arrival to the UK and adds to the complexities associated with migration (4.3):

Kojo states: "…*when I came from Ghana, I couldn't speak Dutch at all."* Kojo's mother substantiates his assertion*: "So, when he came to Amsterdam, because he has to speak Dutch, it was getting difficult for him..."* Having learnt to speak English in Ghana during early childhood and from speaking with his "grandma in Amsterdam", *"... when we came here (UK), the language wasn't so much of a trouble for him"* (Kojo's mother). Mr Osei stated that the writing was a challenge for Kojo (4.6), which should have indicated the need for EAL support. Similarly, Kwesi states:

"…when I started going to school, I couldn't speak Italian, so it was difficult…so I had to learn it. When I didn't know how to speak Italian, people were… ridiculising me 'cause I didn't know how to speak it. (**Kwesi**)

Kwabena, although he had English tuition prior to migrating to the UK, experienced difficulties understanding teachers in class. He states English was his hardest subject in his GCSE exams:

"at the beginning, I didn't really understand when teachers spoke, because their accent was different. But afterwards, I started understanding, so I didn't need it that much anymore. And obviously, like, I don't understand some words of the English language, in my GCSE, I think that was the hardest subject."

Kwabena got a 'C' in English but A* to B for the rest of his GCSEs.

Araba also explains that when she initially arrived in UK, she had low self-esteem as communicating in English was both difficult in school and outside where speaking English was required:

***Araba**: I went once to a church BBQ, ... I didn't really speak English, so I didn't really feel comfortable...*
***R:** Were they speaking Italian or?*
***Araba:** English, but if I went this week, I would feel more comfortable, and I will talk to more people.*
***R:** Why would you feel more comfortable and talk to more people now, than before?*
***Araba:** Because now I know more English, and I feel more like I have got more self-esteem.*
***R:** Let's take school, ... was English difficult for you when you came?*
***Araba:** Yes!...*

In the UK, both Abena and Kofi had to learn English as an additional language. Kofi explains that he could *"barely"* speak English, which made school *"scary at the beginning 'cause* I *didn't know what they* (students and teachers) *were saying.* Also, *"It was hard for me and even harder for me to pick up because of the language..."* It was due to being heavily supported (albeit in a group setting) by TAs and speaking with his new friends that he learnt to speak and write in English. Abena also attended EAL support for two years – intensely supported initially and then it became sporadic:

"I went EAL for like 2 years, then, because in EAL they get new people every day, ...so you don't get the help like before. You need to move on because they think that you are catching up…" **(Abena)**

Ekow acknowledges in the focus groups that it was *"obvious"* that speaking English was difficult, and whilst others were *"mocked"* for their accents, speaking Italian became "capital" for him as it was an attraction for his friends:

"... obviously, it was hard to speak English. I couldn't speak English, but people wasn't really mocking me, they were like, "right, this guy can really speak Italian. Yeah man, give me lessons..." **(Ekow)**

Apart from one student, all the children say that they were mocked and bullied for their inability to speak English and those who could, were mocked for their accents; thus, they refused to speak in lessons. They also wanted to change their accent *"as soon as possible"* for the same reason:

***R:** Why do you think changing your accent was important?*

Kwabena: *…I wanted to change it as soon as possible! Because, mostly, they laugh at you, … when I came, my English was decent... I didn't go to EAL 'cos they told me that my English was good enough. So, the only thing I really had to do was change my accent…*

Kwabena went to teachers after lessons to clarify what is taught in class instead of seeking immediate help during the lesson, possibly due to the bullying/mockery about his accent. The statements below support Kwabena's sentiment of being fearful to speak:

"…but I wouldn't really speak. I was scared that I was going to make a mistake and they would laugh at me. And after I got used to it (English), *I think I was in year Eight or Nine, I was catching up on the language, so I was able to hang around different people, but at the beginning, no. And I remember people used to bully me and because I didn't speak English, they would mock me... They laughed at me and mocked my accent."* **(Abena)**

It took two to three years for Abena to muster the courage to speak in the school and to socialise. Kofi provides a specific encounter with a "white" student who ridiculed him because he could not speak English saying "… *I don't like you, you're Black … you can't even speak English…".*

Kojo states in the focus group discussion that while he could speak the English language:

"… I could speak English because I used to speak English with my grandma and we had like this African accent, so coming to London, I felt like everyone spoke like that, so (with) *my African accent* (I began to speak), *and they were like "that's fresh, you can't speak like that!". So, it took time for me to like to feel comfortable with the accent to get used to speaking."*

Kwesi's older brother (who attended the school) also feared making mistakes speaking, perhaps because of mockery/bullying although '*he understood English very well'.*

Lack of understanding of the English language was a challenge to accessing the curriculum. Mockery of their accents placed undue pressure on them to change their accents to sound British. It also prevented them from engaging in discussion as well as eroding their confidence to ask for help in lessons. Paradoxically, although these children have encountered challenges having to learn other languages, particularly English, it is this very experience that also provides the avenue for them to gain linguistic capital. These Ghanaian migrant children speak in excess of four languages amongst them – Dutch, Italian, English and Akan – made up of

mainly Fanti and Twi. All the six children from Italy attained A - A* or grade 9 GCSE in Italian having sat their heritage language exam in year 10. Kojo achieved grade B in Dutch (see table 4.5). Kwabena is currently studying A' Level Italian, having achieved A* in his GCSE.

The children who migrated directly from Ghana (2) to England had a better command of the English language and required less support than the children (6) from Italy and Netherlands (1). Even though they are classified as *"advanced bilingual learners"*, findings suggest that they should have been supported because their comprehension was challenged. They were recognised as *'still needing some support'*, yet they did not receive it, and were denied support because they were not '*weak enough to be in an EAL group'*. According to ENAR (2008), lack of appropriate support contributes to ethnic minority lower attainment in education. The literature supports the findings that though a migrant children's English language acquisition (speaking) may be rapid, there is a need for continued support for them not only to be proficient in its usage in speaking but also in writing (Ryan et al., 2010). However, this is prevented by the lack of funding for EAL support. Strand et al. (2015) and Leung (2016) highlight the changes in policy and funding that have impacted EAL provision. According to Strand et al., students who learn English as an additional language should receive EAL support in their first three years; however, the removal of the ring-fence that enables schools to be held accountable for EAL provision now prevents this from happening as has been found in this current study. Also, EAL provision has been relegated to the side, especially where exam result statistics have shown EAL students to be doing well and in some cases out-performing first language English speakers in schools (Strand et al., 2015). Statistics show that children of West African descent in English education generally do well (Demie, 2013). Whilst this may be the case, this study questions whether it is indeed the English education itself enabling these West African children to succeed in the academic sphere or the supporting supplementary education sponsored by parents (see section 4.7). The national curriculum

mandates teachers and schools to 'take account of the needs of pupils whose first language is not English and should aim to provide the support pupils need to take part in all subjects' (DfE, 2014b: 8).

The learning of these students is again adversely affected because they refused to engage orally in lessons or seek immediate help when they had not understood the language of instruction. They feared being *'laughed at'* or teased about their accents. They wanted to *'get rid of their accents as soon as possible'* because of bullying. While symbolic domination of the English language is evident, more worrying is the notion that children in the school did not value or are not taught to value linguistic diversity, particularly when a child has an accent that differs from theirs, resulting in these migrant children being *'laughed at'* when they speak. To use Welply's term, these migrant children's language has been 'otherised' to alienate and isolate them (Welply, 2017). Lander (2011) suggests that whilst teachers must be equipped to cope with teaching in diverse educational spaces, it is important for children to be trained to do the same if understanding about cultural diversity is to be maintained amongst pupils. Couëtoux-Jungman et al. (2010: 298) argue that the 'recognition of the language and culture of (migrant) children would be important for their emotional and identity development'.
Although the integration of migrant children into English schools is important to their academic and societal success, it is equally important for them to be adept in the home (first or native) language. A person's 'first' language is crucial to their identity; it is vital that schools develop acceptance of linguistic diversity amongst their pupils in the form of celebrating different cultures in the school. In doing so, both the 'English' and migrant students will benefit rather than perpetuating the social order that Bourdieu's theory suggests. Also, whilst Dillon (2013: 2) and others may have found that 'migrant children are high achievers and bilingual students outperform monolingual children', their lack of

understanding of the English language becomes a hindrance to their academic progress (OECD, 2015; Janta & Harte (2016).

4.5 The effect of challenging behaviour on learning, peer interaction, bullying, friendship, shared ethnicity and extracurricular activities

Much learning time is lost to disruptive behaviours in the classroom in UK schools and on average, '38 days of learning' are lost to low-level disruptive behaviour yearly (HMCI, 2014: 5). Also, peer interaction is integral to the socialisation of adolescence because of their proclivities to be liked or accepted (Padilla-Walker & Bean, 2009; Tomé et al., 2012). In section 4.4 the data indicated that there was disruptive behaviour in the lower sets where these students were originally placed on arrival in their UK school. This section discusses the impact of such behaviours on these migrant students' learning. It also discusses how peer interactions and relationships influence behaviour and learning. All the nine children believe that students in their English school are poorly behaved and this presented a major threat and challenge to their learning:

"…here I have to admit that I find that my class is a bit noisy and most of the time, they are stopping the teacher from explaining the work because they're just talking..." **(Araba)**

"…there were always lessons in which there were more students who didn't care about their learning, so they were always talking. Then at some point, our Science teacher decided to move like the people that didn't care to the back and they could do whatever they wanted to and the ones that cared were at the front. I think it was the right decision. But their disruption did interfere with my learning and I was happy that the teacher separated us from them." **(Kwabena)**

Persistent chatting and disruptive behaviour prevented teaching and learning from taking place, which caused some of these children to rejoice that their teacher relegated the perpetrators to the back of the classroom. Kwame goes further to express his views not only about disruptive behaviour, but also how it is dealt with in the British and Ghanaian contexts:

"… in the class, sometimes the kids are a little bit immature, you'd be doing your work, and someone will just hit you… it was a little bit distracting. (He gives a knowing laugh) *In Ghana,*

if the teacher is teaching, you know not to misbehave because you get a beating… in this country you get shouted at, but I don't think that the punishments are quite as painful as in Ghana. So, here, they're not as well-behaved..." He adds:

"Cause some teachers in this country, (pause) *they can only use verbal punishments. It's not as effective as physical punishments … here, you get a detention sometimes and sometimes you don't; some teachers care, and some don't really care..."*

Kwame's response compares corporal punishment of students in Ghana with the British detention system and its ineffectiveness. He further highlights inconsistencies accompanying how teachers implement the detention system in his British school. Kwame's view is shared by Ebo, who compares his Ghanaian experience with the British:

"*… sometimes I see the ways students speak to teachers, and I say Wow! If it was supposed to be in Ghana, you'd know the consequences for THAT!... Here, they insult the teachers in front of them, they swear* (he cringes); *I can't do that, I can't! … I feel sorry for the teachers… But sometimes too some teachers can be annoying because they don't know what they are saying. And when you try to help them, they get angry, and they give you detentions for no reason..."*

Ebo expresses shock about the challenging behaviour exhibited by students in his classes and expresses pity towards teachers. Simultaneously, he expresses annoyance towards *"some teachers"*, whose lack of subject knowledge, perhaps fuels the challenging behaviour '*because they don't know what they are talking about'*. He adds that his attempt to assist such teachers '*to explain the work'* is met with the unjustifiable punishment of detention which propels him to disengage with the lesson. Ebo's response appears to reveal a certain level of understanding of the impact of challenging behaviour on teachers. This is set within the context of his Ghanaian education where it seems students' voices are completely dismissed, and teachers' voices are unchallenged. Like Araba, Kwabena and Kwame, Ebo explains that the behaviour adversely impacts on his learning as he finds it *"hard to concentrate and get on with your learning"*.

Kwesi expresses similar sentiments about the behaviour of students in his lessons, explaining that *"some* (students) *don't take their learning seriously"* and "b*ehaviour of students is worse,"* adding *"...since they* (teachers) *have all the confusion going around, they don't get*

to teach a lot 'cause students are misbehaving." Kojo believes that this school's system (in dealing with his behaviour and commitment to learning) is *"strict"* compared to Amsterdam. Having taught in the UK for 5 years and in Ghana for 3, Mr Mensah explains that:

"In London, the students have a lot of challenging behaviour; because of behaviour, I prefer to teach in Ghana - it is better to teach in Ghana; you get respect as a teacher..."

It is apparent that the behaviour of the students in their British school presents a challenge to teaching and learning. Having been schooled in another country prior to education in the UK, these migrant children are able to compare their experiences in two or more educational settings. This wider experience contributes to their cultural capital.

Being placed in class sets below their intellectual capability, impacts on behaviour and thus the learning of these Ghanaian children. '*It's hard to concentrate and get on with your learning…'.* In such an environment as described by these children, it is highly likely that less learning takes place, which ultimately hinders the progress of these students.

Williams & Morris (2014) reports a consensus amongst the Ghanaian and Nigerian children in their study that challenging behaviour impacts negatively on their learning. More worrying is the assertion that low-level disruptive behaviour has a 'detrimental impact on the life chances of too many pupils' (HMCI, 2014: 4).

This section discusses data on peer influence and its effect on these children's behaviour. Having highlighted the behaviour of other students impacting negatively on learning, the data also reveals that some of these children themselves begin to absorb some of the negative traits as they acculturate due to peer pressure, deficiency of model behaviour from bottom-set classes, isolation/the need to belong, timidity and to avoid bullying. Although all the children in the study believed that Ghanaian migrant children may adopt challenging behaviour as they acculturate, six of the nine children attest to adopting "poor" behaviour for a while:

*"… as I learnt some few things here, my behaviour started to change, and I became chatty; I talked a lot too. … I became cheeky." **(Ebo)***

*"I was really hanging with the wrong crowd in [*names town*] every day, just getting myself into stuff that I wasn't supposed to..." **(Kojo)***

*"… you're different from everyone else here. So, you're, like- it's not like you're weird, but, like, trying to, like, impress the people around you so it's like you're kind of forgetting, like, where you're from, like, who you, like, really are." **(Kojo)***

To ascertain a group response, I asked in the focus group, 'Some teachers say that Ghanaian migrant children are well-behaved when they first arrive in the UK, but later they adopt challenging behaviour'. Without waiting for me to ask about their opinion on the matter, they began:

***Kojo:** True!*
***Kwame:** It's true!*
***Ebo:** I'm not gonna lie, that's true!*
***Ekow:** Some cases- some cases-* (interrupted)
***Ebo:** Me personally, yeah, I adopted very bad behaviour. On the journey, I kind of picked up some bad behaviour and someone told me, "Oh, Ebo, be careful, when joining the wrong people, be careful." And I did. I needed to fix up. Yeah, but ever since then I've been watching where I go and who I hang around with.*
***R:** So, is what the teachers have said normally the case?*
***Kwame:** Nah, it's not normally the case, but obviously you know, it's not every Ghanaian that's cut from the same root. Like, you know, obviously I have more support than others. And, you know, it depends on who you meet in the schools and all that.*
***R:** Is that generally the case though that they change, or they start-*
***Kwame:** Yeah, yeah, yeah, they change!*
***Ebo:** They change because others- sometimes the bullying is too much -*
***Kojo:** I don't even think it's the bullying. I think it's, like, copying. The art of copying. Just copying others 'cause you don't wanna be, um, different from everyone else 'cause if you're, you'll feel-.*
***Kwame:** Left out.*

It is believed that adopting challenging behaviour happens in *'some cases'* while others suggest that it may happen because of lack of parental *'support'* needed to make the right choices. The point about bullying and the expression about the desire to conform and not be 'left out' are part of the adolescent condition, and it is questionable whether the school or even the parents did enough to recognise these pressures to effectively support these children. Teachers views on the matter are explored below.

All the seven teachers believe that, if not guided or steered away from negative influences/behaviour, it is embraced by some of the Ghanaian migrant children as the normative behaviour and consequently affects their academic progress and their desire to maintain the high standard of commitment initially shown in their work and attitude to learning upon arrival in the UK. Mr Quaicoe believes that he has *"met a lot"* of Ghanaian migrant children and whilst some are *"conscientious"* about their education, are *"very intelligent"*, *"focused and receive instructions"* and therefore able to maximise their learning, a *"greater number"* who are initially committed to their learning on arrival, begin to mimic the "poor behaviour" associated with English schools. He states that he has found Ghanaian migrant children struggling most when they arrive in the UK with behaviour, as they are under pressure to conform. Eventually, this challenging behaviour is taken home:

"… mostly what I have found them struggling with is the behaviour… they are torn between the bad behaviour having pressure on them simply because they find a new set of peer pressure is a large group of children behaving in a certain way. And so, if that way actually fascinates them, then they get easily drifted into them and they even start challenging their parents at home." **(Mr Quaicoe)**

Ms Owusu adds that, Ghanaian migrant children newly arrived in Britain are *"keen"* and knowledgeable but being unsure of the *"educational requirements and standards"* become susceptible to *"picking things up"* whether positive or negative. She reiterates Mr Quaicoe's point that they enter school in England *"well-behaved",* but care must be taken so that they do not end up badly behaved, "*pressured by peers"* to *"copy the bad behaviour"*. She further emphasises the impact of the class set on the learning and behaviour of these children and explains why they adopt the challenging behaviour themselves:

"…Unless they are exposed to the better groups that are keen to learn, they will keep being disruptive instead of learning and because they want to belong, they will just follow. Peer pressure has a lot of effect on most of the students... They just listen to peer pressure instead of teachers and want to fit into the system." **(Ms Owusu)**

Ms Owusu had no trouble providing an example:

"In my level 2 BTEC, a Ghanaian migrant child who came from Italy. When he started, he was very brilliant, very keen and eager attitude to work. He suddenly found himself in a group... By the second month, he started copying them and the reason why is because he was in the midst of the others who did not want to do the work."

Timidity is used to explain some of the Ghanaian migrant children's gravitation towards peer pressure:

"…they come in timid and that's the major challenge and gradually in order to reduce the timidity, they go from one extreme to the other… from being timid to being over-social... It is definitely a way of covering up for their timidity but having said that, this is not applicable to all but a majority of the ones I have taught." **(Mrs Nyamekye)**

Mrs Nyamekye sees these children moving from timidity to over-socialisation - *"they want to be the likeable person; everybody's friend".* Reportedly, some of the Ghanaian migrant children, in order to feel a sense of belonging and to overcome timidity, '*become chatty and show-off'* in class. This view is exemplified in Mr Appiah's description of Ebo:

"Ebo is a big character around the school; people do like the kid, I mean works well, he is friendly, is very pleasant and open. ... In a class situation, there were times ... he became, from a teacher's point of view, slightly intolerable because he can be quite garrulous and just bombard you with questions…" **(Mr Appiah)**

Similarly, Mr Osei, speaking of Kojo, explains that although he tried to adopt the challenging behaviour generally prevalent in the school, he could observe that it was a struggle for him to maintain it:

"…Kojo actually picked up on some of that kind of bad behaviour and think it was the norm and sort of try it out. And I think Kojo did, on occasion try out that more defiant sort of attitude. (Pause) *I got the feeling that it didn't sit comfortably with him. He wasn't very good at being defiant!* (Laughs) *I mean, he kind of became a bit obstinate, but he was always, always very respectful."* **(Mr Osei)**

Mr Appiah was more positive about Kojo, "*open and friendly with anybody ... didn't display any kind of bad attitude at any point that I can remember ... a level of respect that I found with him that you don't always find with kids that come into school from wherever".*

This is a general view of all these teachers about the Ghanaian migrant children that they have encountered. Regardless of the "unacceptable" behaviour that they may adopt as they

acculturate, *"They are good, well behaved and very respectful and work cooperatively with adults*" (Mrs Nyamekye).

'Bad behaviour' is used as something bad to which the students succumbed, instead of just different behaviour, even if unacceptable to the institution and parents. The teachers interviewed had very conformist sets of expectations and at times an over-simplified concept of the difficulties faced by migrant Black children, to a degree also of the complexity of the adolescent transition period. There is little sense of what the school and its staff can do to support the induction of these children apart from noting that they are put in sets below their academic capabilities.

