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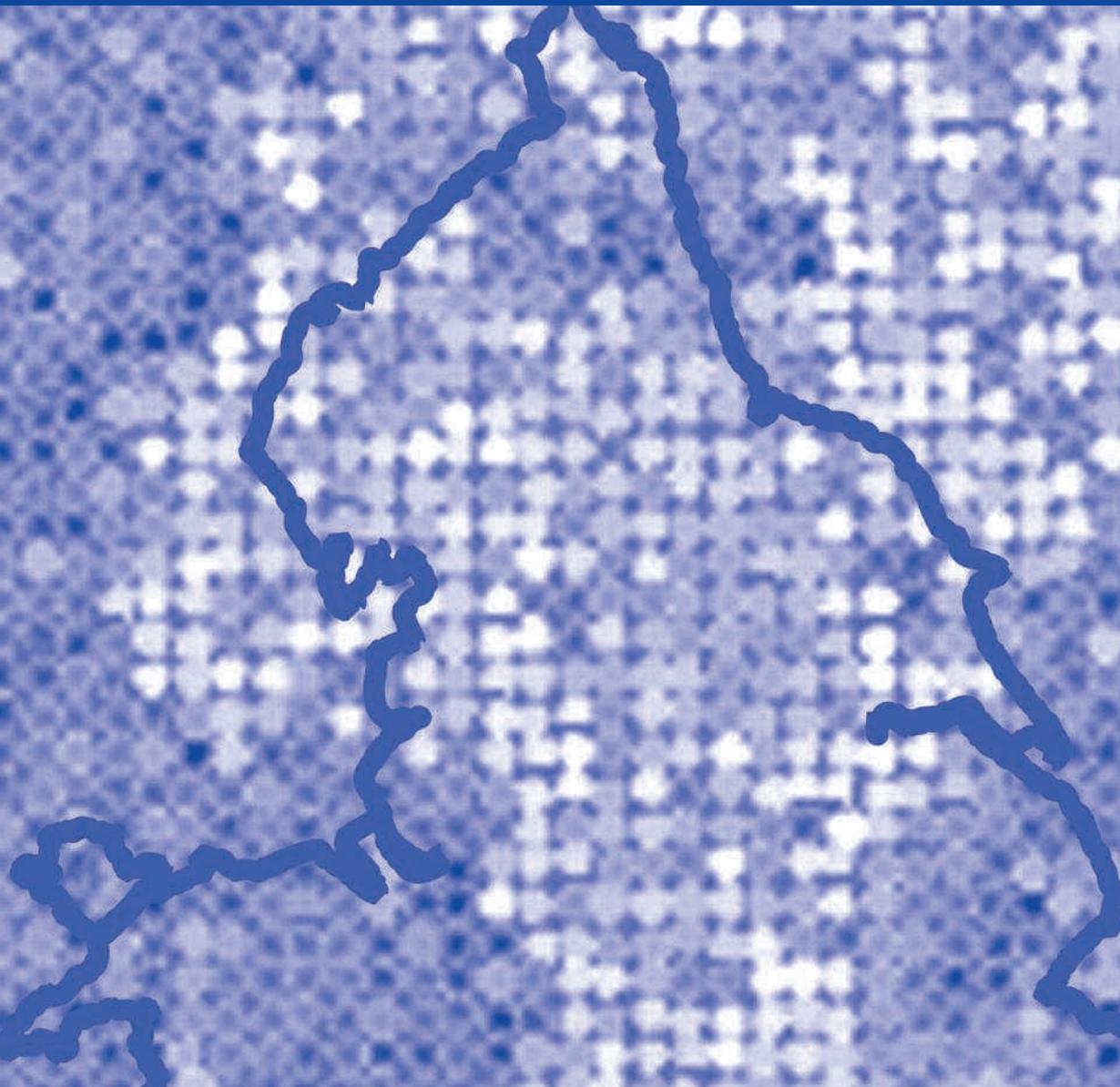
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Intergenerational relations and the settlement experiences of African migrants in northern England

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Notes

- ¹ First generation migrants are defined as people born outside the country to non-host country parents. The second generation is generally defined as children born in the host country of one or more immigrant parents or those who arrived before primary-school age.
- ² The data is referenced as interview codes, this is to retain the confidentiality of the respondent. However some contextualisation of these codes is required. Community codes are as follows; Zimbabwean (ZIM), Sudanese (SUD), Somali (SOM) and Kenyan (KEN). The parent generation is coded as O and the child generation is Y. Focus groups are coded according to community followed by FG and W means women's focus group and M means men's focus group. KI refers to key informant and CL to community leader. In the quotes the abbreviation R refers to 'respondent' and I to 'interviewer', and three square bracketed ellipsis dots are used to indicate that a few words have been edited to remove repetitions or to clarify the meanings of confused speech.

INTRODUCTION

There have been several studies that investigate the settlement and integration experiences of African migrants in the UK. However, there has been a reticence of migration studies in general to examine intergenerational issues; a research gap that this study attends to by exploring generational differences and similarities in the shaping of post-migration lives.

This 18 month study was funded by the British Academy under its Research Development Scheme. The research was conducted by the Universities of Stirling and Leeds and focused on the lives of first generation African migrants (Zimbabwean, Kenyan, Sudanese and Somali) and their second generation children living in Yorkshire, UK¹. Using qualitative methods, this study explored how experiences of migration and settlement vary across family generations and what these mean in terms of identities and belongings. This report therefore focuses upon the intergenerational transmission of family practices, culture and traditions, and the lived experiences that may enhance or inhibit integration.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

- This research confirms the relevance of transnational identities for first generation migrants. Thus many of the parents perceived their identities in a tiered or layered manner and spoke of complex attachments to country of origin (CoO) and Britain.
- This research finds that transnational identities were significant in shaping the identities and attachments of the child generation as well, with

many participants experiencing multiple attachments to Britain and their parent's countries of origin.

- For some second generation individuals their transnational identities provided a source of positive power, others spoke of the confusion that multiple identities and stretched belongings bring.
- First generation migrants face key challenges resulting from parenting across two cultures and in extreme circumstances this can lead to serious tensions developing between parents and their children. In this sense migration can increase differences between generations; key examples of this are the values around discipline and respect and gender roles.
- In terms of intergenerational relations, the most successful transitions post-migration were found in those families where both generations developed strategies for combining new practices while maintaining key aspects of tradition. These families were the majority in this study and existed across all of the communities.
- This study reveals the contested nature of gender roles and expectations, demonstrating how both first and second generation women are active agents in reshaping women's expected roles.
- Evidence demonstrates that cultural traditions are not simply replicated post-migration; they evolve and change as they become mixed into and re-interpreted within a different socio-cultural context. In this sense both generations of participants share the capacity to interpret, select and reshape their cultural heritage and values.

