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Identity Negotiation through the Lens of Language Rights: Refugee and Migrant Children and Youths in MissionPlace*, Budapest

PhD Dissertation

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Abstract

This dissertation is a qualitative study that aims at investigating the potential tensions and conflicts among languages and cultures of refugee and migrant children in the Hungarian educational context and how they solve them by negotiating their identities. The study examines one main research question and four sub-questions: (1) How do refugee and migrant children and youths negotiate their identities when facing potentially contradictory linguistic and other cultural needs in their daily activities in school? (a) How do these children perceive themselves in the school as new arrivals in Hungary? (b) What roles do the languages spoken by these children play in their construction and negotiation of identity? (c) How do school teachers understand the education and integration process of migrant and refugee children in Hungary? (d) What is the role of MissionPlace* in the social inclusion of these children?

In order to address these research questions, the sociocultural linguistic approach (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005) and the narrative inquiry (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006) were used. Three groups of participants were part of the study. The first group was comprised of 22 children and youths with migrant backgrounds. The other two groups comprised eight school teachers and principals and 12 members of the staff in MissionPlace*. The instruments used to generate data were interviews. Unstructured interviews with children and youths, semi-structured interviews with school teachers and principals, and ethnographic interviews with the staff in MissionPlace*. Three sets of data resulted from the three groups. The data set corresponding to the narratives of the children and youths was analyzed under the narrative approach, and the other two sets of data were examined using thematic analysis. The setting of the study is an NGO in Budapest that is protected under the pseudonym of MissionPlace*.

For the narrative analysis, the five principles underlying the sociocultural linguistic approach were used to explore the constructions of identity. These five principles are (1) emergence, (2) positionality, (3) indexicality, (4) relationality, and (5) partialness. Data are categorized according to processes of identity negotiation found in the narratives, with the names of (1) fleeing from war and envisioning their future, (2) acting as conduits for understanding between Hungarian and their mother tongue, (3) navigating between two cultures, (4) overcoming the language barrier in school, and (5) empowerment, integration, and recognition through Hungarian.

For the thematic analysis used to examine the interviews with school teachers and staff in MissionPlace*, three categories were organized under the titles of (1) invisibility of refugee and migrant children in the educational policies, (2) building boundaries in the classroom

through monolingual teaching practices; and (3) MissionPlace* as the place of mediation between children, family, and school.

Although there are studies on the topic of migration in Europe, this study is different from other studies as it is related to the identity construction of migrant children in Hungary. This is due to the fact that Hungary is a country that is not considered as an immigration country within the EU but rather a transit country for asylum seekers.

In terms of research in applied linguistics, this study continues the debate on how from the narrative analysis, the process of integration through education in Europe can be better understood for the design and implementation of strategies of coexistence in multicultural settings. Issues in the relations between linguistic diversity and social justice can be considered as a way forward for such a future. The findings revealed that education in the multilingual context of Europe has not received enough attention in Hungary. Although the Hungarian official policy is hostile to immigration, it still receives migrants from different backgrounds. The education policy continues to be based on principles of the monolingual habitus, which puts distance between the goal of integration and the teaching practices that are implemented in the classroom. As these migrant children do not know Hungarian, the language of the host country, they are not able to follow the contents of the subjects in the school and are left behind, making their integration very difficult. This is a conflicting situation that calls for a comparative analysis of the language policies of the member states of the European Union in the future in order to recognize and accept a philosophy of language that is aware of the diversity as an investment to strengthen the economic and social structures of the society.

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List of Abbreviations

AMIF	Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund
ASSESS	Assessing Integration Measures for Vulnerable Migrant Groups
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
EU	European Union
IM	Immigrant Minority
IOM	International Organization for Migration
MLR	Minority Language Rights
NA	Narrative Analysis
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
RM	Regional Minority
SLA	Second Language Acquisition
TA	Thematic Analysis
TCNs	Third Country Nationals
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

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Introduction

The idea of working on this thesis emerged from an academic experience I had in Sweden and India in 2014 when participating in an International Training Program on Child Rights, Classroom, and School Management conducted by Lund University. The rights of children, in and through education, were the guiding principles in this seminar and the whole program had a child rights-based approach. This seminar was focused on the study of the statement of children's rights ratified internationally in 1991 in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC or CRC) and its application in the field of education through projects led by participating groups from different countries from Asia, Africa, and Latin America. We compared and shared experiences with the participants from these countries and with teachers, school principals, and academic leaders from Sweden while taking into consideration the CRC, Education for All, and other internationally agreed documents. The rights-based approach had the potential of contributing to the broader efforts of improving educational quality and impact. The main objective of this program was to improve participating countries' capacity to offer and ensure everyone's right to relevant and quality education and to change processes that could contribute to the realization of the intention of the CRC not only in policy but also in practice.

In the framework and development of this seminar, we observed primary and secondary schools and talked to students, teachers, and administrative staff to know about how the school curriculum was organized and developed, the type of activities in classes, the main subjects and their focus, the role of students and teachers in the schools, and about general topics related to education and policies. Therefore, when doing these observations, I had the opportunity to talk to migrant children with different cultural and linguistic backgrounds attending daily classes in Swedish schools. For me, it was interesting to know how these children felt as members of a new country, how they communicated with others while learning the language of the host society, how the whole process of their integration was developing, especially the role of the school for this objective. It was also insightful for me to see how the mother tongue of these children was important for the early stages of their learning at school and how the educational system in Sweden was organized in such a way that these newcomers could navigate their process of integration into the new country of their arrival. I could talk with teachers in Sweden and people from the schools' administrative body to know more about the policies of integration they had in the country and how CRC and quality education were included as an essential part of the national curriculum of Swedish schools.

Therefore, when I came to Hungary in 2016 to start my doctoral studies, I continued having the same concerns about the newcomers and how they were part of the educational system of the host country, mainly because of the influx of migrants and refugees in the European countries starting in 2015. According to the key facts presented by the International Organization for Migration (2019) in its World Migration Report, the number of refugees worldwide has continued to grow rapidly in recent years, reaching 25.9 million in 2020. However, the situation of migration in Hungary was distant from what I had observed in Sweden. Hungary did not consider itself as a country of destination for immigrants and refugees when compared to the global migration patterns because of political issues and regulations. After knowing this situation, I planned to do the research in Sweden, but because I was granted a scholarship in Hungary, I had to do it here. This situation did not impede my motivation to work on this project. I had read in the news that some newcomers arriving in Hungary had the intention to settle here, which strengthened my interest in researching the integration process of the newly arrived children. Whenever I saw the news about refugees and observed the images of families with children and, much worse, unaccompanied children, I kept thinking if these children knew the causes of those long and exhausting journeys, how they felt, what they thought, the expectations they had. I wondered if their parents, as well as the countries they were transiting, considered these children's rights. These concerns made me reflect upon this complex situation of migration and the importance of listening to these children's voices through their stories.

After knowing my motivations to conduct this study, it is necessary to specify that its purpose is to explore the linguistic dimension of discrimination in education with a specific focus on migration in the broad field of linguistic diversity and social justice, which is a highly invisible aspect of social vulnerability. Thus, this study aims to investigate the potential tensions and conflicts among languages and cultures of refugee and migrant children in the Hungarian education context and the negotiation of identities these children perform to position themselves in the new society.

The study was conducted in an NGO in Budapest, which is called MissionPlace* (protective pseudonym). The definition of 'child' that is implied in this thesis is the one stated in Article 1 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989): "A child means every human being below the age of eighteen years unless, under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier" (p. 2). Likewise, 'youth' is referred to in the thesis as a participant between 15 and 24 years old, according to the definition provided by the United Nations (1985).

In the case of this research, no matter if the children are accompanied, unaccompanied, or separated or their country of origin or the time they have been settled in Hungary. The

importance is to listen to these children's voices due to the fact that they have the same rights as any other child as well as need guidance, help and support from adults, legal institutions, and governments of the countries to be educated with quality so that they become active and participant members of the society. This research addresses issues at the intersection of language and identity and language rights and ideology.

Migration implies significant changes in the way of life. It requires adjustments that lead to face new realities in the resettlement place. These modifications entail an open and receptive mind, not only from the newcomers but also from the locals in the host country. This intersection between cultures, ways of thinking, languages, socio-economic backgrounds constitutes a decisive moment to reshape and negotiate identities as individuals, as well as to construct a balanced process of integration. Migrants have to struggle daily with their own beliefs, values, and traditions to find their place in the new context. All these changes and the learning experiences they have to live to make them different people in the process of negotiating identities. In the research field, there have been interesting studies of negotiation and construction of identities on multilingual individuals (Llamas & Watt, 2010; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Pavlenko, 2004) that enlighten the path to understand the process lived by refugees. Assumptions and prejudices affect this negotiation of identities. People commonly associate identity with one nationality, one particular language, and one culture. This assumption makes people feel they do not belong to the new community or the country of origin. These cases are the ones that should be studied to unravel those spaces of belonging that set up symbolic barriers between people (Garzón Duarte, 2018) and may broaden the horizons to understand the connection between language, identity, and ideology.

My contribution, on the one hand, is to extend the results of the various studies that explore the relevance of language policies of linguistic diversity in schooling for their effect in the negotiation of children's identities in the ongoing migration process in Europe. On the other hand, it is of a more theoretical and general nature in so far as it is meant to test the explanatory power of the Minority Language Rights (MLR) model through the discussion of the possible social and linguistic injustices of the educational system. In terms of research in applied linguistics, this study continues the debate on how from the narrative analysis, the process of integration through education in Europe can be better understood for the design and implementation of strategies of coexistence in multicultural settings. Issues in the relations between linguistic diversity and social justice can be considered as a way forward for such a future.

As it was previously mentioned, according to the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), adopted by the United Nations (UN) General Assembly on 20 November 1989, a child

is any person under the age of 18 who has all the rights stated in the articles of the Convention, no matter who they are, where they live, what their race is, what language they speak, what their religion is, what their social condition is, what they think or how they look like. No child should be treated unfairly for any reason. All the articles of the CRC underlie three principles, namely protection, provision, and participation. Article 28 of the CRC states the right children have to education. Primary education should be free, secondary and higher education should be available to every child. Children should be encouraged to go to school to the highest level possible. Article 29 specifies that children's education should help them develop their personalities, talents, and abilities. It should teach them to understand their own rights and to respect others' rights, cultures, and differences. It also states that "Education must be designed to reinforce all the ethical values enshrined by the Convention, including education for peace, tolerance, and respect for the natural environment" (p. 439).

According to the factsheet published by the UNHCR, UNICEF, and IOM (2019) on the overview of trends from January to December 2019 on refugee and migrant children in Europe, 33 200 children arrived in Europe approximately. Of this number, some 9 000 (27%) were unaccompanied or separated children. However, these organizations clarify in this publication that there is no comprehensive data on arrivals of both adults and children in Europe, especially by land and air, as such movements are largely irregular and involve smuggling networks, which are difficult to track. Consequently, reliable data on the exact number of children either arriving to or currently residing in different European countries is often unavailable. Regardless of this limitation, these numbers provide an indication of trends. In the case of Hungary, as of December 2019, a total of 198 children (118 boys and 80 girls) were held in the transit zones of Röszke and Tompa, which was 54% of the total number of the asylum-seeker population. From this percentage, 20% of them were held for more than a year and 43% for more than nine months. In these transit zones, children do not have access to regular education. Although they have access to support services, the access is limited and inadequate to address special needs. As of October 2019, 13 unaccompanied and separated children below the age of 14 were accommodated in a designated child care facility, and a total of 32 young adults were in aftercare.

Refugee and migrant children, no matter if they travel with their families or alone, risk everything in search of a better life. Millions of them flee their homes to escape conflict, persecution, and poverty. When children feel that they have no choices for their future or are not supported by legal alternatives in their mother countries, they try to solve their situation by taking matters into their own hands, facing exploitation at the hands of smugglers and traffickers. Education is the safest and legally-based right children have to overcome their

difficulties, develop their talents and personalities, and construct a better life as active members of society.

The European Commission (2017), in their report of the seminar on the integration of migrants, presents the most common challenges new arrivals have to face, being language one of the first barriers in their process of recognition, adaptation, and further integration. This issue hinders the access and advance in the educational system to fully complete the requirements of every class. In order to overcome this barrier, schooling and authorities have to be prepared with a well-planned educational system that considers this challenge as the most urgent to cope with. Another issue to overcome is that some children arrive with previous knowledge or attested skills, or some others have gaps in their education history, or sometimes they have not had any schooling before arriving. The problem of this basically lies in the lack of strategies and tests to properly assess children's previous knowledge. The report of the seminar on the integration of migrants also highlights that because of the language barriers of the new arrivals, some of them are oriented by default to vocational training.

Having introduced the motivations to conduct this research, the problematic situation, and the purpose and significance of the study, it is also reasonable to present the structural organization of the thesis. Following this introductory section, the thesis is divided into six chapters. The first chapter gives an account of the theoretical framework of the study and the literature review based on the structuralist and post-structuralist perspectives to explore identity. Moreover, the basis on which this dissertation departs, which is the sociocultural linguistic approach proposed by Bucholtz and Hall (2005), is expounded here. The five principles underlying this approach that provide the guidelines for the data analysis of the narratives are also explained in this chapter. The theory of Minority Language Rights and the theories related to social justice and linguistic diversity are presented in the last section of the chapter.

In the second chapter, the contextualization of migration in Hungary is presented to depict the panorama of this phenomenon in the research setting. Empirical studies and statistical information are provided in this chapter to contextualize the current research. The programs of education and integration offered by the government are presented in this chapter as part of the contextualization of migration in Hungary.

Chapter three describes the methodology of the study, including the objectives, research questions, and description of MissionPlace* as the setting of the study. After, the population and the three groups of participants are presented. Then, the ethical considerations that were included during the research process are explained. Besides, the instruments used to generate qualitative data and the description of the fieldwork are presented in the chapter. After this, the

narrative inquiry as the methodological approach of this research is expounded to connect it with the data analysis procedure that is subsequently reported. The characteristics of validity and reliability are also presented in the last section of the chapter.

Chapter four gives an account of the analysis of the children's and youths' narratives following the five principles of the sociocultural linguistic approach. Besides, the five categories that gather the identity facets and tensions caused when contradictory linguistic and cultural needs emerge, based on the narratives constructed by the kids, are informed in this chapter.

In chapter five, the data analysis of the interviews with the school teachers and staff in MissionPlace* is reported and explained according to the guidelines of the thematic approach I followed. This chapter also presents the three categories that gather the common themes of the interviews and that were created to answer the research sub-questions.

Chapter six discusses the findings of the study, including the answers to the research questions, interpretations, and critical reflections. Following this sixth chapter, I present a section of conclusions that reports the evaluation of the study. It includes contributions and limitations and recommendations for further research.

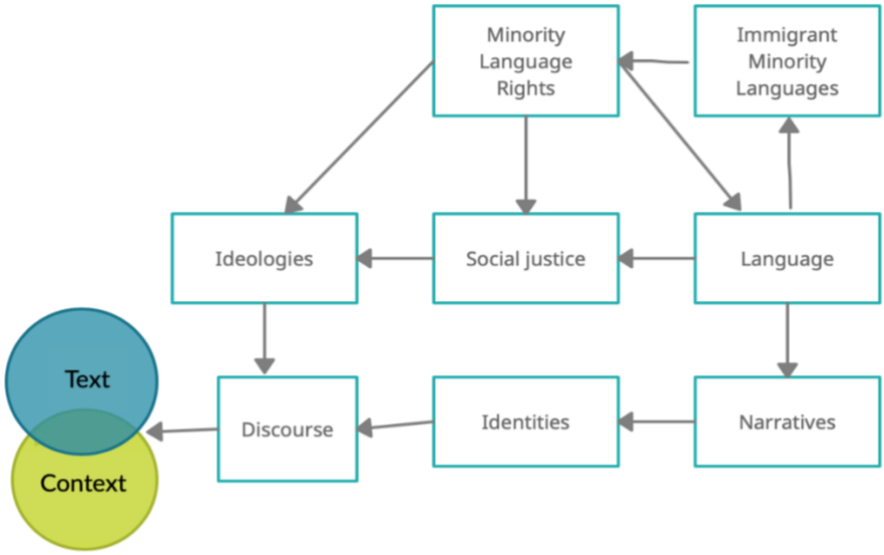
Chapter 1 Theoretical Framework

1.1 Introduction

This chapter gathers and discusses the different approaches and theories that frame this research to support the leading objectives and questions. The first section of the chapter presents an overview of the main theories to display the links between them. Then, the conceptualization of identity from the structuralist and poststructuralist perspectives starts the discussion. After, the relationship between language and identity is tackled in order to contextualize the negotiation of identities within the social constructionist model. This model views identities as socially built in interaction and within social practices. Thus, identities do not belong to people but are performed in discursive work. In this location of identity in language, the sociocultural linguistic approach is explained as the foremost route in the study of identity in this dissertation, the five principles underlying this approach are also presented, and the framework of narratives as sites of discourse where social interaction emerges is discussed. Finally, the movement of Minority Language Rights is expounded as the approach that leads the issue of social justice and language in this study.

The key concepts that support the theories underlying this study based on the literature review are correlated to understand the whole scenario presented in the chapter. These relations are represented by arrows in Figure 1 as follows:

Figure 1. Relations between the key concepts of the theoretical framework



1.2 Theories underlying the study

The main theoretical framework for this study is the scholarship that explores the connection between language and identity proposed by Mary Bucholtz and Kira Hall (2004, 2005); moreover, language, integration, and migration within the linguistic justice paradigm as worked by Ingrid Piller (2016) and Lionel Wee (2011). Linguistic integration is often understood as the way the state assures migrants speak the language of the political state or the national language. The justification for this position is the participation migrants need in the national society and economy. This argument allows us to critically explore how much language mediates social participation and how language is related to social justice (Piller, 2016). It is necessary to study the main relevant policy initiatives in the educational system in Hungary and EU countries to understand how much the integration through language has worked and how equal social participation is constructed. According to García and Wei (2014), the constructed national language matches the linguistic features of those who exert power and authority, whilst the different linguistic features of others, especially migrants, are stigmatized. Migrants have been forced to interact in a new communicative context and to participate socially in the new context through fluid language practices. In that social context, it is of particular relevance to studying what different languages may mean for their sense of identity and belonging.

There are different perspectives of understanding the relationship between language and identity when reviewing the literature. There are studies that illustrate that a language, conceived as the code of cultural knowledge and traditions, is attached to a particular cultural or ethnic identity (Skutnabb-Kangas & Dunbar, 2010; Nettle & Romaine, 2000, Bunge, 1992; Fishman, 1991). There are other scholars that believe that language is an eventual grade of identity and that it depends on different factors (Edwards, 2009; May S., 2004, 2008). On the other hand, some authors, as Eastman (1984), illustrate that language can be replaced by another according to the circumstances, and there is no change in the essence of what identity entails. The Minority Language Rights (MLR) movement (May S., 2001, 2005) is concerned with language rights as one aspect of a more general attempt to defend minority group rights (May S., 2005). This enterprise is part of a larger and more general project that aims to reconcile the notion of group rights with that of liberal democracy. This movement is going to be used as the paradigm of this research study because it provides "the most thoughtful and developed articulation of language rights" (Wee, 2011, p. 49). The concept of cultural identity is important in this movement, and language is considered a particularly significant aspect of a group's cultural identity. Language rights are needed in an ethnically diverse society in order to ensure

equitable relationships between speakers of the dominant language and speakers of the minority language.

According to John Edwards (2009), "identity is at the heart of the person, and the group, and the connective tissue that links them. People need psychosocial 'anchors': it is as simple as that" (p. 2). Within a discoursal approach to identity, neither our sense and articulation of identities nor our language use are static. Both are the result of constant social interaction and negotiation. In the present study, identity is interpreted as diverse, i.e., at the intersection of different social positions; dynamic, i.e., in negotiation; in turn, non-fixed or anchored in some origin but socially or intersubjectively constructed, and interactionally emergent (e.g., Bucholtz & Hall, 2004, 2005; Castells, 2004; Edwards, 2009; Lemke, 2008; May S., 2008, Gee, 2010).

Identity has been one significant topic of research, especially in anthropological linguistics and discourse studies, from the latter half of the twentieth century, according to what Edwards (2009) states. The notion of sovereign individual that emerged before the Enlightenment in the eighteenth century opened a different conception of individuals. Before this notion was brought, individuals were not seen as complex and unique beings, but in terms of their permanent place in the society, a conception that was rejected by Benedict Anderson (1991) and Stuart Hall (1996). This perspective of the individual was framed in the rigid context of religious and social traditions of that time. However, identity was then considered as a topic of major importance but still conceived as the essence of the being, which first emerged when the subject was born while remaining essentially the same throughout the individual's existence (Hall, 1996, p. 597). After the French Revolution and Romanticism and with the conception of nationalism that emerged by then, identity was seen intrinsically connected to ethnicity and nationality, which implied the language of the speaker (Anderson, 1991; Edwards, 2009). This means that individuals continued being perceived as characterized by pre-existing categories that implied immobility and consistency. This particular language ideology is what Cameron (2003) calls the one-nation-one-language ideology, the representation of language that is permeated with particular cultural meanings for a given ethnically imagined community, representing the sense of collective belonging.

However, many linguists, among them Heller (2006, 2011) in her work on language policy and linguistic ideologies, for decades have problematized the links seen between language, place, and national identity. Heller studies language and identity from a post-colonial perspective in the 21st century and asserts that national identity is no longer a matter of significance in a post-nationalist country. Thus, post-modern studies in the social sciences assure that individuals are social beings, which identities are multifaceted and dynamic based on intersecting affiliations that emerge at different times in different social contexts framed in

the multiplicity of relations of power. These affiliations are gender, age, religion, social class, culture, ethnicity, nationality, family roles, sexual orientation, language, among others. Accordingly, there are scholars that speak about identities, more accurately, rather than a single identity.

In the same line, there are other researchers in discourse studies, such as Lemke (2008) and Gee (2010), who use the term 'construction' to illustrate that identity is not something individuals possess by nature and that might be revealed through the verbal expression, but rather it is discursively articulated. In fact, under a social constructionist view, identity is a "fluctuating, contingent and sometimes quite unstable phenomenon: a process, rather than an entity" (Edwards, 2009, p. 23). Therefore, it is important to understand the key to the construction of identity from discourse, which are basically the notions of *Self* and *Other*, or "*sameness and difference*" (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004, p. 369; Rajagopalan, 2001). Individuals need to be faced with another to be able to perceive their own identity. The others are the referential points for individuals to see themselves in particular ways. Accordingly, the definitions of personal and social identities emerge from a psychological perspective. On the one hand, personal identity is related to the sense of self-based on unique personal characteristics, which can be moral and physical, that is, the notion of personality rather than only sets of membership categories. On the other hand, social identities are large categories of belonging and the sense of group unity that stems from the relation to others (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004; De Fina, 2011). In the social identity, there is a sense of connectedness to a particular social group based on certain characteristics that are perceived as shared, but at the same time, there is a sense of difference when individuals distinguish from others who do not share those characteristics. In other words, social identity is constructed socially and encompasses both an individual's self-definition and his/her affiliations with specific groups. This is related to what Anderson (1991) states as an imagined community.

I turn now to the sociocultural linguistic approach to study identity that locates the connection between identity and language. This approach is proposed by Bucholtz and Hall (2005), and it is based on five principles: The emergence principle, the positionality principle, the indexicality principle, the relationality principle, and the partialness principle. These authors argue that identity emerges in social interaction as part of the discourse. Therefore, the emergence and positionality principles are the two principles that reject the static view of identity of some researchers in social sciences. Furthermore, the indexicality principle focuses on the linguistic resources whereby interactants indexically position themselves and others in discourse. The relationality principle describes how identities are relationally constructed through different aspects of the relationship between self and other. And, the partialness

principle considers the constraints on individual intentionality in the process of identity construction, based on the macrostructures of discourse such as ideologies and the important role of agency in the negotiation of identities.

1.3 Identity from structuralist and post-structuralist perspectives

Despite the importance of identity in the different fields of social sciences and humanities, such as sociolinguistics, psychology, anthropology, and philosophy, its definition has been the center of multiple debates, and it is difficult to find a specific agreement for it in the revision of the literature. Primarily, this issue stems from the diverse theories and approaches researchers on identity follow. The debate on what identity implies has evolved along the decades depending on the visions and interpretations of the world, which characterize each period in history. Consequently, identity can be understood as a property of the individual or as something that emerges from social interaction, which has as a nuance that it resides in the mind of the individuals or in specific social behaviors. This attaches an identity to individuals or to groups. Moreover, identity can be seen as independently shaped of the contexts in which it emerges or as totally determined by them. It can be conceived, as well, as substantially personal or as relational. These alternative perspectives of studying identity in the field of linguistics unravel the methods to approach it and their influence on research.

In this discussion, it is necessary to review the shift in perceiving identity as a group of fixed and innate traits that are learned or psychologically based as the 'core self' to approaching identity as a social construct. This change illustrates the way identity has become more complex and how it encompasses the concept of construction and negotiation as it is described by Preece (2016), who defines identity "as a result of the mobility and diversity that have arisen in the social worlds of the physical and digital due to the processes of globalization in late modernity" (p. 3), or by Norton (2013), who describes identity as the manner an individual tries to perceive him/herself in accordance with others. Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) assure that identity negotiation occurs every day in multilingual contexts where different ideologies of language and identities come into conflict. Likewise, Heller (1988) explains that all the potentialities an individual has in order to disseminate his/her beliefs, assumptions, and values in a society and accept others' values, beliefs, and assumptions are part of this negotiation process. In the same line, Joseph (2004) affirms that "identities are not natural facts about us, but things we construct" (p. 6).

In the literature reviewed, the shift of approaching and studying identity is frequently discussed in terms of essentialism and non-essentialism. The concept of essentialism, which is the main core of structuralist approaches on identity, as Mary Bucholtz (2003) asserts, assumes

that groups' actions defined by society can be established by assuming biological or cultural features as innate to the group. Therefore, this theoretical position studies the self through biological characteristics and established social, cultural, and demographic categories that set sharp boundaries between groupings, making them natural and ineludible. Bucholtz (2003) affirms that essentialism might be seen, as an ideology, under the premise that groups can be set visibly and that the members of a group are recognized as similar.

Furthermore, Bucholtz and Hall (2004) affirm that critics have charged the research on identity with this essentialist position in which individuals who inhabit an identity category are both "fundamentally similar to one another and fundamentally different from members of other groups" (p. 374). From this perspective, in early sociolinguistic research, identity was mainly used as a justification to explain linguistic differences across social groups instead of being viewed as a question itself (Bucholtz, 2011). Besides, Bucholtz and Hall (2004) emphasize cultural essentialism as another important feature that has supported the understanding of linguistic anthropology. According to these scholars, although essentialism is often understood as a biological-based position, it might be illustrated as a cultural phenomenon as well. Cultural essentialism leans on language as the main component, which engenders an understanding of structuralist approaches to identity. Consequently, Block (2007) assures that structuralist approaches to identity pursued "universal laws or rules of human behavior" (p. 12).