Having explored teachers' perspectives on the issue, parental viewpoints are also explored. The parents unanimously believed that children in the UK can be unruly, disrespectful and rude. To prevent their children from adopting the perceived challenging behaviour, all the parents explain taking precautionary measures – banning/dismissing any friend deemed unfit to befriend their children: Hence went to extraordinary lengths to prevent their children from being "negatively" influenced:

"I know all of their friends; she's (Abena) *got two friends... For me, if any of her friends come and I look at them and she's not good…, I'll send him or her back out because if she's not willing to study, they cannot be friends with her, I don't need anyone who brings negative exposure and trouble! …I know Kofi's friends as well…"* **(Abena and Kofi's mother)**

The implication here is that every effort is made to know who befriends her children; she uses this information to make judgements to prevent *"anyone who brings negative exposure and trouble!".* She contextualises the statement: *"It is my responsibility… because these days a lot of kids in this country pick up a lot of wrong behaviour, … she* (Abene*) has picked really good friends!"* It is questionable if Abena had indeed selected "good" friends or her choice of friends have been contrived because of parental control. Whilst Abena and Kofi may not have exhibited some of the negative influence of peers in their behaviour acculturating into the

British education and culture, perhaps due to their mother's strong stance, five of the seven parents observed traits in their children which troubled them:

"I think he has bad friends and good friends. Before he started church, he had his bad friends from school I didn't like; he started copying the way they're cutting their hair. And as the mother, I'm like, "Nuh uh- where we come from, we are not like that. So, you are not going to pick anything from any friend." So, I made sure that that is not going to happen…." **(Kojo's mother)**

"… she has changed...she saw that the friends, they come to school late, and so I think that she is copying them." **(Araba and Kwabena's Mother)**

Kojo's mother presents a separationist view, indicating the maintenance of their cultural and family traditions. Also, these parental responses could be interpreted as dealing with the symptoms of the child's behaviour rather than investigating further to understand why the child is making such choices. Kwame's mother states that both she and Kwame's teachers acknowledge that he was a *"good boy"* when he first arrived; however, like Araba, he began to change due to his involvement with friends which affected his commitment to learning and behaviour:

"*When I brought him here, he was a very good boy; very serious in his studies …then he had problem in his studies because of friendship, he was not fully concentrating. …*

Negative peer influence, which altered Kwame's behaviour, also manifested in him misleading his mother that he is going to the *"library to study"* but met friends to *"play video games"* instead. He was also arriving late at school due to *"changing his bus route"* to meet a friend:

"… he will say, "mum, I'm going to the library to study", and because I've seen the boys outside the house, I will also follow him to the library, and I will see him with the same boys I saw around the house … and this made me register with the library too… I found out on parents' evening that he was changing his bus… so the teachers were complaining about his lateness." **(Kwame's mother)**

Kwame's mother's actions could be interpreted as over-controlling. Ekow's father added his experiences of the adverse effects of friendship on Ekow. He begins by saying that, though Ekow *"has learnt some bad behaviour"* upon coming to the UK, he has not fully acculturated to become like the *"kids here"*. He described an encounter that Ekow had with the police

which he attributed to these friendships. The boy was with a larger group where one had cutting equipment that could be used for theft but this boy, who had not been in trouble before, was discharged by the court.

Another reason suggested for the adoption of challenging behaviour by these Ghanaian migrant children when in the UK is the sudden freedom that they find having come from a culture where they may have had limited freedom. This view is referred to by the children, parents and teachers:

"Yes! That one, sure! Because here there is more ... liberty; freedom." **(Ekow's father)**

"*There is a lot of freedom… freedom with teachers not hitting students..." (***Ebo)**

"You know Ghana, a child will be under control. …When they come here, they realise some rights that they didn't know…, so they take hold of it and when it's not in the right way, it's very difficult to really get them in the right way. And because of the laws in this country, we have to be careful... I can only limit myself in the Word of God with them." **(Rev)**

She cites her own experience with her daughter*, "sent her back home to stay with my mum for six years ... I brought her back when she was eight, and I never find it easy with her. ...At one point, she didn't want to see me. She wasn't that bad ... But I find out she was a bit confused with the two different cultures.*"

Whilst a child needs to be guided and supported to make the right choices, the phrases *"under control"* and *"they realise some rights that they didn't know"* indicate a disparity between the rights and freedom that some of these parents believe a child should have as opposed to the expectations set out in article 5 of the UN Convention of the Right of the Child that stipulates that parental guidance recognises 'the child's increasing capacity to make their own choices' as the child grows (UNICEF, 2016).

Also, it appears that "freedom" or "liberty" thrust upon the children, with less powerful expectations to conform to traditional family values and fewer deterrents, enables them to engage in 'delinquent activity'. Also, in the UK, parents appeared to indicate that they are

limited by the law in how to discipline the children and some of these parents 'fear' losing their child to the system. Associated with the limited control that parents may have in disciplining their children, Coe (2008: 23) found that Ghanaian migrant parents in the US speak much of, and express trepidation about 'losing' their children. For this reason, some have adopted the system of taking their children back to Ghana, 'to learn the value of having a good character'.

Resonating with this finding are Padilla-Walker and Bean (2009), You (2011) and Tomé et al., (2012), who assert that adolescents are heavily influenced by their peers, as it is an age where peer influence and friendship are most prominent, and the need to be liked and accepted becomes crucial (Padilla-Walker & Bean, 2009). In this study, five boys fell into this category. However, the impact of negative peer influence on these children appears to be short-lived. In both the one to one and group interviews, all the children appear to have recovered from their initial need to be accepted at any cost. Ultimately, they were unwilling to set aside their cultural, familial, ethnic and community capitals to *'fit-in'* at all cost.

These children's desire to belong propels them to accept the perceived 'opportunity' of challenging behaviour presented to them by peers. They want to *'fit in'*; they do not want to feel '*different'* or *'left out;* they want *'to impress'*. Timidity and lack of confidence are stated by teachers (three) as possible reasons that may cause some of these Ghanaian children to be influenced in this way by peers, especially when they first arrive in England. According to the teachers *'if care is not taken'* and these children *'end up in the wrong hands'* (poorly behaved peers), it greatly impacts on their commitment to learning and subsequently hampers their academic progress. The challenging behaviour and negative peer influence extend beyond the classroom to their socialisation in the community, exemplified by one of the children's encounter with the police when he was with peers from the school, which led to the law court, and another's persistent lateness to school.

What is not recognised by the parents and teachers is that there should be a level of trust that is given to these children to allow them to experience their new society and to make informed choices; however much it contradicts parental and teacher expectations. Clearly, these children appear to know what is right and wrong in most cases. What is required of the parents is the support and guidance needed where they might get it wrong. Whilst these parents desire for their children to behave appropriately, what is not considered is that these behaviours form part of the acculturation experiences common to migrant adolescents from varied cultural milieus as they try to make sense of their new environment and society (Berry et al., 2012). It could also be said that these parents, with preconceived ideas about children in the UK, use draconian means to prevent, or at least shape, their children's socialisation and acculturation in the UK to maintain their heritage, with considerably less allowance for these children to chart some courses for themselves, forgetting that the children did not want to migrate in the first place. Parents could have recognised that these children are in a transitional phase, trying to understand their new context whilst exploring their identity as adolescent migrant children in the UK.

Bullying can be experienced by children in school regardless of their ethnicity; with migrant children being 'more vulnerable than native children' to it (Dillon, 2013: 2). This section discusses data on bullying experienced by the children in this study. Six of the children stated that they had been mocked or teased about their accent; two had experienced severe bullying and whilst some may copy challenging behaviour to avoid being ostracised, it was also evident that some of their actions were a result of 'fighting' back to combat the bullying that they were subjected to by their peers:

Ebo: *Many things were said to me and some of them were really hurtful, miss; when I say hurtful, they were* ***so*** (stressed) *hurtful that this person will say these horrible things to you without doing nothing to them…* (He seemed very animated and shocked)
R: *What kind of comments were these?*
Ebo: *They were kind of like racist comments, they were talking about your accents and the colour of your skin, so obviously, it's gonna be race. They were really hurtful* (He seemed as

though he is shocked again, as if to say how cruel people can get). *I told my mum and my mum was like "aah, don't worry, you'll get over it," that's what she said."*
***R**: And have you got over it?*
***Ebo**: Oh, yes, now I have! And I am helping people that are going through the same things as well. I remember a few weeks ago,* (names a learning mentor in the school) *was in her office and I went there, and this girl came crying that a group of girls are mocking her accent… I mean, it was very sad to hear that something that happened to me six years ago is still happening again.*

Whereas Ebo was able to use humour *"So all I did, yeah, took that and turned it into comedy"* and helping others as described above enabled him to handle the bullying, Kwesi chose to *"fight back"*, causing him to be labelled a "*troublemaker*", or having *"behavioural issues"*. Observations of Kwesi in the school gave some credence to this view. However, in the focus group discussion, it became apparent that the behaviour exhibited by Kwesi was primarily in response to bullying, about his name, his head shape and attempts to humiliate him which is why he felt the need to fight back. It was also apparent that Kwesi's "challenging" behaviour subsided which linked to the period when the bullying subsided by *"year 9"* (observations). The mother also confirmed that: *"it is because of bullying, because he couldn't express himself"*

Mr Mensah described a similar experience of a Ghanaian migrant boy from his previous school who came from Italy, who was also categorised as exhibiting challenging behaviour. He reports noticing that the child's behaviour was a response to the bullying and was therefore treated unfairly by the school:

"… he was complaining that he was bullied by students in that (lower set) *class… there was a point where he was expelled by the school to a different school and that school was like a rehabilitation kind of thing about his behaviour. So, after some time, when they assessed his behaviour, they took him back to the main school. So, the mother wasn't happy about the whole situation … I thought they were picking on the boy; that's my view of the situation."* **(Mr Mensah)**

The data suggest that both Kwesi and this boy's challenging behaviour were connected to the bullying which came in a variety of forms - physical abuse, racial slurs, taunting about their physique, accents or inability to speak the English language well. Whilst some of the children

in the focus group were emphatic with their response of *"true"* and one in *"some cases",* it is a general belief amongst them that Ghanaian migrant children might adopt certain challenging behaviour when in school in Britain. They explained that this behaviour provided a means for them to *"fit in"* and a temporary solution to the feeling of isolation. This seems to change when they have settled and learnt to be selective about their friends, mostly due to parental guidance, (familial capital) as they thought.

"*… So, I started advising him. It's better to stop all this friendship business so that you can concentrate on your studies… From there he started being busy and learning."* **(Kwame's mother)**

In response to getting into trouble with the police Ekow was advised:

"So, from there I tried to advise him, 'See, you have to use your common sense, that's why I used to prevent you from (seeing) *friends, because if your friends are going to do something,… and you follow, it means I can't trust you to make the right choices. …Try to draw the person to you and not for the person to draw you away'.* **(Ekow's father)**

It would not be unusual for parents to be unaware of their children's behaviour in school until signs of negative changes were observed at home and tackled before they escalated - Ekow's case being an example. In Abena and Kofi's case, it appears that their mother, upon first meeting her children's friends, sternly warned them not to keep company with that person if he/she is deemed to be a bad influence. Others took a gentle, cautionary approach. This was part of the home and community support helping these children to navigate their education and acculturation, and it is further explored later in this chapter (4.7).

The parents' fixation on their children meeting their aspirations means that the importance of supporting their children with the issue of racism and bullying that they faced was not fully recognised. The pressure placed upon these children to conform to parental aspirations also has the propensity to add further stress to what the children are already grappling with in their education and acculturation in the UK. It could also be argued that parental choices fostered isolation of the children and prevented the children from fully engaging not only within the

school community but the local community at large. The school could have also done more to recognise and address these issues.

The literature indicates that migrant children experience bullying in schools (Condon, 2017; Ryan et al., 2010), including racial discrimination. This comprises being teased because of their accent, name-calling, violence and verbal assault feature as examples of bullying according (Hoare et al., 2011; Green et al., 2010; DfE, 2012). Kumi-Yeboah and Smith (2016) report that Ghanaian migrant children to the US were similarly mocked for their accents/linguistic and cultural differences.

Another reason stated to fuel the perceived challenging behaviour that some of these Ghanaian children may have exhibited is their desire to "fight" back. The fighting was their way of protecting themselves from the bullying they were subjected to, as teachers, and indeed, the school failed to distinguish those students who were deemed to be troublemakers from those who were crying out for help and may have a legitimate reason. However, this was misconstrued as challenging behaviour and the child wrongly dubbed as a "troublemaker". This fits Gillborn's (2006) assertion that Black students receive abrupt and often hasher responses from teachers when they are dealing with behaviour. Had some of the teachers taken the time to discover the root cause of the child's "apparent" challenging behaviour, they would have discovered that it was being caused by something that was beyond the child's control. The perceived stereotypical labelling of "Black" children as troublemakers may have contributed to not receiving appropriate support. This is discussed further in section 4.9.

It can be interpreted that bullying behaviours happened on account of the children's ethnicity, race and language, which could be racially exacerbated. Thus, it raises serious concerns about what the school did to safeguard these and all migrant students to feel safe, valued and supported, and diminish the hurtful and harmful treatments in their reception in the school. There was also a need for the students to be supported and given the platform or the opportunity to have the confidence to air their concerns and misgivings. Unfortunately, these

young people's experiences are all too common amongst the varied clusters of students from broader migrant backgrounds who continue their secondary school education in the UK.

A variety of areas that have impacted these children's learning have been explored in this section. The impact appears primarily to be negative and is further examined in section 4.9 regarding the school community. However, some areas have positively impacted the children's learning and acculturation in the UK, which are examined below and later in this chapter (see sections 4.6, 4.7 and 4.8). These include the diverse support they have received from their friends/peers, teachers, family and community.

Friendship and positive peer influence have aided the integration of all the nine children into the British school and society. These friendships were formed through associating with others as they played football (4 boys), drama/dance clubs (2 girls), football and dance club (1 boy), football and basketball (1) and school choir (1 boy). For example:

"... it was very hard 'cause my accent wasn't really that good. I got a lot of friends 'cause, I like playing football..." **(Kwame)**

"Yeah, friends, I got closer to them because of football mainly... I think, settling here and liking it has been mainly due to making (good) *friends."* **(Kwabena)**

"...I made lots of friends and that kind of encouraged me. At least I wasn't by myself all the time. So, me hanging with them made me more confident and know what's going on around the school." **(Kofi)**

"I have many friends...I've known them since year seven. So, I'm really comfortable with them, they're good friends. When I lost my mother, they were supportive. They were, like, telling me to stay strong, all telling me to be, like, stay in school, study." **(Ekow)**

"...it just feels different in drama club than in my class, because like in my class people are rude... in drama club, I feel more free to act, and well in my class, I am a bit scared of what my classmates are going to tell me. I go to dance club as well..." **(Araba)**

The children's responses provide a wide range of support gained because of friendship. Playing sports became instrumental in breaking language barriers for the majority of the boys, helping them to improve their accents. An interesting observation was the frequency in which *"changing accent"* was mentioned, and further emphasise the children's desire to "fit-in". Furthermore, the children's involvement in extra-curriculum activities helped them settle into

British schooling and culture and created strong bonds with their peers. Incidentally, Abena and her friends attended the same dance club that Araba attended and performed in two dance shows where I had the privilege of being a member of the audience. It is also worth noting here that Ekow has been a member of a dance group in the school which his father admits has *"helped him to settle in the UK and steered him away from a negative friendship group"*. However, he feels that Ekow must not *"pursue this extra-curricular activity professionally"*. Incidentally again, in a whole school awards ceremony assembly, I discovered that Ekow is one of the dance leaders who helps with year 6 transition to year 7, leading workshops and he received an award for this. Kwesi plays *"basketball for break and lunch"* and is *"now part of the basketball team in the school…"*. An interesting point made by the children, which sums up the importance of good friends in helping these children find their way in school and within the society are – *"without friends, I would feel lonely"* and *"At least I wasn't by myself all the time"* and the idea of joining the football and drama activities was self-directed.

The literature highlights the importance of children participating in extra-curricular activities and their impact on children's academic progress and lives (Freeman, 2017; Massoni, 2011; Demie and McLean, 2007). The provisions of extra-curricular activities in the school and the children's decision to take advantage of these opportunities to participate has proved invaluable. It has enabled them to make friends, mentor younger students, develop their confidence and regulate their learning and behaviour. Surprisingly, the data suggests that most of their good friends were of African ancestry and some have no friends from other ethnicities – some are by default whilst others are by choice:

"Most of my friends when I first came to the school were Nigerians because the person whom I was buddied with introduced him to his friends who are Nigerians. Hence, "all my friends are Black". **(Kwabena)**

"In Italy, all my friends were white; coming to the UK has given me the opportunity to associate with Black people as well..." **(Kofi)**

"...I don't feel comfortable around white people because I can't relate… I can act normal, and I can be myself [around Black people]; *they will not judge me because of the way I act."* **(Abena)**

Except for two of the children who have friends who are of Caucasian heritage and the ones most affected by negative peer influence, the rest appear to gravitate towards children of African heritage, particularly those from West Africa. Ryan et al. (2010: 15 and 16) discovered that, due to shared challenges encountered by migrant children, some might separate themselves into close-knit co-ethnic groups, their sense of identity drawn from shared linguistic capital, ethnicity and skin colour. It appears that in primary school and in KS3, the children have friends from other cultures and races; however, this changes as they get into KS4 and 5. The implication here is that the school may not be doing enough to foster and promote inter-cultural cohesion, especially if some of the bullying and teasing is racially aggravated. It could also be argued that parental separation acculturation views have contributed to this. It could further be argued that the United Kingdom, as a society itself, also perpetuates this divisiveness as alluded to in Hirsch's (2018) account of being Black British of Jewish decent, and exemplified by Kojo's experience of racism in his local community: *"...Black people get treated badly in (names local area) ... It's racism. It's really racism 'cause, ... I was walking on the street ... then some guy came with speed, he was just driving normal but when he saw me, he speeded with his car ... and then called me a "black monkey", and said if I didn't leave the road, he would ride me over..."* Such encounters within British society make migrants feel unwelcomed as evidenced in the review of literature on race and education, and the children's experiences of low teacher expectations and their placement in lower set classes (John, 2006; Gillborn 2006; Gillborn et al., 2012).

All the children attest to the positive impact of peers on their academics and linguistic development in the school and church community and have adapted to UK education and culture partly due to peer support/friendship. As the literature suggests, adolescents are easily

influenced by their peers (Tomé et al., 2012; Padilla-Walker & Bean 2009; You, 2011). Positive peer influence in the context of this study has come through relationships with peers both in school and outside the school where the students study/revise together and provided linguistic, emotional and academic support, particularly through engaging in extra-curricular activities such as football, dance, drama and music clubs.

4.6 Teacher support, relationships, stereotyping and low teacher expectations

Another area relevant to the lives of these children, which impacts their learning positively, is their teachers. All the nine children speak of teacher support enabling them to settle in the school and support their learning in various ways. The children perceive being bright, well behaved, and not giving teachers any problem as ways that enable them to have positive relationships with teachers. Added to this is self-responsibility to seek assistance from teachers who were willing to support these students after school. Brief EAL classes and teaching assistance support also proved helpful to some of these children. For example:

"My teachers were very helpful because in year 7, I was quite bright because everything was so easy for me, so all the teachers took a liking to me... They were always there to help me." **(Kwame)**

"I think being good in the class helps me to have a positive relationship with my teachers. They liked me because I didn't give them any problems like some of the other kids. Now in college, because of my positive relationship with my teachers, let's say if I am not able to meet a deadline and looking for extra time, they always give it to me. Also, because I'm always attending school and behaving properly, they even go out of their way to give me extra time and support even if I haven't asked for it." **(Abena)**

"W*hen I didn't understand something in class, I used to go to the teacher after the lesson and ask again. Sometimes, I would stay after school just to get extra help, but this was just at the beginning..."* **(Kwabena)**

Kofi: *...when I started, they put me with people that didn't speak English or understood it like me to help me pick up because if I was in the whole class, I can't pull away the teacher just to help me and I started catching up... it was with white kids as well those who need help with reading and writing, but they can speak English. ...like basic English; pronunciation, grammar...and if I wanted to ask questions it would be easy because the TA would be right there to help me.*

Teacher responses are presented below. All the teachers believe that Ghanaian migrant children generally do not require much academic support:

"... most of the time, the Ghanaian children that I have met, they speak well, they understand and some even write better than the English indigenous people. So, I haven't found them struggling with the language." **(Mr Quaicoe)**

But, *"Depending on their EAL level if they can't speak English at all, we use the first language dictionary to support them, we get word banks for them"* to enable the students to access *"scientific terms and to understand what we are teaching them"* (Mrs Nyamekye and Mr Mensah).*"Google translator"* is used as the default initial point of action by all the teachers in their quest to help Ghanaian and other migrant children who learn English as an additional language. However, "*If they have some level of English, it is a case of assisting them with pronunciation of words and spellings. ... it can be intimidating because they think, "I don't have the British accent so, I don't answer questions". ... most importantly, I give them indirect mentoring - kind of confidence booster and as a teacher and form tutor, on the pastoral side, helping them to build their confidence..."* **(Mrs Nyamekye)**

The statement above is supported by Mrs Owusu, in addition to homework, use of ICT facilities and emotional support:

"... In the IT room, they always show interest and go to extra sessions after school, ...I tend to build a rapport with them, (asking) *"What do you have to do?"; "Homework?" ...we start accommodating them and gradually helping them to settle down even if they just come for homework... they are always open to help, and I give extra support and encourage them to come after school if they have missed anything, especially those that have joined toward the middle or end of the course. I work with the parents as well as the child to make sure that all the missing gaps were filled. ... Because I am African myself - I believe I am more in tune in terms of helping them settle emotionally.* **(Ms Owusu)**

During observations of Ghanaian migrant children, (Abena and Ebo in particular), and from Ms Owusu account, one could conclude that some of the Ghanaian migrant children want to finish their homework at school before going home and therefore go to the IT suites to use the computers. Mr Appiah decorates his *"classroom with flags from countries of the world to help*

the migrant children to feel at home". He also finds it *"frustrating with the lack of resources available in the school, in general, to help migrant children, particularly, where students are being used to do the jobs of EAL teaching assistants under the guise "buddying system".*

Mr Osei, regarding his general perception of Ghanaian migrant children and especially about Kojo who is in his GCSE class, adds:

"... there's a very specific thing that I do when I'm marking their work which is helping them to phrase things in a much more straightforward way. **(Mr Osei)**

He then criticises the school community in its management of migrant children who may also have special educational needs:

"I think one of the things that we are very bad at (lowers voice) *as a school, is identifying the special educational needs of students for whom English is not their first language. Very, very bad at that! They think, look, they're not doing very well because English is not their first language and to kind of then not even bother intellectually to try and think, okay is that really what the issue is or is it another issue that if it was a white monolingual student, you'd go into things and go, hang-on, there might be something else going on that we need to identify. They'd put it down to the accessibility of the language and therefore there's no need to investigate anything further about that child's needs."*

Mr Osei has alluded to Mr Mensah's experience with the Ghanaian migrant child with SEN needs from Italy, who, being bullied, fought back, and was excluded - sent to an alternative provision school only to be brought back with the understanding that his behaviour was not the issue. Another example of the school community's stereotypical handling of Ghanaian migrant children or children of African ancestry when they first arrive in the school, specifically at KS4, is demonstrated in Mr Appiah remarks:

"I do think people stereotype ... well, he's from Africa, he is going to be able to play a drum. That sounds extreme in this case. No one's ever said that to me or admitted to it, but it does feel like that sometimes when you have kids dropped in your class and you think, why have you been put here, you've never done music. Someone must have thought, we can't put them in technology because that class is full. Let's just stick them with a drum and they can get a GCSE..."