- The loss of a supportive environment in which care is a shared responsibility is fundamental to shaping the elder care choices of some of the first generation migrants. Migration leads to many parents re-evaluating what they could realistically expect from their children in terms of care in later life.
- The desire to return to live in their CoO, takes on particular meaning for 'forced migrants' who even after long periods of settlement in the UK never let go of the dream of reuniting with their families and friends in their homeland and contributing to the rebuilding of their communities. In practice though, return can be difficult to realise and its success can be uneven.
- Participants in this study were involved in a diverse range of community networks. CoO networks played an important role for many families who talked of these networks enabling them to 'navigate the UK', to compensate for the loss of family networks and to mix with people who shared their values and experiences. Other types of network included faith-based, gender and mixed community networks which were important to participants' feelings of belonging.
- Housing was an issue that particularly concerned those respondents who had come to the UK under the asylum route; these participants recounted negative experiences of compulsory dispersal to 'no choice' housing.
- The broader issue of access to social housing was also raised by some of the respondents. It was recognised that social housing provision was a valuable resource for migrant groups, but that there is a chronic problem of supply being outstripped by demand.
- With regard to health care, some respondents were quick to compare the NHS with state health care provision in their countries of origin and to feel grateful that they can access healthcare in the UK for little or no cost. However, while participants recognised that the state provides a valuable safety net particularly for older people, this is compared negatively to the holistic well-being nurturing that older people would attain back in their homelands.
- Concern was raised by several participants around mental health care. Asylum seekers and refugees are well known to experience mental health problems leaving 'forced migrants' in need of particular care. It was recognised that while services were improving for some communities, people were still struggling to find appropriate mental health support, often relating to the stigma of mental health in many communities.
- Equality of access and equal treatment in employment was of core concern to both first and second generation participants. For the first generation, discrimination was attributed to the failure of employers to recognise their qualifications and experience. For the second generation, who had largely been educated in the UK, this was related more to how their different accents and cultural backgrounds may mitigate against them gaining access to 'good' jobs.
- The arenas in which prejudice and discrimination were encountered spanned employment, educational and everyday neighbourhoods. The perceived reasons for discrimination varied from skin colour to religious association and to a more general feelings of being perceived as the 'other' with the associated presumption

of non-belonging. Islamophobia was raised in many interviews, as was the additional burden carried by Muslim women because of their heightened visibility compared to men.

ABOUT THE PROJECT

Participants in this study were drawn from four African communities; Sudanese, Somali, Kenyan and Zimbabwean. The interviews and focus groups were conducted during 2008/9. The project carried out 40 biographical interviews within 20 families of African origin living in Yorkshire (one parent and one child generation interview in each family). Seven focus groups were also conducted within the four communities, organised by gender and age where appropriate². The project also carried out seven key informant interviews, which included community representatives/leaders and local and national policy makers. All of the participants in this study have lived in Britain for at least five years, with the longest period of residence being 40 years. The families in this study span a range of migration paths (migrant workers, students, family joiners, refugees, EU citizens) with a significant minority of the children in this sample being British born. The parental generation ranges from ages 40-60s, with the child generation ranging from late teens to 30s.

Background

The communities involved in this study were selected based upon a mixture of criteria; population size, faith, migration path and history within the region. There are serious shortfalls in official statistics on African migration, with actual numbers being higher than official figures would suggest and data for some communities such as the Sudanese being imprecise. However, the migration contexts of the

communities in this study can be summarised as follows:

Zimbabwean migration

The history of Zimbabwean migration to the UK is long standing and accelerated in early 2000 due to socio-economic conditions in Zimbabwe under Mugabe. In the 2001 census there were 49,303 Zimbabweans recorded with 1,996 residing in the Yorkshire Humber region (Census 2001). However, research mapping the Zimbabwean population found that community leaders estimated that there are around 200,000 -500,000 Zimbabweans in UK, around 30,000 of which reside in cities the Yorkshire Humber region (IOM 2006a:15). The families in this study migrated for employment and education with numbers increasing as a result of socio-economic policies in Zimbabwe post 2000.

Sudanese migration

The Sudanese community were selected for two reasons; although official statistics are unavailable on the Sudanese population, they are estimated to be a relatively small migrant population (approximately 21,000 nationally, IOM 2006b) which has settled in parts of Yorkshire where there is a clustering of families from Northern and Western Sudan (Leeds City Council 2005; IOM 2006b:14). The Sudanese community was also chosen because the population contains both Muslim and Christian faiths (even amongst this mainly northern Sudanese population). Sudanese migrants moved originally prior to civil war in the late 1980's as professionals and students. Much of this population found they were unable to return post 1989. Later waves have arrived mainly through refugee and asylum routes. Participants in this sample moved to live in the UK via all of these routes.

Kenyan migration

The migration of Kenyans to the UK also has a long history, originally this population contained mostly students but due to unrest in Kenya post-1980 more families moved for employment and have settled in the UK. Census (2001) figures on Kenyans are relatively high with 129,356 being recorded, 3,333 living in the Yorkshire Humber region. The majority of participants in this study migrated for education and work.

Somali migration

The history of Somali migration spans generations, with a high occurrence of three generation families in the region. This population constitutes the majority of Muslim families in this sample and was chosen for its diverse migration paths as well as faith. Migration paths are varied with older generation Somali's originally moving for employment, followed by increased numbers moving as refugees from the 1990's onwards. More recent waves of migration from other EU countries have swelled numbers over the last 10 years. Official figures are questioned with the Census (2001) estimating 43,515 nationally, with 1,497 living in the Yorkshire Humber region. These figures are significantly low especially given the large number of Somali's residing in cities in the region, particularly Sheffield. Other more community based sources have the numbers as high as 10,000 in Sheffield alone (IOM 2006d:20).

Migration Paths

The participants in this study who where first generation migrants came to Britain under five main routes:

- asylum seekers and refugees
- migrant workers
- family joiners
- students
- as citizens of EU or EU associated countries

The child generation in this study arrived via a combination of routes:

- British born
- family joiners
- refugees

Importantly these migration routes are not mutually exclusive. There is considerable overlap between the family joiner, student and migrant worker routes with that of refugees. While migration was 'chosen' in the original instance, many of the families in this study were at later stages of their settlement forced to remain due to civil war and conflict in their homelands. When families found themselves unable to return some eventually chose permanent settlement while for others the dream of return remains. Also worth noting is that a variety of migration routes and statuses are found within the four African communities — no one community group unanimously shares the same migration route.

TRANSNATIONAL IDENTITIES AND BELONGINGS

Processes of globalisation have led to enhanced flows of people, ideas and goods between regions. Although variously defined, transnationalism — for the purpose of this report — is taken to mean the heightened interconnectivity between people across the globe and the loosening of boundaries between countries. The term clearly has particular resonance when it comes to explorations of migration. The term is often discussed in relation to what 'being a transnational citizen' means for associated processes of identity formation and feelings of belonging (Anthias, 2006). There are interesting differences and similarities between first generation and second generation respondents in this study, so this section is organised accordingly.

First generation

First generation migrants, more so than the second generation respondents, can be thought of as 'transnationals'. This gives rise to notions of 'straddling lives' and people being both 'here' and 'there' simultaneously (Massey and Jess, 1995; Gidwani and Sivaramakrishnan, 2003). Some of the respondents in this research described such experiences as 'inbetween-ness' and their feelings of belonging subsequently emerge as 'stretched':

"[B]ecause merely being here and working here, living here – I'm British, but still I have very strong feelings that I belong there [Kenya]. I belong there, so I'm, I'm, I'm between ..." [KENFG]

Such attachment to distant places invokes ideas of 'multiple homes' (Blunt and Dowling, 2006) and several first generation migrants in this study mentioned this idea as they often maintain various kinds of ties to homelands at the same time as becoming embedded (in varying degrees) in the UK:

Home for me is here. Except I can see the possibility of moving to Sudan and having a home there also. But really I've got two homes. [SUDO]

The described 'inbetween-ness' that results from social life taking place across borders can lead to first generation migrants describing feelings of transiency; "I say maybe transiency, [I feel] in between. It's half way through" [KENO], which are sometimes related to acknowledgements that identities are similarly complicated through relations with countries of origin;

"my identity is half way" [ZIMO]. As a consequence some of the first generation migrants in this study perceived their identities in a tiered or layered manner (Hull and du Gay, 1996):

Kenyan, then African. Then British if you want. In that order. [KENO]

R: Being Somali, that's who you are, that's really what you are — Somali. Well then certainly in some way I have grown in somewhere is different. Somali is, that's where you come from. [...] Being British and living here it's different thing. Well if you see, my life, I think it belong to more English than Somali. I think that that's important to me because my children are English.