Conversely, the non-essentialist view of identity is determined by poststructuralist and social constructionist theories, which invoke the importance of discourse and contextualization, and is based on historical, linguistic, and cultural resources that allow the understanding of 'becoming' instead of 'being.' Under an essentialist position, the questions that often emerge about existence are who we are or where we came from, however, according to what it is explained by Stuart Hall (1996), he affirms that identities have to do with inquiries of "what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves" (p. 4).

In consequence, regarding the concept of identity, while some approaches have considered it as an immutable trait placed within the individual, interactional views of identity conceive it as a sociocultural phenomenon that is changing, multiple, and adaptable, which emerges from interaction and is also negotiated within interaction (Darvin & Norton, 2015; Bamberg, Fina, & Schiffrin, 2011; Bucholtz, 2011; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; De Fina, 2003). Lately, in sociolinguistic research, identity has been studied as a construct that is socially and relationally established as opposed to an immanent trait of the individual from the psychological view or an intrinsic characteristic from cultural practices, languages, or demographic background, which correspond to a structuralist perspective.

In the same vein of the two perspectives of approaching identity, in SLA research, Norton (2000) presents these two views, but she uses the term of traditional Western perspective, which is the one that conceives the individual as having an essential, unique, single fixed identity, and she also refers to the poststructuralist view, which depicts the individual's identity as a dynamic, flexible, changing trait over time and social space. From the traditional Western perspective or structuralist view, the concept of identity is of core self, which is psychologically innate and self-contained and exists previously in social interactions. However, this conception of identity was not enough to explain individuals' performances in the diverse contexts of communication and social interaction. Therefore, new critical approaches and the poststructuralist perspective to identity emerged to broaden the discernment of the process for individuals to construct and negotiate identities in different situations and of the manner they locate themselves in the social relations and interactions.

Based on these two views, identity is conceived differently depending on the focus of the approach and the study. For this reason, De Fina (2012) exemplifies that identity can be studied as cognitive or performative, collective or individual, and social or personal. Furthermore, she explains that the function of language in identity can be recognized as "reflecting, conveying, constructing identities or as carrying out all those functions at the same time" (p. 1). For social scholars, identity bridges the gap between individuals and social order, which represent the micro level and the macro level, respectively. Block (2007) explains how identity allows for the investigation of individuals' membership of particular groups, cultural practices, and representations of self and others. Block (2007) also clarifies how social scientists have seen the concept of identity as changeable and socially constructed, as well as multidimensional because of the fact that it includes individuals' affiliations such as gender, social class, race, ethnicity, nationality, age, religion, culture, kinship roles, language, and sexual orientation. This understanding of identity as a plural construction from individuals based on their affiliations and social interactions has also been studied by researchers from the same line of postmodern discourse such as Weaver (2001), Bucholtz and Hall (2004), Joseph (2004), Lemke (2008), May S. (2008), Edwards (2009), and Castells (2010).

Consequently, at different times, according to the setting and situation, an individual may portray him/herself as being different based on his/her affiliations. Thereupon, speaking about identities instead of identity may be more precise, as it is stated by Lemke (2008), "identities develop and change, they are at least multi-faceted if not in fact plural. Their consistency and continuity are our constructions, mandated by our cultural notions of the kinds of selves that are normal and abnormal in our community" (p. 19). The term 'construction' used by Lemke in this quote unveils another significant characteristic of identity to understand that

it is “a process, rather than an entity” (Edwards, 2009, p. 23). This constant construction of individuals’ identity stems from the perception of others. Likewise, Bucholtz and Hall (2004) accentuate the notions of “sameness and difference” (p. 369) to explain that individuals would not be able to conceive their own identity if it is not outside themselves when facing others.

The concept of sameness leads individuals to visualize themselves as members of a group, whereas the concept of difference produces social distance when individuals feel they do not share the same characteristics as the rest. However, Bucholtz and Hall (2004) argue that sameness and difference “do not exist apart from the ideologies and practices through which they are constructed” (p. 388). Furthermore, Bucholtz (2011) asserts that “identity is jointly produced rather than individual, locally situated rather than universal, and agentively constructed rather than passively inhabited” (p. 10). Based on this perspective, identity is multi-faceted and non-static and can be seen in terms of who individuals are or what they do when participating inside the different contexts of their social relations. Identity signifies something when interacting with others throughout time and space and locates individuals within the social order via the negotiation performed in the interaction. Hence, based on what Bucholtz (2011) states, identities are essentially relational since the acts that define ourselves are also acts that define others and vice versa. Blumer (1986) argues that the outstanding feature of identity is to be context-dependent; hence it should be understood as identity in use. Pascale (2011) explains that “identity categories are both reductive, from an essentialist view, and productive, thought as political dispositions” (p. 154). She emphasizes that any approach and use of these categories must be self-reflexive, self-conscious, and strategic to make the most of their productive usefulness and attenuate their essentialist reductionism.

After having discussed the concept of identity through the lens of structuralist and poststructuralist perspectives, it is important to describe how identity has been studied systematically in sociolinguistics in order to understand the different approaches for its analysis in research. Labov (1972) and Coupland (1980) viewed identity as a variable in the social context. Therefore, these scholars started to work on approaches to identity with studies of language variation. This variation is related to the different styles of speakers according to the context where they are interacting. Afterward, the participation of all the interactants was recognized in identity processes and not only the participation of the speakers. Authors such as Bucholtz and Hall (2005); De Fina, Schiffrin, and Bamberg (2006); and De Fina (2012) present studies of identity construction based on linguistic strategies speakers use to index identities and also on microanalysis through discourse. Nowadays, research on identity negotiation done by Bucholtz and Hall (2005); De Fina et al. (2006); Holmes, Marra, and Vine (2011); De Fina (2012) has explored how identity is a social phenomenon that emerges and is constructed and

negotiated in interaction, ignoring assumptions of identity positions. I adopt this social perspective for this research, where identities are understood to be interactionally emergent within and across communicative events.

1.3.1 A parallel between the two perspectives

Based on what essentialism signifies, the structuralist approach leads to the research on identity by means of the notion of difference, which may prompt separation or discrimination because of sociocultural and political powers implied in grouping boundaries. This aspect is different in poststructuralist theories of identity. According to Baxter (2016), a poststructuralist approach to identity has become influential in social sciences and applied linguistics, despite the fact that poststructuralism does not have a unified definition. She details how Foucault's (1984) or Weedon's (1997) theories of discourse have generated a discursive view of identity, in which individuals can position themselves as subjects or as individuals in the discourses they participate. As Baxter (2016) highlights, discourses are seen as a means through which particular ways of interpreting the world flow and interact. Thereupon, poststructuralism transcends structuralist bases. Norton (2013) affirms that "poststructuralism depicts the individual (i.e. the subject) as diverse, contradictory, dynamic and changing over historical time and social space" (p. 4). This diversity causes the complexity of surpassing the structuralist bases to recognize the existence of language ideologies and identities linked to power relations and political schemes. Similarly, Block (2007) states that "poststructuralism is, in very general terms, about moving beyond the search, associated with structuralism, for unchanging, universal laws of human behavior and social phenomena to more nuanced, multileveled, and ultimately, complicated framings of the world around us" (p. 864). Therefore, poststructuralism focuses on examining unequal relationships of power generated between groups, as it was initially explained by Hegel's concept of 'an imagination of submission' between the powerful and not-so-powerful groups.

Furthermore, in the literature, there is a discussion done by the poststructuralist approach to the innate correspondence between language and identity classes defined biologically or demographically, precisely for not considering sociocultural or socio-political elements in social interactions between groups of multilingual societies, which is expounded by Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004). In the 1990s, there were researchers such as McKay and Wong (1996), Norton (1995, 2000), and Pavlenko (2000, 2002), who initiated the study of power relations and ideologies among a diverse group of individuals in Second Language Acquisition (SLA). They admitted that the connection between individuals' multiple identities and the results of second language learning is more challenging than what is depicted from a

sociopsychological approach. Therefore, Stuart Hall (as cited in du Gay et al., 2000) states that "identity is a matter of considerable political significance" (p. 29), which falls in the same line studied by Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004), who also unveil how social constructionists study identity as an interactional outcome constructed and negotiated in discourse. This standpoint can unfold the actions performed by individuals to keep the coherence with the narratives of themselves and others while simultaneously displaying that identity depends on the interactional context.

Some of the bases of the social constructionist approach to identity come from the Social Identity Theory (SIT) by Tajfel (1978), according to what Benwell and Stokoe (2006) present in their research. These scholars also explain that this theory and the research in variationist sociolinguistics were criticized as studying identity as a predetermined outcome caused by group interactions, dismissing the rigorous categorization of individuals. Research studies concerning marginalized and oppressed groups such as ethnic minorities and women enlightened the way of evaluating the imbalance between individuals and groups through the observation of ideologies and power relations in the languages they use. From the social perspective to the study of identity, this was conceived as a post-structural change that encompassed the notions of ideology and power into the analysis of discourse in social interactions. Hence, the multiplicity and complex characteristics of identity were considered to understand its concept. These characteristics were not evaluated as unreasonable irregularities but recognized as continuous aspects of individuals' lives. Consequently, the situations of interaction with institutional and political characteristics were adopted in order to analyze the uniformity and non-uniformity in the social stories of an individual's life continuum.

When analyzing data in identity research studies, demographic categories such as race, gender, ethnicity, nationality, social class, and language are still required to refer to identity categories, as Bucholtz and Hall (2010) illustrate in the 'positionality principle.' Similarly, the social perspective that conceives that "there is no element of identity that exists outside social relationships" (Lawler, 2008, as cited in Taylor, 2010, p. 3) can never completely explain individual subjectivities.

Moreover, there is another pair of contrasting paradigms that broaden the scope of identity, which are expounded by Edwards (2009) and Taylor (2010). These emerge from the personal and social perspectives of identity and are known as personal and social identities. The former focuses on the conventional psychological understanding of identity, which is accordant with the essentialist approach, whereas the latter one makes emphasis on the more modern social theorization of identity, which is in line with the poststructuralist and social constructionist perspectives. The idea of self is associated with individual identity, and most of

the notions related to it stem from its psychological view, which origin was traced from the 'Enlightenment self' (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006, p. 18). In the nineteenth century, when there was a line between the Enlightenment and the Romantic conception of language, linguistics was established as an academic field. According to what Joseph (2016) traces, from one standpoint, the Enlightenment conceived language as a system of rational signs to be based on the senses in order to have universal laws; thus, the assumption of the individual was constituted as a rational, autonomous subject. On the other hand, the Romantic conception of language had a more spiritual perception of the universe that integrated the nature of a particular nation or race; hence "language originates in the senses, as they are directed by the national soul, to which it remains bound" (Joseph, 2016, p. 21). Consequently, as in the Romantic movement, individuals' innate forms of expression turned into the axis, all the work was towards individuals' self-fulfillment pursuing their own uniqueness. These two opposed perspectives reprise the tension and ambiguity inherent in how language and identity are understood.

Etymologically the word identity stems from Latin *idem* [the same]; similarity or sameness seems to be the core of the traditional understandings of identity (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004). Likewise, Edwards (2009) explains that sameness can be analyzed through identity with the certitude that every individual is him/herself: "It signifies a continuity that constitutes an unbroken thread running through the long and varied tapestry of one's life" (p. 19). This meaning of identity, as a recognition of the self, characterized the centuries from the Enlightenment through Romanticism to Modernism and, "even in contemporary society, it is 'nostalgically retained in everyday life'" (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006, p. 47). However, from the nineteenth century onwards, different conceptions of identity have emerged and shifted the fixed essentialist view of the self. In the same line, Benwell and Stokoe (2006) explain that Hegel, in 'The Phenomenology of Spirit,' was the first one to express the vision of identity as an intersubjective social matter and the importance of self-consciousness to understand the development of individual freedom. This freedom is diminished due to society. Moreover, these scholars present some examples of "alternative accounts of identity in psychoanalysis, such as Lacan's vision of an alienated and de-centered subject" (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006, p. 20-21), which demonstrated that there were gaps in the understanding of identity from the essentialist perspective. Moreover, Bendle (2002) claims that changes from a rigid structuralist concern focused on essentialized notions of race, ethnicity, and gender to a poststructuralist perspective which sees the individual agency as fluid and unstable matter have occurred in the last decades. However, he assures that the advance of identity as a pivotal concept in social sciences in the late decades justifies "a crisis of identity that expresses itself as a crisis of society and a crisis of theory" (Bendle, 2002, p. 1-2). All of this due to the intrinsic contradiction between the

significance of identity in personal and collective action and a conception of identity that sees it as something flexible, multiple, and disjointed.

The ideas of individual agency and social interaction were commonly referred to in social constructionism. Benwell and Stokoe (2006) affirm that in this perspective, the self is defined by his/her social position so that identity becomes an intersubjective product of the social, which is in accordance with Bucholtz and Hall (2010, p. 18). The notion of 'self' is thus fused into the social, and when the different 'selves' negotiate subjectivities, the concept of 'intersubjectivity' emerges. Accordingly, Pascale (2011) assures that "analyses and narratives about who people are, and the lives they have lived, will always be incomplete if we cannot see the processes of social formation through which they became inaugurated as subjects" (p. 154). She also explains the difference between socially constructed categories, such as race and gender, and the processes of subjectification through which individuals become emissaries of social structures. In the case of researchers, these processes help them understand ways of thinking and writing about social categories "without reifying them and without divesting them of the historical relations of power through which they are produced" (p. 155).

In the same vein, Block (2007) asserts that identity needs to be studied by conceiving self-constructed subject positions and positionings imposed by others. Individuals become self-conscious when validating their existence in relation to 'others.' Consequently, the notion of 'self' is crucial when understanding identity, but its conceptualization differs in the social and personal paradigms. Likewise, Butler (2005) argues that there is no identity that can be understood outside of the conditions of its emergence due to the fact that individuals are brought into being through social interaction. The experiences individuals live are the processes that constitute them. Every "I" is implicated in a social context, and the only way to identify it is through a mediation that takes place outside of oneself.

1.3.2 Construction and negotiation of identities under the social constructionist perspective

The basis that underlies the social constructionist perspective is that the social reality does not exist independently but as a result of a continuous dialectical process between individuals as main constituents of it and constituted by it. Human action is necessary to construct the social world. Hence, De Fina and Georgakopolou (2012) remark two important principles that are fundamental to understand the sense of identity as constructed socially, giving a meaning to the de-essentializing self. The first principle is that "all social categories are created and negotiated through processes of communication amongst human beings" (p. 157), and the second principle is that "the individual and the social do not stand in opposition to each other and cannot be conceived as separate" (p. 157). Based on these principles, it can

be affirmed that the field of social interaction is where reality is constructed. After being considered as something inherent and essential for the individual, identity is moved to the public domain through the social discourse.

Social constructionism entails changes in the concepts of individual agency, social interaction, human knowledge, and identity. Hence, Bucholtz and Hall (2004) state that "identity inheres in actions, not in people" (p. 376). In the poststructuralist or constructionist approach, identity is seen as multiple; thus, the term 'identities' encompasses this trait rather than identity. These identities are shifting, dynamic, locally originated, and context-related. Researchers such as Burr (1995), Bucholtz and Hall (2005), De Fina et al. (2006), Benwell and Stokoe (2006), and Edwards (2009) have agreed that identities are constantly performed and contested, assessed and reassessed, projected and rejected by individuals through social interaction. Likewise, Wallace (2004) brought into effect James Gee's discourse theory when working with college students, who had mixed heritage, through life histories in order to articulate the correspondence between individuals and society, arguing that "multiethnic identity is a situated phenomenon emerging at the intersection of the individual and the collective" (p. 195).

Scholars as Burr (1995), Lock and Strong (2010), and Irwin (2011) explain that the main principles of social constructionism come from postmodernism, which questioned the tenets underlying modernism; for example, the possibility for individuals to access the world and its predetermined structure. That is why in social constructionism, the individual is seen as an agent in the process of interpreting the world and in the meaning-making process of every discursive interaction. Thus, the vision of the world under this social constructionist standpoint is relativistic. Every individual constructs their knowledge through their actions and interacting with others. Benwell and Stokoe (2006) define identity as "an intersubjective product of the social" (p. 8), so both the personal and social understandings require deep analysis. Based on this reflection and concept of identity, it is important to mention that the term 'self' has the same meaning as 'agent' because of the desire each individual feels to perform and interpret the world. This is connected to what subjectivity signifies. Weedon (1987) defines subjectivity as the concept used to "refer to the conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions of the individual, her sense of herself and her ways of understanding her relation to the world" (p. 32). Therefore, identities are not merely given by social structures but are also negotiated by agents, more than subjects, because of their active role in positioning themselves.

As the aim of this study is the negotiation and construction of identities and considering that identities are multifaceted and non-static, it is necessary to unravel how this process occurs. In the research on identities in multilingual contexts conducted by Pavlenko and Blackledge

(2004), the conceptualization of voice (Bakhtin, 1981) and positioning (Davies & Harré, 1990) were adopted. Hence, the process of negotiation implies the recognition of multiple identities, which necessarily entails the notion of several identities in the discursive interaction, where a preferred identity arises at the conclusion of negotiation. As a consequence, this division of identity into moments or acts of interaction ensures that multiple positions, perhaps without the same level of importance, emerge depending on the specific situation. Therefore, this social interactionist approach delineates the frame not only to work on identity as flexible and dynamic but also to view the individual as capable of placing inside and outside classes of identity by switching their performances in respect of certain needs within particular moments of identification. Omoniyi (2007, p. 18) explains that, from the social interactionist viewpoint, the traditional binary identity categories such as native versus immigrants or Christian versus Buddhist are challenged by the multiple selves and positionings of the individual.

This malleability and adaptability of individuals' identities take place in discursive interactions; that is, negotiation and construction of identity are accomplished through discourse. Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) assert that the negotiation of identities "takes place only when certain identities are contested" (p. 20). Consequently, the struggles and tensions that emerge when discourses occur are the scenarios to understand how identities, from an angle of human agency, can be imposed, devalued, or unavailable, and how individuals can resist, transform, challenge or negotiate themselves and others. In social interaction, individuals position themselves differently depending on the instances of interaction. Besides, these authors argue that identity becomes visible and interesting when it is contested: "we see identity as particularly salient in contexts where multiple interpretations or meanings collide, resulting in a power struggle as to whose interpretation prevails" (p. 19). They adopted the principles of positioning theory in their study of identities in multilingual contexts. This theory allows converging the views of identities as performed in discourses and as located in narratives.

The theory of positioning was developed by Davies and Harré (1990) and Harré and van Langenhove (1999), largely for conversational contexts. Davies and Harré (1990) argue that "positioning is the discursive process whereby identities or 'selves' are located in conversation as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced story lines" (p. 47, as cited in Baxter, 2016, p. 41). They delineate two types of positioning according to its intention: Interactive when an individual positions the other and reflective when the individual positions him/herself. Therefore, Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) exemplify how the process of identity negotiation can be understood as the tensions between reflective and interactive positionings. The former is considered as self-representation, and the latter, whereby others strive to position or reposition specific individuals or groups. These attempts of

positioning others entail aspects such as assumptions, ideologies, cultural norms, values, and ideas of power, which influence in one way or another the particular instance of positioning. Moreover, these authors elucidate that negotiation of identities does not imply two or more physical bodies by definition, but instead, "it may also take place 'within' individuals, resulting in changes in self-representation" (p. 21), and this is all considering the Bakhtinian view of heteroglossia.

Furthermore, these authors extend the scope of positioning to all discursive practices, both oral and print, which may position individuals in specific ways or allow them to position themselves. It is important to highlight that reflective positioning is frequently challenged by others and may cause that individuals feel themselves in constant tension because their self-chosen identities are confronted with others' efforts to position them differently. As a result, the terms subjectivities and intersubjectivities are crucial to represent how negotiation can be held in the domain of the individual or in the social interaction; both performed through discourse. Subject positions emerge as part of an interactive process and can change or be changed by others. The concept of positioning has often been interpreted as identity in social sciences and humanities, according to what Benwell and Stokoe (2006) point out. Thus, the importance of underscoring this link between positioning theory and the study of identity negotiation.

On the other hand, Block (2007) and Norton (1997) include the notions of time when defining identities. According to Block (2007), "identities are about negotiating new subject positions at the crossroads of the past, present and future. Individuals are shaped by their sociohistories but they also shape their sociohistories as life goes on" (p. 27). Likewise, Norton (1997, p. 410) affirms that she refers to identity to describe the understanding people have of their connection to the world and the way it is constructed across time and space. She also mentions that identity implies the understanding individuals have of their possibilities for the future.

Hence, it can be observed that the action of identity negotiation is both synchronic and diachronic. Individuals are continuously analyzing their past, present, and future in their life narration, which means that they are always involved in identity construction and reconstruction. Therefore, in social interaction, individuals can access a wide range of possibilities to position themselves temporally by evaluating their past, their present and project themselves in future contexts according to the social encounter and ideologies.

The notion of space and its significance to understanding identity negotiation is also important. Therefore, the category of demographic identity appears to be indexed to the physical, geographical, social, or, currently, cyberspace, where social practices occur. This

notion of space brings the idea of the known imagined communities coined by Anderson (1983) in his discussion about the construct of a nation, "it is an imagined political community…it is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (p. 49). This accounts for the cruciality of belonging linked to space, such as national identity. Besides, it is relevant to remark that individuals have memories of experiences lived in specific places and those memories help them construct bonds of affection that play an important role when negotiating identities. This is what Taylor (2010) presents as the main feature to understand 'place identity.'

Based on the principles of social constructionism or poststructuralist theories and understanding that discourse is the site where identity negotiation and construction takes place, the concept of interactional identity comes to notice as one important pillar that supports the theoretical framework of this research. Hence, Bucholtz and Hall (2005) attempt to bring together different approaches to the study of interactional identity. The conceptual stage they propose for the analysis of identity in interaction encompasses notions fragmentarily presented by various disciplines and represents one of the most methodical strategies for the research on identity in interaction, and it is known as the sociocultural linguistic approach, which will be explained in a further section.

Individuals' identities are variations of themselves constructed through subjectivities and intersubjectivities that can arise or be combined with others to depict a wide range of identity expressions. All of this evaluated from the perspective of social constructionism, which implies struggles and conflicts between ideologies, beliefs, and values, making discourse be an active and dynamic process. In sum, social constructionist theorists highlight the plurality and polyphonic nature of identities, in terms of Barrett (1999), and consequently the fact that different and contradictory identities may coexist within the same individual. This is important to understand that the self is not the essential expression of the individual but an interactional construction that is constantly being revised and worked.

1.4 Locating identity in language

In the broad field of linguistics, there has been an accelerating interest in identity and its association with language since the pioneering work of Norton (1995, 2013 [2000]) in SLA. Scholars such as Zotzmann and O'Regan (2016) assert that the conception of identity entails contemplating the reasons for individuals to use language, under which conditions, the way they are recognized by others as language users, the meanings they want to announce, and the resources they draw upon in particular contexts. Therefore, they highlight the importance of

studying identity in applied linguistics inasmuch as it supports the fact that language is used as a social enterprise rather than cognitive. Thus, identity is the bridge between individuals and the social world. Moreover, a shift in the way of seeing and understanding language has been visible as well, for example, when Rymes (2010) affirms that nowadays, multiple literacies for communicative and identity work locate language as the pivotal part of the knowledge, while previously, language was conceived only as an independent structure that denoted national identities or ethnic groups without becoming a social issue. Therefore, the change of perceiving and understanding language and identity has been parallel.

There are numerous contemporary scholars in linguistics that study identity as a directed social action conducted primarily but not exclusively through language. However, theorists, as Joseph (2004), argue that it is not possible to study language without studying identity, which evidences the intrinsic relationship between identity and language. He observes that "identity is itself at the very heart of what language is about, how it operates, why and how it came into existence and evolved as it did, how it is learned and how it is used, every day, by every user, every time it is used" (p. 224). Besides, Joseph (2004) suggests that language and identity should be studied from historical and contemporary perspectives because identity is always founded on ancestry and heritage and on the essence of belonging. Research studies on the connection between identity and language learning have had a change in the epistemological paradigms that are used by scholars. Queries on language and identity have accepted new research paths.

Several studies related to how identity influences communication and language learning, how power relations are evident in conversations, and how speakers change identities according to the social context have been carried out. Moreover, linguistic anthropologists, such as Bucholtz and Hall (2004a, 2004b, 2005), study identity issues under the concept of social interaction due to the fact that language exists in a heterogeneous, changing, and dynamic form. It is through differences that identity is indexed and interpreted. This indexing can have both favorable and unfavorable consequences that lead to social injustices, for example. These authors argue that identities are expressed in language as the designations of labels that individuals attach to themselves and others to signal their belonging, or as the indexed ways of speaking and behaving through which they perform their belonging, or as the interpretations that others make of those indices. Therefore, in sociocultural and sociolinguistic studies of identity and language, researchers embark on examining how these social theories have been used by SLA theorists and linguistic anthropologists.

In the same vein, following the social interaction basis of identity, poststructuralist views are indispensable to analyze the complex procedure of identity negotiation and

construction, which is critical to achieving the objectives of this study. Authors such as Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) recognize the significant influence cloistered factors entailed in the dynamics of social interaction have on individuals' negotiation and construction of identity. These factors might be ideology, power relations, capital, norms, values, culture, and language use. All these social interactional powers are embedded in discourse, which has complex political and social meanings. Likewise, Heller (2006, 2011) has problematized and discussed the connections perceived between national identity, language, and place. She has focused her research mainly on the broad scope of post-colonialism. Besides, Bucholtz and Hall (2005) focus on four semiotic processes to study how identities are negotiated and constructed through language: (1) Practice, (2) Indexicality, (3) Ideology, and (4) Performance. These scholars avoid essentialism in the theorization of identity to depict it as a political phenomenon that can be understood through a variety of symbolic resources, and particularly language. In the same vein, Pascale (2011) assures that "language itself is *epistemic*: language makes 'reality' real" (p. 165). How we relate to ourselves and to each other depends not only on the words we exchange but also on the conceptualization that language makes possible.

In the same vein, Irvine and Gal (2000) developed the concept of ideology in linguistic anthropology. One of the important processes that they expand is iconization, as the ideological representation of a linguistic feature or variety as coherent with the group with which it is associated. This coherence gives a characterization of a naturalized link between the linguistic and the social that is inevitable than the associations generated through indexicality. Therefore, the processes of iconization and indexicality are opposite in identity construction, according to Bucholtz and Hall (2004), because of the fact that indexicality produces ideology through practice, while iconization embodies practice through ideology. In order to extend the discussion of the location of identity in language, the following section of the theoretical framework aims at explaining the angle of social interaction that the researchers, Bucholtz and Hall (2005), propose as the sociocultural linguistic approach to identity formation, which is the main theoretical and methodological line of the present study.

1.4.1 The sociocultural linguistic approach to identity formation

When locating identity in language, Bucholtz and Hall (2005) propose a framework to explain this connection by remarking the crucial role of intersubjectivity in the process of perception of the self, rather than individualism as the core of this process. Research on identity, as it has been mentioned, has been studied in different fields of social sciences and humanities. For this approach, Bucholtz and Hall (2005) drew on different theories of identity with the purpose of finding common stances to encompass the main branches that provide the necessary

elements to study and analyze identity. This approach is framed within the broad concept of identity "as the social positioning of self and other" (p. 586). Therefore, the understanding of identity in this approach is not as a set of established social categories or fixed characteristics in the psyche of the individual but as a sociocultural phenomenon that emerges and is negotiated in discursive interactions shaped in specific contexts and situations.