This assertion by Mr Appiah appears to correlate with Mrs Nyamekye's point further down about children (boys) of African descent being *"encouraged"* to choose sporty subjects or a certain type of sport. Also, whilst teachers seem to be doing what they can to support migrant

children in general in their own classrooms, the lack of resources and some of the logistics of dealing with them on a whole school level, appear to cause frustration, particularly with funding as mentioned by Mr Appiah and experienced by Ms Panyin. Ms Panyin assessing Kwabena concluded that he has advanced bilingual skills yet states that she still "*gave him quite a lot of support"* when she was in lessons supporting other EAL students. This shows that he needed this level of support although he was deemed to be *"advanced bilingual"* and thus, did not meet the requirement for support. Kwabena states English was his most difficult subject. Parental views regarding teacher support are explored next.

Parents present two views about teachers: the first is teacher expectation whereby parents are informed of the progress and behaviour of their children at parents' evenings and the second deals with teacher expectation. Kwame's mother highlights earlier (section 4.4) that *"the teachers really did well"* not hiding Kwame's behaviour and lack of progress from her. Her gratitude towards how teachers supported her, and her son is evident:

"For me, I was shouting on him too much, but one of the teachers called me and said I shouldn't do that - if I keep doing that it will escalate. So, I listen to their advice, ... The support they give to him especially Mr T makes sure when he goes to the website and he (Kwame) *has not done his work, he will push him ... calling him and sending a text message, ... I can see the teachers have done really, really well; and I'm very pleased with that."* (**Kwame's mother**)

Kojo's mother also sides with teachers for disciplining her son:

"...discipline is coming from the school. I know he's being disciplined at school because sometimes he comes home like, "Ah, mummy." I'm like, "What?" And I know there's something wrong at school. "Ah, the teacher, I did this, and she was so angry." And I'm like, "Yeah, but if you do good, ..." (**Kojo's mother**)

The data generally shows that parents' perception of teachers is positive. It could also be said that supporting teachers against their children, particularly with regards to their child's discipline at school is typical of these Ghanaian parents. Discipline is highly esteemed in the raising of children in Ghana (Coe 2008). While all the parents are impressed with teacher support and relationships, there is a complaint about teachers' expectations of the children.

This is not against teachers alone but the English education system. Kwesi's mother wonders why her children and her friends (all boys) do not seem to aspire beyond grade B for their GCSE:

"Why don't they aim for more like A or A star, I did not get the chance to go further in my education, but I don't think accepting B is okay..."

She mentions a Nigerian teacher whom she believes was the only teacher in the school who tried to push her son to get an 'A' grade and was in constant communication with Kwesi's father. Evidently, Kwame was also pleased to get a 'B' in English**.** Mrs Nyameye believes children of African descent in the school (particularly boys) are encouraged by (white) teachers to go *"towards sports rather than pursue academic routes".* Could this be a race-related issue, and could Mrs Nyamekye's comments below offer a possible insight into this seeming lack of aspiration for boys?

"... believe that students of African descent tend to have more energy to do some particular sports like football or basketball, so they (teachers) *tend to push them towards that..."*

Araba and Kwabena's mother suggest that the Italian teachers demand more of the children than in the UK – *"they are never satisfied".* A viewpoint supported by two other parents. The children's statements about their perceived lack of challenge of the curriculum and poor behaviour preventing learning could be interpreted in two ways: either the teachers receive substandard work consequence of poor behaviour and are therefore easily satisfied or they are happy to see the Ghanaian migrant children doing well and are genuinely pleased with the high standard of work and behaviour produced by them.

In contrast, institutional racism, the disproportionality of the placement of these migrant children in lower set classes and inconsistencies and disparity with regards to how sanctions of students' behaviour are managed, contradicts the positive impact of extra-curricular activities and what individual teachers do to help these students. As these have been mentioned

above, they will not be discussed here. However, what will be discussed is the school's perceived low expectation of students of African descent. According to the findings, "*they're (particularly the boys) encouraged to go towards more sporting than the actual traditional route"*. This is further hinted by a parent who seems genuinely concerned about the idea that her son's teachers (with exception of one who is incidentally Black African) expected him to aim for 'B' (5-6) grades and not higher in his GCSEs. This is better indicated in the statement below: *"…in Italy, teachers are not satisfied… They want him, you know, to do better; but here, the little that the child is doing they compliment…"*. Notably, all the parents who migrated with their children from Italy raised this as an issue. One student's belief that he "passed" English because he *"got B"* in his GCSE English appears to confirm this assertion. *"Why not A?"*, a parent asked.

The literature firmly supports the systemic low expectation of teachers of Black children. Owusu-Kwarteng (2010) presents her personal experiences, as a Ghanaian child within English education, being encouraged to aim lower than her ability. Furthermore, Akomaning-Amoh's (2018) reports on Ghanaian students and parents highlighting the negative impact of teacher disbelief and low expectation. Ofsted (2019c) acknowledges that low teacher expectation can negatively impact a child's self-belief and attainment. Also, this low expectation can be linked to a student's ethnicity. The literature emphatically suggests that teachers have been known to hold negative views of students of African descent (Demie, 2003; Gillborn, 2007; Akomaning-Amoh, 2018). As educators, we have a responsibility to expect all students to excel without any form of presuppositions on their ethnicity, gender or creed.

The data suggests that these children were either placed in lower sets thoughtlessly or inaccurately assessed with regards to the school's admission test. Teachers' accounts suggest that this is due to their African heritage, rather than their literacy level or intellectual ability and supported by Coard (1971) and John's (2006) point about the perception of Black children's academic *ability* and their subsequent placement in schools or classes below their

aptitude. Akomaning-Amoh's (2018) recent study of Ghanaian students' educational experiences in London schools, reports on the placement of Ghanaian students in lower set classes regardless of their ability and especially when perceived as EAL. School assessment is intended to sort students before they are placed in a set seen to be appropriate for their academic ability, but this does not appear to work well for these Ghanaian migrant children, considering that one student was moved twice within a year, having been placed in the bottom set on arrival. Whilst the disproportionality of these students in lower set classes may be inadvertent as some were moved up, it raises questions of systemic institutional racism. Gillborn and Mirza's (2000) work spanning decades attests to the deliberate placement of children of African descent in lower set classes, where their attainment is adversely affected (Gillborn, 2006; Gillborn et al., 2012). Gillborn (2006) suggests various failings of the British education to meet the needs of Black students; he emphasised an institutional scale of racism where Black children are disproportionately placed in lower sets classes and entered for lower-tier examinations at the end of compulsory education. This view is underscored by Strand's (2012) longitudinal study and Akomaning-Amoh (2018). Gillborn also emphasises that, while appearing to be inclusive, the English education system is the main instigator of racial inequalities. It may be argued that, while the school has got some things wrong with regards to the children in this study, it is trying to put things right by moving some of these students from the bottom set, even if this depends significantly on advocacy from ethnic minority teachers. Institutional racism is discussed further in section 4.9.

Bourdieu's concept of reproduction would argue that what happens in society are reproduced in schooling. Bourdieu and Passeron's (1990) symbolic violence and social reproduction offer some explanation that the dominant group in the society perpetuates racial inequalities and maintenance of the status quo in education. While Bourdieu suggests that agents such as schools and teachers may not intentionally do this, the system of symbolic domination is so

entrenched in the educational system that its diverse players perpetuate these inequalities. Social and cultural capitals made up of the habitus of race, counter this through Black teachers advocating for these students (Bourdieu, 1998). The schooling field, in other words, 'helps to create and to enforce the legitimate exclusions and inclusions which form the basis of the social order' (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990: x), and 'societies which claim to recognise individuals as only equal in rights, the education system and it modern nobility only contribute to disguise, and legitimise, in a more subtle way the arbitrariness of the distribution of powers' (Ibid). Since the education system in Britain is charged with the responsibility to 'prepare not just most children but every child to make a success of their life', it is incumbent on schools to ensure that all its children are given the opportunity to excel regardless of their ethnicity or socio-economic background (DCSF, 2009: 6).

Another point that was raised as affecting these children's learning at the institutional level is that even though some arrived in the school seemingly speaking "good" English, they would have benefitted from receiving support with their writing in English. This appears to be most pertinent when they will be required to take their GCSEs in two to three years. Notably, an *EAL* student who achieves 'A*' in Italian, 'A' in Maths, 'B' in Science (Core), 'B' in Additional Science, 'B' in ICT having only schooled in the UK for eight months, has the potential to excel beyond a 'C' grade in English, with the right support. Equally, a student who appears very confident with speaking English, achieved grade '3' in English (see table 4.5 below). In both cases and subsequent others, these students were assessed and considered to be not requiring support. Perhaps the poor performance in English may have been exacerbated by the poor behaviour reported to be widespread in their bottom set classes.

Table 4.5 *Participants' attainment records made up of current (numerical 9-1) and previous (alphabetical A*-C) Office of Qualifications and Examinations Regulation (Ofqual) GCSE grading systems.*

Participants	Eng	Maths	Sci	Received Tuition	Heritage Language (H.L.) GCSE exam result
Ebo	4	4	4	No	H.L. not offered at GCSE
Kwame	B	C	B	Yes	H.L. not offered at GCSE
Araba	6	8	8	Yes	Italian - Grade 9 or A*
Ekow	3	3	3	No	Italian - A*
Kwesi	3	4	4	No	Italian - A
Abena	C	B	B	Yes	Italian - A
Kofi	7	8	9	Yes	Italian – 9 or A*
Kojo	3	3	3	No	Dutch - B
Kwabena	C	A	B	Yes	Italian - A*

It appears that those who did well in their GCSE are those who received tuition and those who were moved to the top or second set. It also appears that the strengths of these students seem to be in Maths and Science, emphasising the need for EAL support. Grade 3 essentially meant that the student did not pass their GCSEs in that subject and had to re-sit English and Maths in 6th Form. What the school (the EAL coordinator) has done well is encouraging the migrant students whose heritage language is offered at GCSE level to take their heritage language, enabling these children to obtain an additional GCSE in year 10; however, this support does not go beyond registering the students for the exam.

Good teacher relationships enable these Ghanaian children's learning to be positively affected, *'my relationships with teachers were very good. And if I get stuck with work, they were always there to help me"*. Having a positive relationship with his teachers helped him to become "unstuck" with work that he found challenging. Positive relationships with teachers translated into teacher support. It also provided one student with the confidence to approach his teachers after lessons where he had not understood an activity. Another, who was *"good in class"* earned privileges and favours from her teachers. Positive student-teacher relationships support students' social and academic performances (Baker et al., 2008; O'Connor et al., 2011). Interestingly, "good" and "respectful" behaviour towards teachers is suggested by these

children to produce “positive relationships” and earn them much teacher support with their schoolwork. These are social and ethnic capitals that these children have brought with them.

Whilst there appear not to be specific examples of students being ‘bright’, ‘good’ or ‘respectful’ towards teachers enabling positive teacher relationships in the literature, it presents an array of impacts that teachers have on the academic success and socialisation of students. Significant also is the impact of good behaviour on students that results from positive student-teacher relationships (O’Connor, Dearing, & Collins, 2011). Male’s (2010) study further accentuates that students (boys) work better for teachers that they like. Kumi-Yeboah (2016) also reports teacher support as a factor that promotes academic success and acculturation of Ghanaian-born children in the US, and thus, is a notable cultural capital for the Ghanaian children in this study. It afforded the students the opportunity to understand difficult concepts in lessons which helped them ‘adjust and improve in their academic work’ (Ibid:10).

This study argues that a Ghanaian migrant child (especially one who has not lived their entire life in Ghana) will require some level of support with their writing skills for exam purposes even if they appear to be proficient in speaking English. As noted by Yeboah & Smith (2016), Ghanaian migrant children to the USA struggled with the conceptual and cultural nuances between American and Ghanaian English. This appears to be the case in the UK amongst these children *“…calls ‘wallet’ a ‘purse’…”.* With the English language being the language of instruction, these children should be linguistically supported to excel in their education.

Perhaps had Kwabena been in the top Science set, where behaviour was apparently better, he might have achieved an ‘A’ or higher and had he been placed in second or top set for English and given support, again perhaps, he would have achieved higher than a “C” grade; similarly, Araba who achieved grade 6. Clearly, they are both able students. It could also be argued that although these children speak “good” English, it is because of the perceived low literacy level

of migrant children generally that decisions are made to place them in lower sets. It could equally be the lack of EAL support. The data suggest that the children would have benefitted from receiving EAL support. Kojo, whose spoken English was supposedly "fine" clearly required support. Ryan et al. (2010: 15&16) suggest that although the spoken language of migrant children appears to develop quickly, their understanding and proficient usage of English will require continued support; thus, one can argue so do the writing skills of these children, especially in English. While there have been failings in the school community on several levels, certain individual teachers have been vital in enabling these students to succeed in their education and acculturation.

4.7 The impact of home/family life on the children's learning and acculturation

Parental involvement in its various facets is important to the education and acculturation of migrant children. There was a collective acknowledgement amongst the children of the significance of their parents' support, advice and contribution to their education and lives, and their helpfulness. For example:

"…firstly, I have to say my parents definitely have helped me… **(Kwame)**

"My mom and dad give me advice that I need to learn or "go and read your book". Sometimes, they helped me with my homework, but as I got older, I did most of it by myself. They were always on my back to do my work…" **(Abena)**

"Also, the advice and guidance that my parents give me helps me a lot…" **(Kwabena)**

"My mum helps me a lot, she makes me do my homework. When I'm, like, not focused and I'm on my phone or I'm on the PlayStation, or I'm, like, outside … She makes me read books... She wants to make sure that I have a good education…" **(Kojo)**

"…my parents were really supportive...." My dad was giving me good advice and always talking to me about school, how I have to behave, and everything..." **(Ekow)**

The literature firmly supports the notion that parental involvement in the education of their children in its various dimensions (Eccles & Harold, 1996) does much to improve children's educational growth and prospects (Epstein, 1996; Jeynes, 2003). Studies suggest that the educational success of Black African children is driven by the high value that their parents

place upon education, including ‘good parental support’ and ‘high expectations’ (McLean 2007: 415 & 419). This is view is supported by Williams and Morris’ (2014: 10) study of Ghanaian and Nigerian students in London, where all the children reported active parental involvement in their education, forming the significant factor that contributed to their success in their GCSE. To these Ghanaian parents, ‘failure is not an option’, much like Williams and Morris (2014: 17) found about Ghanaian parents. Of course, this could also be said about most Caribbean parents of the African and Asian diaspora and as other migrant populations that perceive education as a pedal for social mobility (Yeoh, Huang & Lan, 2005; John, 2006; Gillborn et al., 2012; Andrews, 2013; Naidoo, 2015). The imaginations of migrant parents become a source of aspiration, especially when they are at a disadvantage as migrants (Naidoo, 2015: 106). Encapsulated in the parental involvement in this study are high expectations (Yamamoto & Holloway, 2010), the instillation of the value of education in their children (Williams & Morris, 2014; Kumi-Yeboah & Smith, 2016); partaking in school activities, e.g. home-school communication (Epstein, 1995, 2010) and school-related home activities (Sammons et al., 2007).

The parents’ perspective helps to create a broader picture of the children’s experiences and sheds more light on what the children have said. Parental support in acculturation and learning is paramount. This, the data suggests involves *monitoring, provision, advice and guidance – moral and spiritual and tuition/supplementary education.* All the parents regularly monitor the progress of their children. One of the ways this is done is by attending parent evenings:

“I have always gone to parents meeting…; I have discussions with my children's teachers about their improvement since they are coming from a different country. I discuss fully with the teachers about their English. I also find out what I can do to help them at home. Sometimes, I ask by calling and sometimes I go to the school to see their teachers even without parent evening, sometimes I wait for them to call me…” **(Abena and Kofi’s mother)**

They monitor to ensure that the children are learning and completing their homework. Where possible, they also support them with their homework, and see it as their duty:

"…it's my duty to make sure they do their homework and they do well… I used to sit with her to do the homework but now, she is older… I do sometimes, I help the little ones more…" **(Abena and Kofi's mother)**

"...I used to go through his stuff and books to make sure that he has done his homework; I have to be strict because you know these kids if you don't keep an eye on them..." **(Ekow's father)**

*"… sometimes there are some things he doesn't understand, he asks me. But I see that most of the time, he has his laptop with him or my iPad… I see him doing his homework, I'm like, "He's doing well..." (***Kojo's mother)**

There appear to be some challenges to parents' giving help due to differential teaching methods between the parental knowledge and current teaching method. Ebo's father explains that he feels that the differences in teaching methods in the UK are sometimes a hindrance to giving help.

"…this system of education is different from ours back home. ... So, I don't want them to learn something from me that will confuse them. I am very good in maths and there was a particular problem that I tried to help him with but the method that I was using was different to the one that he has been taught here, even though we arrived at the same answer, the method was different, so I didn't want to teach them continuously to confuse him."

The parents also monitor their children's general behaviour both in school and in the wider community. Kwame's mother enrolled in their local library to see if Kwame was in the library and doing what he said he was doing there. Ebo's father drives to school unannounced to see what he is up to after school. This could be perceived as extreme monitoring but could also show the extent to which these Ghanaian parents are prepared to go to ensure their children are on the right path in life and in their education:

"...I registered myself in the library, anytime he said he's going, I go the same time disguising myself without him seeing me, ...I will see him playing video games on the computer... So, when I see him like that, I just reveal myself and I say Kwame, ntem! "Quick" (she gestures with her hand to indicate hurry and move). *When I speak to him like that, he knows I don't like what he's doing, so immediately he will stop and follow me. …"* **(Kwame's mother)**

"...At times, I finish work, and I will come and hide myself ... As soon as they close from school, I will be seeing them and watching their behaviour. Two years ago, I came to Ebo's school; he closed from school and he was seeing some girls off before he came, as soon as they said their goodbyes he turned and saw me, come and see this guy (meaning he was so scared). *So, I said to him, you never know when I will be coming there so always be alert and be very careful… I just wanted him to behave well at all times…"* **(Ebo's father)**

The reason behind his action is so that his children *"will behave well at all times"*. He thanks, his wife for supporting his decision which he believes helps to promote unity.

According to the data, another way the parents support their children is by providing them with the necessities so that they are not tempted into dangerous pursuits. **Kojo's mother** *"make sure my children… don't lack anything";* Kwame's mother save money to buy the expensive Nike trainers he wants and Abena and Kofi's mother does not want her effort and investment as a parent to go to waste.

These experiences and relationships at home are an integral part of aiding the learning and acculturation of these Ghanaian children in their English education and society. Whilst traditional roles exist in Ghanaian households where the father is perceived as the head of the home, both parents take active roles and interest in raising the children, especially where the parents are still together (whether living transnationally or not). However, these roles are sometimes constructed or executed differently. For example, there is a level of authority that the father figure commands in a Ghanaian household (Boni, 2001); the mother may deal with some behavioural issues regarding the children in the context of this study, but serious misdemeanours about the children's behaviour and progress in school are reported to the father for correction. As one father said: *"there is* a *level of fear* (respect) *that the children have for me".* Additionally, major decisions are left to the father whilst the wife is in a supportive role (Boni, 2001). This is not only exemplified in the decision for the mothers to migrate with the children, but in a father's comments - *"she supports me in any decision".*

The authority of the father figure often serves to keep the children 'on track' with regard to school and within the community. The mother has a similar impact on the child's education and behaviour. Asima's (2010: 191) study of beliefs on gender relations amongst Ghanaian migrants in London found that the Ghanaian nuclear families co-managed their children, and 'daily social reproduction' was habitually negotiated and co-constructed between father and

mother. The study also suggests that although a minority, the women reported that their own and their friend's children 'turned out well' and were 'leading exemplary lives' in the UK where they have been raised with traditional values and discipline with the father in charge of the discipline (Asima, 2010: 199).