I: Yeah, so it's layers of identity?

R: Yes it is. [SOMO]

Many of the first generation participants in this study spoke of the importance of their African identities yet also discussed the need to feel some form of identification with Britain in order to feel like they belonged to the spaces where they resided for most of their time. This respondent described making certain efforts with work colleagues in order to mix with people and try to integrate and be recognised by the wider community:

They are just work colleagues. Even when I join them it's because you want some kind of identification, not that I really enjoy going out with them. ..You kind of join them because you want some kind of identification. You don't want to look like you disapprove of everything. [KENO]

Another respondent in the Kenyan focus group stated that; “I’d like to think that I’m a Kenyan by blood but I live in England and live that British life [...] I’ve already integrated in my community and become active” [KENFG], thereby suggesting that she feels her sense of belonging to Kenya emotively (‘by blood’) yet views her ability to feel simultaneous belonging to Britain as socially enabling for her everyday life and, perhaps, sense of belonging. In a different way however, another group of first generation migrants in this study describe subsuming the British element of their identities to the powerful emotional attachment that they retain to their CoO:

I: Would you in any way identify yourself as British?

R: No. I’ve never felt that. I’m still struggling on whether I should change my passport. I’ve not changed it. I’m just thinking. I know it’s a different culture and different group. I can live with them but I’m still Kenyan. Home is Kenya. [KENO]

Such a narrative that promotes CoO identities may be partly in response to the increasingly assimilationist overtones of British integration and citizenship policies (Kofman, 2005). Other respondents similarly feel that their ‘true’ home is their CoO and they dream of returning to their native lands at some point in the future to escape feelings of ‘temporariness’ in their current lives:

I: It is really home here [UK]?

R: Probably it will never be. I will say Africa or Somaliland, yes, as home. That’s why I say before east and west, home’s the best. Yes, wherever you go you feel it’s temporary, it’s temporary. [SOMH]

CoO visits were discussed by respondents as being important to identities and belonging (Fortier, 2000), but also mentioned were the confusing experiences that some first generation migrants endure upon travelling back to their homelands. Feelings of being ‘out of place’ were said to emerge:

When I think of the two lives... when I go home to Africa I feel very sad, I don’t feel as comfortable as at home [UK home], I feel very sad because all my friends have either died, or grown old, or moved away. ...Every time I go they say so and so, or so and so’s daughter — but I don’t recognise people any more. I feel very sad. What do you think about, are you going home? I say, yes I’m going home. But you are home. No I don’t feel that now. [SOMFGW]

It is important to mention, however, that several first generation migrants in this study expressed feelings of non-belonging and exclusion not only to countries of origin, but also to Britain:

As much as I would like to see myself as a British person, the wider society doesn’t see me as that as well. Yeah, but when they see me walking the street, you know they say ‘oh, there’s another foreigner’, ‘a refugee’, that’s how the community labels you, that’s the impression, ‘another Somali, another refugee’. [SOMO]

Second generation

The word ‘transnational’ is less frequently applied to second generations in comparison to first

generations as is it assumed that these groups engage with their ancestral homes to a much lesser degree than their parents, that they feel more rooted to their country of residence rather than their parents' country, and that they are subsequently able to claim stronger host country identities with associated feelings of belonging to the nation. Such a narrative is borne out by some of the second generation individuals in our study:

We love it here so much because we are used to it. We have been here more than we have been back there [ancestral country]. We are not attached to it. But if we leave here we are going to be so attached to it because our life has been here, we have so many memories. So many good memories. If we leave and go some place else we'll be like, no. We are English, Yorkshire. [SOMY]

However, a far more dominant discourse in the narratives of the second generation in this study, was not the above idea of 'host country as home' but rather a more nuanced articulation of multiple identities and straddling belongings. Such sentiments emerged in recognition of the social realities for many second generation individuals being shaped by transnational social fields that leave them exposed to ideas, practices, people and goods from their parents' countries of origin. The forms of exposure may not be as direct or intensely experienced as for first generation migrants, but the circulation of ancestral homeland cultural repertoires in the everyday lives of second generations often complicate notions of singular belongings to the host country:

I would definitely say a mixture of Kenyan and British. Identifying very much with both. Stuff that is

embedded in me from back home. Stuff I've picked up. A mixture of both. [KENY]

This description of dual or mixed identities among second generation African young people is not dissimilar to the fractured identities articulated by the first generations in this study. Such placement in transnational social fields gives the children of migrants potential sources of power, information and support that they can deploy in different arenas and at different times; for example, to enable economic or social mobility in their parents' countries of origin, to pursue kin-based strategies for occupational mobility in host countries, or to facilitate marriage. This can, on the one hand, be viewed positively as sets of 'opportunities'. However, there is another side of the coin; and that is the side where multiple identities and stretched belongings may hinder or 'confuse' second generation young people:

R1: I'm a very confused child actually. I was born in Ethiopia, I was raised up in Holland and I now live in England and I am Somali [...] I think I'm just a Somali but now a British citizen but I was once a Dutch citizen who just happens to be born in Ethiopia.

R2: Yeah, you're constantly running, you're trying to adapt to cultural living and trying to find your identity in life, what is your identity, Somalian or British and you're dicing with that you know and trying to fit into all these labels that are jam packed into your head [...] There's always so much conflict in one's head, like trying to find all these things...

[SOMFGY]

'Homeland visits' can be seen as a part of second generations' transnational landscapes that may contribute to this notion of 'confusion'. Homeland visits are of importance to the children of first generation migrants in terms of potentially 'discovering one's routes' and exploring fixing senses of belonging and identities (Pratt, 2003). These journeys however, are often acknowledged by respondents in this study to be potentially destabilising experiences that can shake senses of 'self':

I was just gonna say like in some sense a lot of people like find it hard going back and don't go back 'cos when you go back there you're trying to fit yourself up like to be a Somali and then it confuses you, and when you come back here you're trying to fit into this society so it confuses you more. So I think it's better like to stay just in one country.[SOMFGY]

It is likely to be because of these difficulties associated with the juggling of multiple identities that several members of the second generation in this study described feeling more comfortable with claiming a relatively straightforward Muslim identity (see also Valentine & Sponton, 2009); "[T]he first way I'd identify myself is as a Muslim because that's the most important thing to me, I'm a Muslim and that's first and foremost" [SOMY]. This is perhaps linked to a related issue of a reluctance to claim the identity 'British' by some of our respondents because of their skin colour; "[B]ut to be honest ... if I say I'm British, well I'm black, so I can't be British" [SUDY].