This approach stems from the principles underlying theories such as speech accommodation (Giles, 1973; Giles et al., 1991), social identity (Meyerhoff, 1996; Meyerhoff & Niedzielski, 1994; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), language ideology (Irvine & Gal, 2000; Silverstein, 1979), indexicality (Ochs, 1992; Silverstein, 1976, 1985), theories of style (Eckert & Rickford, 2001; Mendoza-Denton, 2002), and acts of identity (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985). These theories and approaches were developed mostly in the disciplines of social psychology, linguistic anthropology, and sociolinguistics, as well as in the socially oriented forms of discourse analysis. Consequently, what Bucholtz and Hall (2005) aimed, with the sociocultural linguistic approach, was to gather the theories and studies that were understood under the intersection between language, culture, and society. Thus, they did not deny the specificity of each theory or create a different approach but provide a simplified set of theories to be referred to collectively.

Acts of identity is a poststructuralist approach to study the construction of social identity on language, and it was proposed by Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985). This approach refers to the "linguistic behavior as a series of acts of identity in which people reveal both their personal identity and their search for social roles" (p. 14). This means that identity construction is the result of social interaction. These scholars assert that individuals can control their linguistic behavior to be part of a group they wish to belong to or, conversely, to isolate themselves from the group they do not want to be recognized as one of its members. Therefore, individuals have the autonomy to choose their position on how they want to project themselves in specific situations.

This theoretical approach of acts of identity intersects with some elements of the accommodation theory proposed by Giles (1973). This theory was known initially as speech accommodation, but later it was renamed communication accommodation theory as it was growing with research and studies. The factors underlying this theory were motivational and focused on specific meanings linked to any particular style but on the degree of similarity or difference between speaker and listener, which could identify or not a certain interpersonal distance. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) found common characteristics of their approach of acts of identity with Giles' accommodation theory, in the sense that speakers can feel as part of a group, only after identifying the group, having access to it and to its ways of speaking, and

after having the control of changing their ways of speaking and having the motivation to join those groups. The difference between these two theories is that the acts of identity focus their interest on mid-term to long-term changes in community speech norms, while accommodation theory is more focused on the local contexts and on the consequences of interpersonal and intergroup accommodation.

Another approach that also had elements to support the sociocultural linguistic approach proposed by Bucholtz and Hall (2005) was the social identity theory. This theory was developed by Henri Tajfel (1970), and it represented one of the most influential models to analyze linguistic identity. It was defined as "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel, 1978, as cited in Joseph, 2016, p. 23). This definition demonstrated that social identity was relevant to the individual rather than to a social group or social categories. Moreover, the concepts of membership and self-concept were crucial to understanding the social identity, as it was also the emotional significance and the value the individuals place into the membership. In the same vein, Turner (1987) followed the theory of social identity and proposed the theory of *self-categorization*, which underlies the principles of salient categories of the individual in specific social contexts or situations. Hence, the flexibility of multiple identities can be recognized, and they are indexed in individuals' linguistic behaviors.

The concept of performativity defined by Pennycook (2004) is related to the theory of self-categorization and has its roots in the work of Butler (1990) in gender, who argues that gender is achieved similarly as a performative speech act that is not intentional, but a reiteration of hegemonic practices. Thus, performativity is defined as "the way in which we perform acts of identity as an ongoing series of social and cultural performances rather than as the expression of a prior identity" (Pennycook, 2004, p. 8). From this definition, it is implicit that the salient categories of the individuals emerge in social interactions and other representations, such as ways of dressing or walking, as Woodward (2002) affirms. The basis of this work on performativity is on Goffman's (1974) analysis framework, which remarks on the performative characteristic of social interaction. The idea of performativity leads to the concept of hybridity and fluidity of identities, as Beinhoff and Rasinger (2016) explain. In the same line, Bucholtz and Hall (2004) bring the concept of performances to understand the relation between language and identity, as marked speech acts that are compatible with the concept of performativity.

Furthermore, Bucholtz and Hall (2005) followed the principles underlying theories of style to develop their sociocultural linguistic approach. The term 'style' was defined by Eckert (2000) and Eckert and Rickford (2001) as the use of linguistic structures to index social

positioning. According to Ochs (1992) and Agha (1998), style produces and takes advantage of sociolinguistic stereotypes. In the educational system as an institutional structure, style is pivotal in the study of youth identities due to the fact that social divisions are often established based on semiotic distinctions. The analysis of style through linguistic practice and performance allows the recognition of how individuals draw on the existing resources of social groups to work on their own identity.

1.4.2 The five principles of the sociocultural linguistic approach

In order to grasp identity formation through the analysis of language use, Bucholtz and Hall (2005) have developed a model of five principles to approach identity in social interaction. The first one is the emergence principle, where identity is seen as emerging in interaction, which contradicts the concept of identity as located within the mind of an individual and the function of language as a mere vehicle to express what it is in mind. The second one is the positionality principle, which concerns the temporal positions that inhabit the developing interaction together with the locally situated cultural positions and social order identity categories. The third one is the indexicality principle, where it is discussed how identities are indexed in interaction by speakers when referencing particular identity positions or suggestions about themselves and others or when using language that is socially linked to a specific person or group. De Fina (2012) affirms that "identity may be claimed overtly linguistically, but it is also frequently indexed indirectly and symbolically" (p. 3). That is certain words, expressions, and styles of speaking come to be aligned with certain ideas, attributes, and ideologies, which themselves are associated with various social groups within a particular social context.

The fourth principle is relationality, which claims that identities are always constructed concerning other identity positions and entail overlaying binaries to describe speakers such as self-other, authenticity-inauthenticity, and legitimate-illegitimate speakers. Thus, identity positions only gain meaning in relation to alternative ones and other people. For this reason, identities are constructed intersubjectively by means of diverse complementary relations, including "similarity/difference, genuineness/artifice, and authority/delegitimacy" (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 598). The intersubjectivity is a negotiation, and it is summarized by Bucholtz and Hall (2004) through related pairs that are presented as "tactics of intersubjectivity" (p. 493). These pairs are adequation and distinction, authentication and denaturalization, and authorization and illegitimation. Although they were categorized in pairs, they are not independent of each other.

And the fifth principle is partialness, where it is considered that identities are partial because they are always in a changing process. Hence, identities are contextually situated and

ideologically constrained. Partialness has to do with what Burr (2003) explains about realism from the social constructionist standpoint, which assumes that "any view of the world is necessarily partial" (p. 7).

These five principles are pivotal to analyze language use and study how negotiation and construction of identities enact in discourse. Bucholtz and Hall (2005) drew on the theory of indexicality, which basically refers to the semiotic process of juxtaposition. In order to base this principle, the authors trace back the main concepts of semiotics proposed by De Saussure and Peirce in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, about the relationship between 'signifier' and 'signified' (Saussure, 1916), or 'sign' and 'object' (Peirce, 1955); and later, 'linguistic form' and 'social meaning' presented by Silverstein (1976). Bucholtz and Hall (2005) argue that identity emerges in interaction through indexical processes; therefore, they draw on the concept of indices developed by Charles Peirce (1955), followed by Silverstein (1976, 1985, 2003): "an index is a linguistic form that depends on the interactional context for its meaning, such as the first-person pronoun *I*" (Silverstein, 1976, as cited in Bucholtz and Hall, 2005, p. 594). They also rely on the research on gender identity conducted by Elinor Ochs (1992) to explain the concept of indexicality as "the creation of semiotic links between linguistic forms and social meanings" (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 594). In this discussion, Ochs (1992) remarks on the function of indexicality for the social construction of gender identity. She asserts that linguistic forms become indirectly associated with categories in society due to semiotic bonds.

Therefore, Bucholtz and Hall (2005) emphasize the fact that indexicality strongly depends on individuals' ideological structures to form identity. These researchers explain how interactants implicitly use overt indices or covert references to identity positions about themselves and others. The interactants make marked or unmarked language choices in a particular situation. Language has a crucial function when explaining the principle of indexicality. Bucholtz and Hall (2005) state the following:

> Identity relations emerge in interaction through several related indexical processes, including (a) overt mention of identity categories and labels; (b) implicatures and presuppositions regarding one's own or others' identity position; (c) displayed evaluative and epistemic orientations to ongoing talk, as well as interactional footings and participant roles; and (d) the use of linguistic structures and systems that are ideologically associated with specific personas and groups. (p. 594)

This principle entails a continuous evaluation of normativity and associate language with a particular group or individual in order to identify certain categories of identity.

Moreover, in the framework of indexicality, Silverstein (2003) claims the concept of indexical order or level to relate the micro-social and macro-social frames of analysis in sociolinguistic

studies. He expounds on how the indexicalizations made at one level are projected onto subsequent ones. He describes three orders of indexicality in language that explain associations between language and context as follows:

> First-order indexicality corresponds to linguistic forms that are linked to a specific sociodemographic context from the outside (e.g., by linguistic observation); second-order indexicality considers the linguistic forms that are linked to a specific sociodemographic context from the inside (i.e., by group members); and third-order indexicality relates to linguistic forms that are widely perceived as being 'emblematic' for a given sociodemographic context and that are thus often used in stylization. (Silverstein, 2003, as cited in Spitzmüller, 2016, p. 3)

These three levels are related to the crucial role language ideologies have in the construction of identities. Accordingly, Silverstein (1979) states that "language ideologies are sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use" (p. 193). Therefore, from these three indexical orders, Silverstein views ideology as a set of beliefs that the individual brings with him/her in the interaction and makes sense of how language use index the others' social identities.

Consequently, the process of indexicality displays issues in identity negotiation. The implications of language ideology and power are inherent in indexicality. For example, in the study conducted by Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004), they exemplify how nationality, ethnicity, native language, and accent "are assumed to be the birthright indices of people's imposed and assumed identities" (p. 21). Moreover, these varieties of language also index national, geographical, belonging, and cultural origin, which brings identity issues for migrants who have had to acquire multiple languages and nationalities. Here, another issue arises, and it is related to the recognition and authenticity of individuals when they are immersed in a multilingual context. Bucholtz (2003) claims that these issues occur due to the fact that individuals are often identified by recognizing their place of origin and mother language. As Coupland (2010) states, "the word authenticity implies stasis grounded in essentialism" (p. 99).

Although identity is inherently related to language, indexicality is one way to construct and negotiate identities with language. Based on literature review, Piller's (2002) study on passing as a native speaker represents one indexical link between high proficiency of an L2 with being a native speaker. This process of identity negotiation is a type of strategy used by expert L2 speakers to be considered as native speakers and demonstrate their successful acquisition of the target language. She explains here the moral implication of passing as being an imposter that assumes a fake identity of a native speaker, which has a negative connotation, pointing to a balance in essentialism and its ideology (Piller, 2002). Besides, Rampton (1995)

coined the term ‘language crossing’ to describe codeswitching by linguistic outsiders, which undervalues the recognition of the non-native speaker. This definition is presented by Piller (2002) when she explains how people who do not follow the nationalist model of some communities adopt features of language that do not correspond to the prototypes of native speakers to disguise themselves and disobey imposed identities. In this case, language crossing allows individuals to be part of marginalized communities to feel their belonging in a new manner. These examples demonstrate how indexicality plays an important role when recognizing the others in a specific social group. At this point, it can be said that the forces of ideologies are crucial when indexicality is present in the procedure of negotiating identities.

Now, the symbolic value of language considered by Edwards (2009) plays an important role along with group identification dynamics in the conception of imagined communities discussed by Anderson (1991[1983]). Different concepts are intercepted here to frame the complex principles underlying indexicality. Nationalism and the ideologies that underlie this discourse, for example, are indexed to language. According to Block (2007), the sense of national identity is “an ongoing project that must be nurtured by any number of symbols and activities” (p. 30), and this also corresponds to the individuals who are born, raised, and educated in a particular nation. This national language becomes the key component of nationhood, which is affirmed by Llamas and Watt (2010), Joseph (2010), Edwards (2009), and Anderson (1991). Additionally, language is inseparable from political arrangements, relations of power, ideologies, investment, and individuals’ own views of their and others’ identities. For this reason, there are inequalities between languages depending on the economic, cultural, and symbolic capitals vested in them. Heller’s (1982, 1988, 1992, 1995) research has evidenced how relations of power are represented to be somehow solid through traditional discursive practices. In other words, she has been one of the scholars that have studied linguistic practices as a part of the large political and economic structures of society. Her work has been inspired by Bourdieu (1977), “who viewed linguistic practices as a form of symbolic capital, convertible into economic and social capital, and distributed unequally within any given speech community (linguistic stratification)” (as cited in Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004, p. 10). Consequently, a particular language indexes the value of the group that speaks that language; thus, the awareness of what a community means and the perception of belonging is constructed from the indices associated with language.

The sociocultural linguistic approach and the five underlying principles to study identity unfold the importance of discourse as the site of construction and negotiation of identities. Therefore, the present study used narratives as a form of discourse where the different positionings and multifaceted identities of the participants emerged. The following section will

extend the discussion on what discourse implies and the location of narratives in discourse, and its foundation to situate identities as the focus of study.

1.4.3 Narratives as the discursive site to study identity construction

In order to locate narratives in discourse to study identity, I bring the definition of discourse as "the intersection of text and context" (Barát, as cited in Pascale, p. 160) within the framework of social epistemologies. This conception of discourse provides a basis to understand that the poststructuralist approach to study identity is based on discourse. In order to locate narratives as part of discourse and contextualize how negotiation and construction of identity can be studied from linguistic resources and language use within the narratives, it is important to review literature related to discourse and characteristics of the self that are immersed in discursive practices. After this review, the definition of narratives and the rationale behind them are explained.

Therefore, to start the discussion about discourse, it is relevant to understand that, in terms of Fairclough (1992), discourse is "the use of language as a form of social practice" (p. 63), considering language as a socially shaped phenomenon as well. Likewise, Davies and Harré (1990) use the term 'discursive practices' for "all the ways in which people actively produce social and psychological realities" (p. 45). These scholars observe that discourse is framed into the institutional use of language, which they explain as follows: "institutionalization can occur at the disciplinary, the political, the cultural and the small group level. There can also be discourses that develop around a specific topic, such as gender or class" (Davies & Harré, 1999, p. 88). Consequently, discourse is perceived as the site where negotiation of identities takes place depending on the positions individuals choose in the interaction. In other words, it becomes the scenario for the multiple identities to emerge when they are contested or in crisis. Besides, in discourse, the principle of indexicality plays an important role, as it was previously explained. The use of language and the latent ideologies in the discursive practices occur at the macro-level and micro-level, which frames its institutionalization. Weedon (1997) asserts that identity is constructed in and through language: "Language is the place where actual and possible forms of social organization 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" (p. 21).

The understanding of discourse as the site to negotiate identities draws on the concept of discourse adopted by Foucault to denote it as a social system that produces knowledge and meaning. He points out that discourse is a practice of organization of knowledge that structures the construction of social relations, and it is related to the historical period in which it arises.

Hence identities, from a poststructuralist viewpoint, are seen as a result of the construction of discourse and also as immersed in history and society. Consequently, when individuals interact discursively, they are constructing and deconstructing their interpretation of themselves as individuals and the ways they relate to society. Therefore, Fairclough (1992) argues that there is a dialectical connection between discourse and social structure, which makes discourse the site whereby meanings are dynamically achieved. Individuals are continuously engaged in identity construction and negotiation through discourse. This also reflects Bakhtin's (1981, 1984, 1986) language view as dialogic "where texts and utterances invariably bear traces and echoes of other texts and utterances" (as cited in Pavlenko, 2006, p. 8).

As discourse is the situation where knowledge is organized and reorganized through social practices, subject identities emerge. Characteristics of the self, such as feelings, perceptions, desire, imagination, agency, and others, are important for this construction of identity in discourse. Bucholtz and Hall (2010) agree with the use of referents in classes of identity when they present the principles of positionality, indexicality, and relationality. These researchers explain that individuals adopt temporal identities in discursive practices to feel recognized as part of the group. This is done through the process of indexicalization, as was explained in the previous section. Moreover, an individual's agency is active in this negotiation of identities due to the tensions and conflicts generated in the interaction, and this agency allows the individual to picture him/herself in a certain position depending on the specific situation. This is what Davies and Harré (1990) present as characters in an identity story or what Bucholtz and Hall (2005) explain as temporary roles in it. Thus, negotiation and construction of identities occur by drawing on the sociocultural forces and communicative norms in different types of discourse. Benwell and Stokoe (2006) cite 'micro' and 'macro' discourse (p. 35) to present that there are mutual influences from individual and social discourse in discursive practices. This understanding draws on the concept of heteroglossia by Bakhtin (1981, 1984, 1986) since the negotiation of identities does not need two or more parties, but only one individual who might influence his/her self-representation as the result of this negotiation.

The heteroglossic Bakhtinian (1981) view is also necessary to understand the concept of desire and its role in identity construction. For Piller and Takahashi (2010), desire and power are components of the individual discourse that influence each other in the negotiation of identities. Piller and Takahashi (2010) emphasize their research on the conception of desire. They interpret desire "as dialectically constituted in the relationship between the macro-domains of public discourse and the micro-domains of individual experience" (p. 59). It can be observed that this standpoint relies on the Bakhtinian conception of heteroglossia, which is based on the ways to understand the world through different voices that coexistent in the level

of ideologies and the level of discursive practices. Thus, the connection between language and desire can be visible in the sense that language use in the micro-domain needs to refer to larger discourses to be understood. The case presented by Piller and Takahashi (2010), in which they analyze some Japanese women's desire to learn English with the purpose of escaping from their chauvinistic society to go to Australia, is an example of how desire acts to make individuals achieve their objectives. In this case, the agency is marked by what the notion of desire implies. These Japanese women become active agents of their process of identity negotiation to transcend the current cultural circumstances and socio-economic positions found at the macro-domain of public discourse.

Imagination also adopts a crucial function in the process of identity construction because of the fact that it generates "new practices of self-representation and thus new 'imagined communities'" (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004, p. 17). This notion of 'imagined communities' is coined by Anderson (1983) and Hall (1990) when presenting the concept of nation. Likewise, Norton (2013) draws on this concept of 'imagined communities' and asserts that they "refer to groups of people, not immediately tangible and accessible, with whom we connect through the power of the imagination" (p. 8). So, here, it is another way of understanding the importance of imagination when constructing identities. Besides, Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) exemplify how race and ethnicity are linked to construct these imagined communities in contemporary states where the citizens are imagined to be white, such as the British, Australian, or French. Oftentimes, the color of the skin is immediately indexed to specific citizenship. On the other hand, Piller (2001), in her study on naturalization language tests applied in Germany, finds that nations are not always 'imagined communities, where people can imagine a shared experience of belonging, but also they can be exclusionary realms to which people cannot have access because of the restrictions through citizenship.

Furthermore, after reviewing discourse and the characteristics of the self in discourse to study identity, I will locate narratives as a discursive practice to negotiate identities where the agency and imagination of the speaker can be analyzed through specific linguistic resources. I quote the meaning of narrative that Elinor Ochs (1997) presents and that, for this research, constitutes the significance of the bond between narratives and identity, as follows:

> Imagine a world without narrative. Going through life not telling others what happened to you or someone else, and not recounting what you read in a book or saw in a film. Not being able to hear or see or read dramas crafted by others. No access to conversations, printed texts, pictures, or films that are about events, framed as actual or fictional. Imagine not even composing interior narratives, to and for yourself. No. Such

> a universe is unimaginable, for it would mean a world without history, myths or drama; and lives without reminiscence, revelation, and interpretive revision. (p. 185)

When reviewing the literature concerning narratives and identity, it can be found that there are different studies that recognize the potential of narrative inquiry as a research approach to explore identity negotiation and construction. These studies have been conducted in a wide range of disciplines and have explored the topic of identity from different perspectives. In order to cite some of the studies, identity has been explored in topics related to second language learning, migration and employment, workplaces, childhood and youths, health, sexuality, gender, race, and class, among many others. Scholars such as Norton (2013), Morita (2004), Bamberg (2004a, 2004b, 2004c), May V. (2004), Riessman (2003, 2004), Bucholtz (2011), Baxter (2008), Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000), Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004), Block (2006), Hall K. (1997, 2013), Lanza (2012), Tanyas (2016) have worked on identity and narratives from different angles.

There have been different approaches to study narratives. Labov (2014) was one of the pioneers in their study when he proposed a structural analysis of the narratives as well-organized and largely monological texts. Later, the interactional approaches started to understand narratives as emergent in social practice through talk in interaction; thus, they investigated associations between narratives as interactions and wider social practices, as De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2008) explain. Consequently, broader types of texts have become recognized as narratives. The idea of narrative is linked to the definition of discourse due to the fact that the structure of a narrative cannot be conceived isolated from the context in which it was created. De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2008) and Riessman (2003, 2004) argue that narratives are emergent and historically, socially, and politically situated; hence they exist within wider structures of power and inequality. Ochs and Capps (2001) use the term tellability when explaining how narratives are constructed and the significance of the events to the interlocutors. Tellability permits understand how the narrative is shaped based on the audience, the particular situated purpose of a story, and on the wider cultural and ideological contexts. In the same vein, Tanyas (2016) affirms that wider discourses and other social structures play a significant role in shaping narratives and positioning identities within them.

Since narratives are social constructions and can be studied with the purpose of analyzing identities under the sociocultural linguistic approach proposed by Bucholtz and Hall (2005), it is important to explain that this approach also studies issues of social justice. Some of the scholars that have worked in this field are Cameron et al. (1992); Fairclough (1992); Rickford (1997); Zentella (1996), among others. Consequently, this approach frames the study of sociopolitical issues, such as social categories that are both embedded within systems of

social inequality and shaped by the agentive practices of individual speakers, issues on large social structures that replicate inequality, such as the political economy (Cameron, 2000; McElhinny, 2007), nationalism and the nation-state (Gal, 2001), and globalization and transnationalism (Coupland, 2003; Besnier, 2007). Therefore, the theoretical framework of this research also draws on the tenets of the Minority Language Rights Movement to study the intersections of language, identity, and social justice, as will be explained in section 1.5 of this chapter.

Regarding the analysis of narratives to study identity, De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2012) distinguish two types of approaches, which are biographical and interactional oriented, both of them based on discourse. Biographical oriented approach refers to the studies that focus on life stories and the individual as a narrator to generate and analyze data. On the other hand, interactional oriented are those that center their analysis on the interactional process of storytelling. The key concepts to understand the foundations of these narrative orientations are basically positioning, categorization, self-presentation, and indexicality, which give insights into the path of identity from the essentialist view centered on the individual self to the social constructionist view grounded in interaction.

Following the social interactionist paradigm that this study tracks, it is significant to discuss the movements that have mainly contributed to its development when studying identity processes, such as the understanding of a non-essentialist view of the self, the conception of identity as a social construction, and the relational principle. Pascale (2011), within her view of social epistemology and social ontology, assures that narratives and discourse are the basic concepts as systems of representation. She points out that through narratives, we come to know and make sense of the social world, which constitutes social research, "yet, narratives can never be entirely of our making, they are the products of broader cultural discourses" (p. 160). From this perspective, the events, situations, and experiences are perceived in time and space relationships to other phenomena. Thus, narratives are socially constituted and define who we are and what actions try to attain.

The biographical approach to identity, as one of the types of narratives described by De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2012), is commonly generated in research interviews. These stories involve past personal experiences from which the narrator has enough distance to be able to reflect on them. Narrators can make sense of themselves in light of these past events, and they are the ones who coordinate the time, space, and sequence of their stories. There is also common to find in the literature that the identities analyzed through the study of narratives in a biographical approach are known as narrative identities. This biographical approach has its foundations in the premises that the process of identity construction has as its objective the

production of a coherent self. Gregg (2011) argues that the study of biographies has significant cognitive and psychological implications, given that storytelling is seen as a fundamental mechanism for self-development. Positioning is one concept that has enlightened this biographical focus on identity, as it is "the discursive process whereby selves are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced story lines" (Davies & Harré, 1990, p. 48). Thus, the construction of identities is placed in interactional sites, which constitutes understanding identity under a discourse-based approach. Interactionally oriented approaches to narratives focus their interest on the process of identity construction itself, which encompasses the semiotic processes, such as the strategies used by narrators and their audience to achieve, contest or reaffirm specific identities. Therefore, identity is studied in the doing rather than in the thinking. In the same vein, De Fina (2003) and Schiffrin (1996a, 1996b) explain that the negotiation of identities is important in narratives elicited from interview contexts because narrators are invited to reflect upon who they are and how they are defined by society, thus the act of narrating is a way for them to make sense of the world and their lived experiences. Therefore, through the act of telling, a narrator interprets, revises, and reconstructs the elements of events into a coherent story that allows them to understand themselves through the role they play as characters of the story told and in relation to broader discourses to broader discourses.

1.5 The Minority Language Rights (MLR) movement

Within the framework of social justice and linguistic diversity, language rights and their implications raise a vital discussion to visualize the whole panorama of the phenomena this study explores. One of the main focuses of research on language rights has to do with minorities in the sense that they are the ones who constantly suffer linguistic discrimination and marginalization from the dominant group. Their languages are the cause that set a barrier between them, as ethnically distinct and the dominant group. In terms of Wee (2011), “the call for language rights is often motivated by the desire to protect the interests of minority language groups, usually in reaction to the presence of a highly dominant language” (p. 5-6). In the nationalist agenda and the hegemonic practices of society, where the monolingual habitus is what prevails, language and other cultural practices of minorities are restrained by the dominant group through a process of forced assimilation. This suppression intends to abolish any trait of difference in public and private realms. Researchers such as Kymlicka (1995), May S. (2001), and Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1995) have framed the notion of language rights as a legally applicable principle, where governing states through various institutions have to ensure that minority languages and their speakers are recognized officially and that receive appropriate

resources for participating in the public domain. In this sense, Warriner (2015) discusses that ideologies of language and language learning that equate the ability to speak the dominant language, in her study, English, with educational progress are not only accepted by the teachers and taken-for-granted by the students but these ideologies are "aligned with the neoliberal agenda of preparing future workers for the limited opportunities in the marketplace" (p. 10). This discussion refers not only to the English language learning but also to the public discourse on what refugees and migrants must learn to acquire the required skills for the market. The concept of neoliberal ideologies of language and language learning frame the local political economy of linguistic and cultural resources, as Heller (2003) argues.

According to the UNHCR, in the 4th edition of its Emergency Handbook, there is not an agreed international definition for minorities due to the diverse situations in which minorities exist. Therefore, for the UNHCR, minority "refers to an ethnic, religious and linguistic group, fewer in number than the rest of the population, whose members share a common identity" (p. 1). Nevertheless, the characteristics that define each minority depend on the specific context where it exists and can vary widely from one context to another. Extra (2011) identifies four categories of minority languages in Europe as used in the official EU discourses of integration. The first one is English as a lingua franca for transnational communication. The second one is the national or official state languages of European nation-states. The third one is regional minority (RM) languages across Europe, and the fourth one is immigrant minority (IM) languages across Europe (Extra and Gorter, 2008; Nic Craith, 2006, as cited in Extra, 2011, p. 1). According to his study, IM languages are taken into account only for language programs promoted by the EU and for funded projects to learn the national language of the immigrants' countries of residence. These IM languages have increased in Europe during the last decades because of migration and intergenerational minorization as well. Although there is a recognition of this phenomenon of IM growing in Europe, they have not received protection through legal actions and measurements in government policies or education. Actually, most of the time, these IM are seen as a problem for the process of integration and education and have constituted a concern for policymakers and majority language speakers because they endanger the national identity.