The parents of these children (male and female) are supportively and actively involved in their children's education and acculturation. This includes monitoring, provision, home education and support with homework, parenting, attending parent evenings advice and guidance at the academic and religious levels. This form of parental capital appears to be a feature of all the parents in this study. They all see it as their *'duty* and *'responsibility'* to monitor their children's progress academically and socially. Also, it appears that in as much as considerable respect is attributed to the authority of teachers by these Ghanaian parents (Demie & Mclean, 2007), they are not passive recipients of teacher information about their children but are co-communicators and participants. It appears that parental level of education does not in any way hinder the educational support that the children are given; where they are unable to give educational support, they make-up with tuition or supplementary education. This finding was evident also in Williams and Morris (2014). Whilst these support mechanisms have been helpful, as indicated above by the children, some were draconian in nature and may have prevented the children from having richer acculturation experiences. It also prevented them from being entirely truthful with their parents about their whereabouts or what they are doing as they feared punishment. Also, excessive monitoring of the children within the community, for example, random visitation to patrol the streets after school to see how the child is behaving in public, produces fear and cause undue stress to the children. It is such parental actions that make Ebo *"scared"* of his father.

Supplementary schools facilitate the learning of children of African descent in the UK to progress academically (Evans and Vassie, 2012). In supporting their children to progress academically, these Ghanaian parents employ teachers to provide one to one home tuition

costing '*£150 per child a month or £20 per hour per child',* and in some cases, take the child to supplementary schools costing less, where they cannot afford private tuition. This is mainly for English, Maths and Science or tailored to the need of the child.

Table 4.6 *Participants who received tuition/supplementary education*

Child	Received tuition	Seeking private tuition at the time of interview	Parent sought tuition but the child did not want it	Parent did not indicate
Ebo				Yes
Kwame	Yes			
Araba	Yes			
Ekow		Yes		
Kwesi			Yes	
Abena	Yes			
Kofi	Yes			
Kojo				Yes
Kwabena	Yes			

Whilst two families did not volunteer the information (Ebo and Kojo), six of the parents sought tuition for their children and five out of the nine children received supplementary education. This was mainly on a one-to-one basis at home and primarily for Mathematics and English.

"I pay someone to come home to teach them and it cost me £150.00 a month for them to improve. I had a teacher coming to teach them from Year 7 to year 10. In year 11, she joined a tuition school where they teach them in groups… I am not concerned about the money; my concern is that they will have a better education and better future, and I will do whatever I have to do to help them succeed in life." **(Abena and Kofi's mother)**

"I'm trying to find him the tutor, but if I ask him, he keeps saying he's fine. His maths is very good. He has to have someone to support him in the English, but he keeps saying "No!"." **(Kwesi's mother)**

"Last time we were discussing about a teacher coming home to teach him... I am not good with all things academical, so if someone can help him; I wanted him to have someone teaching him at home..." **(Ekow's father)**

For two of the children, tuition (English) commenced in Italy before migration as the parents wanted the children to be equipped with the English language:

"Actually, in Italy, we ... were having an English teacher who came to the house to teach them English. …we wanted them to learn the English language because there was a problem that the Italian children, when they go back home to Ghana, the English language was a problem. So, we decided that they have extra classes to teach them the English language at home even before we decided to come to the UK." (**Araba and Kwabena's mother)**

If it had not been difficult to secure home tuition in English for Abena and Kofi, they would have begun tuition in Italy as well. All the five children attest to the helpfulness of supplementary education in aiding their learning:

"I used to have tutoring before, that has help me…Well, he used to come to my house every Saturday for one hour to two hours and help us with we what we need… Apart from teaching us, if I didn't understand my schoolwork, then he will help me with that as well." **(Kofi)**

"When I was doing my GCSEs, my parents took me to a tutoring group and I went three times a week, from 5-7pm… From January to July. ...It was helpful because we did work that prepared me for my GCSE…" **(Abena)**

"*My mum got me private tuition at home to help me with English and Maths. It helped, definitely!"* **(Kwabena)**

Evidently, these Ghanaian parents are concerned about the achievement of their children and are willing to pay for services that enable their children to do well at school and many migrants parents usually do (Yeoh, Huang and Lan, 2005; Andrews, 2013; Naidoo, 2015). Williams and Morris' (2014) study found that the level that the parents supplemented their children's education (private one to one or in groups), was predicated on their socio-economic status. Here, the majority used private tuition until year 11 where one child's education was supplemented in a group context. Utilising Van de Werfhorst's (2010) statement about economic capital and the educational success of children from privileged backgrounds, it could be argued that the Ghanaian parents in this study, although not "privileged" or "affluent" (see section 4.2), were able to, in their own way, use the "economic" and "cultural" capital they may possess to provide their children with supplementary education.

Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital encompasses the tangibility of objects or substance in addition to a person's thinking and actions informed by their predisposition (Bourdieu 1986; Trainor, 2010). Cultural capital is, therefore, informed by a person's mode of thinking and action as well as disposition. To Bourdieu, children who are most successful in the schooling game are those who already know by their disposition, who they are and where they come from. Some of the cultural capitals that count for school success, which are both constructed

on and comprehended in material differences, manifested as social, cultural and economic possessions (Thomson, 2002). These Ghanaian parents, supplementing their children's education, enabled them to compete and excel in a setting engineered to reproduce the societal inequalities and social order that treats migrant children and children of African origin as the 'other'.

Whilst these children are benefitting from the current supplementary education, there is a historical perspective that has made this possible. Supplementary education is rooted in Black resistance to racism in education, colonialist curricula and the failure of the British education system to adequately provide for Black children (Andrews 2013). British education continues to fail Black children. As highlighted previously, this is in the form of the overrepresentation of Black children in bottom set classes and the continual low expectation of teachers of Black children (Gillborn, 2006).

In this study, the concept of capital has manifested in various ways and can be interpreted as attributes and commodities aiding these children to settle in the UK and navigate their education and socialisation. Whilst some of the parental actions can be perceived as posing a challenge to the socialisation and acculturation of the children, the data also shows that all the parents tried to provide extra help in a variety of ways regardless of the challenges.

Another way in which these parents cater for their children is through advice where they are seemingly guided to make the right choices as well as deal with challenges as they become accustomed to the UK. Kofi's mother, advising and supporting him to deal with a racist comment when he first arrived in the UK, states:

"I advised him to let it go, ignore the boy and focus on his education/learning. Because this is how life is in countries like this where you are a foreigner. You are troubled like this all the time and it's not just here. So, he listened and let it go."

Abena and Kofi's mother:
"I advise them every day and help them to make right choices, this is how we can achieve more on the motive why we came to the UK."

Kwesi's mother:
"I constantly tell them they should learn hard so that they can become a better person in the future. When they grow older, they gonna need money, but if you don't have a good foundation, it is going to be harder in later life."

"*It is very important for me to bring up my children in a godly manner. Also, her life will be safe. For example, she wouldn't be walking around like some of these girls moving around with boys and getting pregnant and stop her education... It is my responsibility to make sure she grows up in a godly way, and also to concentrate on her studies and to respect and not to go astray - that she grows up to be a responsible woman and make right choices in life."* **(Abena and Kofi's mother)**

Advising, cautioning or guiding the children includes a religious component which is intended by these parents to serve as a resource for their children to live principled, morally motivated lives and to learn to make the right choices. Behind this rationale is their desire to prevent their children from straying, to provide, protect and secure their children's future:

"…When she's older, she will work and earn her own money and then she can have a family and look after herself and her children and family." **(Abena and Kofi's mother)**

"… So that maybe they would get a job in the future. … they will get the job for what they have studied for… Another thing is making sure that he is safe." **(Ekow's father)**

"… I talk to him, saying "You know, we are OK, but we are not that rich. So, don't look at what people do, and what people buy and think "they have this, they have that." Your time will come. There's going to be a time, you're going to work for yourself… Life is not a competition…" **(Kojo's mother)**

As with other migrant parents, an essential component of the thinking of these Ghanaian parents is the importance of education being a lever for social mobility; hence, the inculcation of the value of education in their children (Owusu-Kwarteng, 2010; Kumi-Yeboah and Smith 2016) to ensure that their children succeed not just educationally, but in life. The children also emphasised parental support and advice to be pivotal aspects of their academic and acculturation success. As has been found in this study, the parents perceived their children as agents in need of guidance as the literature suggests (Adu-Gyamfi, 2014). Also, represented in the beliefs of these Ghanaian parents about the concept of childhood and discipline is that children must respect their parents and elders (Adu-Gyamfi, 2014; Twum-Danso Imoh, 2013). This forms the basis for parent-child relationships and the guiding principles that these parents

appear to apply in bringing up their children. The values of respect, moral and ethical living also form part of their familial and cultural beliefs. This can take the form of what is called "advice" (afutu/proverbs), 'tales and myths' or sayings (Gyamfi, 2014: 6). Other fundamental principles that these parents believed must be inculcated into their children are being responsible and obedient. Supporting this finding is Twum-Danso Imoh (2013:477) who found that within the Ghanaian setting, 'responsibility, respect, obedience, honesty, humility and reliability are core principles that are believed children must be taught (Twum-Danso Imoh, 2013: 477). These ideas of child-rearing appear to represent the basis of what these parents' parenting styles are situated (Coe, 2008; Twum-Danso Imoh, 2013; Adu-Gyamfi, 2014).

The pursuit of educational excellence at all cost causes a parent to advise her child to '*ignore'* a racist comment made against him. This is unhelpful in enabling the children to rely on the parent to effectively manage and tackle the issue of racism. How is this child able to manage the future occurrence of racism that appears to be prevalent towards people of Black African heritage in the UK and in the school as the literature and the findings of this study have indicated? Part of parental duty is to equip their children to be able to self-manage some of the challenges of life. The demand and greater emphasis placed on the children to succeed educationally appears to be lopsided, and thus, insufficient in the context of their socialisation and resilience in tackling racism. There is a need for a balanced approach and simply ignoring racism and *focus[ing] on his education/learning* is not good enough.

Part of the socialisation in the acculturation and education of these children is their religious beliefs. Utilising Bourdieu's framework of 'capital' being product acquired and convertible for a person's use (Bourdieu, 1984). The children's religious beliefs in the context of this study, may be viewed as an asset to their children and may form a part of their upbringing that develops resilience and may provide hope in challenging situations or build character. All the

children expressed ways that they believe their faith enables them to make right choices and deal with challenges. For some, it is the ability to study, pass their exams and to face the challenges that they encounter in their acculturation process. For example:

"My faith in God made me less scared of being in a new country." **(Araba)**

*"Like, when I go through challenges, yeah, I pray to God…"***(Abena)**

*"I started taking church more seriously and now like, an usher in the church…; n*ow, we *"visits those who are sick in the community and pray for them with my* church youth group. **(Kojo)**

"*It guides me on how to live my life. I could've fallen into bad friends and not knowing what was right. I believe that being a Christian helps me to make good decisions."* **(Kofi)**

"… going to church and listening to the preaching and following some of the things that the bible says have all helped me to be who I am." **(Kwabena)**

*"I've been taking every sermon the pastor says seriously. And sometimes, yeah, the sermon touches my heart so much, like, they grab my attention for like a good one hour and a bit listening to it." (**Ebo**)*

"… if something happens, like, if I knew somebody, like my auntie, uncle, cousin, anyone. I pray, straight up. I dunno, I just feel good when I pray... **(Ekow)**

Faith appears to play a significant role in the lives of these children and appears to serve as important support, enabling them to adjust to living in the UK.

Dumangane's (2017) study supports the notion that faith is not only an asset in motivation for academic success, including empowering the participants to navigate difficult or challenging situations whilst growing up but also to positively impact the educational hopes of young people (Regnerus 2000).

It is generally found that migrants and transnational families inculcate high educational values in their children to facilitate 'social, cultural and symbolic capitals' for their future (Yeoh, Huang and Lan, 2005: 312). The parents' desire for their children to do well in school and to positively acculturate into the English education and society is also reinforced by their awareness of the need for the children to choose the right friends who will influence them positively. Measures in dealing with negative peer influence included curfews; parental

registration at the local library to ensure that the child is where he/she claims to be, and outright banning of friends believed to be a bad influence. This perhaps reflects the concept of childhood and the parent-child relationship described above. Whilst this may be perceived to be extreme by others, to these parents, it appears to be their means of protecting their children from a culture where they perceive children can be “unruly”, “disrespectful” and “rude” and fear ‘losing’ their children to it (Coe, 2008: 23). Asima’s (2010) study highlights the idea that most adult Ghanaians perceive the Ghanaian youths abroad to be disrespectful to adults whilst the young people perceive the adults as archaic and want to exert power over them.

Seemingly, these Ghanaian children believe that the parenting and support that they receive enables them to focus, behave, learn and progress in school and within the community. This is perhaps due to the cultural capital which they possess having grown up outside the UK. Notwithstanding, the findings from the focus group suggesting that there is a level of freedom that they should be allowed by their parents for them to make some mistakes in order to learn from them - *“It’s better to let your child see how it would be so that in the future, he won’t make the same mistakes.”* Whilst the children want to be guided, they also want to be allowed the freedom to chart some courses that enable them to gain the life experiences that they can learn from.

Notably, part of their parenting strategy in preventing their child from sourcing what they want from dubious quarters (negative peer influence and pressure) is to make a concerted effort to *‘save and buy expensive trainers’* for their child. Another motivation for doing this is so that the child will focus on his/her learning and desire to excel instead of concerning themselves with things considered to be parental responsibility. Thus, protecting their children to secure their academic progress and ultimately their future.

Parenting can have a lasting impact on children’s lives; this includes their ‘personality, orientations, life choices and general well-being’ (Owusu-Kwatey, 2010: 39). In Dumangane

(2017: 876), we are reminded that social capital within the family and the community builds 'young people's future human capital which emerges from the development of community norms, expectations and values arising from close personal relationships and ties'.

To these parents, acculturation of their children means that the child is focused, behaving and excelling in school whilst behaving at home and making and moving with the *"right friends"* who influences their children positively. In a neoliberal environment, the outlook encouraged is that children should be allowed to be individuals who are given the opportunity by their parents to be independent and accountable, rather than parental aspirations that may appear to stifle them and prevent their independence and individuality as they learn about their new society, culture whilst pursuing formal learning in a new education system.

The children's acculturation and tensions with parents

Acculturation, involving familial variation, applies to this study where family members have acculturated differently or at different rates (Berry, 2005). The family is a crucial context for the acculturation of migrant adolescents (Berry et al., 2012). The young people's experiences of challenging behavioural issues and peer pressure signify attempts to "fit-in" whilst the parents' represents the separateness, as they aimed to protect their children from what they perceived to be an unruly society, thus, creating tension between the children's collective, and to some extent, individual acculturative experiences to that of parental expectation. The children have adopted Berry's integrationist model whilst the parents, the separationist. The children want the freedom to explore and engage with and adapt to their new society whilst retaining elements of their familial values, cultural values and upbringing. The parents, in contrast, want to shield them. The differential acculturation goals are what Berry refers to as acculturative conflict/stresses. Even amongst the parents, there is a variation of the dynamic of acculturation where one parent (Kwame's mother), who starts as separatists, began to negotiate with the son to find harmony so as not to *"lose"* him (Coe, 2008), a process that

Berry (1980) describes as ‘acculturation strategies’ - a means by which ‘groups or individuals seek to go about their acculturation’ to generate harmony (Berry, 2005: 700). Abena and Kofi’s mother openly rejected and rid her house and children of any friends whom she perceives to be of “bad influence”. Parental active encouragement of their children to attend predominantly Ghanaian churches and to engage with that community can also be an attempt to separate their children from truly engaging with the wider British society. Ghanaian parents fear ‘losing’ their children to the system, beliefs and values of the host country that conflicts with theirs as found in Coe’s (2008) study, thus, supporting the findings in this study.

Berry et al. (2012) explain that migrant parents desire to teach their children the values that they have brought. This is also true in this study. These values normally conflict with that of their new society. Again, the data suggest this to be the case in some instances. Thus, migrant parents and their children experience greater value disparity in their families than those in their place of settlement which causes conflict amongst migrant families (Berry et al., 2012). Whilst there have been tensions between these parents’ desire for their children to follow the values of respect and education as well adhere to their religious beliefs, the acculturative stress and conflicts proposed by Berry (2005) have been somewhat minimal, mainly centring on friendship, behavioural choices and in some cases, less focus on learning. On the other hand, the children appear to embody and practice the values of respect, placing importance on learning, behaving well as well as adhering to some of their parents’ religious views having embraced it themselves although some to a lesser extent. Children, especially adolescence, must be allowed to make some decisions and choices with parental support and guidance rather than complete parental control as has been found with some of the parents.

4.8 The role of the community (including church and school) in helping the students to adapt to living in the UK and progress in their schooling

All the parents and their children go to Ghanaian (black) majority churches (except for one black and white mixed), which appears double as their Ghanaian community association.

Although four of the parents currently belong to Ghanaian associations and the children at times attend Ghanaian community gatherings such as parties/weddings, it is the church community that they attend which primarily serve as their Ghanaian community/association:

"... it's only church, just work, church and home. The people in the church are Ghanaians. The children also come with me and this is the Ghanaian community that we have..." **(Abena and Kofi's mother)**

"...only the church. Sometimes they go to Ghanaian parties with me and with their cousins."

(**Ekow's father)**

The benefit of the associations/community (apart from religious functions) is the financial, social and cultural capital and support that it provides:

"...We help each other! If you are organising a party, we come and help you; if you are doing a funeral. And in terms of money as well, like if you lost your mother or father, we've got a particular amount we give to support you to bury them. (**Ebo's father)**

These associations and community serve as support for these Ghanaian migrant parents and their children in various capacities – identity, financially and emotionally particularly when there is a celebration or bereavement. This begs the question that apart from the moral, spiritual/emotional guidance and support it appears to offer, as well as the strength (capital) that the children have stated it provides when faced with challenges, how do the children's Ghanaian communities support with their acculturation in Britain educationally or otherwise? According to the children, part of their community socialisation is in the church, attending youth services/programmes, which they suggest helps them form their identity linguistically, culturally and socially.

"...I am part of the youth group and we have our own service. Also, events like fashion shows. I have friends in church and they help me with learning English...They actually remind you from where you have come from, your culture, who you are; that you have a culture, and you get to understand your culture more and you get to see how the culture is. I feel that I belong because everyone is the same." **(Abena)**

"... we have our (youth) *programs. Sometimes we talk about racism, our history; how we found it difficult in this country. Basically, we all feel like we've been through the same*

things… We talk about racism because it is an experience that almost everyone has gone through in this country being a Black person…" **(Kofi)**

"…like in the summer, they have a programme that lasts a month called... they do activities, like sports, music, they pray, and they preach and speak to us about how to organise our lives and make an impact in our generation..." **(Kwabena)**

"… it's like this big group for young people… and we have, like, Saturday where we go to the movies or we go bowling, or we go and visit someone who is sick, and pray for them… it's helping me to, like the place better 'cause I have, like, this big, big, very big family in church… **(Kojo)**

"*Like on a Sunday, they're like, "guys, make sure you get prepared, tomorrow you have school, the Lord is with you." They're really supportive, especially me that I lost my mum. They're always like, "ah, are you alright?" I think it was a few weeks ago, they came to my house and like asking my dad if everything was alright. I thought it's good, 'cause obviously they care about what's going on..."* **(Ekow)**

"The adults there always encourage me to learn hard and be a good person. Whether I know them or not, if they are near me, they talk to me and find out what I am doing at school and they advise me to learn…" **(Abena)**

The church engages with these young people in a variety of ways – discussing issues around racism, language and identity; fashion shows and educating them about issues that affect them as migrant (African) children to help them deal with the challenges of migration and life in the UK. In validating what the children and parents have said concerning the role that the church/Ghanaian community play in the lives of these Ghanaian migrant children, Mr Quaicoe, who is also a church elder and has first-hand experience working with Ghanaian migrant children in his own and the churches supplementary schools, provides a multi-layered account and examples of how Ghanaian migrants (and British born Ghanaian ancestry children) are supported with their education and acculturation in the UK:

"…my Pastor himself, he's a teacher ... he has established a tutoring school… it's becoming something that is really helping the Ghanaian community. ... In fact, the church is helping! For example, all those who are in year 11, last Sunday he approached me because I teach in a Saturday school as well... He's invited me to come and support all those year 11 students in our church for a three-day program as they prepare for their GSCE exams… Every holiday we will be supporting them until they do their exams..."

He adds that the church has a variety of social activities for all Ghanaian children:

"We've got so many social programs for them actually. Every term, we book a bus for them and they travel somewhere. Next June, we're planning to take a trip to Spain. It's very good…"

He adds that, in addition to the free tuition and social activities for support, their desire is to use biblical teachings to help shape and guide the children to make the right choices in life:

"… We tutor the children so that they will hold fast to the word of God and to their education; have a good future and to contribute to the society. ...we try to teach them Ghanaian principles, like obeying and respecting your parents, teachers and adults. They are taught the principles of the bible... Doing this helps them to form a character in this country that helps them to focus in their schools and lessons, so that they can learn.