It is fears of non-belonging to Britain and alienation from something called 'Britishness' (Ward, 2004) that is driving up the political temperature around migrants'

attachments to host-country places. Policy makers fear that stretched feelings of belonging among diasporic groups will necessarily compromise the ability to feel strong senses of belonging to Britain. Yet the findings of this research question the assumption that transnational ties weaken a sense of belonging to Britain. The same could be said from our research of multiple identities and an asserted Muslim subject position. Some second generation respondents in this research are clearly struggling at a personal identity level with their stretched and straddling attachments, but we found no evidence of these processes manifesting into feelings of alienation from a — variously articulated — sense of 'Britishness', nor to more general feelings of belonging to Britain. Rather the second generation were creating complex practices of their own that negotiated feelings of belonging to both homelands and host-country places.

FAMILY AND INTERGENERATIONAL RELATIONS

Findings are broad ranging and are grouped in this report under four themes; parenting culture, gender roles/expectations, transmission of culture and values, and care relations.

The challenges of migration for first generation parents

First generation migrants spoke of the challenges of adapting their style of parenting to a new cultural setting. Many parents talked of how they sought to uphold the core values of their culture while reflecting the new cultural environment that their families were living in. Consequently, first generation migrants face key challenges resulting from parenting across two cultures.

Respect and discipline were recurring themes in the interviews. Of particular concern was the erosion of respect as a result of migration. While shifting values around respect and discipline are found in intergenerational relations across all cultural groups, the process of migration renders some of these differences more pronounced. Hence migrant families find themselves grappling with generational and cultural differences. These points are demonstrated by data from our interviews where parents talk about the stark differences between parenting and childhood in their CoO and that of their new country. Of particular note is the role that the broader community plays in monitoring the behaviour of children:

It's quite different. Back home when you bring the children up the children belong to the community, not you as a parent, as an individual. Which means that if your son or your daughter is misbehaving outside he sees a neighbour he will stop...The kids they respect parents and elders. Unlike here. Bringing up kids [in Britain] is different. You give them a lot of freedom. Sometimes they misuse. The culture is different.

[KENO]

In many cases the discussion of respect was followed by an emphasis on the different cultural norms around discipline, in particular physical punishment. Many parents had adapted their disciplinary techniques to fit with 'British cultural norms', others had decided to continue to use traditional disciplinary practices but in a moderated form to better fit with norms in their new country.

Shifts and adaptations

Many of the interviews with the parent generation revealed how individuals had embraced new approaches to parenting post-migration. This was often expressed as a recognition of the need to be 'more relaxed' with their kids to enable their children to live across two cultures. One participant talked of how she had taken on British parenting culture:

But mine, they know that at least I as a parent have changed a little bit because of living here and therefore I am a little bit like an English mother, you may call it. So we have a good relationship. More sort out issues by talking. So it's quite, the more they hear outside they hear inside. So they don't have that double cultures. It's very clear.

[KENO]

Others spoke of their awareness of the tensions within families in their communities and how this had demonstrated the importance of compromise and allowing their children to adopt the best aspects of both cultures:

We have to treat them properly, children are like a tree, if you water and take care of it, it will grow up. A lot of Somali children they left family before 2003 because they have got argument. Sometimes the problems from the family or from the parents or some parents they cannot read and they cannot write and do just treat the children as the way back home so you have to make compromise. Meet in the middle they can do, some they cannot compromise.

[SOMO]

These experiences were confirmed in the child generation interviews where they reflected upon how their parents had changed their approach as they adjusted to living in Britain. Key themes were the relaxing of rules and expectations:

When I was younger not so much then. They were a bit strict. But now I have a really good relationship with my mum. I can talk to my mum any time I want. Like some of my friends feel like they lie to their parents sometimes, keep things from them. There are some things I wouldn't really tell my mum. I can tell her a lot of things and she understands. But I do know the limit like. [SUDY]

If you communicate more with the kids then you have a better chance of getting through to them than just disciplining them. I think it does open horizons a little bit. Kind of opens it up a little bit and that is good, very good. [KENY]

Combined with the parental data, these findings indicate that both generations have developed strategies for living across two cultures which both embrace new practices and maintain key aspects of tradition. These strategies were present in all the African communities in our study. It is in these relationships where the more successful post-migration transitions were identifiable and where the intergenerational bonds were strong.

Gendered relationships

Gender differences in the application of rules and expectations run throughout the interviews. In many

respects these differences reflect the continued presence of gender inequalities across all communities. However, the additional layering of migration onto existing gender divisions adds a further complication to these processes. In some cases this can lead to greater freedom of gender roles and responsibilities, while in others it has led to greater conflict between generations relating to the lack of similarity between traditional culture and gender roles in the new country.

Traditional gender divisions regarding unpaid care work were strongly identifiable throughout the interviews. We need, however, to exercise some caution in identifying these practices as solely being about ethnicity or culture in CoO. Gender divisions continue to permeate all cultural groups, with some variation, despite shifts within paid work and family relations in European societies (Gregory and Windebank, 2000).

Some of the families in this study identified a strict separation of men and women within the domestic sphere in their family's homes in Africa and in some cases these gender divisions were replicated post-migration. One participant talked of how, while this was not practiced in their home in Britain, when relatives came to visit her daughter compromised her behaviour. Her daughter's experiences reflect a desire to compromise to some degree to comply with traditions that she did not personally agree with but respected:

I know that when my relatives come over from Zimbabwe and then the whole cult thing was more like make tea in the morning. Because mum would like do most of the, things like serve the man and I would like have to do that. I just wanted to go. All the women are in the kitchen and

all the men like in the lounge. I didn't agree with that. [ZIMY]

While these kinds of domestic gender divisions are discussed by some participants, we need to exercise some caution over characterising the African societies in our study as deterministically gender segregated. In some but not all families, different expectations of daughters and sons extended outside of the household. Some of the areas in which this played include; educational choices, relationships and marriage and freedom to socialise outside of the household:

My brothers pretty much did whatever they wanted. I just used to cook and clean and everything. I was like the chief pot and bottle washer for years. Even when I got to about 11 years old my mum was like, oh you can't play outside any more. Whereas they would go off and do what they wanted. I wasn't even allowed to play outside. It was very frustrating. [SOMY]

Importantly, several families in this study spoke of how they were contesting gender divisions. This is identifiable on two levels. First, a significant minority of the parent generation talked of the choices and agency that migration had afforded them. Second, the child generation women did not merely passively accept these limitations; many of them found ways of contesting these boundaries. Several parental generation women reflected upon their own upbringing and how this had influenced the expectations they had of their daughters. Migration and generational change had reshaped these expectations and they chose different futures for their daughters:

I think sometimes Somali people they are different than English. I realise you can't just tell them you have to just be a wife so okay if you wanna succeed you have to do your homework so I let them to do their homework, I let them to go to university, they both go to university. Yeah, the beginning I thought girl have to be belong to the house you know inside the house. Yeah but then I was wrong. [SOMO]

I'm the only person educated in my family because for strange reason my community don't believe in educating the girls and for me to see that, having my own girls I would like them, I mean I'm in university for the moment myself. [KENO]

This data points to the contested nature of gender roles and expectations, demonstrating how both first and second generation women are active agents in reshaping gendered expectations. These processes of change not only relate to migration, which in some cases has certainly afforded the space to exercise change, they also relate to the broader transformations in gender relations across generations that are shaping all societies.

Intergenerational transmission

This section examines some of the challenges around transmitting cultural values in a societal context that can sometimes be at odds with what is being taught within the family. Key conduits through which culture is transmitted included; indigenous language, the importance of food and cultural events and the fundamental importance of visit to parents' CoO.