Furthermore, Extra (2011) expounds that there is no referential framework for IM languages in Europe; thus, different designations are given. It is common to find distinctions between the "so-called national/ historical/regional/indigenous/old minority languages versus non-national/non-historical/non-regional/non-indigenous/new minority languages" (p. 2). These binaries evidence the inclusion and exclusion for referring to these IM and RM languages. The other term to refer to these languages in Europe is 'lesser-used languages' and

are represented by the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages (EBLUL). In the same vein, MacGregor (2019) questions the value the mother tongue of a migrant has in the host country. He explains how Europe has a public discourse of promotion of multilingualism and places a high value on linguistic diversity but based on the realities experienced in every EU country; this is a trend towards European languages rather than newly arrived migrants' mother tongues. These languages are mostly seen as a barrier to integration and do not have any value in the new country of residence. However, there are studies that show that mother tongues are necessary to be preserved and supported to achieve levels of education and participation among people so that this process contributes to the growth of society. In EU countries, the teaching of foreign languages has been mandatory in schooling. Nowadays, in all the schools of Europe, the learning of two foreign languages is part of the curriculum, following the recommendation of the Barcelona European Council in 2002, and the learning of a foreign language has to start at a very early age.

The Commission of the European Communities in the European agenda for culture in a globalizing world (2007) assures the relevance of cultural and linguistic diversity and promotion of a common cultural heritage at the core of the European project. They emphasize the importance this linguistic diversity capital has for the globalizing world. In September 2008, the Commission of the European Communities presented a communication entitled *Multilingualism: an asset for Europe and a shared commitment* (COM(2008) 566 final), which was followed by a Council Resolution on a *European strategy for multilingualism* (2008/C 320/01). In May 2014, the European Council proposed a number of conclusions on multilingualism and the development of language competencies and enhanced cooperation with EU member states in the field of multilingualism by improving the effectiveness of language teaching in schools. Within this proposal, the identification and promotion of innovative, inclusive, and multilingual teaching methods was one of the axes to make sure the objectives of the project. Despite the importance that multilingualism has achieved in European documents and communications, the use of other languages different from the dominant languages of the host country of newly arrived migrants, especially in schools, is mostly seen as an issue for integration and learning. Child refugees and migrants have to learn the language of the host country because of the emphasis the governments do on this aspect as a necessary step to become integrated into the new society.

Although at an official European level, linguistic diversity, the teaching of mother tongues, and inclusive approaches for learning are highly promoted, the reality in schools is distant from this. Most of the public schools across Europe base their teaching methodology on a monolingual approach. The European Commission (2019), through the Eurydice report on

the integration of students from migrant backgrounds into schools in Europe, displayed only six countries that offered instruction in the mother tongues of the child migrants and refugees or a bilingual teaching approach. One of these countries is Sweden, where the right to learning in the mother tongue is ruled by the government. The children receive the support to learn the Swedish language and learn the content of the subjects in their own mother tongue from pre-school onwards. The Swedish National Agency for Education states that a mother tongue is always important and that it needs to be used and confirmed throughout life. It also states that all the languages in Europe are not equally valued. English, French, Spanish, and German are the languages that rank highest among the foreign languages taught in schools, but, for example, Arabic, Turkish, Dari, Pashto, or Tigrinya are not perceived with the same importance. The European Charter of Fundamental Rights and The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child emphasizes respect for the child's own cultural identity, own language, and own values, and this is achieved through the union and commitment of the schools, policymakers, and governments.

In order to grasp these issues of minority groups and the movements that have emerged from the research, Wee (2011) presents three different movements associated with the concept of language rights that were proposed by May S. (2005): "The Language Ecology (LE) movement, the Linguistic Human Rights movement (LHR), and the Minority Language Rights (MLR) movement" (as cited in Wee, 2011, p. 49). The emphasis of the LE movement is on the preservation of languages as part of a total ecosystem (Nettle & Romain, 2000; Dalby, 2003). The LHR movement aims at placing linguistic human rights as an extension of basic human rights (Kontra et al., 1999; Phillipson, 2003). And MLR movement sees language rights as one part of a broader topic, which is the defense of minority group rights. The principles underlying this movement are linked to group rights and liberalism or liberal democracy, which is underpinned by the notions of liberty, consent of the governed, and equality (May S., 2001, 2005; Kymlicka, 1989, 1995).

The emphasis of the MLR movement is on language because it is considered as the foremost dimension of a group's cultural identity. The importance of this movement in a linguistically and ethnically diverse society is that it understands language rights as the key principle to ensure equitable relations between speakers of the dominant language and speakers of the minority language. According to Kymlicka (2001), the protection of language rights is crucial to conciliate individual and group rights within a liberal democracy model, and the MLR movement attempts to achieve this purpose. Its priority leans on the well-being of the speakers rather than the languages themselves; hence language rights are always seen in terms of group rights under this model.

The MLR movement is in line with the identity theories that frame this research because, according to May S. (2005), it is not based on essentialist principles of language. The MLR movement conceives language as a significant characteristic of individual and collective identities but not as a determining trait of ethnic identity. May S. (2001) also relies on the notion of linguistic and cultural boundedness when referring to the maintenance of an autonomous culture linguistically different. The assumption of boundedness is necessary for the notion of language rights. Therefore, it is important to recall that to understand the study of identity as a semiotic process, the concept of practice is necessary. In linguistic anthropology, for example, Bourdieu (1977) is the most representative theorist that recognized language as a social practice that is congruent with other everyday social practices that shape the way in which social actors are in the world, which he refers to as 'habitus.' As the social practices or habitus each individual is engaged with are different for everyone, they are considered as differential values, which in terms of Bourdieu act as symbolic capital or resources that may be drawn upon to construct social and economic success. Ingrid Gogolin (1994) introduced the multilingual habitus approach inspired by Bourdieu's notion of linguistic habitus. With this approach, she argues a counter-hegemonic strategy to address problems associated with monolingual mindsets and monolingual ways of seeing, which is the basis for Piller (2016) to explain the monolingual habitus of multilingual schools when researching linguistic diversity on education.

In the same vein, researchers that have focused their work on the broad topic of social justice based on linguistic diversity have leaned on this notion of habitus. The proposal of Gogolin regarding the multilingual habitus is seen as a breakdown of the meaning construction around the inherent conflicts attached to the impositions of the dominant institutions, which in this case is the educational system of the countries where linguistic diversity is a constituent of their political and economic reality. In other words, and following Antonio Gramsci's concepts of hegemony and counterhegemony, this multilingual habitus is a counter-hegemonic response to the dominant scopes of the state. The cultural hegemony is articulated through mechanisms such as the educational system, religious institutions, and mass media. These organisms create spaces where the hegemony of a class is structured and social conflict is conveyed.

The monolingual habitus that Piller (2016) expounds, evidences the struggles and tensions that lead to social injustice in the way of conceiving the world from a hegemonic perspective through monolingual mentalities. Ndhlovu (2015) explains the ignored lingualism as a key mechanism to overcome the issues caused by the monolingual mindset in language education policy. A multilingual habitus, as it was proposed by Gogolin (1994), attempts to recognize those linguistic practices that are marginalized, ignored, and relegated in the

educational system. McIntyre et al. (2001) also discuss the way in which this multilingual habitus can take advantage of the resources of knowledge brought by multilingual students to strengthen and revise the epistemological basis of the learning and teaching processes, which leads to increase the development of the society. In terms of Piller (2016), this conviction of the social structures and institutions of seeing monolingualism as the standard norm for all individuals and societies has existed as a "hidden curriculum of social reproduction" (p. 99) since the establishment of universal schooling in the nineteenth century. This hidden curriculum of the schools intends to sustain the socio-economic order of the nationalist agenda. She supports her discussion by quoting Dell Hymes (1996) when explaining that the educational system has as a latent function "to instill linguistic insecurity, to discriminate linguistically, to channel children in ways that have an integral linguistic component, while appearing open and fair to all" (p. 84, as cited in Piller, 2016, p. 100). This demonstrates the mismatch existing between schools as institutions based on a monolingual habitus and the multilingual and multicultural population they offer education.

1.6 Education systems in Europe for migrant students

In order to situate the educational practices in Hungary, I reflect on the situation in other European Union countries. According to the European Commission/Eurydice (2019), proficiency in the language of instruction is necessary for migrant students to access the school curriculum and to benefit from the learning opportunities offered by schools. In mainstream education, school performance is intrinsically linked to students' level of literacy in the language of instruction. When discussing the situation of migrant students in European schools, the European Commission (2017) states that proficiency in the language of instruction affects them as well as broader social issues such as giving them the chance to fulfill their potential in education to build a more democratic and equitable society.

The existing research falls in line with the Commission's disposition. Thomas and Collier (1997), Cummins (2001), García (2009a) argue that students' linguistic and cultural realities have positive effects on students' well-being and performance in school, more than focusing on the teaching of the language of instruction as the objective of education. According to these authors, learning in a space that includes the teaching of the language of instruction, home languages, and all other curriculum subjects leads to promote linguistic and cultural diversity. In the field of education in recent years, intercultural education has become a major topic of discussion, based on the reports of the European Commission/Eurydice (2019). This has led to a number of publications from the two major international organizations concerned

with societal questions and the corresponding development of education policies, namely the United Nations (UN) and the Council of Europe.

These two institutions, according to Neuner (2012), have developed a vision of societal development based on human rights, democracy, and the rule of law, which serves as a guiding light for intercultural education. Neuner (2012) also affirms that since all member states of the UN subscribe to human rights, one should be able to assume that a human rights-based education policy receives universal support. However, in a number of states, the full extent of human rights as defined by the UN in Section 3.1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) seems to be disputed. The same applies to the fundamental principles developed by the Council of Europe on human rights, democracy, and the rule of law: their interpretation in the member states varies when it comes to accepting a policy for intercultural education. For that reason, there are differences that emerge concerning the vision and concept of intercultural education in states where there is no consent about its socio-political foundations.

The Council of the European Union has promoted through different documents that intercultural education may be used to build such an environment as it promotes the creation of a common learning and living space in which all students – whatever their linguistic and cultural background – can enter into dialogue, recognize their similarities beyond their differences, show respect for one another, and so potentially change the way they see themselves and others (Council of Europe Pestalozzi Series, 2012, 2014). The teaching of the language of instruction to migrant students poses particular challenges as this language is often a second or additional language that needs to be learned and mastered to a sufficiently high level in order to learn other subjects. Proficiency in the language of instruction also facilitates the socialization process in schools and beyond. For these reasons, specific teaching measures relating to the language of instruction need to be part of any comprehensive education policy that seeks to improve the way migrant students are integrated into schools.

According to the European Commission/Eurydice (2019), about two-thirds of the education authorities in Europe that have a budget for integrating migrant students into schools acknowledge the key role of the language of instruction by using the number of migrant students needing language support as a criterion for allocating funding. In some countries, these education authorities also use other criteria, such as the number of migrant students in the school or municipality. The initial assessment of newly arrived migrant students' competences in the language of instruction is not only used to make decisions on school placement, it also provides teachers with the necessary information to plan their lessons and provide the appropriate support for each student according to the particular language needs. In the case of Austria, it has recently introduced policy measures related to the testing of the language of

instruction and the curriculum acknowledges the centrality of this language as a subject on its own (Langer-Buchwald, 2019). Therefore, all the students must have their German skills tested before they start school (Micreate, 2019). The official guidelines for initial education state the obligation of all teachers to support the development of the students' language of instruction, and they also have continuing professional development opportunities to develop their skills for language conscious teaching, as teachers in Finland (European Commission/Eurydice, 2019).

Most education authorities in Europe, based on the report of the European Commission/Eurydice (2019), state regulations or give recommendations on the provision of classes of the language of instruction to migrant students, either within or outside school hours, at all or some educational levels. These additional classes may be provided in the context of preparatory classes. In many education systems where these are provided by teachers working within the school, education authorities expect these teachers to hold additional qualifications, such as in teaching the language of instruction as a second or foreign language. The broad framework in which the teaching of the language of instruction is provided is the school curriculum. This facilitates the learning of the language of instruction, which is seen in most of the European countries as a transversal competence. This means that all teachers, i.e., language teachers and content-based subject teachers, are expected to help students, including migrant students, improve their skills in the language of instruction. In the education systems of Germany, Austria, and Finland, raising language awareness is a transversal learning objective of the curriculum. As Svedberg (2007) argues in his study on Finland, developing language awareness when studying language and non-language subjects contributes to a deeper insight into linguistic matters, which facilitates language learning and helps achieve a high proficiency level in the languages learned by students. In Finland, language awareness is considered a key aspect of school culture, which makes every school a community with language awareness. In this case, this concept embraces various aspects of language learning as relevant in the school context, and it stresses the key importance of language for learning, interaction, and cooperation and for the building of identities and socialization.

Complementary to this transversal approach to the language of instruction, the Swedish and Finnish education systems have developed a curriculum for learning the language of instruction as a second language, based on what Koehler and Schneider (2019) present in their comparative study. In Finland, it is available to students whose home language differs from Swedish and Finnish (the two official languages of the country) and who are in need of such teaching; while in Sweden, this curriculum is available to a wider group of students but is also provided on a needs basis. In both countries, according to Koehler and Schneider (2019), those

students can study this curriculum throughout their school education. Certification is provided at the end of the course as for any other subject of the curriculum. Students also have the right to change to the standard curriculum. Schools do not always organize separate classes or groups for teaching the language of instruction as a second language.

Based on the report by the European Commission/Eurydice (2019), in other European countries, there are regulations or recommendations on the provision of home language tuition in school, subject to certain conditions, such as a minimum number of students required. In education systems where there is no policy on this issue, teachers may still be expected to make room for their students' home language(s) in different ways. This is, for example, the case of France, Portugal, and the United Kingdom (England). In these cases, home languages are mostly used in an instrumental way as they mainly help support migrant students in achieving proficiency in the language of instruction.

Moreover, the European Commission/Eurydice (2019) reports that official documents of Germany, Austria, Sweden, Italy, and Slovenia consider that the main purpose of home language teaching is preserving and promoting migrant students' home language. Furthermore, these documents point out the role this teaching plays in developing migrant students' intercultural competence. Ultimately, this teaching is intended to help migrant students build their multicultural identity, and it consequently facilitates their integration into school. In Austria and Sweden, the learning of home languages is moreover considered as the basis of the whole education process in school. In other words, it is seen as contributing to migrant students' achievement and well-being. In Sweden, where education authorities have defined a very comprehensive assessment procedure, migrant students' competencies in their home language are also assessed (Bunar, 2017).

The European Commission/Eurydice (2019) reports that Germany, Sweden, Austria, Italy, Slovenia, and Spain represent the case that points out the role of home language teaching in the development of intercultural competencies. The focus is mainly placed on the acquisition of knowledge and understanding of their language and culture of origin. Ultimately, this teaching is intended to help migrant students build their multicultural identity and consequently facilitate their integration in school. Conversely, Finland is the only country where the teaching of home languages is seen as a contribution to the fostering of bilingualism and plurilingualism for all learners. In this country, education authorities draw on the linguistically and culturally diverse environment in which schools operate. All languages present in the school are consequently valued and used; they all pertain to the school culture. The curriculum promotes plurilingualism and aims to develop students' linguistic awareness.

In Sweden, Finland, Austria, Italy, Spain, Switzerland, and Norway, the education authorities provide recommendations or regulations on the qualifications necessary to teach home language classes, based on the data provided by the European Commission (2019). The systems that promote home language teaching can be divided into two categories. The first group includes education systems where home language teachers mostly come from the countries where the languages are spoken. Consequently, their initial teacher education has taken place in those countries. This is the case of Comunidad Autónoma de Cataluña (Spain) and Italy, where cooperation with foreign countries has been established in order for specific languages to be taught. In the second group of education systems in this regard, which includes Germany, Austria, Slovenia, Sweden, and Finland, home language teachers have different profiles in terms of qualifications and origins. They might come from abroad, or they may be so-called first or second-generation migrants who were educated and trained in Europe.

In the official documents regarding school systems in Europe, according to the European Commission/Eurydice (2019), intercultural education is referred to as a subject or theme in the national curriculum. It may also be an aspect of school culture or addressed through special days or projects. According to the European Commission/Eurydice (2019), there are differences between the countries in how intercultural education is promoted. It is part of the national curriculum, or it is promoted through several individual initiatives and projects across the country. In Sweden and Italy, for example, it is a principle underpinning the whole curriculum. Intercultural education is considered as an educational response, which concerns all students to the growing multicultural dimension of society. In Germany, Spain, Austria, and Finland, intercultural education is promoted as a cross-curricular theme; and the subjects through which it should be developed are indicated in the curricula. Finally, in France, Slovenia, and the United Kingdom (England), intercultural education is taught through specific subjects, citizenship education in particular.

Another important aspect in the education of migrant students that has to be considered is the approach used to meet students' needs, which are not only related to language. In this regard, Trasberg and Kond (2017) affirm that a whole-child approach helps students with their social and emotional development, which contributes to improve migrant children's performance in school and minimize the risk of low achievement. Migrant students face specific challenges in their process of integration such as social and cultural difficulties, barriers to full participation in schools, segregation, and hostility within the host society, as Nilsson and Bunar (2016) present in their research. Therefore, it is also important to promote social, personal, and emotional support to migrant students, while developing their learning and language skills in order to create quality conditions for learning. Most of the European countries focus on migrant

students' language skills, except in Spain, Sweden, Austria, and Finland, where support for the continuous assessment of migrants is given to teachers through counseling teams specialized in language, interculturality, and social cohesion.

The European Commission/Eurydice (2019) presents the whole-school approach as a collaborative approach implemented in countries such as Finland and Sweden, where teachers, school principals, parents, educational professionals, and the local community are engaged in the learning process of the students. This approach has been found to be a significant factor in addressing migrant students' holistic needs and ensuring their continued progress. Sweden, for example, is one country that highlights the role of school principals in promoting this whole-school approach, which is attentive to the holistic needs of new arrivals. Besides, Sweden puts an emphasis on raising school leaders' awareness of social-emotional needs, which can impact migrant students' school outcomes.

Furthermore, it is important to recognize the involvement of migrant students' parents and the importance of cooperation between schools and organizations from outside, such as social and health services, NGOs, and language schools, in integrating migrant students (Weare 2002, Cefai et al. 2014, Hunt et al., 2015). Countries such as Germany, Spain, Italy, Portugal, and Slovenia encourage schools and teachers to cooperate closely with local organizations. Finland and Sweden stand out in terms of having policies and placing a strong emphasis on both the diversity dimension and the whole-child approach. Policies and measures in Germany and Austria, on the other hand, are strong on diversity; however, they do not stand out in terms of the whole-child approach.

Therefore, these students may sit in ordinary classes but receive different teaching and assessment based on the curriculum for the language of instruction as a second language. This educational setting requires specific teaching strategies such as differentiation. In Sweden, there are debates about the existence and implementation of Swedish as a second language as a subject. Researchers, such as Axelsson and Magnusson (2012), Magnusson (2013), and Hyltenstam and Milani (2012), present the two sides of the debate between academics who stress that non-Swedish speakers need specific teaching arrangements in order to effectively learn the language, while opponents point out the separating effects resulting from this approach as it may place students in different learning groups.

As an overview of the school system in the countries presented here, the European Commission/Eurydice (2019) reports that Sweden has defined a top-level comprehensive assessment procedure, which includes the assessment of home languages. In all other countries, students' competencies in their home language are not assessed when they start school (Germany, Spain, France, Portugal, Slovenia, Austria, and the United Kingdom), or this

assessment is the responsibility of teachers at the school level (Italy and Finland). Austria, Sweden, and Finland have designed curricula specifically for the teaching of home languages. These curricula assume that students have some prior knowledge of the languages, which are therefore not regarded as foreign languages. Theoretically, all home languages can be taught. In education systems where there is no specific curriculum for home language teaching, depending on the language taught, teachers might use teaching materials made available to them by education authorities, as it is the case of Germany or curricula designed for the teaching of these languages as foreign languages, such as Portuguese in Spain (Comunidad Autónoma de Cataluña) or the languages of former Yugoslavia and neighboring countries in Slovenia. In Spain (Comunidad Autónoma de Cataluña), schools need to develop a school plan in which they must define how they intend to encourage the learning of the languages and cultures of the school community.

As for intercultural education, the Council of Europe had a pioneering role in its development and promotion. According to Campani (2014), since 1997, the Council of Europe has built a European model for the intercultural curriculum. Recently, in 2015, national culture ministers created a new policy coordination group on intercultural dialogue, focusing on the integration of migrants and refugees into society through the arts and culture. Such policy initiatives are an attempt to respond to the specific challenges, notably in terms of social cohesion, brought about by increasing migration-related diversity within European societies. Intercultural dialogue is indeed often regarded as an instrument to find a balance between cultural diversity and social cohesion (Faas et al., 2014). Regarding the concept of intercultural, Campani (2014) affirms that it focuses on interaction and process, whereas multicultural refers to the nature of society. Therefore, to understand what is promoted in the official documents of the European Union when referring to intercultural education is explained by Kirova and Prochner (2015) as the dynamic nature of cultures to create a common space based on mutual understanding and recognition of similarities through dialogue. It implies a sense of respect and openness to change and transform the realities of those who are engaged in the process.

According to the European Commission/Eurydice (2019), in Italy and Sweden, intercultural education features in the curriculum as an overarching principle. How it should be taught in schools is, however, not further defined. It is considered as an educational response to the growing multicultural dimension of the European societies, which concerns all students. The curricula in Germany, Spain (Comunidad Autónoma de Cataluña), Austria, and Finland consider intercultural education to be a cross-curricular theme and indicate the curriculum subjects through which intercultural competencies should be developed.

In sum, after analyzing the school systems in different countries of the European Union, it can be observed that the monolingual paradigm explained in section 1.5 is evident in most of the education systems in spite of the linguistic diversity across Europe. In this line, Busch (2011) argues that the monolingual paradigm is a legacy of the nation-building process. Indeed, in most cases, this process drew, among other things, on the exclusive use of one common language in public life. Although a majority of European countries officially recognize regional or minority languages within their borders for legal or administrative purposes, the vast majority of those countries have, in fact, only one language as a state language (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2017b). In this context, education systems are key players in promoting this common language across the country. This monolingual paradigm, however, is increasingly under pressure as European societies are increasingly becoming more diverse linguistically and culturally, this being an effect of migration and globalization. To repair the linguistically mediated injustice of the monolingual paradigm in education, Busch (2011) develops a model of multilingual education that states three purposes of home language teaching: (1) facilitating the teaching of the dominant language, which is the language of instruction, (2) supporting migrant students' language and culture maintenance and literacy acquisition, and (3) fostering plurilingualism for all learners. Based on the European Commission/Eurydice (2019), in Austria and Sweden, the learning of home languages is considered as a basis not only for learning the language of instruction or other languages, but it also forms part of the whole education process in school. In other words, it is seen as contributing to migrants' students' broader achievements and their general well-being in school. Although in France, Portugal and the United Kingdom, teachers are expected to make room for migrant students' languages in the classroom, home language teaching is mostly instrumental in helping migrants achieve proficiency in the language of instruction.

1.7 Summary of the chapter

After presenting the theoretical elements that underlie the broad conceptualization of identity, I attempt to summarize my position to frame this research and understand the existing connections between identity, narratives, Minority Language Rights, social justice, and linguistic diversity. I see identity from a poststructuralist perspective, as flexible, multiple, and emergent when individuals negotiate positions in discourses, based on the theories developed by Foucault (1984) or Weedon (1997), in which individuals position themselves as subjects in discourse. In the same line, I also adhere to the definition of discourse as the intersection between text and context (Barát, as cited in Pascale, 2011). According to this line of discourse, discursive subject positions are seen as ways of being an individual. Within this framework of

discourse, I subscribe to Bucholtz and Hall (2005) in the conception of identity as contextually situated. The context here is viewed as the site where the subject positions occur so that the identities emerge. Therefore, I prefer to use the term discourse instead of context in the sense that discourse encompasses both the context and the text, which are necessary for the process of construction and negotiation of identities. In the same vein, Bucholtz and Hall (2005) also explain how identities occur through interactional positions within the discourse in conjunction with situated categories and broad social identity categories. By virtue of social relations, individuals can exercise some degrees of agency over identities. The notion of imagination also has an important place in this negotiation of identities following the concept of the nation developed by Anderson (1983).

Another significant aspect in the theoretical framework of this research is the idea of identity as ideologically informed, as Bucholtz and Hall (2005) argue. They expound that, with time, interactional positions accumulate ideological associations that are further linked to local and social order identity categories. Thus, the concept of language ideologies, proposed by Siverstein (1979), resonates with this theoretical framework as "sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use" (p. 193). In a similar vein, following these theoretical associations, Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) recognize in their research that the poststructuralist theory acknowledges the contestability and mutability of ways in which "language ideologies and identities are linked to relations of power and political arrangements in communities and societies" (p. 10). This affirmation echoes Heller's (2007) political conceptualization of language as "a set of resources which circulate in unequal ways in social networks and discursive spaces, and whose meaning and value are socially constructed within the constraints of social organizational processes, under specific historical conditions" (p. 2).

Moreover, for the purpose of this research, and following the political and ideological nature of identities, the decision to work with narratives in identity leans on the premise that it is in narratives that individuals apprehend and align their life experiences and express who they are or want to be. As narratives emerge in interaction in situated contexts or discourse, they permeate every action and experience in individuals' life (Ochs, 1997; Bakhtin, 1981; De Fina, 2003; Riessman, 2005). The whole theoretical discussion of this chapter is framed within the approach of social justice and linguistic diversity (Piller, 2016; Wee, 2011) to analyze the identities negotiated and constructed by the migrant and refugee children and youths in Hungary through the lens of language rights. These language rights are understood from the MLR movement (Kymlicka, 2001; May S., 2005), conceiving the migrant population as minorities within the multicultural and multilingual society in Europe. Hence, I analyzed the school

systems of some countries, members of the European Union, in order to contextualize the educational policies to understand how the monolingual paradigm is the basis of mainstream education and how this leads to creates divergent scenarios for social injustice. I also explained in this chapter the conceptualization of IM (Immigrant Minority) languages across Europe proposed by Extra (2011). This overview of the chapter allows us to understand the connections of the key concepts and theoretical perspectives that frame this study to answer the research questions from a social constructionist perspective. The details of the methodological approach of the research are the emphasis of the next chapter.

Chapter 2 Migration Situation in Hungary

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a review of migration and integration in the context of Hungary. The first section of the chapter presents the key migration-related terminology used in this thesis. The second section presents a general background of migration in Hungary to situate the reader in the asylum-seeking procedure in the country. The third section locates migration statistically according to the different documents and databases published by Hungarian government offices and the European Commission. The fourth section presents a review of the existing programs of education and integration in Hungary and the projects funded by the EU to track the process and results of these programs in the migrant population. Finally, the procedure of accessing the participants in Budapest is explained in the last section of the chapter.