He further highlights the issue of racism as one of the motivations for this teaching, thus, corroborating what Kofi and Kwabena have mentioned as topics discussed in their youth meeting in church:

"Also, we know that there is so much racism... And they're also kind of talked to about businesses and jobs that they can do in the future and aim also to become managers and be in a position of influence." If these children don't learn from home and from the church, we might be setting them up to fail in the future in this country.

In addition to biblical teachings, the children are given career and business advice.

What has been described by Mr Quaicoe could be seen as communal responsibility enabling the children, parents and the Ghanaian community to succeed as migrants in the UK: *"We are all in this together!"* Except for tuition provision in her Ghanaian church community, the reverend minister narrated similar sentiments which has not been repeated here. Also, Mr Quaicoe's comments do not deviate from those of the children and parents. Furthermore, it should be noted that even though they all attend different church communities, there is a shared vision and values.

The children's socialisation in the church reveals a strong link with their religious communities. Agbiji and Swart (2015) suggest that religion/faith is interwoven in African society and informs their views of traditions, values, principles, morals, behaviour and social relationships (Mbiti, 1999). Chitando et al. (2013) also argue that Africans unconsciously resort to their religious faith to cope with situations of life not only within their country of

origin but also in the diaspora as has been found in this study. Arthur (2008: 101) suggests that such organisations, associations and religious connections form 'the centrepiece of Ghanaian migration culture'. Tonah (2007) indicates that it is how they cope with the challenges related to migration and being a migrant. If 'capital' is a commodity acquired and convertible for a person's advantageous use (Bourdieu, 1984), then religious belief/faith, in the context of this study, is an asset to these children and has partly aided their educational success and acculturation in England.

In responding to the question of how this community aids the educational and acculturative success of these children, it can be perceived to serve as an arena where these children can meet like-minded children or children of similar habitus and field made up of faith, culture and ethnicity. A place where through discussions and teachings, they share their experiences both as Ghanaian migrant children and young Black children in the United Kingdom. It also serves as a place where the children and their families can continue to form associations with their Ghanaian community for support and to reinforce their Ghanaian roots as migrants abroad (Arthur, 2008).

In addition to providing pastoral support and serving as a place of social and cultural capitals, it also serves as a place for free supplementary education where the children are tutored, mentored, supported and prepared for their GCSEs and other exams. Whilst this may not be overtly political as Black supplementary schools were in the past (John, 2006; Andrews, 2013), it is worth noting that it is educating young Black people (predominantly of Ghanaian descent) about issues of race within British society. John (2006: 580) would argue that whilst this type of supplementary education might be nurturing the educational development of our youths within the churches' individualised efforts, it does not go far enough, in that Black churches being 'the most organised and potentially powerful social institutions in black communities…' in Britain, have a collective responsibility to fight to bring about social justice and social change with regards to racism in British society. 'The black churches need to see

themselves as having a historical responsibility to bear witness in this present age, not by enabling their followers to take pharisaic delight in proclaiming that they are born again… but by getting their hands dirty and their shirts bloodied and confronting the systematic racial and social oppression that the majority of people in the society face' (John, 2006: 580).

4.9 School community: teachers, racism and lack of support

According to Janta and Harte (2016: 29), it is an acknowledged fact that, in the host societies, schools play major roles in the integration process of migrant children and this section explores the school community impact on these migrants. This section will primarily focus on grievances: teachers and racism.

It is evident that teachers have been supportive to these Ghanaian migrant children in a variety of ways; however, their relationships with teachers have not been without challenges as explored earlier. The students expressed concerns about how they have been unfairly treated by teachers or staff members. Some were race-related, whilst others were unclear. Ekow explains that his maths teacher seems to single him out when dealing with behaviour, especially where he is not the main culprit, and believes this "teacher doesn't like" him:

Ekow: *...But my maths teacher* (pauses)*... When I'm doing the work, yeah, imagine I get a bit distracted, he will just be like, "you, do the work!" Like, the way he will do - it looks like he doesn't like me. He'd treat me different than other people … imagine me and you were talking, imagine you start the conversation, and he sees that you started the conversation, but will be like, "Ekow, stop talking!" Why are you telling me because he started the conversation? Do you get what I mean? But he knows as well. That's my point.*
R: *So, how do you deal with that in your lesson?*
Ekow: *I just ignore it; I just do my work.*

In the focus group discussion, the children reveal further grievances concerning teachers: Kwame explains that he did not like his English teacher in year 10 because she told him that he will fail when he tried to help his peers who were struggling:

Kwame: *… coming to this school, I really decided to enjoy myself because I usually get along with almost every single teacher. Except for my English teacher* (in year 10), *yeah, I didn't like her.*
R: *Why?*

Kwame: *'Cause basically, I come into the class, I try to help other people 'cause obviously I have the higher grade. And she decides, shouting at me, telling me I'm gonna fail and all of that, but- thankfully, yeah, I passed it. I got a B.*

This sentiment is echoed by Ebo, who, in trying to help teachers, was met with hostility. Raising a similar issue of what he saw as racism. In the focus group interview, Ebo states:

Ebo: *... some teachers in school are very, very racist!*
R: *Has this been your experience?*
Ebo: *(*Emphatically) *Yeah! From my experience yeah, in this school! ... unbelievable! But obviously, I take it all as a life lesson, init?*
Kwame: *You live and learn, init?*
Ebo: *I take it as a life lesson, ... So, this is what they gonna do, so sometimes I find a situation, which I had done, yeah but the opposite race, and run to the teachers to see ... if what they are going to do would be different from mine and yes, it was different. A teacher from here gave me an hour detention because I was getting rude to a student. But meanwhile, the student was the one that started on me first and I just said one thing and just left it, yeah, that student went on crying to that teacher. Because the student was white and crying as well; the head of that house was white as well, he got very angry and didn't even listen to my side. When I started to talk, they told me to be quiet, yeah and should accept the fact that I was wrong and gave me an hour's detention. I had to go to my head of house and explain the whole situation to him; he went to that teacher to bring it down to half an hour...that's when I realised that you cannot trust that teacher.*

Ebo believes that he was not the instigator of the situation but because both the teacher and the child student were white, he was not listened to. Moreover, he was harshly and unfairly punished. He states that he has tested the situation where the roles were reversed (i.e. he was the victim) to see if the response would be in his favour but discovered that it was not. This led him to believe that some of the white teachers are "racist" because he, being of African descent, was treated differently in similar circumstances.

A startling revelation came from Ekow about a member of staff who was racist towards him, but he did not do anything about it:

Ekow*: ... I don't think the racism with teachers in this school is that deep ... but there are a few; I am not going to mention names. A student used to come to this school and ... the mother's sister worked here too. We got excluded for completely different reasons, but it was around the same time. ... the mother's sister comes up to me and says, "you better stay away from my son, otherwise you'll see what's gonna happen to you, you black 'C' word".*
R: *Is this a worker in this school?*
Ekow: *Yes, and still works in this school. I didn't want to report it; cos, at the end of the day, she's kind of like an old lady, init?*
R: *Why didn't you report it?*

Ekow: *To be honest, I don't think it's that deep. And at the end of the day, people like that are still going to be like that... (**Pauses**) When she said it to me, I was really cheeky at the time, so I said to her, I was like "Miss, you're really rude".* (Dramatises his voice and physicality to show how he said it which causes all to laugh out loud). *And I just walked away... At the end of the day, I am the better person… I am not bothered by what you think about me. I am who I am and if she wants to think that black people are like that, that's her own, init? ...*

Ebo rightly scolds Ekow for not challenging the member of staff in question; explaining that failure to hold the person accountable for their racist demeanour allows such behaviours to be perpetuated, saying *'you should challenge those having that mindset'.* Kojo speaks in Ekow's defence explaining that it is best to maintain one's decorum:

Kojo: *… if you are being discriminated against because of your skin colour, you should always be respectful, no matter what.* (Ebo tries to interject) *What Ekow did was good, the fact that he didn't like* (thinking of the word) *urm.*
Kwame: *Didn't retaliate.*
Kojo*: Yeah. He didn't show that he was angry, yeah, he just stayed calm ...you should always be respectful!*

Whilst the children are very aware of the issue of racism having experienced it either in their local community or institutionally, it was felt that their reactions would have exhibited a collective stand against racism instead of differing reactions. Whilst it is important that they expressed their individual views on how to deal with racism, it can be interpreted that they have not been equipped by the school or their parents on how to handle such matters to bring social change as young migrants within their institution.

Mrs Nyamekye raises the issue of institutional racism and unknowingly validate Ebo's perception about differential treatment of students of African heritage in the school with regards to the implementation of behaviour policy:

Mrs Nyamekye: *It's rather unfortunate that the students are not treated fairly... One of the reasons is if a child who is Ghanaian or African does something silly and another child who is from another race does the same thing, he or she is likely to get away with it. Eight out of 10 times that African child gets punished for the same thing that a white counterpart would do. The children are not treated fairly in the school's behaviour policy and implementation. So, they get heavier sanctions when they break rules. There are times even when the rules broken are minor while someone from a white background may have broken a bigger rule or may have done something more silly and yet they get away with it and that child* (of African descent) *gets kicked out.*

R: *If I understand correctly, are you saying that the children who are of African/Ghanaian descent get severe punishment compared to their white counterparts for the same things or even lesser breaking of behavioural rules in this school…. (cuts me off)?*
Mrs Nyamekye: *Absolutely! Definitely!*
R: *Do you have any specific examples that you can cite?*

Mrs Nyamekye provides examples of her personal experiences.

She explains that a black boy *'shot past a member of the leadership team and was externally excluded'.* Whereas *'another child of white origin, English, threw a bag of sandwiches and a pair of scissors'* at her *'and only got one day in isolation – in the internal exclusion'* room. She adds that '*the exclusion didn't happen just like that. I literally pushed for it to happen because nothing was going to be done about it.'* She further explains that '*a Black African descent student told a white teacher to "shut up" ... and this child was put on a behaviour support plan and got excluded but came back. Five white kids of mixed genders were dancing around (*her) *chanting "monkey bitch, monkey bitch, monkey bitch" and nothing was done about it.'* It was only when she threatened - *'I'm going to go to the board, that's when something was done.'* The children were given '*only two days isolation'*.

The issue of racism becomes apparent in such situations. One of the children reports an incident where he felt that he was discriminated against by a Caucasian teacher, given detention and denied justice, leading him to the conclusion that *'some of the white teachers in the school are racist'*. The children appear to have received no support within the school nor provided with the means to report racist incidents against them; hence, they dealt with racism perpetuated against them on their own by "*walking away"*, not having been properly guided, which again emphasises the lack of support given to enable them to have the confidence to report or to effectively manage such incidents within the school that negatively impacts their lives and education. Evidently, these children being of African heritage and teachers of the same milieu experienced racism within the school. If a teacher had to threaten to take a racist episode against them to *"the board"* before an attempt was made to call the perpetrators to account, how much more difficult would it be for these migrant children?

The literature suggests a disparity in the implementation of behaviour policy in schools (HMCI, 2014). Whilst this assertion is not on the grounds of race, Gillborn's (2006) and Williams (2015) link it specifically to Black children and support the belief that Black children

are unduly penalised in school compared to their White counterparts (Williams, 2015; Gillborn, 2006; Gillborn et al., 2012). The reason for this assertion rests on the notion that white teachers culturally hold deficit views of Black families and subsequently their children (Williams, 2015). In addition, the cultural and social dispositions of teachers impact their views of Black students, which invariably, leads to the disparity of treatment and disciplining of Black pupils in schools (Williams, 2015). This child believes that he was unfairly treated because of his race and whilst HMCI's (2014) assertion is generic, there is an interplay of Bourdieu's reproduction and symbolic domination (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990), and the notion of institutional racism in this context where the "Black" child is denied justice. With the literature firmly supporting the view that Black students are disproportionately and harshly disciplined in schools, it is interesting to see a situation where a child can, by the hypothesis of his experience, draw a similar conclusion that matches the results of expert studies. Unfortunately, these children must accept racism as a fact of life when really, they should have been nurtured, supported and accepted regardless of their ethnicity.

In the school environment, they found support from both peers and teachers, but they also experienced racial slurs and inequality which was a challenge that they had to overcome. An inclusive relationship between teachers and migrant pupils and indeed the school must be amicable and devoid of prejudice and conflicts, especially those constructed around race, ethnicity, and prejudicial attitudes (Warikoo, 2004; Reynolds, 2008). Reynolds (2008) further stipulates that teachers who are able to encourage inclusion are those who are sympathetic and positive towards migrant children to 'provide equal opportunities' concerning 'academic and social support' and where students are received and completely incorporated in lessons (Reynolds, 2008: 19).

The finding indicates that the learning of these Ghanaian children is affected (positively and negatively) by their relationship with their teachers. In this study, where the children's

relationship with the teacher is negative, disengagement ensued – '*I don't talk! I don't even put my hand up to ask questions!'* Perseverance to prove the teacher wrong becomes another consequence. One child endeavoured to *'pass'* when a teacher expected him to *'fail…' at* his English GCSE. Another '*just ignored'* his teacher and *'just did his work'* where he felt that the teacher persistently singled him out when dealing with behavioural issues even when he was not the culprit. Emphasis is placed on schools to provide positive integration of migrant children by supporting the development of their social, cultural and language skills to successfully engage in the host culture (Welply, 2010). However, migrant children are confronted with underperformance, prejudice, exclusions and inequality (Parsons & Smeeding, 2006; Gillborn, 2008). The literature suggests that migration provides better prospects for the migrant (Alonso, 2011), but, in the ways in which these Ghanaian children's learning is affected, there is a misconception on the part of the parents in what they envisage for their children in education in their host country. This is because of the varied challenges that the children have encountered, and the lack of support received institutionally and from parents.

4.10 Acculturation reciprocity and conflict – institution, society and individual levels

According to Berry (2005), acculturation at a group level involves social structures, institutions and cultural practices. At the social structure level, it appears that these migrant children's experience of racism in its various forms of low teacher expectation, placements in low set classes, non-acceptance of their language is deeply embedded in a racist agenda and ideology that persistently disadvantages students of African descent (Gillborn, 2006; John, 2006). Acculturation being a dual process of cultural and psychological change (Berry, 2006), requires some effort from the British society at large to accept its multicultural/culturally pluralistic heritage and engage effectively with its Black Afro-Caribbean communities, particularly, in education rather than the assimilationist view of 'linear process of change' of

the “minority” group or culture into the dominant or majority culture (Cole, 2020), which John (2006: 328) rightly describes as ‘English chauvinism’.

The lack of funding of migrant educational support schemes, precipitated by the removal of the ring-fence protecting Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant (EMAG) funds from being spent on other activities (Strand et al., 2015) has affected the schools’ provision of EAL support. The blame firmly for this is governmental and societal lack of support of migrant children. Having said that, the school also had a choice to have appropriately funded the EAL department had it deemed it valuable. Acculturation, denoting mutual negotiations and adaptive behaviours, should bring about harmony amongst its members - the migrant group (the Ghanaian migrant children) and the host school/country (Berry, 2005), rather than hostility, discrimination and subjugation in its overt and subtle forms. This does not negate the fact that, understandably, there can be conflict and acculturative stresses during intercultural interactions (Berry 2005). At the institutional level, the schools’ support is not through a whole school approach, but individual teacher choice to support these migrant children, including advocating for some to be moved up to higher level has done much to support the progress of some of the students. At the same time, the school failed to be “culturally responsive” to the needs of these students, as Villegas & Lucas (2002) describe, particularly, in its failure to promote the language of these students to harness their bilingual and trilingualism.

To be a culturally responsive school means that the school could have actively sought means within the curriculum to promote a setting or situation which ensures students’ cultures and diversity are celebrated to enhance their schooling experiences and to foster a sense of belonging (Riley, 2013). This is found to be a good practise that improves the academic success and attainment of African-Caribbean students (Demie and McLean, 2007). An inclusive school would provide opportunities for its students to maintain and develop their

individual cultural identities (Blanco & Takemoto, 2006: 57). Hence, the strengths that these young people brought with them such as their language could have been developed and built upon by the school whereby these children could have even taught other students their language as part of an approach to celebrate cultural diversity and to foster mutual respect of other's cultures and language.

Apart from Kwabena, who was buddied with another student by his tutor (through teacher initiative and probably because he is black), none of the children were peer-mentored nor given the opportunity to mentor others in an initiative to promote diversity nor their language and experiences as migrant children utilised by the school. Instead, the data suggest that they were left to fumble their way through the school to make their own friends and to settle into the school with minimal support. Had they been properly guided with their transition whether through peer-mentoring programmes or other support as part of a wider school approach for migrant children (Riley, 2013), perhaps some of the choices made to copy challenging behaviour to *"fit-in"* would have been avoided. The children's educational acculturation experiences have been adversely affected by the choices made by the school as the data suggests. Using Berry's (2005) model of acculturation being reciprocal with changes occurring in both the migrants and the residents, acculturation appears to have been a one-sided or one-way process with regards to the school as an institution. Perhaps, there was an unconsciousness on the part of the school to assimilate the children rather than to integrate them (Barry, 2005).

Eurodiaconia (2014: 8) reports that inadequate consciousness or understanding of the needs of migrant children by authorities (in this case the school leadership) forms part of the challenges to migrant children's integration which leads to lower or poor educational performance. Riley's (2013: 155) leadership of place also becomes useful here in analysing the school's leadership attitude towards these migrant children. School leaders' active

decision to focus on, recognise and become aware of who migrant children are (their identity, their experiences and lives) in and outside the confines of the school enables them to discover their place both within the school and the community (Riley, 2013). The leadership of place, in this context, is about knowing and understanding the wider needs of (migrant) children and the importance of their sense of self-worth and belonging which must 'spring from a sense of moral purpose'. It is, then, the responsibility of the principal or the headteacher to cultivate the leadership of place at its various levels of the middle, subject, classroom and the young people themselves (includes peer-mentors) who would serve as role-models within a collective and cooperative vision and responsibility framework in order to create an inclusive space (Riley, 2013: 159). Demie and McLean's (2007) case study of good practice in schools that fostered greater academic performances of African heritage pupils found that there was a comprehensive commitment to constructing an inclusive curriculum and place of learning with a collective vision and effort of monitoring the academic and emotional wellbeing of their students – from the senior leadership team to learning mentors and even governors. There was a holistic approach to educating pupils which included parents and the community, including their religious communities. Students felt that teachers were not only supportive and caring, but they also provided a variety of opportunities for their unique talents and identities to emerge. These schools fostered a sense of place and belonging amongst their pupils. This is the model of educational setting that Riley's (2013) espouses in her leadership of place and that which should have been with regards to the setting of this study, to have helped these migrant children feel that they belong. It emphasises the need for headteachers/principals to inspire confidence in students, parents/adults and the community in the life of the school and what it does to help the children feel safe and have a sense of belonging (Riley, 2013).

Applying Riley's (2013: 161) framework, three questions are pertinent. Regarding the physical environment of the school*,* how did the children feel when they crossed the threshold

of the school? The data suggests that whilst there were some positive experiences, it is clear that the school as an institution did not value the children's ability and what they brought with them as migrant children – their culture and language, and were, thus, relegated to the bottom set classes and their language otherised. Secondly, regarding the *ecology of relationships*, how did others (students and teachers) respond to these migrant children or behave towards them? They appear to have been alienated by some of their peers and experienced conflict with some teachers; however, they have also had positive relationships with them. Regarding *the school as* a *narrative, w*hat messages have the school given them about themselves? Were they acknowledged and welcomed? This appears not to be the case. In addition to challenges encountered as a result of migrancy, the data suggests that negative experiences encountered by these young people in the school, such as their placements in bottom sets, was compounded because of their race. This not being in isolation from how Black children have largely been treated in education in the UK as the literature denotes. Approximately 50 years ago, Coard (1971) found that blatant discrimination and condescending attitudes together with a low expectation of Black children's abilities are amongst the ways that teachers hugely hampered the progress of Black children in British education. This is especially poignant when the children in this study also report racism and low teacher expectation, as well as their placement in lower set classes as hindering their academic progress. It is unfortunate that this is still prevalent in British education.

In creating meaningful, 'safe and inspirational' spaces within schools for migrant children to explore their identity, the school leaders begin with what the 'children have brought with them' whilst ensuring that this progresses to the level where they recognise who they are and how they fit into the British culture. They must also create a space where diversity of cultures is valued, understood, and celebrated (Riley, 2013: 162-66; Reynolds, 2008). Lastly, a school must create a safe space that enables the children to confidently express themselves and to

voice their concerns and needs. There is a need for this school to adopt explicit policies and practices to effectively manage the transition of migrant children to enable them to have positive learning experiences, build positive relationships and to have better educational outcomes.

When migrants arrive in the receiving country, there are acculturative processes that take place. These Ghanaian children have in their acculturation, developed behavioural traits that could be termed as 'negative acculturation'. The poor behaviour that they observed in their classrooms, which initially was irritation and a shock, some acculturated into. The theory of acculturation proposes that the transfer of ideals occur culturally and psychologically amongst discrete agents as cultural groups interact. The continuous contact brings changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups (Redfield, Linton & Herskovits,1936). Whilst acculturation can enhance one's identity, it can also present a challenge that threatens it (Andreouli, 2013).