Agency and transmission

As with gender roles the transmission of cultural values and behaviour are not set in stone. Several of the parents exercised agency by selecting the aspects of their culture which they experienced as positive and emphasising these elements in their relationships with their children. For some this was a strategic decision relating to the need to accommodate the host culture that their children, and indeed they, were a part of. One interviewee, of Masai descent, explained how she consciously made choices about which aspects to pass onto her children. Equally she made choices about which aspects of the British culture she was happy with her children adopting:

There are things in my culture which they could be dictated to practice, but for me that's what I think, that is something in my culture I don't like, for example female genital mutilation. I wouldn't like my children to undergo. I get personal {pressure} from my family that they should have that. But I think no, they are not from your culture .So it's for me as a parent to decide and say, that's what I disagree with my culture and I'm not going to practice that. So I kind of like live in the middle somehow.

[KENO]

In explaining what aspects of her parent's cultural heritage she values, this Zimbabwean participant explains how she has made choices around what to transmit to her own children:

Because some of the cultural deeds in our African culture are

not very good deeds, not very good practices. But if I was back home the way I'm living now, the food I eat. I try to make my kids, we have the same food and we talk the way we would if we were back home. That's how we do it. [ZIMY]

Growing up in Britain inevitably shapes the degree to which the second generation interpret their cultural heritage and exercise agency in transmission of this to their own children. There is a real sense amongst the second generation that they will select the positive heritage and values but also be mindful not to transmit values that clash with theirs and their children's British lifestyles:

I don't think it would be suitable to just like drop the whole different culture in a different place because they more than likely not going to understand it. I'd probably have one or two things that I think this is supposed to be. Not necessarily completely ignoring the fact that we are living here. There is a discontinuance. I appreciate the values. I don't necessarily pass them on and practice them.[ZIMY]

Fundamentally this data illustrates how cultural traditions are not simply replicated post-migration; they evolve and change as they become mixed into, and re-interpreted from, a different socio-cultural context. In this sense both generations of participants share the capacity to interpret, select and reshape their cultural heritage and values as they see fit.

The strain of transmission on parents

Inevitably there are strong links between transmitting, intergenerational relations and identity and belonging. Many interviewees talked of the challenges of straddling cultures and how they have found it hard communicating their cultural preferences to their children who have spent most of their lives in British society. Some spoke of having a distance between themselves and their children and of a sense of failure in their efforts to maintain their culture in child generations:

Yes. I feel like I fail to bring my children up as Sudanese. Because the package I am giving my son is different from the culture he is getting in this society. When I try to correct him. Because what I say doesn't exist in this country. And I feel that I fail to bring my kids up as Sudanese. Even they don't accept it, the way it is. So when I'm not around I'm sure my children will really lose their identity. [SUDO]

This sense of distance and the difficulties of communicating their perspectives was shared by several other participants. For the minority of parents in this study who experienced a sense of failure in not continuing their cultural heritage, this impacted upon their relationships with their children and was a significant source of stress.

Care relationships

The care preferences of first generation migrants related strongly to practices in their CoO. However migration to a new country had

brought marked changes in family life, most notably the shift from extended family networks of care and support to smaller nuclear family units and more individualistic communities. These changes in family structure and culture impacted upon familial relationships and led many parents to re-evaluate what they could realistically expect from their children in terms of care in later life. Many of the women in this study spoke of the strain that migration away from their established family networks of support had placed on them, especially the loss of childcare networks:

Yes it is quite different. Because I'm nearly doing it single handily. If it's back home then I have got all the family there, the wider family structure involved. I could also be involved in other young children, my sisters, my brothers' children. So I do feel we do miss that family structure. [KENO]

We share the family thing. When the children come home from school, when they are thirsty they can go to any door and knock on the door and they give them water to drink. But in this country... [SUDO]

Descriptions of the context of family/community life prior to migration underlie the perspectives from which experiences and choices post-migration are interpreted and measured (Bornat, 2001). In the context of care, the loss of a supportive environment in which care is a 'shared responsibility', primarily within the extended family but also within the broader community, is fundamental to shaping the elder care choices of some of the first generation migrants.

Care preferences and expectations in later life

The existence of extensive familial networks based on respect for elders and a strong obligation to care for older generations significantly influence parental generation preferences for care in older age. Consequently, with few exceptions, first generation participants discussed how migration had changed their own expectations of familial elder care:

Old age. When I am getting to that age I don't know really what I am doing. I don't want to put pressure on my kids. Its difficult now for us. We used to emphasise our culture. Our traditions die and they are complicated. But now I think its dying because people are not together any more. Too much commitment. We have got jobs and things. So we find our culture is going down. [SUDO]

The shifts in family care as a result of migration and the desire to be cared for by their extended families and to grow old in African communities influenced the views of some of the parent generation on where it was better to grow old. Responses were mixed as to whether it was better to grow old in Africa or Britain but in general there was a preference for growing old in a community setting where one could be useful and be cared for by family, and this was contrasted with British traditions of care homes:

I wouldn't like to be very old in this country. The way old people are being served in nursing homes I don't like it. I wouldn't like to be in a nursing home. I'd rather grow old in Zimbabwe. I'd rather go home. [ZIMO]

I think where I would like to grow old is in Africa. Because I would be with the family and in your old age you are still given a role where you are a little bit productive. In this country I fear being trapped in a residential home. [KENO]

A desire to be useful and active in old age at a community level, surrounded by extended family was strong amongst our participants and it inspired the choices of some participants to return 'home' in retirement.

Gender and care relationships

Care is explicitly gendered since in all societies women make up the majority of carers (paid and unpaid) and carry much of the responsibility for care in their families (Walby 1997; Lister, 1997). One of the major transformations in care relations is the breakdown of traditions of filial care, whereby the son (usually translating as the daughter-in-law) is expected to take care of his parents:

The culture back home the boys, your mum can move to your brothers place but she will be mostly in your brothers place. Or she is more accepted to be in your brothers place than in your house. So it is a different culture. The boy should be able to take care of the mum and dad in their old age. [KENO]

These traditions do not translate well to the British family context. In the absence of filial systems of support in later life older migrants are left with two options — to call upon family in Britain and combine this care with formal elder care, or to return to extended family and community in

their CoO. For the second generation, the responsibility for elder care resided more often with daughters than with sons, reflecting the gendered nature of care in both African and European societies. Daughters more commonly talked of how they were willing to offer their parents care support in later life:

It depends on how serious it is. If it was so serious she couldn't help herself I would quit my job and move back. I wouldn't leave her to the mercies of my brothers.

[SOMY]

These commitments reflect both the strong bonds that existed between many of the mothers and daughters in this study and the way in which care more frequently falls to the women within families.

Desire to return to live in CoO

Return was discussed in all interviews but responses were quite mixed. The issue of return reflects the temporariness of migration for some families and the framing of family life and transmission around the long term aim of returning 'home'. These issues are further complicated by the settlement of child generations in the new country and the uncertain situations of poverty and conflict still affecting many of their CoO. For the first generation 'forced' migrants, the belief of returning home one day had shaped relationships with their children and cultural transmission. Parent and child generations both talked of how they had brought up their children in their traditional culture so they would fit in when they returned 'home'. This came through in discussions with the young Somali's who spoke of their parents 'always having their suitcases packed for return' and the Zimbabwean parent generation who spoke of being 'lodgers here':

I remember when I was younger my sister always used to go to town on Saturday she'd buy two items, one to use in England and the other one for when we go back home. She always had a box to put for when we going back home.