2.2 Key migration terms

There are some crucial terms used in the dissertation that might cause some ambiguity for the readers and in need of explanation in this section. First of all, it is important to clarify that the terms child and youth correspond to differences of age according to the definitions of the United Nations. The definition of 'child' that is implied in this thesis is the one stated in Article 1 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989): "A child means every human being below the age of eighteen years unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier" (p. 2). Likewise, 'youth' is referred to as a participant between 15 and 24 years old, according to the definition provided by the United Nations (1985).

Other important terms in the contextualization of this research are developed jointly by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), which has the role of monitoring the implementation of the 1951 Convention relating to the status of refugees and its 1967 Protocol, the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), and the International Organization for Migration (IOM), three international organizations that work together to help vulnerable population and children. The terms were published in their factsheet (2019) on refugee and migrant children in Europe, as follows:

> A *refugee* is a person who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable to or, owing to such fear,

is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country (Article 1A, Refugee Convention, 1951).

A *migrant* refers to any person who is moving or has moved across an international border or within a State away from his/her habitual place of residence, regardless of (1) the person's legal status; (2) whether the movement is voluntary or involuntary; (3) what the causes for the movement are; or (4) what the length of the stay is.

An *asylum seeker* is a person who has applied for asylum and is waiting for a decision as to whether or not they are a refugee. Determination of refugee status can only be of a declaratory nature. Indeed, any person is a refugee within the framework of a given instrument if he meets the criteria of the refugee definition in that instrument, whether he is formally recognized as a refugee or not (UNHCR note on Determination of Refugee Status under International Instruments).

An *unaccompanied child* is a person who is under the age of eighteen, unless, under the law applicable to the child, majority is, attained earlier and who is separated from both parents and is not being cared for by an adult who by law or custom has the responsibility to do so (Guidelines of the UNHCR on Policies and Procedures in dealing with Unaccompanied Children Seeking Asylum, 1997).

A *separated child* is a child separated from both parents or from his/her previous legal or customary primary caregiver, but not necessarily from other relatives. This may, therefore, mean that the child is accompanied by other adult family members.

A *stateless person*, according to the 1954 UN Convention, is someone who is not recognized as a national by any state under the operation of its law, that is, does not have the nationality of any country (as cited in UNHCR, UNICEF, and IOM, 2019, p. 8).

According to the Council Directive of the European Union 2004/83/EC of April 29, 2004, the *subsidiary protection* is the protection given to a non-EU national or a stateless person who does not qualify as a refugee, but in respect of whom substantial grounds have been shown to believe that the person concerned, if returned to his or her country of origin or, in the case of a stateless person, to his or her country of former habitual residence, would face a real risk of suffering serious harm and who is unable or, owing to such risk, unwilling to avail himself or herself of the protection of that country.

2.3 General background of migration in Hungary and access to the country

Hungary acceded to the 1951 Convention in 1989 and was elected as a Member of UNHCR's Executive Committee in 1992 when thousands of refugees from neighboring

Yugoslavia were arriving in the country (UNHCR, 2012). By then, Hungary had acceded to several human rights conventions as well as the 1954 UN Convention relating to the status of stateless persons in 2001. In 2011, Hungary received visits by the UN, and, as a result of these visits, they expressed concerns about xenophobia, racism, and intolerance encountered by refugees and asylum-seekers, as well as about severe conditions of detention imposed. The UN Human Rights Council reported insufficient social integration and prolonged periods of detention for asylum-seekers in Hungary (OHCHR, May 2011). Provision of reception to applicants for international protection in Hungary is governed by the Act on Asylum and the Governmental Decree 301/2007 (XI.9).

As a European Union Member state, Hungary is located at the crossroads of migratory movements in Central Europe and along the Eastern border of the European Union. Despite this geographic position, Hungary has not yet developed an official migration policy. The government, in place since 2010, has considered asylum matters primarily in the context of the battle against illegal migration and abuses of the asylum system (UNHCR, 2012). Therefore, the human rights and protection of asylum-seekers and refugees have less priority than security of the borders and law reinforcement. Hungary is bordered by seven states, three of which are part of the Schengen regime (Austria, Slovakia, Slovenia), and two of them are not yet (Croatia, Romania), and two border areas are considered to be the EU's external borders (Ukraine and Serbia). Consequently, at the state border, entry, check-in, and asylum applications vary from sector to sector.

Historically, the reception system in Hungary has been camp-based (UNHCR, 2012). Asylum-seekers and refugees were in the past hosted in Office of Immigration and Nationality (OIN) open-reception facilities. OIN is the Hungarian entity that is responsible for determining whether an applicant will be referred to an open reception center or transferred to a detention center, or offers alternatives to detention. OIN also directly manages the reception system at a central level. By 2010, this practice was replaced by a policy of extensive detention of asylum-seekers illegally entering or staying in Hungary. The UNHCR (2012) reported the existence of three OIN open-reception facilities in Békéscsaba, Debrecen, and Bicske. The one in Békéscsaba was fully handed over to the police in April 2011 and was converted into a temporary detention facility, while one large building in another open facility in Debrecen was also transferred to the police to serve as a temporary detention facility (UNHCR, 2012).

According to UNHCR (2012), asylum seekers who entered Hungary in an irregular way were accommodated in one of the four permanent administrative detention facilities in Budapest, Győr, Kiskunhalas, and Nyírbátor. Families with children, married couples, and single women were accommodated in the temporary detention facility in Békéscsaba. When

the asylum-seekers entered Hungary within the regular framework of asylum procedure were accommodated either in the open-reception facility in Debrecen or stayed in detention facilities. Unaccompanied children seeking asylum in Hungary were hosted in the Home for Separated Children, run by the Ministry of National Resources in Fót. Based on the data provided by the Asylum Information Database (2021), the closure of the Children's Home in Fót was announced in 2016. Although a deadline for shutting the Home down has been proclaimed several times, the Home remains to be open at the time of writing this dissertation. The children and staff are constantly kept in the dark about the future of the Children's Home and any possible plans for the future. People with a status of refugee and beneficiaries of subsidiary protection were accommodated in the open-reception facility in Bicske (UNHCR, 2012). Those asylum-seekers who had spent 12 months in detention and submitted repeated applications were placed in the open community shelter in Balassagyarmat, which has a maximum capacity of 140 places for asylum-seekers (UNHCR, 2012).

According to the annual report of the UNHCR (2012), the facility in Debrecen hosted a mixture of residents with significantly different legal statuses. The UNHCR encountered residents whose legal statuses and thus entitlements differed even within one family. Besides, tensions between different ethnic groups of asylum-seekers were often high in this facility in Debrecen. The reason for these tensions, partly, was the lack of flexibility in the reception system. Before 2008, camp residents could be moved from one facility to another to separate different ethnic groups or problematic individuals to avoid the risk of violence. However, since January 2008, this was not possible because each facility had a specific function designated to it. Békéscsaba was a facility for detention for pre-screening of special groups, Debrecen was a camp for processing, Bicske was focused on integration, while in Balassagyarmat, the ex-detainees with or without repeated applications were accommodated. In the case of children, the UNHCR report (2012) found that the reception system did not fully respect the rights of the child: families with school-age children were required to move from Békéscsaba to Debrecen, and if recognized, from Debrecen to Bicske, otherwise sent to Balassagyarmat with other asylum-seekers without any consideration of the child.

There is another reception center located outside of Vámosszabadi, close to the Slovakian border. It is a building that used to serve as one of the barracks of the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary. Based on the data provided by the Asylum Information Database (2021), prior to May 21, 2020, the center hosted primarily beneficiaries of international protection released from the transit zones.

In 2015, the government started to implement a new migration law titled 'Action against the compulsory settlement and in defense of Europe and Hungary' (Act CLXXV of 2015) to

allegedly protect Europe from 'terrorists.' The legislation was based on an intensive anti-migrant campaign, focusing on the defense of the borders instead of building refugee camps and recognizing their rights to apply for refugee status (Groenendijk & Nagy, 2015). As a result, the reception center in Debrecen was officially closed after twenty years of service in 2015. In June 2015, the government decided to close the border on the Hungarian-Serbian section while building a razor-wire fence along the 175 km. The border with Croatia was closed as well. The purpose of the government was to make immigrants use the legal entry points in the country. In January 2016, the Hungarian Foreign Minister declared that Hungary was ready to build the southern technical border on the Romanian-Hungarian border as well so that the immigrants should change the route (Bernát, Fekete, Sik, and Tóth, 2019).

In the wake of these measures, currently, there are transit zones that have been established as parts of the fence. The two transit zones along the Serbian border are located in Tompa and Röszke, while Beremend and Letenye are the transit zones along the Croatian border. They consist of a series of metal containers that are totally not suitable to host people seeking asylum.

According to Nagy (2015), the chain of authorities that were involved in the procedure of asylum starts with the police, then, if an asylum application is submitted, a refugee officer is the one in charge to receive this application, and finally, a judge in a court hearing room, who may only be present via an internet link. Before 2018, a court clerk could also issue the judgment, but as of 2018, they are no longer entitled to do so. After the construction of the fences, the number of asylum seekers arriving in Hungary has dropped significantly. Despite all of the measures taken with the explicit aim of rerouting refugee and migrant people from the Serbian border, this border section continues to be the fourth biggest entry point to Europe (Hungarian Helsinki Committee, 2017).

The political situation of immigration in Hungary was shaped by the public discourse against migrants designed and promoted by the government through their campaigns (*see* Juhász, Molnár, & Zgut, 2017; Langer-Buchwald, 2019). This provides an uncertain scenario for asylum-seekers in Hungary, so even the few who could enter would prefer to continue their journey to northern countries in search of a better future for themselves and their families. According to Sandford (2017), due to the huge incursion of migrants and refugees that Hungary experienced after Macedonia opened the so-called Balkan route in June 2015, Hungary introduced extensive modifications to its asylum system. These adjustments served as legal and physical barriers to restrict access to the country's territory. In the summer of 2015, Hungary built an anti-migrant border fence along its southern borders with Serbia and Croatia. A second fence along the border with Serbia, equipped with alarms and thermal imaging, was finished at

the beginning of 2017. The number of people who crossed the country during 2015 without being registered as an applicant of asylum, prior to the construction of the border fence is unknown, even if the government claims that Hungarian authorities made more serious efforts to register refugees than their Greek counterparts or the authorities in the non-EU Balkan states, argue Juhász, Molnár, and Zgut (2017).

In order to contextualize the refugee situation in Hungary, it is important to present some migration trends that evidence that Hungary cannot be considered a target country for immigrants, in spite of the propaganda used by the government strategically to promote an anti-refugee sentiment. Juhász, Molnár, and Zgut (2017) report issues of migration and asylum in Hungary. They report that most immigrants settling in the country since the regime change have been ethnic Hungarians from neighboring countries, such as Romania, Slovakia, Serbia, and Ukraine. The refugee crisis in Europe in 2015 was used by the government to create the impression that Hungary was one of the target countries that was facing a migrant wave coming from outside Europe. Although Hungary had never experienced a refugee flow on the scale seen in 2015, it was never a target country for immigrants, who followed the formal requirements of asylum applications in Hungary but moved to Western Europe afterward, especially to Germany. In order to contextualize this situation, Juhász, Molnár, and Zgut (2017) describe that in the early 1990s, during the Balkan Wars, there were more genuine asylum-seekers in Hungary, who stayed for an extended period. In contrast, in 2015, only a few thousand asylum-seekers remained in Hungary despite the fact that almost 180,000 submitted an application. According to the Hungarian Helsinki Committee (2017), approximately 450-500 of them had been subjected to detention, while immigration procedures were already underway for the other 450-500 people at the end of 2015. As a result of further restrictions implemented by the government in 2016 and 2017, only 471 asylum-seekers were accommodated in the institutions belonging to the Immigration and Asylum Office at the end of August 2017. Of these, 427 people were detained in the two transit zones, 25 were accommodated at open reception centers, and 19 were detained in asylum centers.

Regarding asylum policy in Hungary, Juhász and Zgut (2017) use the term securitization to explain the changes that the Hungarian government has implemented in policies and public discourse. The government closed the country's largest open-door refugee reception center in Debrecen in late 2015. Then, in 2016, the reception center in Nagyfa, near Szeged on the Serbian border, was also closed, and the temporary tent camp set up in Körmend was turned into a permanent installation. In December 2016, another reception center in Bicske was closed. Moreover, the government abolished the integration benefit in June 2017, which had previously

served the purpose of helping individuals under international protection. Therefore, integration programs are not promoted in Hungary, as will be explained in Section 2.5.

Based on the data presented by the Global Detention Project (2020), Hungary started to close the so-called transit zones along its southern border in May 2020, after the EU's highest court ruled that Hungarian authorities were holding migrants illegally. Asylum claims were rejected if these applicants left the unbearable conditions of life in the zones – in fact back to Serbia – while the procedure was pending. Before this rule, asylum seekers submitted their applications while being confined at these so-called transit zones located in Röszke and Tompa, but currently, after their closure, the government announced that it would only accept asylum applications submitted at Hungarian consulates in neighboring countries, which may be seen as the end of the country's asylum procedures (Global Detention Project, 2020).

In summary, based on the report by Global Detention Project (2020), there are three reception centers located at Budapest Airport, Győr, and Nyírbátor. This facility in Nyírbátor has been unused lately, according to the Hungarian Helsinki Committee (2019). Until May 2020, Hungary operated two detention transit zones located in Röszke and Tompa. Due to the amendments to Hungarian legislation, closures of detention facilities have increased lately, which has made it harder for asylum seekers to submit applications (Global Detention Project, 2020). In December 2015, the facility in Debrecen was closed, followed by the centers in Kiskunhalas and Békéscsaba. The Hungarian Helsinki Committee (2019) informs that the facility in Kiskunhalas was transformed into a temporary container camp. According to the Asylum Information Database (2019), a government decree entered into force in 2019 to announce that both asylum and immigration enforcement are the scope of the police, which established a new National General Directorate for Immigration.

2.4 Empirical studies and statistical information

According to the European Commission (2019), the presence of nationals from third countries has continued to be marginal in Hungary since the second half of the 1980s. Ethnic Hungarians fleeing from Romania migrated to Hungary because of the dictatorship from 1947 to 1989. During this period, the number of Chinese started to increase significantly, and other non-European immigrants also came. Most of this Chinese population was mainly entrepreneurs relying on the established transnational ethnic-based economy. Lakatos and Pataki (2017) conclude in their research that although the proportion of foreign nationals in Hungarian schools is not too high, effective measures and networking between schools might help achieve a qualitative change in the field of school integration of children with a migrant background.

In the same vein, Illés (2019) argues that although the number of migrants in Hungary is currently insignificant, the topic of migration has dominated Hungarian public discourse for a number of years: "312 Facebook posts by the Hungarian Prime Minister in 2018 (up to December 20), 38 (12%) were concerned with migration" (p. 203). This means that although the number of immigrants arriving in Hungary over the past few years has declined, the topic of migration has maintained its high priority in the governmental political agenda. Based on the statistics provided by the European Commission through the Statistical Office of the European Union (Eurostat, 2011-2019), in 2016, there were 54,814 Third Country Nationals (TCNs) living in Hungary; 117,026 in 2017; 130,800 in 2018; and 197,753 altogether in 2019.

These statistics concern only people who have valid temporary resident permits or permanent residency. The purpose of issuing these permits includes studies, economic activities, family reunification, or international protection. Of these numbers, and according to the Hungarian Central Statistical Office (KSH, 2001-2020), the number and annual distribution of immigrating foreign citizens are as follows: 23,803 in 2016; 36,453 in 2017; 49,312 in 2018; and 55,297 in 2019. Nevertheless, based on the data provided by the National Directorate-General for Aliens Policing (2020), the statistics regarding the population of refugees in Hungary in the same years are 4,748 in 2016; 5,641 in 2017; 6,040 in 2018; and 5,772 in 2019. The latter numbers exclude asylum seekers who did not receive a decision yet or who are registered as asylum seekers. Table 1 below represents these statistics regarding Third Country Nationals living in Hungary, immigrants, and refugees during the years 2016-2019.

Table 1. Number of TCNs living in Hungary, immigrants, and refugees in Hungary from 2016 to 2019

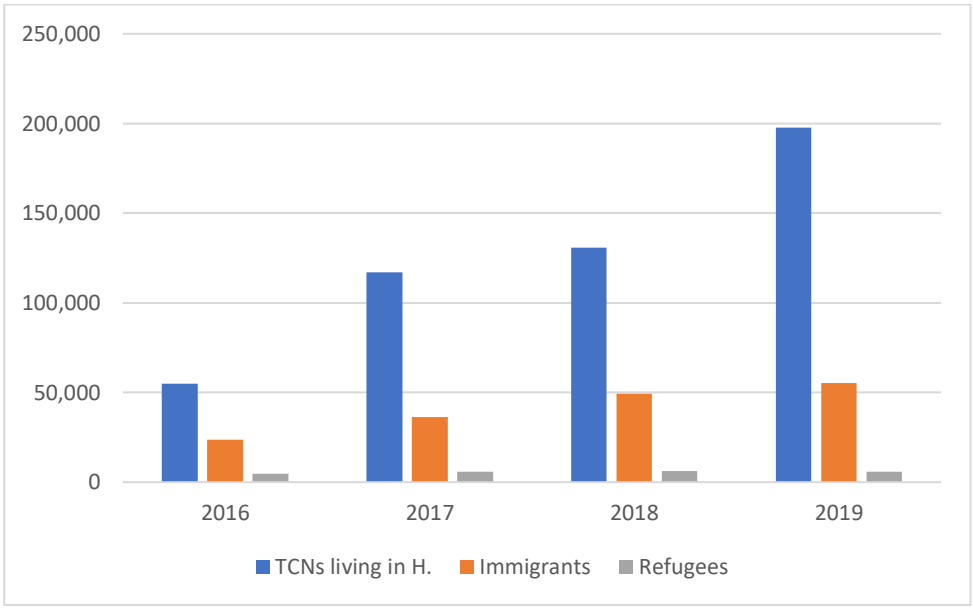
Year	TCNs	Immigrants	Refugees
2016	54 814	23 803	4 748
2017	117 026	36 453	5 641
2018	130 800	49 312	6 040
2019	197 753	55 297	5 772

Source: Statistics provided by Eurostat, Hungarian Central Statistical Office, and National Directorate-General for Aliens Policing.

According to Table 1, there was an increase of 18.81% of refugees in 2017, compared with the number of refugees in 2016; also, an increase of 7.07% in 2018 compared with 2017; but there was a decline of 4.44% in 2019 compared with 2018. Nevertheless, regarding the three types of foreign population differentiated according to their purpose of stay in Hungary, namely, third-country nationals, immigrants, and refugees, there is a significant difference

across them, as is shown in Figure 2. It is also important to keep in mind on reading Figure 2 that migrants and refugees are differentiated, despite the Hungarian government's propaganda according to which they are conflated, and it is only 'migrant' used in public discourse and media (Barát, 2017). According to Edwards (2016), a refugee is a person fleeing armed conflict or persecution. Refugees are recognized because it is too dangerous for them to return home; conversely, migrants face no such impediment to return. Migrants decide to move mainly to improve their lives by finding work, or in some cases for education, family reunification, or other reasons. This distinction between refugees and migrants is important for governments. Each country deals with migrants under its own immigration laws and processes as opposed to the norms of refugee protection and asylum that are defined in international laws and conventions ratified by signatory countries.

Figure 2. Comparison of the three types of foreign population in Hungary 2016-2019



Source: Statistics provided by Eurostat, Hungarian Central Statistical Office, and National Directorate-General for Aliens Policing.

In order to situate Hungary in comparison with other EU countries in terms of refugee asylum, I have reviewed the statistics provided by the European Commission, updated to 2019, as well. In 2019 there are 2,712,477 refugees settled in the European Union. Germany is the country that has received the maximum number of them with 1,146,685, within the total population of 83,019,213. Hungary, with a total population of 9,772,756, has only 5,772 refugees, as is shown in Table 1. Refugee population worldwide are granted two different status, refugee and subsidiary protection. This subsidiary protection status may come to an end when the circumstances of risk in the country of origin cease. According to the Hungarian Helsinki

Committee (2020), the beneficiaries of international protection receive a Hungarian ID instead of a residence permit. In the case of refugees, the duration of their status used to be ten years, while in the case of subsidiary protection, five years. Nevertheless, since June 2016, both were reduced dramatically to three years.

2.5 Programs of education and integration in Hungary

As for integration strategy, the Hungarian Ministry of Interior (2013) proclaimed the "Migration Strategy and the seven-year strategic document related to Asylum and Migration Fund established by the European Union for the years 2014-2020" that regulates the actions of the country for the integration of the migrant population into the Hungarian society. The document mainly puts emphasis on their rights and duties. It focuses on providing support services, legal assistance, and representation in all phases of the asylum procedure, with a special emphasis on vulnerable persons. Nonetheless, currently, Hungary does not have an initial integration program for newcomers, such as Hungarian courses, civic education, and vocational training. The education of foreign children is framed in an intercultural pedagogical program that was published by the Ministry of Education in 2005, which enabled schools to design and implement extracurricular activities to help these children learn the Hungarian language and draw level with the other students of the class. There are some stakeholders in Hungary that provide integration services, such as Artemisszió Foundation, Cordélia Foundation, Jesuit Refugee Service Hungary, Menedék, Kalunba, Hungarian Helsinki Committee, and Migrants' Help Association of Hungary.

In the case of refugees and beneficiaries of subsidiary protection, the government introduced a support program in 2014, which consisted of a tripartite contract with a local Family Support Centre and the Office of Immigration to reach personal integration goals. During a maximum of two years, this population was entitled to receive a monthly cash allowance based on the size of the family. However, this program was canceled in June 2016 (European Commission, 2019). The European Union provides funds to work on different topics of integration. One of the most recognized funds to work with the migrant population was the Asylum, Migration, and Integration Fund (AMIF). According to the data provided by the European Commission website on integration (European Commission, 2019), the allocation for Hungary for the period 2014-2020 is 34,455,028 euros, under this fund. The priorities to conduct projects that were framed in this fund were facilitating third-country nationals' access to education and the labor market for better integration of the migrant population. Nonetheless, the integration-related funding was suspended in July 2018. It means that currently, there are no integration programs funded by the government. Non-profit organizations and local

authorities could apply for financing their integration projects. The national authority in charge of AMIF in Hungary is the Ministry of Interior.

The process of migrant integration in Hungary was evaluated by the European Commission (2015) through an EU-funded research project called ASSESS, developed in two phases that took place in 2014 and 2015, respectively. Among the main findings of the report, it was evidenced that the situation of migrant integration in Hungary remained marginalized and did not go beyond the political level required by the EU to be eligible to access the funds. It was found that a significant population of TCNs is ethnic Hungarians, citizens of the neighboring countries, such as Serbia, Romania, and Ukraine. Migrant integration was not an integral part of any of the policies on education, health, or the labor market. Another concluding fact of this research was that there was not enough support for the TCNs in overcoming the critical stages of integration, such as language problems, labor market, or children's meaningful inclusion into Hungarian public education. All of this despite the fact that this population is eligible for a wide range of provisions and services. Most of the funds for integration are outsourced to NGOs active in this area. NGOs have been the pillars to support refugees and migrants in Hungary and have acquired enough expertise in the field. Therefore, according to the findings of this project ASSESS, there is significant academic research in the field of migration and integration conducted in combined success with NGOs, which have reinforced both researchers' and NGOs' knowledge on the field of policy design and assessment.

According to the Hungarian Helsinki Committee (2021), there is a secondary school in Budapest that organizes special preparatory classes for migrant and refugee students as part of the integration. This is part of an agreement with Károlyi István Children's Center in Fót. However, these students are separated from the rest of the school while they are learning Hungarian. They can be placed in the normal classes with Hungarian students once they reach a good language level, which could take up to two years. In these classes, the emphasis is on Hungarian. They also have a different schedule compared with the other students. Therefore, connections and meetings with Hungarian students are limited.

All EU countries, legally speaking, provide the same access to schooling for beneficiaries of international protection as nationals until the upper secondary education level, that is, the education after the compulsory school age. In Hungary, children have compulsory access to education up to the age of 16. This law is regulated by the Act on National Public Education of 2011 (European Commission. EURYDICE. Hungary: Legislation and Official Policy Documents, 2021). All of them, beneficiaries of international protection as nationals, have the same requirements and conditions to access education at the preschool and school levels. However, there are gaps in the reaching of equality in law and regulations, not only in

Hungary but also in some other EU countries. In the case of Hungary, the access to education is affected, especially on secondary and tertiary levels, because of issues of language proficiency, recognition of previous education, and a lack of preparedness of the school system to deal with refugees and migrants. According to Wolffhardt et al. (2019), "Hungary does not provide any language learning support for refugee or migrant children whatsoever when accessing the public-school system" (p. 141). There is no existence of legal provisions in Hungary to ensure access to education for refugees and migrants. Pardavi et al. (2019) also report that in a limited number of public schools, language courses for these newcomers have been introduced to teach them Hungarian to facilitate their integration into regular classes, so the availability of places in these schools is limited for these children.

One of the issues that these children face in Hungary is related to the recognition of their previously attained levels of education because of the fact that there is an absence of proper documentation and legal procedures issued by the government and authorities. Therefore, every school has its own random means and ways to place the children in a specific class. In Hungary, the work of NGOs with education and integration programs is significant; however, they do not receive any state support (Wolffhardt et al., 2019, p. 144). The evaluation of the work on integration in the different countries of the EU has been led by the National Integration Mechanism (NIEM), which is a six-year-long transnational project supporting key actors in the integration field to improve the outcomes of this process for the beneficiaries of international protection. Based on the framework of this project, conflict situations tend to last longer, and it takes currently on average 17 years before refugees fleeing civil wars may eventually have a chance to return to their home country. Therefore, the challenges of the European societies have to be faced immediately to present alternatives for the integration of these newcomers.

In Hungary, there is a center that fosters unaccompanied migrant and refugee children and takes care of them. This Home is in the town of Fót, outside Budapest, and its name is the Károlyi István Children's Center, which originally housed Hungarian orphans under state socialism in Hungary from 1957 to 1990. Now, it takes young offenders, handicapped kids, and unaccompanied refugee and migrant children. According to Womack (2016), the UNHCR displayed that over the years 2012-2015, 4 000 underage migrants and refugees were fostered in this center in different series of time. In 2015, during the whole year, 2 460 children were passing through the center. Most of them moved to Austria or Germany, but about 100 chose to stay in Hungary. Currently, due to the migrant regulations of Hungary, the number of unaccompanied children has decreased significantly compared to the previous years. Based on the statistics provided by Eurostat Newsrelease (April 2020), in Hungary, there were only 40 asylum applicants considered unaccompanied children in 2018 and 10 in 2019. However, there

are no registered statistics about the number of the ones who received their official status and stayed in the country. Of the ten children who applied for asylum in 2019, five were from Afghanistan. In fact, Afghanistan is the country of citizenship with the maximum number of child applicants arriving in the EU, followed by Syria and Pakistan, as well as Somalia, Guinea, or Iraq.