There has also been positive acculturation where these children appear to have settled in well and have been achieving in school over time (see pages 171-173). This study also challenges the notion of acculturation and whilst it set out to use Berry's theory to conceptualise how these Ghanaian children have acculturated into British society and education, realises that it is the separateness that at times cushions and protects them from *'getting into trouble'*. The notion of acculturation or integration into the host culture could be deemed overrated. These are a distinct group of nine Ghanaian migrant children in a London school who are involved in their Ghanaian community and church, have been bought up with family values to be polite individuals. Coe (2008) emphasise the idea that Ghanaian migrant parents desire to have their children be respectful and well-mannered. Consequently, they 'focus on inculcating values within the child and strengthening the child's character' (Ibid: 23). A view supported by Adu-Gyamfi (2014) and Twum-Danso Imoh (2013). However, in this context, this has not been

helpful to them regarding standing against racism and having the confidence to deal with bullying and racially aggravated threats and insults, which they should have challenged.

Berry (2005) states that while group acculturation is happening at the general level, there is individual participation to various degrees within it, and with various objectives or goals to achieve from the interaction situation. This is because everyone goes into, participates in, or changes differently during the acculturation process. There are immense individual differentials 'in psychological acculturation, even among individuals who live in the same acculturative arena' (Berry, 2005: 702). Hence, there is a high probability that at the individual level there will be differences in acculturation even amongst these Ghanaian young migrants. These changes, Berry stipulates, possess the potential to be minimal or major sources of cultural disruption, as it is for the parents of these Ghanaian children. This is because they perceived acculturative changes in their children that contradicted the values that they have inculcated in them. These changes can be an individual's cultural identity, manner of speaking, dressing and in this context, behavioural changes, choice of friends, *"changing my accent"*, lateness to school; failing to take learning seriously, or turning *"hurtful"* bullying experiences into comedy. These changes can produce acculturative stress, which was evident in some of these children (Berry, 1976).

While acculturation involves groups of people, within it are individual members who also engage with the acculturative processes (Berry, 2005). Hence, whilst collective acculturation experiences have been explored, it is vital to examine acculturation at the individual level.
Clearly, individually, the children have had varied acculturative experiences. For example, Araba has blossomed from her initial timidity and while she was placed in the bottom set on arrival, she progressed from there to the top set. Also, while she did not appear to have engaged in disrespectful behaviour, *the way she used to go to school early…, now she has changed... Again, I wanted her to really stick more on her books, but she doesn't want to..."*. There were

changes in her attitude to learning and promptness to school. Kwesi's acculturation experiences in the UK involved bullying which included mockery of his accent and physical features which propelled him to confront his adversaries and subsequently gained the label, '*troublemaker'*. Abena, experiencing challenges with the English language and feeling ostracised gravitated towards people of BAME background, thus, found solace in friendships with pupils of similar ethnicity. She has also been engaging in fashion shows in her religious community. Kofi, although intelligent and confident, began his acculturation in the UK through "*reading small books to make me understand when people used to, like read big chapter books"* having no command of the English language now, excels both academically and socially. He made friends who are both of African descent and Caucasian and engaging in sports. Both Abena and Kofi, having had their friendship group capped by the mother appear not to have experienced the negative acculturative behaviours encountered by some of the others. This protectiveness could be argued to have prevented them from truly being able to have the choice to make their own decisions which could have perhaps seen them behaving badly. Kwame has had his fair share of negative acculturative experiences that saw him lying to his mother to go to the library, taking a different route to school, causing his mother to *'weep'*, buckles up to complete his GCSE. Kojo, arriving from the Netherlands with a lackadaisical attitude to learning appears transformed *"I decided to, like, just turn my life 180 ... go a different way."* Ebo, being a larger than life character turns *"hurtful"* bullying experiences into comedy. Kwabena's challenge with the language, at times *"not understanding what teachers spoke"*, navigated this challenge by going to "*the teacher at the end of the lesson or after school*" to seek help to avoid the mockery of his accent. Finally, Ekow, who is vibrant, confident and sociable, entangled himself in friendship groups that saw him have an encounter with the law. Interestingly, his best-friend in the school (through whose auntie the racist insult came) was permanently excluded in year 9 and is currently incarcerated.

Based on his friendship with this child, one wonders where Ekow would be now had they not been separated?

Whilst there is collective acculturation experiences of racism amongst the children - their language and accent being mocked, placement of lower set classes, there are also individual acculturative processes/experiences of bullying, peer pressure, negative and positive encounters with educators and a run-in with the law that they have gone through.

Acculturation challenges in Italy and Netherlands prior to migration

Having established the children's acculturation (educationally and culturally/socially) and educational experiences in the UK, as well as the children's own and parental assessment of their schooling and performance in Italy and the Netherlands, it is logical to include their acculturation experiences in these countries prior to migration. As previously stated, some of these children migrated or returned from Ghana to Italy/Netherlands and lived there for several years before migrating to the UK. I now focus on the acculturation challenges the children had to overcome in these countries before coming to the UK. Kojo's mum explains that when he returned to Amsterdam, *'everything was new to him'*. This included the *physical environment*, *food*, *friendship* and *language*. Having been sent to Ghana aged just 9 months, the main acculturative challenge encountered was that of language – to *"learn Dutch"* as the language of instruction in school and within society. This was most *"difficult when he was in school and I am not there to translate what is being said"*. Societally, being a *"very confident and friendly child…"* worked to Kojo's advantage. Additionally, being a child also meant that, *"he learnt the language quickly"*. Moreover, having family members living in the same city, also meant that *"Kojo had cousins to play with"*. Language continues to drive the theme of acculturation challenges prior to migration. Kwesi describes his experiences acculturating into Italian society: *"… when I started going to school, well I couldn't learn- I couldn't speak Italian so it was a bit difficult…I had to learn it, and the teacher taught me… It took me, like,*

about a half a year! So, me and some other students were - we had some, like, some lesson like EAL, we had to learn the language.

Racism becomes the next challenge of the children's acculturation in Italy although this was not the case in Amsterdam for Kojo and appears only to be Kwesi's experience. Kwesi explains: *"Well, some people are really racist in Italy, but most of them are not. They are actually very friendly. Um, the people who are racist are really despicable… And in Italy…* (pause) *well, I did have a lot of friends. Some of them have also had bad things, so that's - it's kind of related to why some other people are racist.*

Whilst Kwesi believes that there was some racism in Italy, he explains that most of the people were *"very friendly"*. He connects physical violence to racist attacks, but these are minimal in his view. He was happy living in Italy. With exception of Kwesi, none of the other children experienced racism personally, however, Araba makes an interesting point; she states *"children were treated find but when it came to adults you could see sometimes, erm they were arguing and they're saying that Black people are coming in Italy to steal their work."* It appears that the main acculturative challenge encountered in Italy was that of language acquisition. This may primarily be because the children were young when they returned to Italy or the Netherlands, thus, were too young to fully understand their environment and or experiences.

Acculturation: the children's current educational position

Returning to the UK, using Berry (2005) acculturation framework, in this section of the findings and data presentation, acculturation is interpreted to indicate whether the children have integrated into UK education and society, and are progressing. This is explored from the children's and parents' perspectives in addition to their school attainment (see table 4.5 above) and their current position in their schooling journey:

"I enjoy coming to school in the UK because there's always new things to learn. And the fact that you don't get beaten for not bringing your homework in or whip you for being late... Even

though some people take advantage here. And I think that that training back home (Ghana) *also helps me. And I'm a bit more disciplined if you compare me to other kids here..."* **(Ebo)**

Kwabena, apart from *"liking"* the UK because *"school is less stressful here than in Italy"*, *"saw many black people here"*, so he *"felt like part of a group".* Additionally, he *"was in the top set for maths"* when he joined year 11 in the UK because he *'found it the easiest and was naturally good at it but was in set three in Science and English'*. He was not moved from set three in Science even though he got a 'B' for his GCSE, having only been at school in England for eight months. From a parental perspective, Kojo's mother states:

"He, himself, told his little brothers, …when I was in Amsterdam, … I don't do my homework, ...But here, I'm doing my homework, I'm doing everything."

Abana and Kofi's mother states:

"What I want to say is, the main reason why we came to the UK has not been in vain so far, … Abena has passed all her exams and the brothers are also doing well."

Abena attained 'A' in Italian, B in Science and 'C' for both English and High tier GCSE maths.

Kwame's mother states:
"When they gave me the bad reports about him … I was worried, and I cried … Now, I'm not crying when I came to parent meeting, it's all laughter and excitement…"

Within eight months of being in England, Kwame sat his SATs to go into secondary school. His results were '4a for all his subjects except Science, which he got 5a' because it was his *"favourite subject"* and *"used to love it in Ghana."* At the time of the interview, Kwame had finished his GCSE and had just started 6th Form. Apart from getting a grade 'C' in Maths, he gained 'B' for all his subjects, including English and Science (both Core and Additional Science). Except for Araba and Kofi who are currently in 6th Form, aiming to go to university, the rest of them are now at university.

Table 4.7 *Participants' current educational position*

Participants	English	English Resat results	Where they are in 2021
Ebo	4	-	University
Kwame	B	-	University
Araba	6	-	6th Form

Ekow	3	4	University
Kwesi	3	5	University
Abena	C	-	University
Kofi	7	-	6th Form
Kojo	3	4	University
Kwabena	C	-	University

It appears that Kojo, only attained his predicted grade of 3 for both English and Maths, one had hoped that he would have exceeded these to obtain at least a 5. Ebo, having been here longer, obtained grade 4 for both Maths and English. This is a student whose lowest test score before migration was 75%. It also appears that those who received supplementary education – Araba, Kwabena, Kofi, Abena and Kwame did better in their GCSE than those who did not. One wonders if all the children would have benefitted from some EAL support, particularly Kojo, Kwabena, Kwesi and Ekow and perhaps sustained EAL support in school for Abena since the majority appear to have done better in Maths and Science.

The children, parents and teachers' responses show that whilst there have been some challenges, overall, these children appear to have acculturated well in the UK. They *enjoy going to school* in the UK because they learn *new things*, it is *less stressful*, much more engaged in *doing homework* and parents are *no longer crying*.

4.11 Conclusion

The children have had diverse challenges associated with their migration to England. It is also apparent that the children's learning has been affected in various ways – positively and negatively. The curriculum content, particularly in Maths, has been found to be unchallenging. Their learning has been severely hampered by the behaviour of students in their classes, particularly in the lower set classes where they appear to be disproportionately placed. While some were moved up and had the opportunity to progress, others were not afforded the same opportunity, thus perhaps, hindering them from doing well in their GCSE exams. Where EAL support could have been helpful, most of the students were denied the opportunity due to their apparent linguistic ability as *"advanced bilingual learners"* or their support has been minimal.

They have also experienced racism from within the school community and the British society alike and have found ways to deal with this. They have experienced bullying and their accents have been mocked which made some of them devalue their way of talking and language competence and therefore their identity. Additionally, their relationships with teachers and teacher expectations have been found to under-rate them in some cases and in ways that were possibly race-related. They have also had many successes where they have been fuelled by the support that they have received from their teachers, peers, engagement in extra-curricular activities, their family and the church/Ghanaian community. Regardless of the challenges that they have encountered, they have settled into England well, both academically and culturally, although some better than others, with regards to educational attainment.

This chapter has also discussed the findings of this study and the factors that have affected the learning and acculturation of these Ghanaian children, through the lenses of Bourdieu's (1977) theory of practice and Berry's (2005) acculturation. In addition, a variety of literature has been explored to understand the experiences of this group of Ghanaian migrant children and their migration experiences. What has been discussed is that there are multifaceted complexities associated with migration that have disrupted the childhood of these children. Premigration experiences encountered included parental decisions and negotiations devoid of the children's consent, multidirectional routes prior to settling in the UK and transnationalism which is an ongoing problem affecting the children's lives.

Post-migration, it appears that the English curriculum content is not challenging for these Ghanaian children in some respects, which has led to underperformance or caused some to *"relax"* regarding their educational commitment. Furthermore, the impact of the class set, poor behaviour, peer support, influence and positive teacher relationships that affect the learning and lives of these children have been discussed. These factors have been positive and negative both at classroom and whole school community levels. Also, because of the lack of linguistic support whether through EAL or support with writing, some of these students who

were deemed to be speaking well and judged to be "advanced bilingual learners" did not do particularly well in their GCSE examinations. It is clear that EAL support is important to the attainment of these children. Evidently, those who received supplementary education in a one to one or group context did better in their exams than those who did not. Additionally, whilst institutional racism centred on the low teacher expectation, these students' placements in lower set classes and differential treatment of the children's behaviour have been discussed. Vitally, whilst the school has got some things wrong with regards to the needs of these children, they appear to be making strides in rectifying the placements of the children by moving them up, though it is engineered and motivated by ethnic minority teachers' voices. Crucially, the protectiveness of parental support at diverse levels that serves as social, cultural, familial, ethnic and religious capitals played a part in the educational and acculturational successes of these children as did the church and Ghanaian communities supporting these children.

The limitation to this study is the fact that it is set in one school, with nine children, all Ghanaian and all part of the Ghanaian church. While these have gained much from their various capitals, they still faced more challenges than indigenous English students.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Introduction

When this project began in 2014, there was no apparent study in the UK that focused specifically on the experiences of Ghanaian children, particularly one that focused on their educational experiences. The uniqueness of this study is that it focuses on the educational and acculturative experiences of students of Ghanaian descent who have migrated from Ghana directly to England or from within Europe, with the added complexity of having begun their education in another country, most in another language. Giving these children a voice within education in England was novel and important.

This study was also inspired by the sudden appearance in my classroom of a Ghanaian migrant teen who arrived having experienced life and education in Italy since infancy, led to an exploration of the extent to which Ghanaian migrant students, who continued their education in a London secondary school, were affected by the change in their social, educational and cultural contexts. This led to wider questions of the institutional response of the school to newcomers, then to broader issues of what counts as institutional racism in English schools, but also to the ethnic community and familial capitals which supported or protected them. Alongside that, the study examined what acculturation meant in the lives of these children, noting that Berry's notion did not fully encompass the term when applied to the experiences of these nine children.

The analysis of the empirical data gave rise to four overarching themes: the complexity of the children's migration history; acculturation tensions between parents and children; a barely suppressed institutional racism that allocated the children to sets below their capabilities and failed to acknowledge and celebrate the richness of their histories, bilinguality and their internationalisation, thus making 'acculturation' very much a one-way process. Finally, their success despite the challenges can be attributed to some level of support in the school but most

particularly from the pressure, expectation and support of parents and the community, including the church community.

The parental migration decisions, transnationalism, and disrupted childhoods and education and complex and varied pre-migration histories of these young people meant considerable challenges would face them. The school overlooked the challenges confronting these migrant children with a poor assessment of the language support they needed yet these students managed to complete their GCSEs even with limited support. Additionally, the research documented the powerful role of the family and the church community in aiding the children to settle in the UK.

Historically and systemically, Black children have been disadvantaged by the British education system through policy and practice (Gill, Mayor & Blair, 1992; John, 2006; Gillborn et al., 2017). Within the diverse group of the Black population in England, statistics indicate that African-Caribbean children have been known to underperform in education, but Black African children, particularly those of West African origin, achieve better results on average (Strand, 2015) and this has proved to be the case with the group of nine studied here. Demie (2013) suggests that this is due to the high educational aspirations of African parents and pupils. Particularly, cultural, social and community capitals have been pivotal regarding this group. Acculturation has not been a simple notion of 'fitting in', as there is merit in functioning in an affluent society while retaining aspects of their Ghanaian culture. Protective factors of parental monitoring and involvement in the children's education and acculturation, and the capitals that they possess, have enabled these children to settle well in England.

The parents' desire to accomplish a better future for their children had disrupted their childhood and education. Notably, there were tensions between parental decisions to move these children from a known place of comfort to the unknown, and their children's protestations against migrating to the UK were largely ignored.

Despite the children's initial apprehension about migrating to the UK and the challenges that they encountered after migration, they seem to have all embraced what was thrusted upon them and are acclimatising, both academically and socially/culturally, through the varied support that they were given.

5.2 Contribution to knowledge

This study has shown the complexity of migration. For these children, it was not a simple transition from Ghana to England, but in seven cases, involved lengthy stays in other countries – six via Italy and one via the Netherlands. There were some postal babies, sent home then brought back, in continued transnational family living arrangements. For some, long-term separation from parents has affected current relationships with some family members (e.g. Ebo's fear of his father, p95). The narratives bring out the tensions in terms of migration decisions, to which the young people had no chance to contribute. The diversity and variability of response of the young people was revelatory.

Institutional racism provided a context within which some of the children's schooling experiences were situated with regards to race, ethnicity and educational inequality, whilst Riley's (2013) leadership of place and belonging cast light on how the school's leadership could have acted to ensure that these migrant children and their families felt a sense of belonging.

Acculturation occurs through shared food preferences, language, culture, clothing and social interactions that characterise the host and migrant groups (Berry 2005: 700). Whilst these reciprocal adaptations can take place easily, they can also cause conflict and 'acculturative stress' (Ibid). These factors contributed to an understanding of the children's experiences about behavioural changes adopted as a means of fitting into their new school and society. Using Berry's (2005) notions of integration and separation with the students, one found an element of the separationist model on the part~~s~~ of the parents which created tensions.

Acculturation can be ‘reactive’, where migrants ‘reject’ the cultural influences of the dominant group, switching back to a more ‘traditional’ lifestyle instead of resembling the dominant culture (Berry, 2005: 701) and there are elements of that in the behaviours and pressures from some of the parents.

In the case of this study, we could interpret the dominant culture encountered as a localised London teenage working-class culture. Whilst much of Britain considers itself as working class, a narrowed conceptualisation of the term can indicate those from homes where parental employment consists predominantly of blue-collar jobs, unemployed and families where several generations have been on benefits and where educational aspiration appears low and challenging behaviour within the school more common. This is the culture, social environment and daily experiences about education with which these migrant children were confronted upon arrival at the school.

As part of their ‘acculturation’, the children began to emulate the challenging behaviour of peers, which they had initially abhorred, due to their desire to be accepted. They admitted being ‘*cheeky'* and ‘*backchatting'* and there is the case of one of the children’s encounter with the police and the judicial system. These negative acculturative behaviours had implications for the learning and lives of the children. Berry’s theory draws attention to how the children ‘reacted’ and ‘rejected’ the negative acculturative behaviours, made possible through the guidance provided by their familial, ethnic, religious, social and cultural capitals. The familial capital encompassed the protectiveness of the parents where the children were regularly, and in some cases stringently, monitored by parents to ensure that their behaviour in public was appropriate and they were where they had informed their parents that they would be. Whilst this may have helped to curb certain negative behaviours, it can also be argued that it prevented the children from effectively experiencing and engaging with their new educational

and societal settings, and to self-regulate aspects of their acculturation as migrant young people.

Although the parents of the nine children may be categorised as working-class, their aspirations for their children still contain the equivalent of middle-class values and so desire that their children overcome the stereotypical negative contextual factors of the 'working-class'.

Cultural capital and the idea of the middle-class are not a commodity pertaining only to whiteness as has been persistently interpreted (e.g. Wallace, 2018). The parents of these Ghanaian migrant children were proactive and very much involved in the education of their children which helped them succeed and decline to engage in some of the anti-social behaviours they witnessed. The data also records change over time as the students come to settle, join clubs and gain settled, pro-social peer networks. These parents were in regular contact with the school and teachers to ensure that their children's education, behaviour and progress were in line with their expectations. They concerned themselves with how they were behaving in the school, their progress academically and choice of the 'right' friends. Active parental participation in the education of their children documented in this study also includes high expectations; a number of authors have recorded how Ghanaian parents instil the value of education (Williams and Morris, 2014; Kumi-Yeboah and Smith, 2016).

The provision of supplementary education boosted the children's academic progress as the parents actively sought to understand what is required for their children to excel academically and acted to provide their children with tuition outside the formal educational setting. Engagement with these supplementary schools may also have given them an understanding of the syllabi enabling them to engage more effectively with teachers in the education of their children. Looking at the history of migrants and supplementary education, these parents' decisions to supplement their children's education is rooted in that history and connects to a

time when Black parents in Britain supplemented their children's education to address the deficit in their children's education brought on by racism and the poor educational provision (Andrews, 2013). Data from this study show that such deficits continue to plague children of African heritage in education today, but they take different forms.

This study concludes that the parental role, in its various forms, has contributed to the acculturation and academic success of these children through the tensions and the imaginative strategies of parents (e.g. Kwame's mother following him to check that he was going to the library to study p141), although certain freedoms should have been given to the children as agents with rights and, as the data indicates, they have the capacity to make appropriate choices albeit with guidance from parents in certain respects.

These Ghanaian migrant children's ethnic capital has proved an asset. They possess high aspirations for academic success as others have found of migrant communities (Demie, 2013; Naidoo, 2015; Kumi-Yeboah & Smith, 2016). The findings in this study attest not only to the value these migrant parents place on education to support and guide the children to succeed but the children's recognition of the helpfulness of this support, although it appeared unconventional, relentless and even draconian at times in their pursuit to protect and educate their children. This could largely be viewed as part of the characteristics of Ghanaian parents where children are expected to conform to parental expectations (Coe, 2008; Adu-Gyamfi, 2014). This may not always be helpful to the children, especially where it could compound anxieties already experienced as young people, and more specifically as migrant young people who are trying to make sense of and fit into their new environment.