[SOMFGW]

For many participants; language, traditions and culture were upheld as part of the dream of return.

Another key element driving return was that of the desire to contribute to rebuilding their homeland (most notably amongst Sudanese and Zimbabwean participants). This sense of responsibility was shared by the child generation who also spoke of their obligation and commitment to supporting their families in CoO:

R1: At the moment [...] the demand for manpower is great, that is the question, what would I do, I would definitely go home and make things better.

R2: There is the demand you want go back. I have obligations, and decided to return, we feel British, yes, but there is another part.

[SUDFGM]

Complications of return

The dream of return is not always matched by practicalities, with some first generation talking of their negative experiences of return, the challenges of family ties, and the barriers posed by the political situations in their CoO. Some participants spoke of their concerns about returning and of being between two places, straddling two worlds:

You know I feel my home is in Sudan. But when I go there, when you go there sometimes, you feel that you belong. Because I have been here a long time I was feeling that I was missing some of the things. Sometimes I feel between myself you know. I feel that because here I know my way. I can do all the things and whatever. But in Sudan I need to ask people everything because I don't know the system there now. I have lived here for a long time.
[SUDO]

These sentiments were shared by some of the Somali women who had reached retirement and tried to return. They found that both they and their homeland had changed and had since chosen to remain in the UK. Because their families were settled in the UK and their friends and family were no longer in their CoO, when they returned they felt isolated and no longer part of their home communities:

That's what happened to my mum, last summer she went back to Somalia because her children they got married and she said, I'm going back there to have my life. After nine months she came back. She didn't have any friends she used to have. She found it difficult to stay and she came back here.
[SOMFGW]

Return takes on particular meaning for 'forced migrants' who even after long periods of settlement in the UK never let go of the dream of reuniting with their families and friends in their homeland and contributing to the rebuilding of their communities. In practice though, return can be difficult to

realise and its success can be uneven. The reality of life in their CoO may be different to how they imagined and the ties to family and the way of life in their new country can encourage many of those who strive to return to compromise. For some participants return is not on the agenda as they have settled in their new countries and feel 'more British than African'. The complications of return and abandoned returns have led some first generation migrants to decide to remain in the UK while others have adopted transnational residence, living across two countries in retirement as a way of 'having the best of both worlds' and reconciling living across two cultural spaces.

SOCIAL NETWORKS

CoO social networks

Social networks for people can be limited or extended, multiply constituted or more homogenous, and geographically focused or more 'stretched' across different spaces. A recurring theme when questioning respondents about their social networks was to reflect on their experiences of arrival in the UK and to describe the importance of their CoO community for their processes of settlement:

But then, when we came we tried to reach the Kenyan community and that's the time in fact we started forming the Kenyan group. So the Kenyan community was crucial for us also in terms of feeling at home away from home. It really was important. [KENO40]

Part of the importance of the CoO community is linked to an ongoing process of learning 'how things are done' in the UK, or as this respondent puts it; learning to navigate in the UK:

I would also say that there are a lot of network of Kenyans in this country ...These are cultural groups and people meet all the time you know. I can remember that many times we have met. [...] We have our own social network and sometimes we have seminars for young people. The last one it was parents, youth, this group and the young ones and it was a wonderful day. People can impart their cultural values and tell them this is the way we do it at home you know not that we must take everything that is done at home but she must be able to navigate, you know these cultural structures yeah. [KENFG]

Several respondents expressed the importance of such CoO communities in terms of a shared cultural understanding among people who have hailed from the same country. The lack of extended family support in the UK seems to be one motivator for engaging in CoO networks, albeit with different degrees of energy and enthusiasm. Upon considering the extended networks of family/kin left behind, several respondents lamented the absence of such support networks in the UK and acknowledged the isolation that may emerge in their new places of residence, especially given their persistently busy lives:

It's not like home, home is like the way you grow up, when your kids are just kids and you know they really have fun so the community element to me it's more, more and it helps a lot but here that's what we're trying to say you can now bring the warmth back. It's quite isolating like here bits and bobs and you know everybody's just on their own. [KENFG]

With my busy life I find there is no time to look at anything. When I look I'm working, I'm a mother, I'm at uni, I'm doing assignments, I'm going to the library. Everything is a rush and I don't have that family back up which if I was in Africa I could say, oh kids go to your grandma. ...Here I don't get that. I don't have any family connections so I rely on my friends. [KENO]

Faith-based networks

Participants in this study also explained the significance of faith-based networks. Such networks may not be exclusively people from one's CoO, but are groupings formed on the basis of a shared faith and are further bodies that provide financial support to members who need it:

R: I've not made any friends in the local community. I've been living in town before and I didn't make friends in the local community. But I've made friends from my country, Zimbabwe and some people from Nigeria.

I: So African communities?

R: Yes. I find we tend to gel. Our likes and dislikes are mostly the same. The English community are more, they like to go out boozing, bingeing. I'm not into that kind of background. I prefer to be laid back. I prefer to look at life from a very different perspective. I'm a Christian. [ZIMY]

Even the Christian part of it, the fellowship. We have a Kenyan fellowship. We meet every Sunday. In UK we have a Kenyan Fellowship, Christian fellowship,

we meet every second Sunday in different towns... We go all over the place. We like it. We feel at home with our Christian culture. Actually our culture continues.

[KENO]

Fractured community networks?

The depictions of supportive CoO networks and faith-based groups described thus far, however, should not be taken to be the whole story. Other respondents resisted portraying homogenous or cohesive communities that universally served people's needs and interests. This Kenyan respondent in particular pointed out the fractured nature of the Kenyan community:

I'm not very close with the Kenyan community. The Kenyan community in [place] is very wide. There are so many groups of Kenyan communities. The only community I have absolutely involved in is in church where we work with the teenagers, the kids in church. That I'm very involved with. But Kenyan community no. I don't know them very well. I don't, I have no idea. I know they are a tough nut to crack, that I can tell you, but I don't feel them very much.

[KENO]

The Sudanese community was also described by this respondent as divided between Arab northern Sudanese and Christian southern Sudanese:

The Sudanese they are Arabs. We've got a bit of differences there. We don't sit too close with them. We are from the south. They are Arab.

[SUDO]

The ability or desire to access particular social networks may depend, therefore, on different aspects of identity. Nationality, ethnicity and religious association have been discussed above, and age may further be a barrier or enabler for people to access various social networks.

Gendered social networks

Gender identities were also described by respondents as having an impact on the social networks likely to be experienced in the UK; in some instances due to being incorporated into certain support networks as a consequence of having children:

My wife has got more friends than me. All there is Somali women, always they come to ours and they go there and they come here and they go there. So she has more friends yeah.