Children above the age of 16 are required to receive a protection status from having the possibility to attend school. This depends on the willingness of guardians and the staff in the foster home in Fót to ensure the enrollment of the children in schools. It also depends on the availability of places in schools accepting refugee or migrant children. Some secondary schools, willing to work with this children population, have preparatory classes for them to focus on Hungarian learning, which means that children above 16 are often not enrolled in the normal classes with Hungarian students. Children placed in this preparatory level can move to the normal classes once their level of Hungarian is sufficient to cope with the content of the lessons. However, there are not many institutions with this type of program or institutions that accept these children and that are able to provide appropriate programs according to their education level and specific needs. The population in these schools is very fluctuating because most of the children see Hungary as a transit country, so they leave Hungary as soon as they can to continue their journey to Austria, Germany, or Nordic countries. According to the data provided by Pardavi et al. (2019), through the Asylum Information Database (2019), some of the unaccompanied minors that were enrolled in schools in Budapest complained of the low quality of education due to the fact that they were placed in a segregated class without evaluating their skills or previous knowledge.

Based on the experience of MissionPlace*, as an NGO that works with migrants and refugees, many local schools are reluctant to receive these children because they are not prepared to provide tutoring or implement strategies of inclusion to guide them through the learning process. There are other schools where children's families or teachers would resist the enrollment of these refugee children because of intolerance or fear. In some other schools, they accept these children in segregated classes but without a meaningful pedagogical program and only for two or three hours per day, which indicates that they lack the necessary expertise and time to work with these children. The case of children with special needs is even more complicated because of the language barrier.

The mediation of NGOs that work with refugees has been decisive in finding a school or kindergarten for newly arrived children. These organizations keep in contact with different schools that are willing to receive these children, so they accept them easily. However, the situation with official documents that certified the children's educational background has been

difficult to solve, and children have to be placed in groups according to the age, based on the experience of MissionPlace*, as an NGO. The bigger ones, but under 16, have to repeat the seventh or eighth grade to prepare the language and have enough level of Hungarian to take the national exam to continue with their secondary studies.

Some of the unaccompanied children who are fostered in Károlyi István Children's Home in Fót have problems in delays in providing them with official documents, so they have to wait to be enrolled in the school. Once they have the documents, they attend school in Budapest. This home also has contact with some schools that have already worked with this population, so they accept them. However, all the process of tutoring and supporting with documents as well as learning is provided by NGOs, so children can fulfill the requirements of the school (Asylum Information Database, 2019).

Moreover, based on the report of the Asylum Information Database (2019), before September 2017, formal education did not exist as such in the transit zones. Since then, based on the Hungarian Government regulations, education in the Tompa transit zone is organized by the Educational District of Szeged, and in the Röszke transit zone, it is organized by the Educational District of Kiskőrös. Some of the people involved in these programs assert that the activities were not as such as preparatory to start formal education later but were mostly focused on teaching people to say basic things in Hungarian.

2.6 Procedure to access the participants in Budapest, Hungary

Once understanding the immigration situation in Hungary, in 2018, I contacted different organizations that offer free help and assistance to migrants. I received a positive answer from the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in Budapest, which guided me in the official process to start the research and provided me the contact details of other organizations they knew that were working with migrants and refugees were carried out. After sending emails to seven organizations, introducing me and presenting the scope of the research project, I received an answer only from one of them, an institution that is a cooperating partner of the Hungarian government's current relocation project. They explained to me that they were working with Third Country Nationals (TCNs), holding an international protection status (refugee/subsidiary protection), and/or possess the residence permit and rights in Hungary to be integrated into the labor market. They provided me the contacts of two non-profit organizations that were working with children and providing language teaching for refugees. I contacted both of them, but I only received one positive reply. The director of this specific organization, which from now on will be named MissionPlace* to respect its anonymity, booked an appointment for me to visit the location and negotiate if my research could be

conducted there. This first meeting took place on September 28, 2018. From that first moment on, I realized that this organization would be the place where I was going to do my fieldwork. They opened their doors for me to explain the work they were doing with refugees and migrants in general and gave me the opportunity to be part of the volunteer team.

From October 15, 2018, to May 15, 2019, I could go along and observe all the activities planned by them, including the Hungarian lessons in the different levels. I could establish their trust and talk to people very confidently, played with children, worked with them. But the most significant for me was that in the meantime, while being in MissionPlace* as part of this community, I could listen to their stories. I could build rapport with them, so they felt I was someone who really cared about their life and experiences. Some of them thanked me after our conversations because it was important for them to be listened to. What is most important to know is that the narratives were emerging along the way. I did not sit down with them for a single life narrative session, but they were constructed along with my stay in MissionPlace* at different moments. Therefore, this thesis gathers experiences of personal realities that offer insights into the role of language in the identity negotiations and construction of 22 migrant and refugee children and youths from Syria, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Ethiopia, Iran, Cameroon, and Togo. They shared their dreams, joy, and struggles during their process of resettlement and integration in Hungary, and more specifically in the school.

2.7 Summary of the chapter

This chapter presented a discussion on the topic of migration in Hungary. There is a key migration-related terminology that is defined to understand the use of specific terms in this study. Then, a contextualization of migration in Hungary is explained in order to present some statistics that evidence the number of refugees and migrants in the country in the last years and have a general vision of Hungary in migration compared with other countries of the European Union. This chapter also discusses research studies on the topic and presents a review of the existing programs of education and integration in Hungary and the projects funded by the EU to track the process and results of these programs in the migrant population.

According to the empirical studies on the topic of migration, Hungary has not been considered an immigration country in comparison with other countries of the European Union. Since the beginning of 2015, the Hungarian government has created a series of campaigns sending the message that Hungary is not a country for migrants as well as implementing policies breaching various conventions so that migration becomes an instrumentalized topic for domestic political purposes by the government in power. Migrants are portrayed in the official and public discourse as dangerous enemies for the country and Europe, inviting Hungarian

citizens to perceive immigration as if (one of) the most important problems facing the country. This propaganda against migrants reveals that the position of government concerning integration and education policies for the target population in my research is not a priority. Currently, there are two transit zones on the border with Serbia, at Röszke and Tompa, and they are the only places where asylum seekers can submit their asylum applications. These transit zones or camps are also designed as accommodation places, and applicants must stay there for the entire duration of the asylum procedure.

Programs of education and integration that were funded by the European Union were closed as a one-sided decision made by the Hungarian government in 2017. Currently, the responsible organizations and institutions in charge of this situation of migration and integration are schools and NGOs. Although the number of refugees and migrants in the country is low, the effort and work done by these organizations to receive migrants and guide them during the process of resettlement have been meaningful. The number of migrants and TCNs has increased in the last years, according to the official statistics, because of different purposes such as studies, business, work, or family reunification. The number of refugees has been maintained in the same range during the last four years.

Finding a place to do the ethnographic research in Budapest and being accepted was not an easy task. Migration organizations sponsored by the government were reluctant to help, arguing that there were no migrants in Hungary and that the government had canceled any type of agreement to receive migrants in the country. The strategy of the Hungarian government on the refugee crisis aims at continuously generating conflict with EU institutions because the government argues that the interest of the European Union is to settle migrants in Hungary. Despite this situation, I could volunteer to work at MissionPlace*, an NGO in Budapest, to do the fieldwork from an emic perspective, coming up with an in-depth understanding of the situation of the refugee children and youth under study.

Chapter 3 Methodology

3.1 Introduction

After knowing the main theories that framed this study and the literature review in the topic of research, the discussion in this chapter aims at describing and explaining the methodological framework. First, the objectives and questions that addressed this study are presented. Second, the description of the setting, the type of population, the participants selected, and the ethical considerations to do qualitative research are explained. After, this chapter presents the instruments used to generate qualitative data and the description of the fieldwork carried out in MissionPlace*. Subsequently, the justification of using narrative inquiry as the methodological approach for the study is provided. Then, this chapter presents the procedure I followed to do the data analysis of the three data sets generated from the narratives constructed by the children and the interviews conducted with school teachers and staff in MissionPlace*. Finally, the aspects of validity and credibility are described.

3.2 Research objectives

As has been discussed in the literature review and theoretical framework, identity has been a topic broadly studied in the last decades in different fields of the social sciences and humanities. Likewise, the issue of migration as a consequence of globalization and other specific reasons has been studied from varied angles and perspectives. However, there is a limited amount of published research related to the identity construction of migrant children in Hungary. This is due to the fact that Hungary is a country that is not considered as an immigration country within the EU but rather a transit country for asylum seekers.

On the basis of the MLR model that draws predominantly on the work of Will Kymlicka (1989, 1995), which encompasses the principles of language rights within the larger movement of minority group rights according to what May S. (2001, 2003, 2005) proposes, the objectives of this study were addressed. May S. has based his work on arguing how the concept of the nation-state and its wish to maintain a common language and culture via mass education is the main reason why many of the language-based conflicts in the world exist. This allows me to reflect on what the child and young participants of this study do when using their language, what language does for them, and in what particular ways the language they choose matter to them (Blommaert, 2005), based on the assumption that particular languages clearly are for many people an important and constitutive factor of their individual, and at times, collective identities (May S., 2005, p. 330).

Therefore, this research aimed at investigating the potential tensions and conflicts among languages and cultures of refugee and migrant children in the Hungarian educational context and the ways in which they solve them by negotiating their identities. This major aim was addressed with the following specific objectives:

1. To investigate the ways refugee and migrant children negotiate conflictual moments of their identities in their schooling.
2. To explore the role language choice plays in these children's construction of identities within the school.
3. To analyze the ways in which language forms the basis of advantages and disadvantages in a particular school and local community where linguistic diversity is the result of parental migration or individual enforced dislocation.
4. To distinguish the linguistic and cultural dimensions in migrant and refugee children's and youths' self-identification.

3.3 Research questions

In accordance with the research objectives and in the light of the issues raised in the literature review, there are one main question and four sub-questions addressed in this study:

How do refugee and migrant children and youths negotiate their identities when facing potentially contradictory linguistic and other cultural needs in their daily activities in school?

(a) How do these children perceive themselves in the school as new arrivals in Hungary?
(b) What roles do the languages spoken by these children play in their construction and negotiation of identity?
(c) How do school teachers understand the education and integration process of migrant and refugee children in Hungary?
(d) What is the role of MissionPlace* in the social inclusion of these children?

3.4 The setting

The initial approach to contact organizations that worked with the refugee and migrant population in Hungary was the IOM. The staff of this organization provided me with details of NGOs that had the purpose of helping people with a migrant background. Unfortunately, there were only a few because of the low number of this population in Hungary. I emailed them, but

I received a positive reply only from one of them. MissionPlace* is the pseudonym of this organization from which I received the reply.

MissionPlace* is a non-profit organization located in Budapest that belongs to one of the mission departments of the Reformed Church in Hungary. These departments have as the main function to work in missional programs with a vulnerable population. This organization is the ministry in charge of working with the refugee population since 2006. Between 2012 and 2015, a high influx of migrants sought asylum in Hungary. When this movement became more visible to the public, the government adopted restrictive measurements including fences along the borders with Serbia and Croatia. The government also initiated an anti-migrant campaign and terminated all benefits for refugees, including the program of integration. However, MissionPlace* continued working with this population with the support of the Reformed Church. The purpose of this organization is to empower displaced individuals and families, helping them to become independent. The three main areas of service that this organization provides are housing, education, and employment and has a comprehensive approach to integration work with refugees. The services they offer are people-centered and adapt to each individual's needs.

Since January 2018, the EU fund known as AMIF, as it was discussed in the previous chapter, was ceased in Hungary for organizations supporting migrants and refugees. When MissionPlace* had those funds, it could provide free of charge accredited Hungarian language lessons ranging from beginners to intermediate levels. However, despite this lack of funding, the organization is still working to provide language lessons free of charge for those refugees who have been granted their status. Moreover, this organization provides after-school programs, which include content tutoring, language support, and ludic activities.

As a consequence, MissionPlace* has had to reduce some of their programs such as housing, language courses, resettlement, and their university-level interpreter training. The number of staff has also decreased because of the lack of financial support. However, they continue receiving the support of some other international churches from Switzerland, Germany, and Canada, as well as funds from renting accommodations and tuition of language courses. The Reformed Church also raises funds to continue supporting this ministry for refugees in Hungary and receives support from Global Ministries, a network of Christian churches around the world. Although it is difficult to access Hungary by crossing the border and submitting a valid asylum claim within the country, new asylum seekers are still arriving. MissionPlace* provides still support to migrant and refugee population in housing, language courses, adult vocational training and education, job search support and coaching in order to obtain legal and safe employment, assistance for the integration into the school system for

children and youths, and supportive community. In March 2019, the Reformed Church in Hungary initiated an income-generating program on a farm to employ refugees and generate income for the core functions of this organization.

The staff is formed by social workers, volunteers, teachers, and one psychologist. There are Hungarian and international volunteers that help with the accompanying of the kids and all the administrative and organizational processes. The place where this organization develops its activities is a big apartment in the center of Budapest. Its distribution of space consists of one reception room, one living room, two offices, one teachers' room, four classrooms, one didactic material room, one playroom, one toy room for babies, one kitchen, and two bathrooms. The space was comfortable, and the atmosphere was friendly and warm. The community worked together as a family, and the bonds built with the migrant and refugee population were strong. The administrative body consisted of four people; there were also two teachers of Hungarian, one psychologist that helped children and youths with activities of reinforcement for school, and one teacher that also worked with reinforcement activities and tutorials. Besides, there were two social workers and three permanent international volunteers who received financial support from the churches of their home countries that belong to the same network as the Reformed Church in Hungary.

Due to the sensitive nature of this study, I knew I could not stay as an outsider researcher, so I decided to start the research by building bonds and connections with the population of this community. I wanted to live the experience in the community and interpret what was happening from an insider's perspective. Thereupon, after having the permission of the administrative body of the organization to get access to the community, I started to be part of the volunteer team. I participated in the activities of the organization, attended some Hungarian lessons, helped the kids with homework, taught Spanish lessons, and built bonds with the teachers, administrative staff, students, and the whole team. This made the population recognize me as another member of the community they could approach to ask something or simply talk. The whole atmosphere of the organization was friendly, kind, and supportive. The bonds between the members of the community resemble those of a family.

3.5 Population and participants

On the basis of the objectives and questions that addressed this study, there were three groups of participants; the major group was comprised of refugee and migrant children and youths. The second and the third groups were complementary in the study to explore the perception other parties involved with these children have in the process of integration and

schooling in Hungary. These two groups of participants were the staff in MissionPlace* and school teachers in Budapest.

3.5.1 Group of child and youth participants

The population of MissionPlace* was formed by administrative staff, volunteers, teachers, social workers, migrant and refugee people of different ages, migrant and refugee families, as well as occasional international and local visitors. As my interest was to work with children and youths, the main focus of sampling was migrants and refugees under 18 years old; however, during the initial phase of observation, I identified some youths that went weekly to receive support and tutorials for the school subjects, and they were over 18. Therefore, in the light of the emphasis on schooling in Hungary this study has, I also decided to select participants over 18 years old. This evidences that I followed the characteristics of purposeful sampling with the strategy of time-location, which according to Patton (2014), selects the cases strategically to be studied based on the research questions and objectives.

These participants received the support of MissionPlace* during the time of my fieldwork. I also met three participants that had already graduated from Hungarian high schools and that had participated in the services and school support offered by this organization. Two of them were enrolled in university programs and the other one was working. The other four youth participants of the study graduated from high school back in their home countries, but they were taking Hungarian lessons. One of these students finished her ninth grade back in Afghanistan, but she had not started her enrolling process of schooling in Hungary when I did the fieldwork.

Regarding the number of participants and following what Patton (2014) states, "There are no rules for sample size in qualitative inquiry. Sample size depends on what you want to know, the purpose of the inquiry, what's at stake, what will be useful, what will have credibility, and what can be done with the available time and resources" (p. 470). Thereupon, for this study, I selected the 22 participants in the age range of 11 to 23 years old that I met in MissionPlace*.

Out of the 22 participants, 11 were girls, and 11 were boys. However, I clarify that this distribution in gender was not done with purpose, but age, as I explained, was the determining factor to select them. Table 2 displays the characteristics of these participants, detailing age, country of origin, length of stay in Hungary, and school grade in Hungary or educational level from home countries. In order to keep the confidentiality of the research process and to protect the identity of the participants, I used pseudonyms instead of real names.

Table 2. Characteristics of child and youth participants

No.	Pseudonyms	Age	Country	Length of Stay in Hungary	School Grade in Hungary / Educational Level from home
1	Salma	11	Togo/Hungary	born in Hungary	5th
2	Abbad	11	Iraq	9 years	4th
3	Yasmine	12	Iran	1 year	6th
4	Madu	13	Togo	11 years	7th
5	Salim	13	Cameroon	1 year	5th
6	Akil	14	Iraq	9 years	7th
7	Afeef	14	Iran	2 years	7th
8	Neema	14	Ethiopia	1 year	7th
9	Zainab	17	Afghanistan	8 years	11th
10	Dalila	17	Ethiopia	2 years	9th
11	Fahima	17	Afghanistan	9 months	Not enrolled
12	Daria	18	Iran	3 years	9th
13	Ana	18	Syria/Hungary	born in Hungary	11th
14	Varisha	18	Afghanistan	10 years	11th
15	Saqib	19	Afghanistan/Hungary	born in Hungary	12th
16	Gamila	19	Afghanistan	9 months	High school graduation from home
17	Tahiyat	19	Pakistan	4 months	High school graduation from home
18	Nuraz	20	Syria/Hungary	born in Hungary	High school graduation from Hungary
19	Aiman	23	Syria	1 year	High school graduation from home
20	Parsa	23	Afghanistan	6 years	University studies in Hungary

21	Ebed	23	Iran	1 year	High school graduation from home
22	Mobeen	23	Syria	6 years	University studies in Hungary

As there were differences in age, I organized three sub-groups to analyze the data and interpret if there were elements of intersection in the narratives based on age. This organization also helped me visualize and manage the data, keeping a sequence of transcription and interpretation. Table 3 displays the information of the child and youth participants in the three sub-groups according to their age. This table also illustrates the length of stay in Hungary to have a clear panorama of the whole group and explore points of intersection during the analysis.

Table 3. Sub-groups of child and youth participants according to the age

Age of participants	Total	Born in Hungary	4 months to 1 year in Hungary	2 – 3 years in Hungary	6 – 8 years in Hungary	9 – 11 years in Hungary
Ages 11-14	8	1	3	1	-	3
Ages 16-18	6	1	1	2	1	1
Ages 19-23	8	2	4	-	2	-
Total	22	4	8	3	3	4

3.5.2 Biographical Information of the children and youths

In order to characterize the 22 participants and know their linguistic, academic, and family background, some data are provided in this section. This is an important stage in the study to justify that each individual has his/her own experiences that are framed and constructed through their narratives. Each participant is introduced according to age, as they are listed in Table 2.

In the first group, from 11 to 14 years old, there are eight participants: Salma, Abbad, Yasmine, Madu, Salim, Akil, Afeef, and Neema. Salma was born in Debrecen, Hungary, while her mother and her two brothers were in a refugee camp. She is 11 years old. Her mother is from Togo and currently works in a multinational company. They arrived in Hungary in 2008. Her father is from Nigeria, but he has refugee status in Italy, so he lives there and Salma's

mother with her three children live in Budapest, Hungary. Salma's brothers are 13-year old twins and are also in school. Salma and her family were living in Debrecen for two years until they were moved to Budapest by the official immigration body. Salma started her schooling in Budapest when she enrolled in kindergarten. She is currently in fifth grade. She studies in an English bilingual school. Although the official language in Togo is French, the language of communication at home is English. Salma, her two brothers, and her mother use Hungarian in school, work, and the street, but at home, they never use it. One of Salma's 13-year-old brothers is Madu, and he also participated in the study. He was born in Togo, so he was two years old when he arrived in Hungary. He started kindergarten when they moved to Budapest. Currently, he is in seventh grade in the same bilingual school as his sister.

Another participant is Abbad, who was born in Iraq. He is also 11 years old as Salma. He was three years old and his brother five when his mother arrived in Hungary with them. Their father died in Iraq. They have lived in Hungary for eight years. They first arrived in Debrecen and were located in a refugee camp while the asylum-seeking process was carried out. Then, they moved to Szeged and two years later to Budapest. He is in the fourth grade of elementary school. His first approach to Hungarian education was in kindergarten when they lived in Debrecen. His mother tongue is Arabic, but he is not very fluent despite the fact that his mother speaks Arabic at home. Akil is the pseudonym for his 14-year-old brother. They have lived in Hungary for eight years. He is currently in the seventh grade of elementary school. He speaks Arabic with his mother at home and helps her with translation in the school and street because she does not speak Hungarian. Moreover, since his younger brother, Abbad, is not fluent in Arabic, he helps him to communicate with their mother. Abbad does not want to learn Arabic because he can speak Hungarian with his brother and friends, so he does not see the importance of learning Arabic. Their mother does not have a job for a living, but she receives the retirement money from her deceased husband.

Yasmine is 11 years old, and she is from Iran. Her mother tongue is Persian. She came to Hungary with her family: father, mother, and one sister who is four years old. They have lived in Hungary for one year. She is in fifth grade in elementary school. She attends an English bilingual school. Her father is a land investor in Hungary, and her mother is a housewife. They came to Hungary as immigrants and paid a high amount of money to receive permanent residence, so they do not have refugee status. They can go to Iran and come back without any restriction. Their parents came to Hungary seeking security for their daughters and better opportunities to invest in construction.

One of the participants was born in Cameroon. He is Salim, who is 13 years old. He arrived in Hungary one year ago with his mother and his 10-year-old sister. Their mother tongue

is French, so they use French at home. Although he was in seventh grade in Cameroon before coming to Hungary, he was placed in the fifth grade of elementary school because of the language. He did not take any placement test or exam before enrolling in school. His age was the only referent for the school to select the class he was going to attend. Another child that attends a non-bilingual school as Salim is Afeef, who is 14 years old. He is from Iran, and currently, he is in the seventh grade of elementary school. He lives with his mom because he is the only child, and his father died in Iran. His mother tongue is Persian. He came to Hungary two years ago. When he and his mother left Iran, they arrived in Greece and were living in a refugee camp for two years. Afeef attended school in Greece. They were victims of an anti-immigrant group in Greece, so they came to Hungary. Their plan was to cross Hungary to enter Austria and then Germany. They were in Germany for three weeks, but then, they were sent back to Hungary. His mother works in temporary jobs as an assistant cook, cleaner, or tailor.

The last participant of this first group is Neema, who is 14 years old. She was born in Ethiopia. She has lived in Hungary for almost two years and lives with her mom. Her mother came to Hungary in 2015 and started to work as a translator. Neema was living with her grandmother in Ethiopia while her mother could settle down in Hungary. She has three older brothers, but they live in Ethiopia with her grandmother. She came to Hungary because she wanted to live with her mother. She received the residence permit with the process of family reunification. Her mother tongue is Somali, but she also speaks Arabic because her family is Muslim. She had English as the language of instruction in school before coming to Hungary. Currently, she is in seventh grade in a non-bilingual school.

The second group comprises six participants between 16 to 18 years old. There are six participants in this group: Zainab, Dalila, Fahima, Daria, Ana, and Varisha. Zainab is a 17-year-old girl from Afghanistan. She arrived in Hungary in 2009 with her family: father, mother, and three brothers. The language spoken at home is Persian. They did the Balkan route to come to Europe. First, they went to Austria and lived there for one year, but then, they were sent to Hungary. They were living in different refugee camps in Hungary for three years, and finally, they moved to Budapest. Zainab attended school in Békéscsaba and Debrecen with other refugee kids from the camps. After, when moving to Budapest, she continued her schooling. She is currently in eleventh grade.

Another participant is Dalila, who is also a 17-year-old girl. She is from Ethiopia and has a little brother who was born here. She came to Hungary under the status of family reunification two years ago. Her father had lived in Hungary for 13 years. First, her mother came to reunify with her husband five years ago, and after, Dalila came. Her father came to Hungary as a tennis player. Dalila was living with her grandmother in Ethiopia while her

parents could settle down as a family in Hungary. She is currently in ninth grade in an English bilingual secondary school. Fahima is also 17 years old, but she is from Afghanistan. She has been in Hungary for the last nine months. Although she is not currently enrolled in school because of her language level, she was selected as a participant in this research since she is learning Hungarian in MissionPlace* to start her schooling next academic year. She finished ninth grade back at home. She lives in Hungary with her father, who came to Hungary 11 years ago, and her two sisters, who traveled with her to reunify with their father. Her mother, two little sisters, and her older brother live in Pakistan. Their father plans to bring them as well under the status of family reunification.

Daria is from Iran, and she is 18 years old. She has lived in Hungary for three years. She lives with her mother and sister. They first crossed Hungary to go to Austria, but from there, they were sent back to Hungary. They lived in a refugee camp for a short time, and immediately they moved to Budapest. They speak Persian at home. She is currently in ninth grade. She studied the first year in a segregated school to learn Hungarian during the first year, but she had problems with the other migrant students, so she started ninth grade in another school for adult education. The lessons in this school start at 4:00 pm.

Ana is an 18-year-old girl who was born in Hungary. Her mother is from Syria, and her father was from Egypt. She did not know her father because he died before she was born. Her parents met in Hungary and lived here. She is the only child and lives with her mother and her grandparents. The language spoken at home is Arabic. She is currently in eleventh grade, and all her schooling has been in Hungary. Varisha is another 18-year-old girl, but she is from Afghanistan. She is also the only child, as is Ana, and she has lived in Hungary for ten years. She came to Hungary with her parents. They lived in refugee camps for two years and then, they moved to Budapest. She started her schooling in the camps with other refugee kids. She is currently in eleventh grade. The language they speak at home is Persian. Her mother is a housewife, and her father runs his own business.

The third group comprises eight youth participants from 19 to 23 years old. Saqib is a 19-year-old youth who was born in Hungary. His parents are from Afghanistan, but they have lived in Hungary for 25 years. They came as workers. Saqib has two younger sisters. He has done some hours of voluntary work in MissionPlace* to achieve the requirements for graduation in school. He is currently in twelfth grade. Saqib and his family speak Persian and Hungarian at home. They mix both languages. Saqib likes to speak English with some friends because he learned it in school, and he likes to practice it; however, his sisters prefer to speak only in Hungarian and Persian. They do not consider themselves good in English.

Gamila is another participant in this study. She is 19 years old as Saqib. She was born in Afghanistan, then she moved to Pakistan with her parents, and she is currently living in Hungary. She lives with her father and two sisters. Her father brought her and her sisters under the permission of family reunification. Her mother, her older brother, and two little sisters still live in Pakistan. She is not currently enrolled in school in Hungary, but she graduated from high school back at home. She is learning Hungarian in MissionPlace* and will do the process of registration in school to have the Hungarian certification of studies. Gamila is Fahima's sister, who was previously introduced in the second group of participants. The same as Gamila, Tahiyat is another 19-year-old participant of this group. She is from Pakistan. She has lived in Hungary for four months. She graduated from high school back at home and also finished two years of college in the field of informatics. Currently, she is learning Hungarian in MissionPlace* to take the exams of maturity in the future and have the Hungarian certificate of studies. She lives with her mother, her father, and one older brother. Her brother came to Hungary two years ago and received the status of refugee, and then, he could arrange everything to bring his parents and sister. Tahiyat, Gamila, and Fahima study Hungarian in the same group in MissionPlace*.