The experience of adaptation to a new educational and social environment as these young people go through their adolescence is multidimensional and certainly more complex than accounts, perceptions and interpretation of acculturation portray (Andreouli, 2013). Acculturation studies fail to consider the various experiences or, as in this study, the capitals that enabled these Ghanaian migrant children to maintain their values (Bhatia & Ram 2009).

Educationally, these Ghanaian migrant children have encountered various challenges that caused them to question their identity or, at least, be troubled by it. The children experienced language on two levels – learning to speak English as a language of instruction in school to effectively engage with teaching and learning in the classroom and altering their accents to avoid bullying and 'otherisation' (Welply, 2017). Feeling isolated and alienated, these children gravitated towards children of similar linguistic, ethnic habitus and field within the school (Ryan et al., 2010). Managing this also included seeking assistance from teachers outside formalised lesson time to avoid speaking in class to prevent mockery. The notions of symbolic capital, legitimation and misconception, argue that the symbolic power of language, which forms a unifying philosophy within a society, provides institutional spaces with the impetus to validate some and exclude others (Bourdieu, 1977).

Whether intentionally or by default, the school, through the 'triage' system, and the government, through its lack of sufficient funding for EAL support, symbolically exerted violence and power over these Ghanaian children. On one hand, it was demanded of them to learn the English language as ethnic minority children; on the other, they were prevented from learning it effectively and in a targeted way particularly in the mastery of the written form. Being denied crucial support hampered them competing with and in the 'dominant' culture context of their schooling and examinations. The system implicitly wants to maintain the status quo where the elite (broadly interpreted as white middle class) remains on top in the schooling game (Thomson, 2002; Bourdieu, 1977).

Since schools form the setting in which migrant children 'make their first systematic contact with their new society' (Schubert, 2010b: 308), it is significant to the lives and well-being of these migrant children. Consequently, it is vital for them to feel that they belong and would be accepted for who they are and afforded the comfort and safety to express their identity. Implicit and unintended though it might be, these Ghanaian children were made to feel

excluded and their language and culture otherised by the very institution that was supposed to make them welcomed (Welply, 2017), reinforcing their migrant position (Quaicoe, 2011). Crucially, the practices of the school regarding these Ghanaian migrant children and their language emphasise a much wider and historical issue of racism within British society and education where disregard for African heritage children's language continues. This undermines the Black children's identity, self-esteem and confidence (John, 2006).

As in the USA today, "Education policy is perceived, developed, and enacted in ways that put Whiteness in the most powerful position of every racist ordering" (Tuck and Gorlewski, 2016: 200). White, primarily middle-class norms of language and culture, are consistently privileged in institutions of public education, regardless of the presence of teachers and students of colour. Wallace (2018) finds similarly in Britain an elitist social class, cultural capital and educational success are often attributed to Whiteness to exclude other ethnic groups.

These Ghanaian migrant young people are polylingual, speaking more than four languages: Italian and or Dutch, Ghanaian languages and English. Likewise, there were valuable, formative acculturation and schooling experiences in the Netherlands, Italy and Ghana. Their internationality gives them advantages over their peers, who have not had the experience of multinational educational settings. Yet, these cultural capitals that they possessed were not perceived as assets by the school. The children's linguistic capital and internationalisation could have been enhanced and celebrated, perhaps forming a programme of study/teaching. Britain's linguistic diversity should be perceived as an opportunity to celebrate multiracialism, multilingualism and inclusivity, but this was not the case in this school.

In institutional settings constituting predominantly White people, 'class gains' and cultural capital of the people of African/Afro-Caribbean origin are 'misrepresented' and 'undermined' and retain the power to (in)validate these for their own gain (Wallace, 2018: 479). There was little in the education experience at this school that responded to, recognised, accepted or made use of their cultural background. The school, therefore, missed an opportunity to create an

environment of social and cultural transformation and cohesion for these migrant children and pupils within its bounds (Blackledge, 2001). An implicit narrow goal in relation to migrant children and their education is to make these young people assimilate. With 'an all-white leadership team and a national curriculum that offers far more positive renditions of whiteness than it does of racial and ethnic minorities' in the UK (Wallace, 2018: 840), this is not a surprise.

A particular and explicit failing, probably common to too many English secondary schools, and documented in this study, is the placement of these students in mainstream classrooms on arrival, where it is highly problematic for them to access teaching and learning because of the language barrier. Compounding this was the way the school's practice of putting newcomers in lower sets, seemingly without regard for their educational performance in former school systems or the strengths they bring with them. Because of the school's perception that these children could "speak" English on arrival, the "triage" for assessing those requiring EAL support excluded them. The findings in this study are that, whilst some of these children appear to *speak* English well, their writing clearly required development and support to access the curriculum effectively and be successful in their GCSE exams. The lack of appropriate EAL support meant that the GCSE results of some of these students were compromised. The denial of support 'is the most significant form of discrimination in the education of migrant children' and that discrimination against them is a major factor frequently found to affect their academic achievements (Heckmann, 2008: 8).

There is an assumption that newly arrived migrant children will benefit from an inclusive education where their language will be easily developed. The other assumption is that it provides an opportunity for equitable educational provision. While this policy appears to be inclusive, these Ghanaian migrant children were 'symbolically excluded' (Quaicoe, 2011) and underachieved in some respects as a result. Interestingly, those whom this lack of support

affected least were those who received tuition/supplementary education and, to some extent, those who migrated directly from Ghana.

The church community has played a vital role in the settling of these Ghanaian children in the UK, providing religious guidance and advice and physical and educational support. The children reported that their religious beliefs served as a source of strength (religious capital). For some, the journey to resettlement has been fraught with challenges of bullying and even an encounter with the police, but their parents, teachers, their faith, good friends, their love for sport and other extra-curricular activities, and their determination to succeed have pulled them through. These students' engagement in extra-curricular activities did not only boost their confidence but helped promote their inclusion in the student body and to achieve academic success, as found by Demie and MacLean (2007) and William and Morris (2014). It helped them to make friends, revise for their exams and improve their linguistic skills. However, the parents could have encouraged and devised means to enable their children to widen their socialisation outside the confines of their religious and Ghanaian community settings.

While the school failed in its placement of children, and while these children may have been put in sets that were lower than their intellectual ability, it was a situation that was corrected in some cases. This was through individual teacher diligence to spot and to speak out to affect change. Despite challenges and sometimes not the most sensitive and appropriate support, these young people have excelled socially and academically. While it is possible to identify what could be labelled 'institutional racism', its effect on these children was limited and counteracted by the various capitals to which they had access. The school has a long experience of accommodating ethnic minority students and has a significant proportion of ethnic minority staff who make their views known about these issues.

It is vital to note that "capitals" do not constitute a commodity only pertaining to the elite or the white, privileged few. In their own way, migrants and people of African heritage possess

qualities and strengths that serve as capital because overcoming barriers enabled them to succeed even in difficult terrains, as this study and others have found (Naidoo, 2015). All six cases of these children who migrated from Italy achieved grade 9 or A*/A in Italian and, in the case of the student from the Netherlands, a B in Dutch without support from the school. These results arise from the capitals possessed by these children. The concept of "capitals" needs to be redefined, to extend from a myopic view to a broader application that recognises the strengths of the people who are not of the majority ethnic groups in Britain. The capitals such as aspirations enable migrants to break out beyond the confines of the systems and structures that have been put in place to subjugate them. Whilst children from "privileged" backgrounds are believed to succeed academically and in life, the high aspirations of migrants position them to succeed equally, as this study and others have found (Demie, 2013; Williams & Morris, 2014; Naidoo 2009 & 2015). Although systems have been in place that often disadvantages people of other ethnicities, particularly those of African descent in education, the migrant children in this study and their parents have worked to circumnavigate these challenges. High value is not only placed on education by African parents and their children, but good parental support and high expectations were further supported with supplementary education. All these are supposedly white middle class or elite values.

With five of the young people born in Italy, one in the Netherlands and three in Ghana, they have complex migration histories, experiences of transnational family life, educational and acculturative experiences currently undocumented amongst the body of literature in the UK on migration, particularly concerning Ghanaian children. This study serves as an example for studies on, and theorising about, children's complex migration experiences, the reception in the host country and racism. The study focusses in on the schooling experiences of these students and the factors within schooling that they classify as hindering their ability to achieve their own and their parents' aspirations and expectations and included:

- isolation
- absence of a sense of belonging
- lack of respect for their language and culture
- teachers' low expectations
- being put into low performing sets on account of their language and background
- institutional racism as manifested in teaching and assessment practices
- influence of peers and their cultural habits and behaviours
- low aspirations of peers

The qualitative interview data in the form of narratives from students, parents, teachers, community members, was of great value. Student attainment records were also accessed. This study's findings shed light on the migration, reception, educational and acculturative experiences, thus, giving these young people the voice lacking in education, migration and acculturation in the UK. The study also provides valuable insights into intergenerational experiences of migration and acculturation and youth socialisation and peer cultures as inhabited by young people and adults alike. The richness of the students' narratives about their schooling experience as newcomers revealed a damning account of the school's practices of how these migrant children were received and supported to settle in the school. The children also reveal a lack of acceptance of their cultural heritage, histories, and language, thus, causing them to develop identity-related issues, resulting in negative peer influences and unhealthy friendships in their bid to be accepted by their peers. Fraught with bullying due to their race, accents, language and physical feature, their experiences highlighted the school's failure to notice the challenges they encountered and dubbed them as troublemakers. Further is the lack of EAL support due to the school's triaging that they are advanced bilingual learners. The experiences of these migrant children and their ethnicity subsequently positioned this study within the framework of literature that highlights the issues of race, racism and educational inequalities within British education (Coard, 1979; Gillborn, 2005; John, 2005; Gillborn et al., 2017).

This study's findings have also been informed by prior studies about the educational achievement of Black children in UK schools, which provided a broader lens of analysis, drawing on the notions of low teacher expectations, racial prejudice, notions of capital and negative per influence.

The challenges of acculturation have meant that certain decisions and actions taken by the children were met with opposition from their parents. The students had to play the balancing act of dealing with their parent and community educational aspirations with the reality of schooling as they experienced it. In essence, these adolescents can formulate certain decisions and chart some courses for themselves as they strive to develop their sense of identity and belonging, growing away to a degree from their parental control. In this sample of 9, there was a great deal of pulling back into line from parents and a re-emphasis of their expectations of how their children should behave, learn and acculturate into British society. Forgetting that they too were struggling against the inducements that their children were exposed to, which are distinct from how their parents saw things, subsequently creating tensions and conflict.

In their desire to curb their children's behaviour to protect them from what they perceived as derailing from their aspiration for their children, these parents failed to realise that this is necessary for the children to be allowed to be teenagers, trusting that they can self-manage and be accountable given the opportunity and the guidance. The expectations of this small group of Ghanaian parents concerning schooling outcomes for their children, as distinct from the educational entitlements of all children and especially those othered on the axis of race and class, offer a unique insight into their mindset and the extent that they are willing to go to maintain their vision for their children.

Another aspect of originality that this study provides is the light it sheds on the role of the Ghanaian church community explored in this study and the churches willingness to act as sources of educational and religious support in the socialisation and acculturation of the young people in this study.

This study will contribute to the broader understanding of the Black British/African population in education and may help counter the homogenising studies and narratives that characterise studies of Black Africans and Black Caribbeans. The aim is also to transcend the participants in this study to have relevance for the wider community of schools in London and explore how it recognises and engages with the diverse needs of migrant students, teachers and their classroom practices and local communities. The study will provide a specific focus to the body of knowledge that deals with the subject of race and ethnicity, educational experiences and attainment, and can challenge the existing discourse that perceives Black (migrant) students as a homogeneous category.

5.3 Limitations to study

The study is of a small sample of nine children in one school, seven parents, seven teachers and a reverend minister. It is based in one London school and presents findings pertaining to this single setting. Whilst tensions between the parents' and the young people's experiences and views on migration and insight into the children's complex migration histories have been explored, it is unwise to attempt generalisation of the children's acculturation experiences and education to other groups and other settings. With regards to acculturation and institutional racism, the perspective of the senior management team would have enriched the data further. However, it was felt that cooperation at that level would not have been feasible. The ethical and positionality considerations of the researcher, being an insider – a member of staff in the school and the Ghanaian community – may be seen as a limitation to the study; the resources were not available to engage another researcher (without these backgrounds) to provide a check on the data and interpretations.

Greater depth or further insights could be achieved by a longitudinal study that tracks the progress of these children in England over time or studies involving several schools with a

larger sample to triangulate findings of this study or even cross-national studies of Ghanaian (or other defined) migrant children.

5.4 Recommendations

Firstly, the school leadership team must do more to enable migrant children to 'belong' (Riley, 2013). They should not only recognise and celebrate the talents, strengths and diversity of their pupils, but also determine *not* to prejudge those in their care, so as *not* to relegate them to the side.

Above all, they must begin from a place of inclusion to generate a sense of belonging and trust. It is vital for teachers (and schools) to be culturally responsive to create a culturally and linguistically equal and safe environment for all students Although rather general, and now nearly 20 years old, the stance promoted by Villegas and Lucas (2002) is powerful: culturally responsive teachers and schools must:

- be socio-culturally conscious
- affirm views of students from diverse backgrounds
- see themselves as responsible for and capable of bringing about change to make schools more equitable
- understand how learners construct knowledge and can promote knowledge construction
- know about the lives of their students
- design instruction that builds on what their students already know while stretching them beyond the familiar (Villegas & Lucas, 2002: 21).

Teachers must be equipped through essential initial and ongoing training to deal with teaching in the *increasingly* multicultural and ethnically diverse educational settings of Britain (Lander, 2011). The case study school did not evidence much of this best practice.

The placement of migrant children in sets below their academic aptitude must be properly addressed in the school so that the learning of migrant students is not hindered. Furthermore. The issue of poor behaviour must be tackled to maximise learning for all children as the finding has indicated that, to avoid feeling isolated, lonely or being ostracised because of peer pressure, these children copied the poor behaviour so that they could "fit in".

Efforts must be made by the school to celebrate cultural, linguistic and ethnic differences to foster cultural cohesion were minimal.

Whilst some teachers aimed to be culturally responsive and supportive, others were noted to be racist against these children, particularly, in the areas of dealing with discipline.

Schools can play a vital role in challenging and changing/correcting negative views and stereotypes of young people (migrant children and their families) if the effort is made to understand more about their lives, families, histories, cultures and communities. While challenging, it is not difficult to set days in the school calendar where diversity can be celebrated. This training must comprise 'intercultural skills, expertise in second language learning and intercultural education' (Sirius, 2014: 3-5).

Anti-discrimination regulations must also be completely applicatory and functional in the education system, and an autonomous reporting system instituted which students, parents, teachers and interested parties could easily access. Cultural diversity must not only be visible within educational institutions but multilingualism must also be promoted to build confidence and intercultural skills. Importantly, systems must be put in place to increase the representation of people of migrant origin in leadership. Peer mentoring for learners with a migrant background should be actively promoted and effective support be created for newly arrived migrant pupils (Sirius, 2014).

There should be EAL provision for those for whom English is their second language for up to three years when they first arrive as Strand et al. advocate (2015). Migrant children, who may be classified as *"advanced bilingual"* learners, should still be supported with their English, particularly in relation to developing their writing skills and understanding of the nuances within the English language that are not familiar to them. Crucially, funding should be made available for this, and the government must hold schools accountable.

The issue of institutional and systemic racism against Black children demands that the government and local authorities actively discourage segregation and divisive practices in

schools associated with race and ethnicity, language and ability differences in education. More resources must be devoted to schools with significant levels of migrant children to provide flexibility in meeting their needs (Janta & Harte, 2016). Politicians, community leaders (race and religious leaders), school leadership at its various levels, educators, and school administrators and parents must work together to ensure cultural cohesion in schools and the wider society whilst acknowledging and celebrating the wonderfully heterogeneous society that Britain comprises.

The number and diversity of migrating families present a societal level challenge, which has received insufficient acknowledgement. It is not simply a matter of training of teachers, small adjustments to the curriculum, anti-racist awareness-raising, or 'special' support. Migration is a global phenomenon to which the 'economically advanced countries', the hosts, should respond with greater investment and more timely and appropriate policy and practice that is not simply about remediation and assimilation.

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APPENDIX 1a:
INFORMATION SHEET FOR CHILD PARTICIPANTS

RESEARCH PROJECT TITLE:

Ghanaian diasporic migrant students: challenges, culture and capitals

I am doing a research for my doctoral thesis at the University of Greenwich. The study will look at the extent that the learning of Ghanaian students, who continue their secondary school education in the UK, is affected by the change in their schooling.

The research will:
- explore the stories of the experiences of students who are born in Ghana or elsewhere (but not in the UK) after coming into Britain and how they interact with both the British education and culture.
- examine the role of the family and the community in helping the students to settle in the UK and find a way around their education.
- explore issues regarding what they are taught in school and whether it hinders or helps with their learning.
- aim to provide a platform for Ghanaian students to talk about their learning experiences within the British education system.

It is hoped that the research will allow teachers to understand the needs/experiences of these students, which may help teachers to adapt the way that they may be teaching to improve these students' schooling experiences and educational outcomes.

You are being invited to take part in this research and participation will be in the form of a one to one interview, which might go for about one hour. It may be shorter, but this time is to allow you enough time to tell your story. You may also be asked to take part in a group discussion/interview. You may also be observed by me at school as you go about your daily routines and make notes on how you are doing. This may be during lessons, break or lunchtimes. I will also ask you and your parents for some of your academic records/reports to see how you are performing in school. As I am a teacher in your school, have access to some of your records, for example, your report, GCSE results, behaviour log or attendance records if I am not able to get it from you, however, I can look at them or use them only with you and your parents' permission.

The interviews will take place on school premises unless you attend a different school, then, it will be in your local library, café or your home if you and your parent(s) agree. I will work with you to ensure that this time is managed well. Your assessment/grades will not be affected at all by this research. Also, your participation in this project is voluntary. You are free to take part or not to take part in the project. If you do decide to take part, you can change your mind any time that you want. You can ask questions that you want and at any point during the research.

The discussion/interview will be audio-recorded and then typed up. Your name and what you say will be confidential, except when something that is said shows that you may be in danger. I will use a typical Ghanaian name when I am presenting what you say so that no one will know who you are.

Also, this information will be used only for this research and things that relate to it, such as conference presentations and in published journals articles. As a default, my supervisors will see the typed-up interviews, but your name will not be linked to any information that you have provided. Also, any information presented at conferences and in journals articles will not be linked to you.

You will be given the opportunity to read the typed-up information from the interview to confirm the information is as you want it to be or change or to clarify things if you wish.

If you want to get in touch, please use the following e-mail address:

My supervisors are Dr Priti Chopra, Dr Adewale Magaji and Prof Carl Parsons. If you or your parent wishes to contact them, they can be reached on the details below:

- Dr Priti Chopra
- Dr Adewale Magaji
- Prof Carl Parsons

Many thanks in advance for your participation!

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APPENDIX 1b:

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS AND PARENTS/GUARDIANs

RESEARCH PROJECT TITLE:

Ghanaian diasporic migrant students: challenges, culture and capitals

I am conducting a research for my doctoral thesis at the University of Greenwich. The research topic explores the extent to which the learning of Ghanaian students, who continue their secondary school education in the UK, is affected by the change in their schooling.

The research will explore the stories of the experiences of students born in Ghana or elsewhere (but not in the UK) after coming into a new country and how they interact with both the host country and education. The research will also examine the role of the family and the Ghanaian community in aiding the students to settle in the UK and navigate their education. In addition, it will explore issues regarding the educational provision and whether it hinders or promotes their learning. It aims to provide a platform upon which the aforementioned category of Ghanaian students can talk about their learning experiences within the British education system. It is hoped that the research will enable teachers to understand the needs/experiences of these students in order to better tailor their teaching approaches accordingly to improve these students' schooling experiences and educational outcomes.

Your child is being invited to participate in this research and his/her participation will be in the form of a discussion/interview lasting approximately one hour, to allow your child enough time to tell his/her story. The discussion/interview will surround the areas highlighted above as well as other issues that may arise in the process. Interviews will be conducted within the school premises unless your child attends a different school, then, it will be held in your local library, café or your home, if you wish. I will work with you and your child to ensure that this time is managed effectively. I may also observe your child at school as he/she goes about his/her daily routine and make notes on how he/she is doing. This may be during lessons, break or lunchtimes. I will also need some of your child's academic records/report to see how he/she is doing at school, with both you and your child's permission. These records may be, for example, their report, GCSE results, behaviour log or attendance records if I am not able to get them from you, however, I can look at them or use them only with you and your child's permission.

Your child's assessment/grades will not be affected at all by this research. Also, his or her participation in this project is voluntary.