[SOMO]

A further point about gender identities is that it is well documented in literature that migration experiences may change and re-shape gender roles and responsibilities (Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo, 2005). This may be in a challenging manner; as described by a Zimbabwean male respondent in this study who was finding the shift in his 'masculine' bread-winning identity hard to come to terms with as he came to the UK as a 'trailing spouse' having followed his earlier migrating wife. However, migration is also known to offer opportunities for people to re-shape their gender roles in more positive and possibly emancipatory ways; as described by this Kenyan woman:

Personally it has been quite good and positive. I have really enjoyed it. One thing I have found is I can manage on my own, take care of my kids. You know my husband

was a bit over protective. He thinks he is supposed to protect his family. Back home he pays for electricity, bills and everything, he used to do everything. Whenever I go I am secure. I was protected. When I came over here I could manage on my own and also living my own way as an individual. It has been quite good. Even mixing with other people. I've done so many things. [KENO]

Mixed and multicultural social networks

The opportunity to mix with non-CoO people was a theme raised by many of the respondents in this study. Although CoO and faith-based networks were often of importance to our respondents, there were many people who told us that their networks were comprised of people from many backgrounds and were not restricted to just national groupings:

I: Your circle of friends would they be Africans, British, mixed?

R: Mine are mixed. I've got white, African, Kenyans, Zimbabweans, Nigerians. I am a person who anything goes. [KENO]

So I make a lot of different you know and when I look for a job I go to my friend house and I use her computer you know, I don't use any Somalis house, I just prefer that my friend you know so really I'm everywhere. I'm different cultures but because if you are in Rome do what the Romans do so I'm here now, so yeah. [SOMO]

The second respondent above begins to hint at an idea of integrating in Britain by mixing with diverse groups of people, and she expands this point here:

Yeah because that group [a women's health group] is multi cultural, you can find any, any nationality. So it is really good because it brings people all together and they are not, eh, very classy you know they are not a posh woman they are just a normal like us you know so it is really good because you, you sharing that atmosphere yeah, although the culture is a different so it's still the ideas are the same because coming there as a woman, single person, lonely and you know all this a similarities. It was really good yeah. [SOMO]

The idea of mixing with diverse people as a defining feature of a multicultural society and necessary for integration was more frequently mentioned by the second generation in the UK study; perhaps unsurprisingly as they had spent at least a portion of their formative years at school being exposed to youth culture:

I've got a lot of different friends. I've got a thousand of them on Facebook. I've got my white friends, I've got my Asian friends and my black friends. I've got different sets of friends. I've got a lot of Chinese friends. [ZIMY]

This quote shows that mixed social networks were a common feature for the children of first generation migrants to the UK. However, this second generation Kenyan tempered her comments about her British

friends with the suggestion that heightened cultural understandings and 'deep' encounters may only emerge among CoO networks:

I think I've probably got more British friends than Kenyan friends to be honest. More friends I've met in Britain. But I wouldn't say I socialise as often as or deeply with them. [...] I might see them, I see them as friends and they are quite close friends. But there are like certain issues, like concerning culture that you can only really raise up with somebody who can understand the culture you are coming from. [KENY]

WELFARE

Housing

Housing was an issue that particularly concerned those respondents who had come to the UK under the asylum route. There are specific issues around housing provision for those seeking asylum which include compulsory dispersal to 'no choice' housing provided by subcontracted housing agencies. Multiple grievances are described here regarding housing provision for asylum seekers.

The broader issue of access to social housing was also raised by some of the respondents. It was recognised that social housing provision was a valuable resource for migrant groups, but that there is a chronic problem of supply being outstripped by demand:

On the subject of housing I think they are trying to do when it comes to families with children,

they try their best to make sure they are well housed and you know not out homeless and if they are homeless they do what they can do as quickly as they can but the problem is that when they have, you have to bid for a house, you bid, you'd be bidding for say 6 months because there's a long waiting list and then when you get a house you are told you have to agree to that house whether you like it or not which is very wrong because all those 6 months you've been bidding for houses there must be at least three choices you can make and sometimes it happens that you've been taken to an area where you don't even know anyone or you are not even happy there. It's not your usual catchment area and then it's difficult to integrate and to start life there and you're told that you can't move, you have to live there, if you don't you will make yourself homeless and then you are abandoned and it's really a problem... I think is, is not fair. [KENFG]

Healthcare

With regard to health care, some respondents were quick to compare the NHS with state health care provision in their countries of origin and to feel grateful that they can access healthcare in the UK for little or no cost:

I mean if I compare it I mean it's not, if you live here long enough then you say it's not brilliant but because I compare it where I

come from basically I can say it's fantastic because I think that's where they actually got it right. The healthcare service is fantastic. I mean I can see the doctor if I need to and the services in the hospital I think it's brilliant compared to where I come from so I look at it that way and I think I could appreciate saying that they have fantastic healthcare.[KENFG]

There is also the recognition that healthcare is actually quite reasonable in respondents' CoO provided you have money. The sentiment was expressed that if you are affluent then you will be able to access superior healthcare in your homeland:

Those that can afford it get better health care over there than you get over here. [...] If you've got cash go get sick in Africa, that's what I say. [KENO]

The particular healthcare needs of older generations concerned many respondents. One of the issues pertinent to being transnational, and particularly to first generation migrants, is whether to return to their CoO after retirement or whether to stay in the UK. This respondent considers their options and the advantages and disadvantages of each scenario:

The best thing which I really appreciate and I'm happy about is the state taking care of their old ones, like the pension and the benefits and the medical care. And also personally going into those nursing homes it is quite good, they take good care. That's one positive thing. [...] But culture

wise it would be good there [CoO]. If you have got money and you have things to do it is better there. Because there you have your relatives near by, you have social activities. People 80, 90 there they are still very active in the church. In their own small way, they have their own farm, they have activities. Not like here, sitting and watching the tele the whole day. Being left in the house alone is not good. There they are out, they are very busy. The illnesses are not that much. They are so busy they don't get depression. I think it is better there. [KENO]

As the above quote illustrates, although there is recognition that the state provides a valuable safety net for older people in the UK; this is compared negatively to the holistic well-being nurturing that older people would attain back in their homelands. An additional concern raised by several respondents was the particular mental health care issues that might be more acutely felt by the types of migrants that were included in this study. Asylum seekers and refugees are well known to experience mental health problems leaving forced migrants in need of particular care around this arena:

Especially in the case of mental health services, there is a fear in the community of what happens to people who once they are sectioned, there is a huge stigma with this. I mean the illness itself and the belief that people don't actually believe that mental illness is caused by illness or disease, people believe mental illness in

the Somali community is caused by demons, by “possession”.
[SOMCL]

I think there is some mileage in arguing for additional or extra care in relation to mental health and forced migrants because of the trauma that people might have had and that gets lost in the system so post traumatic stress disorder can drag on for days and ruin quality of life in a number of people. [KI]

Work

Welfare issues around work were discussed less by participants in this study in comparison to healthcare and housing. Nevertheless, several respondents raised concerns firstly around the bureaucracy of attaining job seeker allowance; secondly the concern that denying asylum seekers the right to work is injurious to their overall wellbeing; and thirdly a more generic concern that ‘generous’ unemployment benefit might be discouraging people to gain paid employment:

There is a time I did have a job and I wanted to apply for job seeker allowance and it just took so long. By the time they were giving me the first payment I’d already got another job so I had to kind of submit the money back again, but it takes so long, the timescale of it, yeah. They don’t actually help you when you need the help. [KENY]

I mean I would like asylum seekers to be allowed to either to do some work so that now at least

they can be constructive into society and at the same time they can do something. I mean you can’t come here and stay for 6 years waiting for your career and then when you work illegally they get you and then you are deported. So we want them to sort of like to be allowed to do some work even if it is for a period of time and then they’re given and probably national insurance numbers but they are monitored in some shape or form. That one is better as there’s a lot of talent out there. [KENFG]