Nuraz is a 20-year-old youth who was born in Hungary. His father is from Syria, and his mother is Hungarian. He has one sister and one brother. He started his schooling in Hungary, but when he was eight years old, his family moved out to Syria because the situation in Syria seemed to be better, and his father wanted to settle down there. In 2011, when the civil war started, they moved back to Hungary. Nuraz re-started his schooling in Hungary, being enrolled in eighth grade. He graduated last year from high school, and now he wants to work for a while and then start university studies. Aiman is another youth from Syria. He is 23 years old and has lived in Hungary for one year. He graduated from high school back at home, but he is learning Hungarian in MissionPlace* to take the exams of maturity in the future and obtain the Hungarian certificate of studies. He lives alone. His family lives in Sweden with the status of refugee. He could not seek asylum in Sweden because he entered Hungary as the first European country. He is currently working in a restaurant but has daily lessons of Hungarian in MissionPlace*. Since he arrived in Hungary, he started his lessons in Hungarian. Now, he has an intermediate level of language.

Parsa is also 23 years old as Aiman. He is from Afghanistan and has lived in Hungary for six years. Although he had already graduated from high school back at home when he arrived, he re-started his schooling in Hungary, being enrolled in the ninth grade in order to receive the Hungarian diploma. He lives with his parents and his two younger brothers. His father came to Hungary ten years ago, and then, he received subsidiary protection and brought

his family with the status of family reunification. Parsa is currently enrolled in the university in Hungary. He studies international relations, and he also works as a social worker in MissionPlace*. He received all the academic support for the school in this place since he arrived in Budapest. He has experience as a learner, as a volunteer, and now as a worker in MissionPlace*.

The last two participants of this study are Ebed and Mobeen. Both of them are 23 years old. Ebed is from Iran, and he has lived in Hungary for one year. Mobeen is from Syria and has lived in Hungary for six years. Ebed graduated from high school back at home. He is learning Hungarian every day in MissionPlace* in order to take the exams of maturity and receive the Hungarian certificate of studies. He lived in a camp in Debrecen when he arrived, and then he started training as a football player, so he could move to Budapest. He lives alone. Conversely, Mobeen lives with his family: father, mother, and two sisters. They received the status of refugees and came to Hungary because his father had lived here many years ago when he was studying medicine. Therefore, he had close Hungarian friends who helped him with the legal process to seek asylum in Hungary. He started his schooling in Hungary in ninth grade and graduated from high school. Currently, he is enrolled in the animation BA program at a university in Budapest. His first years of school and Hungarian learning were supported by MissionPlace*. He also volunteered in this place when there was a high wave of migration in Hungary in 2015.

3.5.3 Groups of participants from MissionPlace and schools*

Furthermore, as was previously mentioned, there were two other groups of participants in the study. These two groups support and complement the data with the purpose of answering the questions that address this study. The first group was comprised of 12 members of the staff in MissionPlace*. As it is illustrated in Table 4, they were teachers, administrative, social workers, and volunteers.

*Table 4. The second group of participants. Staff in MissionPlace**

Staff Members	Administrative	Social Workers	Teachers	Volunteers	Total
Number of participants in the interviews	4	2	3	3	12

The second group of participants represented the schools in Budapest that have had the experience of working with refugee and migrant children and youths. These schools were contacted by the director of MissionPlace* because of the work both parties have done jointly in the process of schooling these children. However, it is necessary to explain that these schools do not have any official agreement with MissionPlace*, but they have enrolled migrant children in previous years and know the work and the tutorials that teachers in the organization do with the children after school to guide them in the academic process. Table 5 displays the type of participant schools and the number of teachers and principals that were interviewed.

Table 5. Participant schools in the study

School	Principal	Teachers
1 Bilingual elementary school	1	1
1 Elementary school	1	2
1 High school – Vocational high school – Vocational school	1	2

In a nutshell, the main purpose of this study is to know the potential tensions migrant and refugee children and youths experience in their schooling process in Hungary and how they negotiate their identities to solve these conflicts. Thus, there are three groups of participants, one primary and two secondary parties. The main group of participants consists of 22 children and youths; the second group comprises the staff of MissionPlace*, inasmuch as it is the setting of this study; and the third group of participants includes three school principals and five teachers of three schools in Budapest. The instruments to generate data from the three groups of participants differ from each other and the procedure to analyze data as well. This will be explained in section 3.7 after presenting the ethical considerations that were followed during the research process.

3.6 Ethical considerations

One of the most important aspects concerning qualitative research is ethics. The protection of human beings through the continuous application of ethical considerations along the research process is crucial. For the purpose of this study, I had to describe personal and intimate aspects of individuals' lives and their interpretation of the world so that ethics had a particular resonance due to the in-depth and sensitive nature of the research. The closeness to people and the confidence they had in me to tell their stories and share their thoughts implied

ethical issues that I, as a researcher, prioritized. On this basis, Patton (2002, 2014) and Brinkman and Kvale (2005) assure that research involving human beings has to be conducted ethically. Firstly, I received from the Ph.D. program at the University of Szeged a letter of presentation with my personal information, the title and objectives of my project, and the population it was focused on. This was an official letter written and signed by my supervisor and the director of the Ph.D. program in English Applied Linguistics. The letter was written in Hungarian and English (*see* Appendix 1). With this presentation, I gained access to IOM to receive the details of the organizations working with the migrant and refugee population in Hungary, and I also had access to MissionPlace* to do my fieldwork.

I had the first meeting with the director of this organization to explain in detail my project and its objectives, and she met the members of the staff to ask them if they agreed in having me as part of the volunteer team while I was doing the research. They accepted me, and I started the work. In order to guarantee the anonymity and confidentiality of the participants, their names were not revealed in the data analysis and the findings report. They were also managed carefully during the conversations and dissemination of the findings. I used pseudonyms for places and participants of the study. According to Kaiser (2009), *anonymity* has commonly been used interchangeably in previous literature with the term *confidentiality*; however, in this research, I use confidentiality to refer to all information that is kept hidden from everyone except me, as the researcher. It includes keeping private what is said by the participants. On the other hand, anonymity is one form of confidentiality; specifically, it is to keep participants' names secret.

I wrote two consent forms, one for under 18 child's parents and the other one for participants over 18, in which I introduced myself and explained the academic purposes of the research. I also detailed how the anonymity and confidentiality of participants were going to be managed during the research process. The director of MissionPlace* revised the consent form parents and participants had to sign if they agreed to participate in this research (*see* Appendices 2 and 3). The language of the consent form was simplified; thus, participants could read through it at their own pace and understand the information provided. She also sent these forms by email to children's parents and participants over 18 years old to read them in advance of signing. When all participants and child participants' parents indicated that they had already read and signed the consent forms, I started the process of narrative construction with them. Notwithstanding that they have read and signed the consent form, I started the first meeting clarifying the academic purpose of the study and answering questions about me or the research process when necessary to ensure they felt confident with the conversation.

3.7 Research instruments and fieldwork

In order to address the research questions previously presented, three sets of data were generated based on the three groups of participants selected for the study. These data sets were (1) Narratives constructed by the children and youths, (2) Interviews with the staff in MissionPlace*, and (3) Interviews with the school teachers. These data sets will be explained after describing how the fieldwork in MissionPlace* was carried out.

*3.7.1 Fieldwork in MissionPlace**

The whole process of fieldwork was framed into complete participant observation. Patton (2014) describes this type of participation as being fully engaged in the setting. In order to become part of the participants' life in *MissionPlace and establish rapport and trust, I volunteered for this NGO doing tutorials in English, French, or Mathematics for the children and youth; teaching Spanish; playing with the little ones; and sharing time with the community through different recreation activities from October 2018 to May 2019, three days a week on the average. This fieldwork was ethnographic and led me to know the migrant setting in this NGO and be part of that community to observe their reality deeply. During the first month, I observed the activities, actions, people, behaviors, interactions, organizational and community processes in MissionPlace*. Since I was a participant-observer, the administrative body, teachers, and volunteers knew I was doing research, while the migrant and refugee population did not know.

I lived the experience of being part of this organization to have an insider's perspective of what was happening and feel what it was like to be part of the community. Patton (2014) defines this research perspective as "emic" (p. 509), a term which Kenneth Pike (1954) originally coined. I attempted to gain the population's confidence by being close to them, participating as a volunteer, and being a new community member. As a foreigner, I also attended Hungarian lessons as a regular student enrolled in the language program of MissionPlace*, so I could be a complete observer of the learning process of this population and share moments with them as their classmate. During this entire participant observation period, the data was based on field notes that contained detailed descriptions of the place, context, and events.

In this first phase of observations, I could recognize the students, their range of ages, their home countries, their needs to go to MissionPlace* and picture the community's whole context. I realized that most of them liked talking with other people they met while waiting for a lesson or one specific staff member. Some of them went to this place to greet or spend their

free time. Therefore, it was not difficult to build rapport with them and gain their confidence. When children finished their academic activities, they went to the game room to play while others were interested in learning Spanish. Thus, I organized one group for Spanish learners as well. When there were not enough teachers and some children searched for help to do their homework, I also helped.

As a result of this observation phase, and after having built rapport with the community members, I selected the participants by telling them my research interest and asking them if they wanted to participate in the project. All of them responded affirmatively, expressing their willingness to help. Therefore, I talked to the children's parents to ask for their consent with the organization's assistance. After having their permission, I proceeded to organize the interviews to elicit the narratives.

3.7.2 Narratives constructed by the children and youths

Following the social constructionist perspective and the 'how' questions of this study, interviews were the main instrument to generate narratives as data to be analyzed. The research focused on identifying meaning-making practices and understanding how refugee and migrant children and youths participate in the construction and negotiation of their identities. Thus, Gubrium and Holstein (1997) affirm that from the constructionist approach, the objective of interviewing is to explore how people participate in the construction of their lives. Therefore, for this study, the interviews were carried out as social activities. The interviewee and the interviewer became narrator and listener, based on the premises presented by Elliot Mishler (1984, 1986) related to the co-construction process of personal narratives generated in interview conversations. Accordingly, personal narratives are conceived as the outcome of social interactions between speakers and listeners or questioners. The narrative as a social practice needs the collaboration of an audience. Thus, the stories were created and re-created and then negotiated by the researcher and the participants. We did not assume that stories necessarily reflected a pre-existing reality, but we were constantly interacting as narrator and listener to do the meaning-making process of the storytelling (Mishler, 1996; Bell, 1988; Elliott, 2005; Riessman, 2008).

I followed informal conversations that lead to narrative inquiry interviews. The questions I used were broad, open-ended framed in everyday language, which allowed participants to tell their stories with details (Elliott, 2005). The time of the interviews varied depending on the age of the participant and their availability. As Chase (2008) states, the interest of narrative inquiry interviews is the life experiences as narrated by the people who live them. As this research approach was narrative, this type of interview was the most appropriate

to achieve the study's objectives. The story itself was the object of study and analysis, which means that the stories told by the children and youths were the objective of this interviewing. Participants' responses after open-ended questions provided verbatim quotations with rich data to be interpreted, as Riessman (2008) argues. She also explains that the objective of narrative interviewing is to generate detailed accounts of data rather than general statements. Thereupon, generating narratives through interviews takes long turns than in ordinary conversations. All the interviews were recorded and consented to by participants, as explained in the form of confidentiality and anonymity they signed.

Nevertheless, at the beginning of each interview, I asked the participants if they agreed to be recorded. I explained that the recordings would be used only for academic purposes. All of them gave their consent. I followed the characteristics of open-ended questions presented by Patton (2014), which allowed the participants to select from their broad repertoire of possible responses the most salient for them. They chose the narrative direction, the words they wanted to use, and the experiences they wanted to tell. Accordingly, Elliott (2005) asserts that asking the right questions in the interviews is one of the keys to eliciting narratives. She cites authors such as Graham (1984), Mishler (1986), and Riessman (1990), who assure that interviewees are willing to tell stories in interviews unless the structure of the interview or the type of questions the interviewer uses abolishes such stories.

I always started talking about myself. For instance, the time I had been in Hungary, what I did in my home country, and the reasons to be here. Besides, I talked about my teenage daughter, so the interview was not rigid, and the children felt we were in a conversational climate to allow the storytelling (Riessman, 2008). After introducing myself, I asked them to talk about themselves and created the space to start their narrative when asking, "Tell me about when and why you arrived in Hungary," which was always the question that triggered the narrative. From here, they started to talk about their families, schools, journeys to be in Hungary, the situation in their home countries. Furthermore, they started to make comparisons, and according to what they were telling, other questions emerged for them to continue talking. I never interrupted them or followed a list of questions. One story led to another because we negotiated openings for extended turns and associative shifts in the topic; as Riessman (2008) describes, "when shifts occur, it is useful to explore, with the participant, associations and meanings that might connect several stories" (p. 41). All the details counted in this research; thus, some interviews needed two or three meetings; each meeting could vary from 60 to 120 minutes approximately. In the end, I had 45 hours of interview recording with these kids and youths. I was interested in what they told about themselves and how they perceived themselves and others and their relationships. Bruner (1990) affirms that narrative inquiry is based on the

premise that we make sense of our lives through narrative or telling ourselves stories. Likewise, Polkinghorne (1988) assures that individuals construct their personal identities and self-concept differently. As our life story changes continuously depending on the events, our sense of self is ever-changing as well. In order to explain the social epistemologies of narratives, Pascale (2011) argues that "all the identities and subject locations would need to be analyzed in the relational contexts that make them possible and which give them meaning" (p. 159), which is necessary to be considered when generating and interpreting narratives. Consequently, the narrative inquiry interviews applied with children and youths were understood both in relationship to each other and to broader discursive systems to support the social basis of identity that refuses the possibility of conceptualizing identity as something fixed or established.

*3.7.3 Interviews with the staff in MissionPlace**

In light of the research questions that addressed this study, the other group of participants interviewed comprised 12 members of the staff in MissionPlace*. These interviews were not framed into the principles of narrative inquiry interviews as those used with the children and youths. These interviews with the staff are known in the literature as ethnographic or conversational, or unstructured. Since I was a participant-observer and I was part of the volunteer team, I found that the most appropriate definition for my case is ethnographic interview due to its purpose. Skinner (2013) explains that an ethnographic interview is conducted to support direct observations in the fieldwork, as I did in MissionPlace*. These interviews were carried out as part of conversational interactions from my insider's perspective as a volunteer in the community, but they had implicit research objectives. Some researchers, such as Fontana & Frey (2000), refer to this type of interview as conversational or unstructured.

Most of the questions in ethnographic interviews emerged directly in the context of observing an event or particular situation or talking to one or more people of the community. In this type of interview, there was no need for a predetermined set of questions because I did not know beforehand the events that were going to happen. The strengths of using this type of interview were the flexibility and responsiveness to situational changes and individual differences. From these conversational interactions, I could personalize some questions and prepare an interview guide to list questions focused on aspects I needed to deepen. The main topics covered in these questions were related to the learning process of the children and youths, their families, the significant difficulties they encountered in the school, their integration process, and salient topics related to the research.

3.7.4 Interviews with school teachers

In order to grasp the work that Hungarian schools do with migrant children, it was essential to interview school teachers and principals. The type of interview designed for them followed the approach of guide interview (Patton, 2014), which has the characteristics of semi-structured interviews. The reasons to select this type of interview were the time range teachers provided for this interaction, which was 35 to 45 minutes, and the specific topics I wanted to focus on to address the research questions concerning both the educational system in Hungary and the programs for migrant children. The guide of questions of this interview was revised and approved by the supervisor of this dissertation (*see* Appendix 4). However, in the interview, I had specific room to adjust the sequence of the questions and add other questions based on the participants' responses.

In order to access schools, the director of MissionPlace* contacted three of them where there were children and youths with a migrant background. The principals of the three schools accepted and gave permission, arranged the appointments, date, place, time, and teachers to be interviewed. In one bilingual school, I could interview in English. However, in the other two schools, one staff member of MissionPlace* accompanied me to translate the interview into Hungarian because that was one of the requirements both principals asked the director of the organization. They explained during the interview that they felt more confident answering in Hungarian. These interviews were also consented for the participants to be recorded by agreeing that they would be only used for academic purposes.

3.8 Narrative inquiry as a gateway to the methodological approach

The methodology for this research follows the definitions of narrative inquiry enlarged by Connelly and Clandinin since 1990. They inspired their work by Dewey (1938). Dewey's theory of experience demonstrates two criteria enacted in situations to base its conception, namely interaction, and continuity. The interaction criterion implies that an individual is always interacting with his/her physical world, and continuity represents the dimension of temporality of the narrative through past, present, and future experiences. Therefore, Clandinin and Connelly (2000) define narrative inquiry as a way of understanding experience: "It is a collaboration between researcher and participants over time, in a place or series of places, and in social interaction with milieus" (p. 20). Thus, the experience is studied and interpreted narratively as a story. Some years later, the same researchers explain that "to use narrative inquiry methodology is to adopt a particular view of experience as phenomenon under study" (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006, p. 375). Moreover, Clandinin and Rosiek (2007) state that "the

focus of narrative inquiry is not only on individuals' experience but also on the social, cultural, and institutional narratives within which individuals' experiences are constituted, shaped, expressed, and enacted" (pp. 42-43).

When working with the narrative inquiry as an approach to research, the dimensions of sociality and temporality are required to interpret experiences as stories. This is based on Dewey's two criteria of experience, previously mentioned. According to Dewey (1938), the concept of interaction is intrinsic to the situation: "An experience is always what it is because of a transaction taking place between an individual and what, at the time, constituted his environment" (p. 43). Individuals are constantly living in situations that embody the social conditions or context where their experiences occur. Besides, these experiences are always in temporal transition by interrelating past, present, and future of individuals, places, and events. Consequently, the role of narrative inquirers entails the interpretation of both personal and social conditions of the individuals' experiences. Clandinin and Rosiek (2007) state that "Narrative inquirers study the individual's experience in the world, an experience that is storied both in the living and telling and that can be studied by listening, observing, living alongside one another and writing and interpreting texts" (pp. 42-43). In other words, the context of the narrative, as raw data in research, is necessary to interpret it. Clandinin (2013) assures that "the focus of narrative inquiry is not only valorizing individuals' experience but is also an exploration of the social, cultural, familial, linguistic, and institutional narratives within which individuals experiences were, and are, constituted, shaped, expressed and enacted" (p. 18). When working with narrative inquiry, the researcher is not just able to ask questions to elicit stories but also position him/herself so that the story can be analyzed and interpreted.

As narrative inquiry is the methodological framework of this study, it is necessary to discuss the existing connections between narratives and identities to clearly view the perspective enlightening the study. These links have been conceptualized within different paradigms. Narratives are social activities because they involve different participant roles; hence it is not only a genre of discourse. Ochs (1997) inspires her work on the principles underlying the theories of Bakhtin (1981) and Goffman (1974). These authors differentiate the role of the author, the role of the narrator, and the role of the audience in the construction of the narrative. Therefore, listeners have a significant function in the narrative meaning construction. Narrative activity is the side of discourse where individuals evidence their personal and social identities; besides, it allows them to reflect upon events, situations, emotions, and thoughts. Consequently, through narratives, experience and existence intersect in a way that the individuals co-construct themselves.

Authors such as Early and Norton (2013) and Barkhuisen (2013) assure that narrative inquiry enlightens the way in which identity is constructed and negotiated due to the fact that narratives are co-constructed by historical, cultural, and social practices. Regarding immigrant voices, De Fina and Baynham (2012) argue that narratives generate a place for their voices so that the articulation of identities is shaped in this space. There are different approaches to work with narratives; Riessman (2005) and Block (2010), for example, suggest categories depending on the emphasis of the analysis. In the thematic analysis, the emphasis is on the content of what is said; in the structural analysis, the focus is on how narratives are generated; in the dialogic or interactional analysis, the emphasis is on the process of co-construction between the teller and the listener; and in the performative, the focus is on the who or the self with a background of experiences and on the persuasion the teller has on the audience. These categories are not mutually exclusive, and the boundaries between them are not completely marked.

3.9 Data analysis procedure

The three types of interviews conducted with different populations resulted in three data sets to analyze. The primary set of data, which is explicit in the main research question, consists of the narratives of the children and youths. The second and third sets of data are the ones resulting from the interviews done with school teachers and staff in MissionPlace*. Therefore, in this section, firstly, I will explain the procedure I did to analyze the data set of children's narratives, and then, I will present the process I followed to examine the other two data sets.

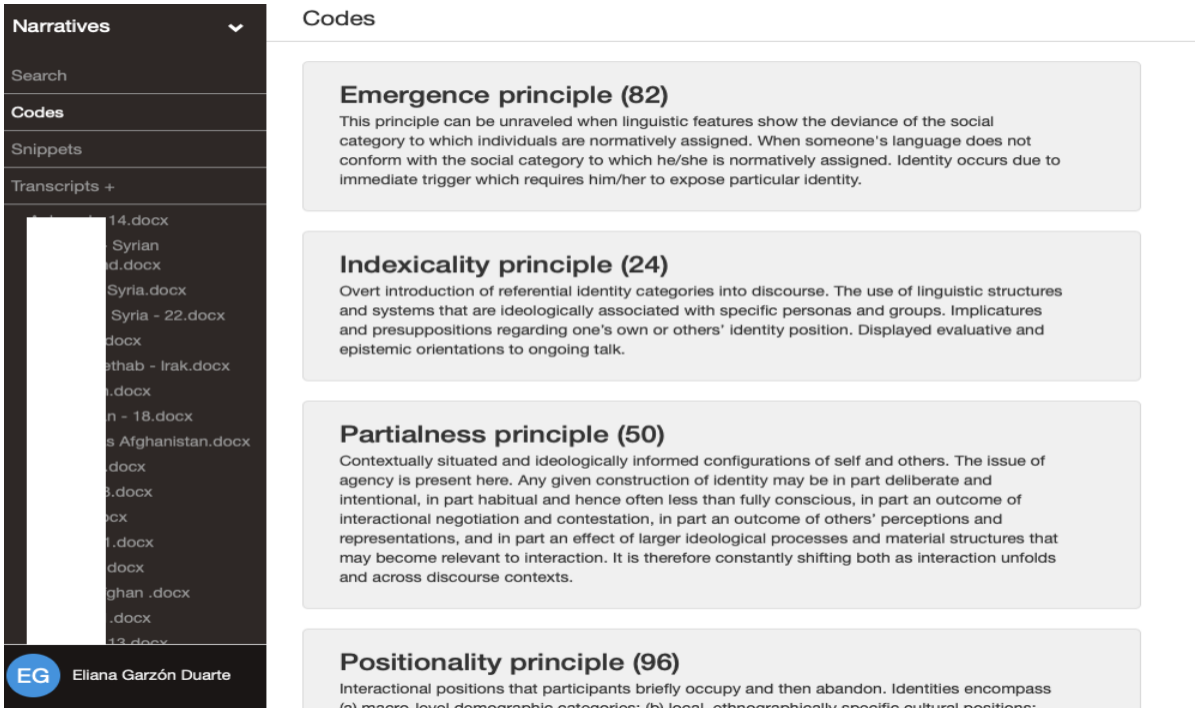
Narratives, as have been explained in the previous chapters, are an essential site for the articulation of identities since they not only offer the narrators an opportunity to present themselves as actors in social worlds but also to negotiate their 'self' with other interactants (Schiffrin, 1996; De Fina, 2003; Georgakopoulou, 2007). According to authors such as Bruner (1991), Chase (2005), Clandinin (2006), and Riessman (2008), stories are a form of social action, and the telling of stories is a way in which humans experience life. Since the narrative inquiry is the methodological approach of this research, the stories the children and youths told me were the means through which their experiences were studied. Smith and Sparkes (2006) state that the purpose of narrative inquiry is focusing on how the story is presented rather than what the narrative content tells.

Consequently, as the theoretical standpoint of this dissertation is social constructionist, because identity is understood as a social construction, I adopted an interactional approach of narrative analysis (Riessman, 2005; Block, 2010; De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2012) in order to answer the main research question that was *how do refugee and migrant children and youths negotiate their identities when facing potentially contradictory linguistic and other cultural*

needs in their daily activities in school? Besides, since identity is a social construction, then language and culture have a critical function in this constitution; thus, I chose the sociocultural linguistic approach (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005), as it encircles the intersection of language, culture, and society for the analysis of identity produced in linguistic interaction. I was addressing the importance of finding out which categories children and youths used for identification, in which contexts, how they were negotiated, and what they meant for them.

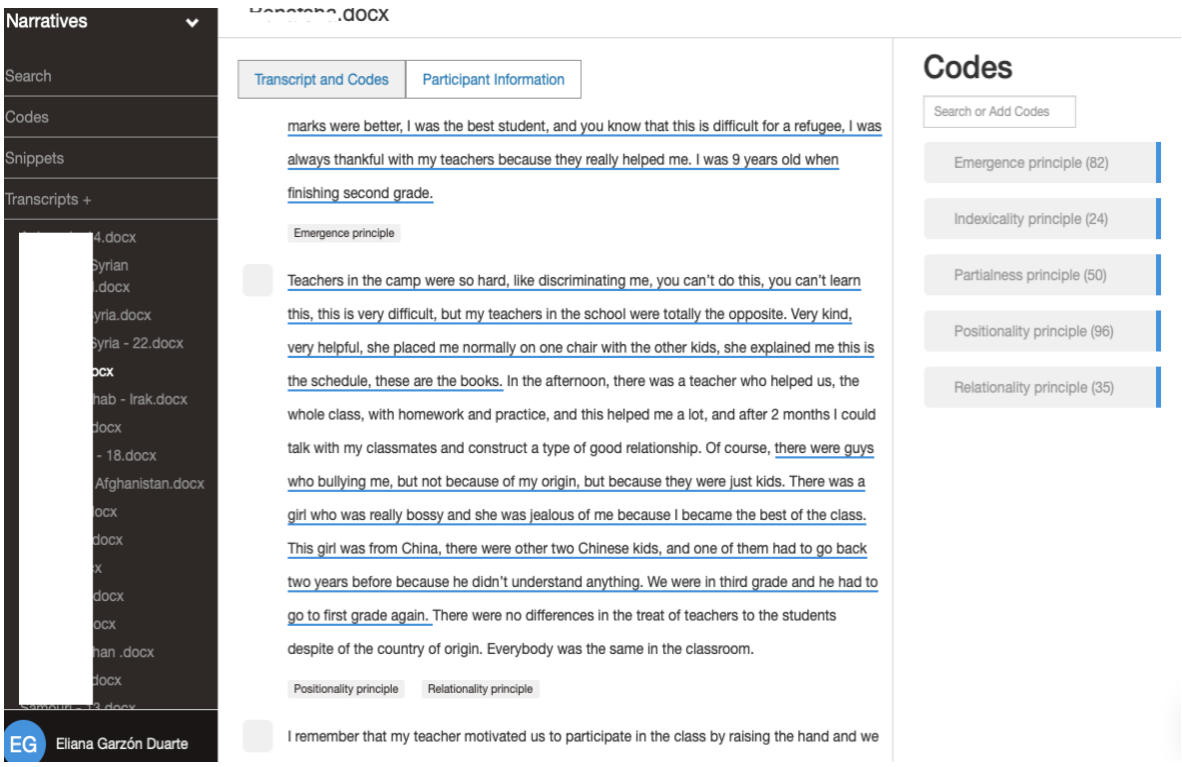
As this framework is based on five principles, namely emergence, positionality, indexicality, relationality, and partialness, I drew on them to analyze the narratives of the children and youths. After transcribing the interviews digitally, I imported them to a computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software called ***Delve*** to have the narratives organized, read through them, and do the coding process. I organized the narratives with the profile of the 22 participants, including age and country of origin. I wrote the names and descriptors of the codes based on what each principle entails, as is shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3. The five principles as codes in the software



Then, I underlined the excerpts that represented each principle and associated it with the code. I did this initial process with each narrative separately, as is shown in Figure 4. There are four tabs for codes, snippets, transcripts, and searching on the left side of the on-screen display.