The discussion/interview will be audio recorded to make the data collection process easier and aid transcription. Confidentiality and anonymity of your child and what is said will be held with the strictest of confidence except in a situation when he/she discloses information that requires further investigation, e.g. if he/she is in danger, although this is highly unlikely due to the nature of the topic for study. Data collected will be used purely for the purpose of this research and its related activities such as conference presentations and academic publications/disseminations. As a default, the data collected will be seen by my supervisors, but your child will not be linked to any identifying information (e.g. name) supplied. Furthermore, any data presented at conferences and in academic publications/disseminations will be anonymised - your child's individual data will not be identifiable. Regarding anonymity, I will use a typical Ghanaian name when I am reporting/presenting what you and your child say to anonymise your identities.

A strict non-coercion rule will be observed, and participants (your child) can excuse themselves at any time, should they wish; however, I request that I be informed of your intention to withdraw from participating in the project, at least, few days prior to the day of interview (if possible).

You and your child can ask questions at any point. If you have any questions as a result of reading this information sheet, please ask me before the study begins. I will also be available for you to ask any questions should you require clarification or further information during the research.

Your child will also be given the opportunity to read the transcribed data to authenticate the information generated or to make clarifications if he/she wishes. This will apply to your interview as well.

I can be contacted at the following e-mail address:

This project is supervised by Dr Priti Chopra, Dr Adewale Magaji and Prof Carl Parsons. Should you wish to contact them, they can be reached on the details below:

- Dr Priti Chopra
- Dr Adewale Magaji
- Prof Carl Parsons

Many thanks in advance for your participation!

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APPENDIX 1c: INFORMATION SHEET
TEACHERS AND CHURCH COMMUNITY LEADERS

Research Project Title:
Ghanaian diasporic migrant students: challenges, culture and capitals

I am conducting a research for my doctoral thesis at the University of Greenwich. The research topic explores the extent to which the learning of Ghanaian students, who continue their secondary school education in the UK, is affected by the change in their schooling.

The research will explore the stories of the experiences of students born in Ghana or elsewhere (but not in the UK) after coming into a new country and how they interact with both the host country and education. The research will also examine the role of the family and the Ghanaian community in aiding the students to settle in the UK and navigate their education. In addition, it will explore issues regarding the educational provision and whether it hinders or promotes their learning. It aims to provide a platform upon which the aforementioned category of Ghanaian students can talk about their learning experiences within the British education system. It is hoped that the research will enable teachers to understand the needs/experiences of these students in order to better tailor their teaching approaches accordingly to improve these students' schooling experiences and educational outcomes.

You're being invited to participate in this research, and your participation will be in the form of a discussion/interview lasting approximately one hour. The discussion/interview will surround the areas highlighted above as well as other issues that may arise in the process. Interviews will be conducted within the school premises or a venue convenient to you. This may include your local library, café, church venue or your home if you wish. I will work with you to ensure that your time is managed effectively.

The discussion/interview will be audio recorded to make the data collection process easier and aid transcription. Confidentiality and anonymity of what is said will be held with the strictest of confidence. Data collected will be used purely for the purpose of this research and its related activities such as conference presentations and academic publications/disseminations. As a default, the data collected will be seen by my supervisors, but you will not be linked to any identifying information (e.g. name) supplied. Furthermore, any data presented at conferences and in academic publications/disseminations will be anonymised. Hence, I will use a typical Ghanaian name when I am reporting/presenting what you say to anonymise your identity.

You can withdraw from this study at any time, should you wish; however, I request that I be informed of your intention to withdraw from participating in the project, at least, few days prior to the day of the interview (if possible).

You can ask questions at any point. If you have any questions as a result of reading this information sheet, please ask me before the study begins. I will also be available for you to ask any questions should you require clarification or further information during the research.

You will also be given the opportunity to read the transcribed data to authenticate the information generated or to make clarifications if you wish.

I can be contacted at the following e-mail address:

This project is supervised by Dr Priti Chopra, Dr Adewale Magaji and Prof Carl Parsons. Should you wish to contact them, they can be reached on the details below:

- Dr Priti Chopra
- Dr Adewale Magaji
- Prof Carl Parsons

Many thanks in advance for your participation!

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APPENDIX 2:

INVITATION LETTER TO PARENTS/GUARDIANS

Dear Parent/Guardian,

Following a general invitation made to students, your child has expressed an interest to participate in a research project that I am undertaking as a doctoral student at Greenwich University.

I will be delighted if you would permit your child to participate in this research project. Attached is an information sheet that explains what the project is about. Please read and discuss the information with your child. I welcome any questions you and your child may have.

If you are satisfied with the information provided and have no further questions or queries at present, I will be grateful if you and your child could complete and sign the attached Greenwich University's Participant consent form permitting your child to participate in this research project.

Many thanks in advance for you and your child's time, cooperation and generosity.

Yours faithfully,

Alberta Male

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APPENDIX 3

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

To be completed by the participant. If the participant is under 18, to be completed by the parent/guardian / person acting *in loco parentis*.

- I have read the information sheet about this study
- I have had an opportunity to ask questions and discuss this study
- I have received satisfactory answers to all my questions
- I have received enough information about this study
- I understand that I am / the participant is free to withdraw from this study:
    - At any time (until such date as this will no longer be possible, which I have been told) without giving a reason for withdrawing
    - (If I am / the participant is, or intends to become, a student at the University of Greenwich) without affecting my / the participant's future with the University
- I understand that my research data may be used for a further project in anonymous form, but I am able to opt-out of this if I so wish, by ticking here.
- I agree to take part in this study

Signed (participant)	Date
Name in block letters	
Signed (parent / guardian / other) (if under 18)	Date
Name in block letters	
Signature of researcher	Date
This project is supervised by: Dr Priti Chopra, Dr Adewale Magaji and Prof Carl Parsons.	
Researcher's contact details (including telephone number and e-mail address): Researcher's Supervisors' contact details: • Dr Priti Chopra • Dr Adewale Magaji • Prof Carl Parsons	

Appendix 4: Interview Guidance

1. Welcome participant(s), thank him/her for meeting with me and agreeing to take part in my study. Develop rapport and establish a relaxed atmosphere, e.g., How are you? How is your day going? Have you had a good day?

2. Let participants know that there is water available if they want.

3. The consent form should have been returned before the meeting but if they haven't, ask for this and check that it is signed and dated. Also, reiterate that they have the right to redraw from the study and this interview.

4. Reiterate the purpose of the research, my intended uses for the interview data, and the measures that I will take to protect their confidentiality and anonymity. Discuss and ask permission for an audio recording of the interview. Let them know that I will also be taking notes if they mind. If they do or if it will put them off, then don't.

5. Since your identity cannot be revealed, I need to use a different name when using your information/what you have said. Would you like to pick a name, or would you like one to be provided for you?

6. Inform participants of the duration of the interview time – approximately forty-five minutes to an hour and ask if they speak Twi/Fanti and if so, if they would prefer the interview to be conducted in like manner.

7. Be mindful if participants become unsettled, upset or uncomfortable and find out if they are okay to carry on or end the interview. End the interview if necessary or if indicated by the child. Refer the student to the school counsellor if necessary.

8. Ensure the recorder is working. Regularly (but discreetly) check to make sure that the recorder is still working.

9. Be mindful of nonverbal communication, e.g. eye contacts, smiles, how participants sit or position themselves, open or closed body language.

10. Invite the participants to tell their stories but can also start with the questions below to ease them into the interview or if they are struggling to start and or get stuck. **Whichever format/order the interview takes, ensure a sustained focus on the main research and subsidiary questions**.

11. Ensure the interview ends on a positive note; ask if there is anything else that they would like to tell me or add. Also, ask if they would be ok for additional interviews if further information is needed at a later stage.

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Appendix 4a: Interview Questions for Students

1. Where were you born?
2. How long have you lived in the UK?
3. Did you travel directly from Ghana to the UK? If you didn't, which country did you come from to the UK?
4. How long have you been attending your current school?
5. Do you like going to this school? Why/why not?
6. Do you have any brothers and sisters? If yes, how many?
7. Have you been to any other school in the UK before coming to this school?
8. How is going to school like where you came from? Teaching/learning and classroom experiences, teachers, curriculum (what you were being taught), students etc.
9. Can you describe how going to school in the UK is like for you?
10. What is your favourite lesson/subject and why?
11. What is your least favourite lesson/subject and why?
12. What do you think about your teachers in the UK and the way they teach you?
13. How would you describe your relationship with your teachers in the UK?
14. How was your relationship like with your teachers where you have come from?
15. Friends – which group of people do you associate with the most? Can you describe the kinds of friends that you have – their cultural backgrounds, what do you get up to with them?
16. How have your friends helped you to live in the UK and go to school here?
17. Has the change of country and school affected you in any way? If yes, how has it affected you?
18. What helps you with your learning and what stops/prevents you from learning?
19. Describe how life was like where you came from to the UK?
20. Are you missing anyone or anything from where you came from? Explain.
21. Do you keep in touch with family members back home, how/why?
22. Describe how life has been like for you in the UK? Can you describe your initial experience in school when you first arrived in the UK? (probe to explore experiences and relating to issues of alienation, isolation, loneliness, discrimination etc?
23. What has been the role of your family in helping you or not in settling into the UK (parental involvement in your education and in settling in the UK)?
24. Do you go into Ghanaian communities e.g. for parties, youth clubs in the church/community?
25. What is the one thing or experience that you can say has really impacted or affected your life (positively or negatively) because of migrating (coming) to the UK?
26. When you came to the UK, could you speak English (fluently)?
27. What has been your experiences regarding speaking the English language in school and outside?
28. When you first went to school in the UK, did you feel that children/students were sensitive to and supportive of the fact that you are new to the school and from another country?
29. When you first went to school in the UK, did you feel that teachers were sensitive to and supportive of the fact that you are new to the school and from another country?
30. Can you describe how you found out that you were travelling to the UK and how you felt about it?
31. I had waited a long time to see my dad, so I very was excited when I found that I was going to travel to so see him; how did you feel when you found out that you going abroad to see your dad/mum?
32. Were you living with you both your parents before you came to the UK?

Appendix 4b: Interview Questions for Parents

1. Did you travel directly from Ghana to the UK? If you didn’t, which country did you come from to the UK?
2. Does your child like going to this school/college in the UK? Why/why not?
3. Has he/she been to any other school in the UK?
4. Can you describe how school was like for you where you have come from?
5. Can you describe how going to school in the UK is like for your child?
6. Were you born in Ghana? If not, where?
7. How many children do you have?
8. How long have you lived in the UK?
9. What is your educational background /level?
10. Why did you move/migrate to the UK/Britain?
11. What did you do in Ghana or the country that you came from to live in the UK?
12. What do you do (jobwise) in the UK now?
13. Did you come to the UK with your child/children the first time that you came? If so, why? If not, why did you decide to bring him/her or your children later? How long after your initial arrival did you bring him/her/them?
14. Apart from (insert child’s name) being your child, is there any special reason why you brought him/her to the UK?
15. How was going to school like for your child/children where you have come from?
16. How is your child finding school in the UK?
17. Has he or she come home with any experiences which were difficult for him/her, especially when he/she first arrived? If yes, can you describe these?
18. How is your child finding life in the UK?
19. Have you noticed any changes in your child/children’s behaviour (positively or negatively) since you came to the UK?
20. How was his/was behaviour like in school where you have come from?
21. Does he or she have friends in the UK that you know about? What is their ethnic background?
22. How have you interacted with your child/children’s school community (e.g. with teachers; what has been your experience with your child’s teachers?).
23. How do you feel the school has supported your child in transitioning or moving from another school and country?
24. Is there any community centre or youth clubs near where you live that your child goes to? If so, how is this helping your child with living in the UK?
25. Does your child attend any Ghanaian youth clubs?
26. Are you aware of any Ghanaian associations in the UK? If yes, are you a member of any?
27. Do your children interact with the Ghanaian community much in the UK? If so, how?
28. Do you support your children with his or her schooling/education and life in the UK? If so, how?
29. Youth enrichment programmes – Ghanaian or otherwise

Appendix 4c – Interview Questions for Teachers

1. How long have you been teaching?
2. How long have you taught in this school?
3. Did you teach anywhere else before coming here?
4. What is your subject specialism?
5. What is your understanding of the phrase/term 'migrant child' or 'migrant children'?
6. Have you taught or had any experiences in teaching migrant children?
7. Can you describe your experiences with teaching migrant children in general?
8. What support or strategies do you put in place to prepare and teach them?
9. When a (newly arrived) migrant child who does not speak nor understand English first comes into your lesson, how do you feel teaching them and what do you do to support them?
10. Would you have been made aware that this child is coming into your lesson? If so how and what kind of information would you have been given about him/her?
11. How do you find the experiences of migrant children when they first arrive in the school and in your lesson and how does this change over time? Perhaps in a period of 3, 6 to 12 months?
12. Have you taught any Ghanaian migrant child/children? If yes, can you describe your encounters and experiences that you have had with them in your classroom and around the school? Their attitude to learning, behaviour, relationship with peers and teachers and with you etc.
13. You teach -----, can you narrate your experiences or knowledge about him/her?
14. What provision, if any, do you think are available for migrant children or child migrants in this school? Can you describe the school's inclusive policy with regards to migrant children? How is this similar or different to the schools that you have taught prior to this?
15. How equipped do you feel you are in dealing with the educational and social needs of (Ghanaian) migrant children in the school as a teacher?
16. Can you describe some of the strategies that you use to help them access teaching and learning?
17. Looking at the class sets/groupings, which sets are migrant children from Ghana or African descent normally placed in? Is this the same for all migrant children from varied ethnicities?
18. Have you had any encounters with the parents of Ghanaian migrant children that you teach? If so, can you describe your experiences with them? For example, are they supportive, authoritarian, proactive in their child's learning/education etc? How do they seem when you are dealing with them? How do you perceive the attitude of Ghanaian parent(s) to their child's/children's education?
19. Do you think as a school, we celebrate Cultural diversity?
20. Can you describe your experiences of how students in this school deal/cope with migrant children?
21. How equipped do you feel your training prepared you to support migrant children?

Appendix 4d - Questions for Rev Ministers and Church Elders

1. What is your understanding of the phrase/term ‘migrant child’ or ‘migrant children’?
2. Do you have any child in your congregation who is a child migrant?
3. How many?
4. Where have they usually come from? Ghana? If not Ghana, where?
5. Describe your encounters or experiences with them?
6. How do you support them in your church to settle in the UK?
7. How do you find them when they first arrive and do you see any changes in them as they settle in? This could be in their behaviour, attitude to school, people in the congregation etc.
8. Are there any educational facilities that the church provides for these children?
9. Do you have any youth programmes in the church? Do you involve these students? If so, how?
10. Are you aware of how parents of these children support them? If yes, can you give examples?
11. Anything else that you would like to add that we have not discussed?

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Appendix 5: Focus Group Interview Schedule

Thank you for your continued support and participation in my research.

In addition to the one to one interview/discussion, you are asked to take part in a group discussion. To prepare for this discussion, please, familiarise yourself with the questions/statements below. You can make notes on the sheet to help you effectively with the discussion. You can also use the space to write questions that you would like to ask.

Ground rules:

- *Your confidentiality is important; therefore, what is discussed here stays here*
- *Listen to each other and be respectful*
- *It is understanding that there might be occasions where you might all want to speak at the same time but try your best not to speak over each other's voices (if possible)*
- *It's not too late, you still have the right to withdraw or leave if you wish; however, it would be helpful to stay to the end*
- *The interview will last approximately an hour*
- *Feel free to get water*

To help me identify your voices, please say your name and what you thought the UK was like before you came and whether this has changed or not.

Do you like living in the UK? Why, why not?	Comments/notes/Questions
Did you encounter any challenges/problems when you first arrived? If yes, what were they and how did you deal with them? *Think about what brought these challenges on – maybe you found it hard to make friends (feeling isolated/alienated/alone/like you don't belong); change of school and country; learning and speaking English; racism; your accent or how you speak; living out your faith; cultural changes; change of environment; your school experiences, your relationship with your new teachers/teaching styles, students behaviour in your lessons, parents; (extended) family members - missing family back home; your local community/church and even yourself – did these contribute to the problem, help with overcoming the problem or both?*	
Has your school been helpful in you settling in the UK and managing your learning/education? If yes, how? If no, can you explain what you think your school could have done or can do to help you to be successful with your education in the UK? *Think of help with learning English (if you couldn't speak it at all or fluently when you arrived; English as the*	

language of instruction/teaching; helping you to understand life in Britain, showing you around the school, helping you to make friends etc.	
How does it feel to go to school in the UK compared to where you have come from? *Think about the subjects that you are doing now compared to where you've come from – is it easy, hard, are your repeating things that you have already learnt in your previous school? Do you like what you are being taught, is it relevant to you, what you would like to learn that you are not learning or being taught etc.*	
Since being in the UK, what has helped or stopped you from learning in school. *Consider the subjects that you are doing (do you like/dislike them); subjects that you would like to have done that you have not had the opportunity to do; other students in your classes, class sizes; teaching groups that you are placed in and behaviour, your relationship with teachers and with other students; choosing your options etc.*	
Think of your life in school, at home, your local community and church community since you came, what are some of the things that have believe have helped or stopped you from enjoying living in the UK?	
How do you feel about the culture and lifestyle in the UK, is it similar or different to where you came from? In what way is it similar or different and how do you feel about it? *Think about the food, how people behave in public and in school - what you hear and see people say/do; fashion; beliefs, language, accents etc.*	
How do you feel about being a Ghanaian (black) child in the UK, compared to where you have come from? *Do you feel that you are treated differently because of your skin colour; accents; Christian beliefs; cultural beliefs (e.g. respect for authority, obedience); behaviour, attitude, personality; thinking pattern; ethnic group that you associate most with and why etc?*	
Some teachers say that Ghanaian migrant children are well behaved when they first arrive in the UK, but some later adopt poor behaviour of other students in their classes. Also, that they are normally put in lower ability teaching set/groups or classes where behaviour is poor/bad. What do you say to these?	
How would you describe your parent's contribution to your education and your life in the UK? *Consider what your parents do or do not do that helps or stops you from succeeding in your education and settling in in the UK; parents' evening; supporting you with your homework; getting a tutor for you; teaching you about life/lifestyle in the UK; help/support that they give you to assist you to settle in in the UK.*	

What role has your local community, church community and your relationship with them, and faith in God played in you settling or not settling in the UK and doing well in school?	
What Ghanaian values or principles have you been brought up with that you believe is helping or not helping you to adjust to living in the UK? *Consider respect for authority and adults; obedience; biblical values; your faith in God etc.*	
How were your experiences in school when you first arrived and how is it now? *Experiences with teachers and students in the classroom, around the school corridors, during break and lunchtimes etc.*	
What is the one thing or experience that you can say has had the most impact on you or has really impacted your life (positively or negatively) since moving to Britain? *In what way has coming into the UK affected you? Have your experiences been positive, negative or both?*	
Reflect on your overall experiences of coming to and living in the UK? What did teachers, peers, parents, local or church community do that helped you settle in school and the country as a whole? **What did they do that did not help you?** **What advice would you give to teachers and peers to help other newly arrived Ghanaian migrant children?** **Do the same for parents and church/local community.**	
Now apply this to newly-arrived Ghanaian migrant children; what advice would you give to them to help them settle in the UK and be successful in school and in their lives here?	
What would you like to do or become in the future? Is this different to what you wanted to be/do before you came into the UK? Has this changed?	
How would you sum up your overall experience of living and going to school in the UK, in one sentence?	

Please don't hesitate to ask me any questions.
Thank you, once again!

UNIVERSITY of GREENWICH

Appendix 6: Observation Notes

Name of child: Araba **Subject:** Maths

Year: 9 **Class set:** Set 1

Context: A trainee teacher was teaching the class. Being unqualified, she cannot be left with the class on her own. So, as the main teacher of the class was absent, I was scheduled to cover the lesson, sitting in whilst she taught.

Observations:

Whilst other students entered the lesson late and rowdy and some particularly rude to the teacher, Araba was amongst the earliest of two who arrived first. Exercise books were on the desks, so she sat down and wrote down the learning objective without being told and began to complete the starter activity on the smartboard. The title of the starter is *Geometry and Measurement.* 10 minutes into the lesson, I observed Araba quietly interacting with the girl sitting next to her about the task. There was mutual understanding and respect for both themselves and the teacher.

In the whole class activity to discuss answers to the starter activity, Araba observed but did not participate, she continued to mark her work and intermittently quietly discussed her answers with the girl sitting next to her. There was constant calling out and chatting from the rest of the class. The teacher constantly tells students to keep quiet and to focus.

After this activity, the announcement from the teacher about the students doing a mini test brought an uproar from students who complained that they are not ready for a test. Araba and the girl sat quietly. It was 30 minutes mini-test. There was no interaction between Araba and the teacher or other students besides the one sitting next to her.

11 minutes towards the end of the lesson, Araba raised her hand but for two minutes, the teacher did not see her. Finally, the teacher came to her and she was able to ask her a question. The teacher asked her and the girl sitting next to her two questions which Araba answered. She seemed to have gained the understanding needed to get on with the work. She finished and sat there until the class was dismissed.

At the end of the lesson, I asked her how she found the test. She replied, *"it was easy except for one question which I asked the teacher about and I got it."*

Also, I asked the teacher about her perception of Araba. She replied, *"She's like the perfect student. She is really lovely as well; she doesn't give me any problem at all".*