I would say that, I’m talking about from the Somali perspective. I don’t think it’s doing us any justice having this free benefit. I know Somalis in America where everyone is expected to work and stand on their own two feet. I think it’s working negatively for us especially the younger generation. There should be an expectation. If somebody is healthy, if they are able to do things they should be at work. Somehow part of me feels that because there is a free system people don’t seem to be moving themselves forward. It is so wrong. ...anybody who is young enough to go out there and work whether they sweep the floor or do whatever I think they should basically be told and forced to do that and not given that opportunity. I think it is destroying people. [SOMFGW]

PAID WORK AND EDUCATION

A theme that emerged in this study particularly among the first generation in discussing paid work, was that of not being able to acquire a job commensurate with their educational qualifications. Such de-skilling is a noted feature of particularly refugees' employment and appears to affect other migrant pathways also. Yet even the second generations, who had largely been educated in the UK, felt that their different accents and cultural backgrounds may mitigate against them gaining the types of work they wish:

R: Yeah, to begin with when this is you know it applies to all my friends, all the people I know that have moved from Kenya over here you usually start from a very, very bad job, you usually you like a packing job or a washing dishes. You will find like you know people have got you know just better jobs now, that's where they started from...

I: And why do you think that is?

R: It's because it's the experience you know you've got to have experience on your CV kind of thing and you've got to know which places to exactly go. You will find like when they advertising a job you're very desperate for a job and you just got to wherever what's available. Even if there is a good job somewhere this chances that you won't get it mostly because of the language barrier to start with and the accent and yeah I think that comes a lot. I think that's why people usually get whatever they can you know to survive and usually it's washing

dishes...and I will try to do the job and keep on moving up very slowly but most people that I know they've started from you know the bottom really, the very bottom yeah. [KENY]

As mentioned above, education was often raised with regard to the employment avenues that qualifications enable or prevent, but it was also discussed by respondents in a more singular manner. Many first generation migrants in particular were extremely concerned for their children to achieve good education in the UK, often this was described as the primary reason for them to remain in the UK rather than returning to their CoO:

That is our plan — living in Britain would give good opportunities for these kids. Educated and get good qualifications and get a proper job. Be independent. That was our plan. [KENO]

Yet alongside a general positive appreciation of the 'currency' of British educational qualifications for their children, several first generation African migrants lamented the educational culture in British schools in terms of a perceived lack of discipline that is instilled in pupils. Several parents compared a much stricter educational culture in schools in their CoO with the more lax environment of control in British schools.

I can tell you that in my opinion the education in Kenya actually in the primary schools I think is more demanding. People are put through very thorough education. I think here there has been a lot of laxity in my opinion. [KENO]

A further observation by respondents in this study is that the geographical location of their families in the UK is typically in ethnically-mixed neighbourhoods that frequently experience relatively high deprivation levels. An associated concern is that the educational standards in these areas is also problematic.

Wherever the school is located and the economy of that neighbourhood. In certain neighbourhoods, in certain schools when a child at a lower level is brought to a school and he/she is at a lower level, there will not be many teachers to help him/her. So the child will just be put among those pupils and then it is up to him/her to get what he can out of that situation. [SOMO]

DISCRIMINATION AND PREJUDICE

Experiences of discrimination and prejudice were manifest in the lives of many participants in this study. The arenas in which prejudice and discrimination were encountered crossed employment spheres, educational places and everyday neighbourhood spaces. The perceived 'reasons' for discrimination varied from skin colour to religious association and to a more general feelings of being perceived as the 'other' with the associated presumption of non-belonging. This quote from a Kenyan participant reveals prejudice derived from his 'different' skin colour and accent:

What I want to say is there's very subtle reasons, it's not overt, it's covert. A man, some people and I'm saying some people because

other people are very affirming and nice you know but, but others you know they tend to, to be biased based on your colour, your name. You know, that kind of thing yeah. [...] When I speak and my colour, so those are two levels you know. A man who wants to be biased against other people is a way of looking for ways of excluding others. [KENFG]

Several respondents chimed with the above suggestion of covert prejudice being experienced in mundane and everyday ways. African migrants told us that feelings of non-belonging can be communicated to them by majority population groups in quite subtle ways; 'They don't swear, some will just look at me, they won't even talk to me, that's all'. [ZIMO]

It should be noted that there appears to be a difference between first generation migrants and their children in terms of how prejudice and discrimination are experienced. First generation migrants in general spoke more readily of discriminatory practices, for example in their places of employment where they discussed not being offered jobs, or being denied promotion opportunities. The children of first generation migrants had experienced some racism at school, but on the whole felt that discriminatory experiences were now rare in their places of work. One younger Kenyan respondent, however, discussed the damaging effect of racial stereotyping on young people in public places and in schools:

R: You walk into a shop and kids in the shops, the supermarket, and security guard follows you around, watching out for you. You are like, I haven't done anything. But as I said I got exposed to that straightaway, so I kind of accepted it, accepted England as it is. I was like, OK so this is how it is. I don't agree with it obviously.

I: Do you find it disturbing?

R: Yes it is very disturbing, it does influence you a lot. [...] The biggest thing is stereotyping. They stereotype you and put you all in the same basket. When someone keeps on telling you, you are a dog, you are a dog. At the end of the day you are going to start barking because everyone is telling you..It's like if everyone is telling you are bad, then you start thinking, I must be bad. I'm just lying to myself. If I'm not bad I'm going to start being bad like I'm told. That stereotyping I reckon does have a lot of influence on people. In school and stuff. You see intelligent black person, black kid, but they stereotype him that much that even unintentionally he will end up like dropping out. When you look at the kid when they come to the school they are the type that could have even gone to university and done better. But because of being stereotyped, because he is black and stuff.

[KENY]

A shared concern existed across both generational groups regarding Islamophobia and the damaging effects of such religious intolerance especially since the 9/11 attacks in the U.S. and the 7/7 London bombings:

Yes but I think people are scared. Muslim is associated with terrorists these days. I have walked to the mosque on Eid day and people are looking at you, especially if there is more than one of you. The men kind of get away with it because they don't have to cover their heads or anything. As a women you are immediately identified and you do get funny looks. **[SOMY]**

This above respondent, and several other female Africans in this study, commented that Islamophobia was more acutely felt by Islamic women due to their conspicuous headscarves that marked them out visible 'others' (Afshar, 1998).

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Fears of non-belonging to Britain and alienation from something called 'Britishness' is driving up the political temperature around migrants' attachments to the host-country. This research shows that these policy concerns over stretched feelings of belonging among migrants necessarily compromising British attachments are ill-founded. Caution should therefore be exercised around developing policies of integration based upon this assumption.

- In order for African migrant communities to experience greater inclusion into British society significant attention needs to be paid to equality of access to and equal treatment in employment. This requires attention regarding both first and second generations; with the recognition of experiences and qualifications being more important for the first generation and more general racial stereotyping hindering the experiences of the second generation participants.
- This study confirms other research that has highlighted the negative impacts of compulsory dispersal to 'no choice' housing experienced by asylum seekers. Asylum policy should focus on improving the provision and standard of housing for asylum seekers and work towards improved settlement and integration policies. This is also linked to concerns over denying asylum seekers the right to work which is injurious to their overall wellbeing.
- Geographic location leads into other inequalities particularly felt by African migrants around school catchment areas. This highlights well documented concerns over equality of access to 'good quality' education amongst migrant populations.

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