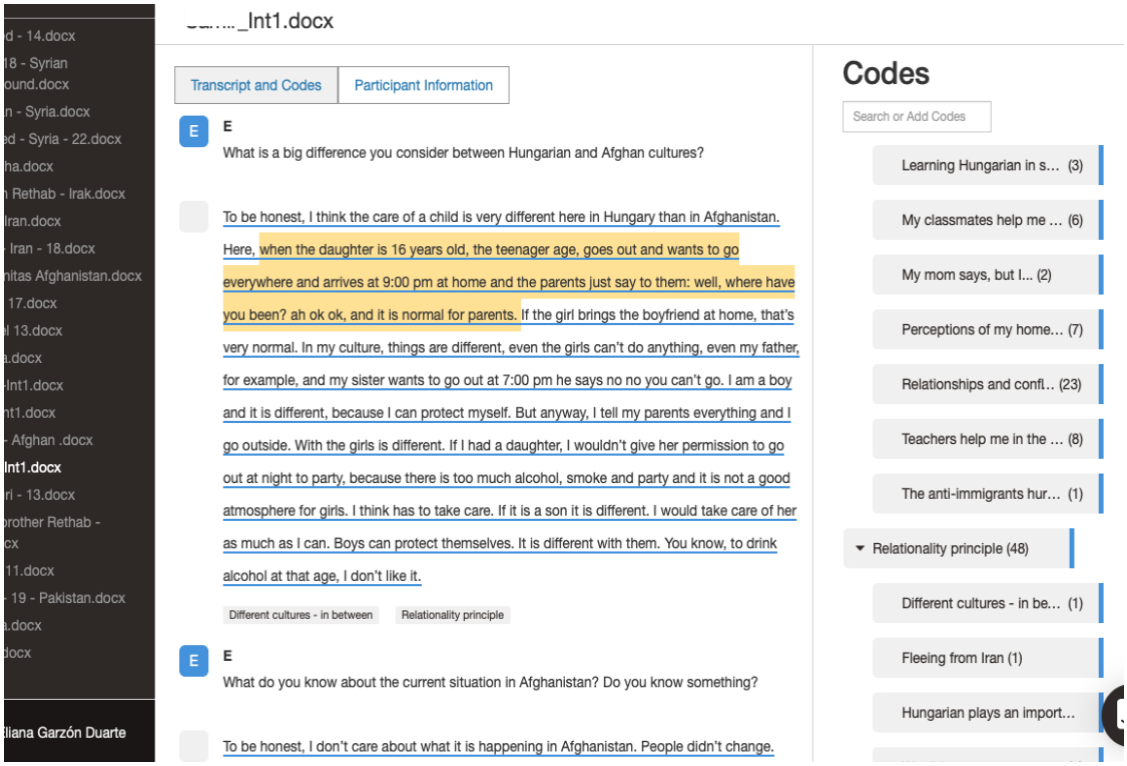
Figure 4. Excerpts from the narratives coded in the software Delve



Under the tab of transcripts, the 22 narratives were organized to have access to them when needed. The tab of codes displays their descriptors and the number of excerpts associated with each code in parenthesis. The tab of snippets displays the excerpts with the options of being filtered by code, transcript, and age.

After doing this initial organization of the narratives and identifying the five principles of the sociocultural linguistic approach, I did a further round of reading through each narrative to underline intersection elements between language, culture, and society. The preceding to direct the categorization of the narratives, considering that the narrative analysis approach focuses on each narrative as a whole account of interpretation. Therefore, I underlined the identity facets of each narrative, including tensions or conflicts, through the different linguistic resources that each principle expounds. I used verbatim coding to summarize passages of the narratives into single phrases extracted from the narrative itself, as is shown in Figure 5.

Figure 5. Verbatim coding in the narratives using the software Delve



As I was working with 22 narratives and managing the data, I organized three sub-groups according to the age of the participants (*see* section 3.5.1). Consequently, I clumped the verbatim codes of each narrative by sub-group of age: From 11 to 14 years old, from 16 to 18, and from 19 to 23. After this grouping, I categorized those codes under headings that enclosed contradictory linguistic and cultural needs and identity negotiation hints to direct the answers to the research questions. These categories will be explained in chapter four.

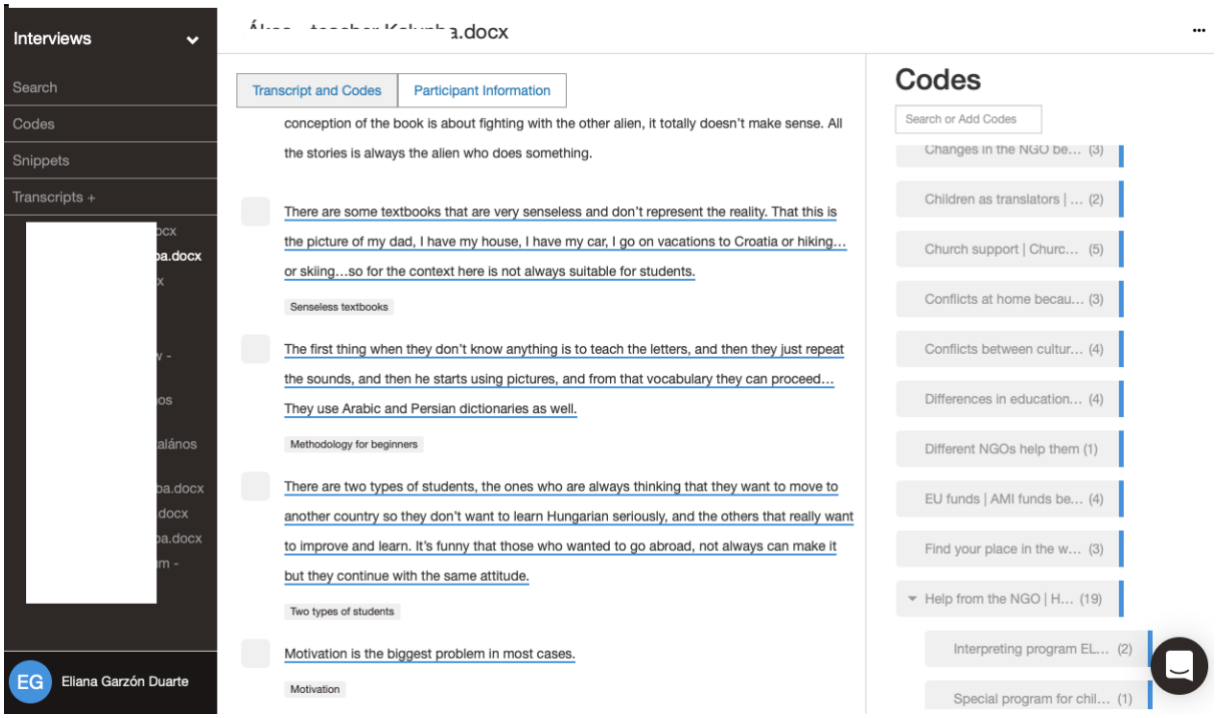
On the other hand, the procedure I followed to analyze the other two data sets generated by the interviews with school teachers and staff in MissionPlace* was also organized in the software Delve. They were organized as a different project because they aimed at answering the following research sub-questions: (c) How do school teachers understand the education and integration process of migrant and refugee children in Hungary? and (d) What is the role of MissionPlace* in the social inclusion of these children?

Although the types of interviews carried out were different, the method of analysis was the same. As explained in section 3.7, the interviews for staff in MissionPlace* followed an ethnographic type, and the guide of questions for school teachers was organized as a semi-structured interview. The analysis of the data generated from these two groups of participants had a different procedure compared with the narrative analysis explained in the first part of this section. The previous because this study also aimed at contextualizing the schooling in Hungary from the perspective of teachers that have worked with the migrant population, as well as from

the community of the NGO where these kids are academically supported. These data gave insights to intersect points related to the education of migrant children and youth in Hungary and broadened the view regarding their integration process through the lens of language rights. For this reason, the model I adopted was thematic analysis, which was initially developed by Braun and Clarke (2006), and that will be explained next.

Thematic analysis (TA) is a qualitative data analysis method that is used to identify, analyze, and report themes within the generated data, according to what Braun and Clarke (2006) explain. The reason why I adopted this method was that it could produce an insightful analysis to explore the understanding and perceptions of teachers, principals, and staff in MissionPlace* about the process of education and integration of the kids and youths in Budapest. Therefore, I read through the transcripts from the interviews, identified and described themes, and created codes to represent them. Then, I linked these codes to excerpts as summary markers for later analysis. I did this procedure with the software Delve to maintain the organization and visualize the themes, as is shown in Figure 6.

Figure 6. Thematic analysis of the interviews in the software Delve



Thematic analysis (TA) was helpful because it enabled me to examine, from a social constructionist viewpoint, the meanings and representations these participants have constructed through their experience in the educational context in Hungary and the NGO that supports migrants in their process of resettlement. Furthermore, doing TA enabled me to identify how meanings constructed by these participants were associated with ideologies and educational structures and linguistic and situational contexts where the kids are immersed. Hence, analyzing

the data generated from interviews following the method of TA facilitated the exploration of representations and the process of meaning-making teachers have constructed about the social phenomenon of migration, the ideological associations that are implicit in those constructions, and their positionings informed by their experiences with migrant kids. The categories that resulted from the analysis of these two data sets are explained in chapter five.

3.10 Validity and credibility

In terms of validity in this study, first, it is important to contrast qualitative and quantitative methods of research to understand the methodological framework based on what Patton (2014) illustrates through the following example:

> If you want to know how much people weigh, use a scale. If you want to know if they're obese, measure body fat in relation to height and weight and compare the results with population norms. If you want to know what their weight *means* to them, how it affects them, how they think about it, and what they do about it, you need to ask them questions, find out their experiences and hear their stories. (p. 67)

Therefore, as this research aims to investigate the type of tensions and conflicts among languages and cultures of refugee and migrant children and youths in the Hungarian education context and how they negotiate their identities in those contexts, a qualitative method is appropriate to achieve the research objectives. The children and youths' stories were valuable data to understand their particular situation and the 'how' of all my concerns about them and their schooling integration. Patton (2014) also remarks that as qualitative studies search for deep and detailed knowledge or understanding of a particular situation or case, the sampling is mostly smaller than quantitative studies. Hence, the findings and results of qualitative studies do not apply to different groups of people or situations, decreasing their generalizability and increasing the depth of understanding of the cases studied.

Consequently, concerning the validity and credibility of the qualitative approach of research, its pioneers, Egon Guba and Yvonna Lincoln (1981), argue that despite the absence of rigorous instruments as the ones used in quantitative studies, the meaningful work that the researcher does counterbalance this matter: "But this loss in rigor is more than offset by the flexibility, insight, and ability to build on tacit knowledge that is the peculiar province of the human instrument" (as cited in Patton, 2014, p. 67). The researcher's responsiveness, sensitivity, ongoing analysis, and flexibility determine the validity and credibility of the study. Moreover, the qualitative researcher must remain open and be willing to relinquish any poorly supported ideas regardless of the excitement and potential that they first appear to provide. Thus, Lincoln and Guba (1985) use the term trustworthiness equivalent to internal and external

validity, reliability, and objectivity. Credibility essentially asks the researcher to demonstrate the connections between the findings of the research and reality. Therefore, a thick description is needed to explain the procedure of data generation and analysis, as will be explained in the next chapter.

In qualitative research, the concept of the appropriateness of the instruments, processes, and data defines what validity is. In this case, to picture the whole process, it can be explained that the research question should be valid for the desired outcome, the choice of methodology should be appropriate for answering the research question, the research design should be appropriate for the methodology, the sampling and data analysis should be valid for the chosen methodology, and finally, the results and insights should be valid for the sample and context. Validity in this study starts from the ontological and epistemological conception of the individual as a product of existential awareness and social interaction and hence identity as flexible, multilayered, and socially constructed. Therefore, the methodology chosen for this research was narrative inquiry in MissionPlace* as an NGO that works with refugees and migrants in Hungary. The sampling was purposeful based on the participants' age to emphasize children and youths. Moreover, the data and its analysis combined different types of interviews to three groups of participants to have three different perspectives from the same phenomenon.

3.11 Summary of the chapter

This chapter details the methodological framework of the study. Narrative inquiry is the approach to research used for this study. Narratives, as discursive practices, are used to interpret and understand experiences constructed as stories. In this research, narratives are the site of discourse where the negotiation of identities is studied. Since the main purpose of this dissertation was to investigate the potential tensions and conflicts among languages and cultures of refugee and migrant children in the Hungarian educational context and how they solved those conflicts by negotiating their identities, the setting selected to do the fieldwork was an NGO called MissionPlace*, under the terms of anonymity, that works with refugee and migrant population in Budapest. This organization has different services that can be grouped in housing, language courses, adult vocational training and education, job search support and coaching, assistance for integrating into the school system for children and youths, and supportive community.

The participants were strategically selected following the characteristics of purposeful sampling, based on the age and schooling in Hungary. The group consisted of 22 participants, 11 girls and 11 boys, whose age range was between 11 to 23 years old. All of them were enrolled in school or had graduated from Hungarian school. Two other groups of participants were made

up of staff in MissionPlace* and teachers of schools where migrant children were enrolled. These groups of participants were selected to answer the research sub-questions addressed in the study.

Participants of the study signed consent forms to ensure the confidentiality and anonymity of the data. Moreover, the use of pseudonyms for places and names of participants was also applied in the study. The instruments to generate data were selected focused on the methodological approach of narrative inquiry so that narratives could be the main data set. Therefore, interviews were the instruments used with the three groups of participants, but the types of interviews differed. For the major group of participants, consisting of 22 children and youths, narrative interviewing was used. For the group of staff in the NGO, the ethnographic interview was used; and the school teachers were interviewed with a semi-structured guide of questions.

The data analysis procedure for the narratives of the kids was conducted following the five principles to study identity proposed in the sociocultural linguistic approach by Bucholtz and Hall (2005). Each narrative was analyzed individually as a whole unit of discourse according to the methodological approach I followed. The other two sets of data resulting from the interviews with school teachers and staff in MissionPlace* were analyzed using thematic analysis to identify the ideas these participants had regarding the migrant children and the educational process in Hungary. To analyze the three sets of data, I used the software called Delve to read through the transcripts, underline the themes, label codes, and link themes with codes. I organized the data sets in the software in two projects, one concerning the children's narratives and the other for the interviews. The categories that emerged from the data analysis will be explained in chapters four and five.

Chapter 4 Insights into Children's and Youth's Experiences through Narratives

4.1 Introduction

Since the purpose of this dissertation is focused on the process of identity construction and negotiation pursued by children and youths to achieve, contest, or reaffirm their identities, I followed the sociocultural linguistic framework as an interactionally oriented approach to analyze their narratives, as I explained in section 3.9. The first section of this chapter describes transcription as the initial platform to interpret the data produced through the interviews. Then, it presents the rationale for the sociocultural linguistic approach as a narrative analysis technique, and subsequently, the procedure I followed drawing on the five principles proposed in the approach (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005), as is explained in chapter three. There is one section where I provide examples of how the analysis procedure was done following each principle, and there is another section with the categories I created to organize the identity traces found in the narratives.

The discussion presented in this chapter provides the insights to answer the main question addressed in this dissertation. These insights result from the analysis and interpretation of the narratives constructed by the kids and youths. The description of the interpretations revolves around the study's main purpose, which was to investigate potential tensions and conflicts among languages and cultures of refugee and migrant children in the Hungarian educational context and how they solved them by negotiating their identities. I posed two sub-questions that guided the study and, at the same time, were pivotal for the discussion of the insights that emerged from the narrative analysis. These sub-questions are (a) How do these children perceive themselves in the school as new arrivals in Hungary? and (b) What roles do the languages spoken by these children play in their construction and negotiation of identity?

4.2 Transcription as the first stage of the data analysis

After interviewing the participants and having recorded their narratives, I started the transcription process as a way of recreating every story. I cared about keeping the wholeness of participants' stories. Their voices were important because every participant's narrative was analyzed separately. Then, I read and re-read these narratives to explore how participants' stories interweaved and reflected upon how such accounts related to aspects of the phenomenon under study. My role as a listener played a crucial role during the interviews. I had to be engaged completely in the stories told by the participants, rather than being restricted to the question and answer by the narrator. Instead of performing the model of the interviewer as a questioner and

interviewee as a speaker or respondent, both of us became active participants in the construction of the stories. Hence narrative interviewing aims at generating rich and detailed accounts more than brief and fixed responses.

Therefore, transcription is a whole process of interpretation, and it is inseparable from language theory, as Bucholtz (2000) affirms. Scholars such as Ochs, 1979; Mishler, 1991; and Capps and Ochs, 1995 explain in detail the connection between transcription of oral discourse and interpretation and the power it has to analyze data directly related to the epistemic issue of language. The transcription of a text involves the inscription of a context. The text is the evidence of the transcriber's beliefs, interpretations, and theories about the speakers (*see* Appendices 6 and 7). The researcher as the transcriber is familiar with the language and register of the discourse, hence the importance of the transcribing act. I decided to transcribe the narratives as the first approach to data analysis. Through the transcribing act, I recreated the interview context and started to identify elements that unfolded identities. According to Bucholtz (2000), the act of transcribing a text is social and political in nature, and it is also an act of power due to the interpretation and representation it entails.

4.3 Rationale for the sociocultural linguistic approach as a narrative analysis technique

Since the main purpose of this study was to analyze the negotiation of identity of the children and youths through their narratives, the analytical techniques were bounded to be language-based. Therefore, the analysis procedure drew on both the narrative analysis introduced by De Fina, Schiffrin and Bamberg (2006) and the sociocultural linguistic approach to identity formation proposed by Bucholtz and Hall (2005), in which identity is produced within linguistic interaction and other semiotic practices, so it is conceived as a social and cultural outcome.

As it was explained in chapter two, the sociocultural linguistic approach is in the line of understanding identities as "intersubjectively rather than individually produced and interactionally emergent rather than assigned in a priori fashion" (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005, p. 6). The five principles underlying this approach, namely emergence, positionality, indexicality, relationality, and partialness, include local ethnographic categories, and they were the tools to analyze the narratives. Besides, this approach associates identities as discursively constructed in specific contexts and larger macro-social categorizations that involve ideologies. In other words, identity cannot be studied as separated from macro-level demographic categories or local emergent cultural positions, but it is a culturally situated phenomenon.

Moreover, identity is linguistically indexed through labels, implicatures, styles, and linguistic structures that lead the process of understanding how it is negotiated in different

contexts. It is also constructed through aspects of the relationships between similarity and difference, genuineness and artifice, and authority and delegitimacy. When De Fina (2015) explains the two paradigms to study identities in narratives, she argues that interactionally oriented narrative approaches, as the one I adopted for this study, show how linguistic constructs may be used to indicate affiliation or distance with respect to specific groups, and how the indexical processes are the source of much of the identity work that is done by narrators and interpreted by researchers.

Furthermore, identities are flexible in the way they are constructed, so they can be shaped intentionally and also as characteristics of the habitual and not conscious, or as a result of interactional negotiation or others' perceptions; also, as part of broader ideological processes and structures. The five principles of the sociocultural linguistic approach represent the diverse ways in which research can explore identity issues and broaden the understanding of identity in all its complexity. This approach allows finding in interaction a basis to anchor identity. Likewise, power relations are embedded in macro-social structures and even in daily conversations, and all of them emerge from discursive interaction that is affected by ideologies. Consequently, agency and structures are interweaved as components of micro and macro configurations of identity.

Furthermore, in the same vein, De Fina, Schiffrin, and Bamberg (2006) argue that narrative analysis relies on narratives as the means to explore the identities of individuals as their performance, constructing a socially negotiated self in different contexts. In this sense, narratives are understood as emergent in specific interactional contexts due to negotiation by interlocutors (Georgakopoulou, 2011). In other words, the narrative structure is situational and locally constructed, immersed in a larger social discourse where macro-social categorizations exist, rather than being considered as universal.

In order to study the co-construction of identity in narratives, Bamberg (2011b) draws on elements of the sociocultural linguistic approach when using narrative analysis. He argues that this process of co-construction involves three important aspects that are in the same line with the discussion of adequation and distinction presented by Bucholtz and Hall (2005), which are sameness of a sense of self across time despite a continuous change, uniqueness of the person in opposition with others despite being as the others, and the construction of agency as constituted by the self and his/her relation to the world. Bamberg (2011a) describes that narrators engage agentively in the construction of their narratives. However, he observes two types of agency in the speakers when positioning concerning dominant discourses, a person-to-world direction of fit and a world-to-person direction of fit, or sometimes individuals position themselves in between. A person-to-world position represents high agency in control and

determination, whereas a world-to-person position sees the individual as a recipient of action or acted by the world.

The linguistic analysis of the children's narratives using the five principles helped identify the tensions and continuous negotiation of different versions of their selfhood in local contexts or the larger world. The interactional-oriented narrative analysis addressed children's narratives as a way to explore the meaning-making of their experiences. The analysis of each narrative provided a systematic way of understanding how children made events in their lives meaningful and how they engage in the continuous construction of their identities. Simultaneously, the five principles of the sociocultural linguistic approach were used to analyze how the identities were constructed in the narratives through the interpretation of linguistic resources contemplated in each principle.

4.4 Analysis following the five principles of the sociocultural linguistic approach

This section explains how the concrete procedure of reading and analyzing the narratives following the five principles of the sociocultural linguistic approach was conducted. Based on what Bucholtz and Hall (2005) outline in their proposal, I describe each principle with the characteristics of identity construction it explores. Moreover, I briefly present the authors' examples to illustrate how each principle works when studying identity in interaction. Subsequently, I exemplify, through excerpts taken from the narratives of the kids and youths, how I analyzed each narrative. I focused not only on the identities as intersubjective and interactional emergent constructions but also on the local ethnographic categories and links between identities as discursively constructed in local contexts and larger macro-social structures. However, this section aims only to show how each principle works in the analysis procedure. The insights of the narratives with the display of categories resulting from this analysis will be explained in detail in section 4.5.

4.4.1 The Emergence Principle

This principle worked as an intersecting line emanating from understanding identity as an emerging phenomenon from the specific conditions of linguistic interaction. The emergence principle is applicable in all instances of identity construction. According to Bucholtz and Hall (2005), identity as emergent can be unraveled when linguistic features show the deviance of the social category to which individuals are normatively assigned. Thus, identity occurs when an activator provokes the performance of a particular identity. Bucholtz and Hall (2005) provide two examples of how this principle can be applied to identify the emergence of identity

according to the specific contexts of interaction. One example presents the case of a hijra and the use of the masculine verbal gender marker in Hindi to distance herself from the position of her family and the use of the feminine gender marker to refer to herself in her own voice. The second example portrays a case of a group of Korean Americans who used African-American Vernacular English to coincide with people of color, who were against racism. Hence, the emergence principle shows that identity is constructed from specific linguistic interactions, which are represented by linguistic features in the discourse.

In the case of the narratives constructed by the child and youth participants in this research, positions of identity were interpreted when reading each narrative and finding excerpts where language use did not conform with the social category to which these children and youths were normatively assigned. In Example (1), Zainab constructs the story of her Hungarian learning process when coming to Hungary. Here, she narrates the importance of speaking the language to learn it and refers to this process as something obvious for me, as her listener.

Example (1)

> I learnt Hungarian in the school, I speak with other children, you know, it was not difficult. My first class here was 5th grade, now it is 11th. In 5th grade, my teacher was so helpful with me for the language and everything, I had a certificate in 6th class. In the camp in Békéscsaba we were Arab, so no Hungarian in the class, so here in Budapest it was easy because I started to speak Hungarian with the other children. In the camp we also had Hungarian classes and school simultaneously, but in the class was just Hungarian. One class is for Persian, Arab, Afghan to learn Hungarian and another class just for Hungarians in school because we didn't speak Hungarian. In Békéscsaba camp when we had the passports we were there for 2 years and then we came to Budapest. We had a beautiful *lakás* there. Then, we came to Budapest, I went to the same school. I understood Hungarian but I did not speak too much so it was difficult. (Zainab, 17, Afghanistan)

In this excerpt, Zainab's identity as a Hungarian learner emerges, along with the difficulties she faced in this language learning process when living in the camp. She narrates this story by recognizing that the fact that studying only with children from Arab countries when she came to Hungary affected her language learning. In the construction of her narrative, she authenticates the importance of speaking Hungarian with Hungarian kids in school to learn the language. She emphasizes the fact that studying with Hungarian children and speak Hungarian with them on a daily basis in school was the powerful tool that eased its learning. The experience she tells here directs her understanding of learning Hungarian in a non-segregated school as the right path to learn the language. She identifies her conflicts in the

language learning process for being part of a segregated school in the camp, where all the kids were from Arab countries.

Moreover, it is observed that Zainab uses the word "lakás" in Hungarian, instead of the word "apartment" or "flat," as part of her story when narrating her move from Békéscsaba to Budapest. She pointed out that she and her family lived in a beautiful apartment in Békéscsaba, the city where she attended school only with children from Arab countries. Here, she accesses words in Hungarian among the different languages she speaks in order to communicate what she was narrating. Thus, the importance for her is not the language itself but the communication. She did not recall the word in English, so she used the word in Hungarian. It is important to clarify that she did not stop her narration from asking for that word, but she continued with the flow of the story, assuming I was going to understand what she referred to.

In Example (2), Yasmine was narrating her experience with the subjects in school, telling how much she had improved in Hungarian. She identifies herself as a Hungarian learner who needs help from her friend for literature and "nyelvtan." She is constructing her narrative in English but uses Hungarian vocabulary for certain subjects in her discourse as a valuable language resource to communicate her story. She is also telling her experience about her learning, and suddenly, her identity as an independent and committed student emerges as well when she indicates that her priority is not to speak Hungarian with her classmates or understand what they were saying, but just learning and comprehending the contents of the school subjects.

Example (2)

> Literature and *nyelvtan* I need the help of my friend. History is my favorite and I don't need any help, but it is very hard, so I see films of that and I read something, but in *irodalom* and *nyelvtan* there are not films or anything to read about that. I don't care about anything, if I don't understand and speak with each other, but then I came to 6th grade and when I see it's easy and I can learn, but *irodalom* is soo hard. (Yasmine, 12, Iran)

The linguistic forms of "irodalom," which translates "literature," and "nyelvtan," which translates "grammar," that are used in this narrative show Yasmine's recognition of herself as committed to her learning in school and her improvement in the Hungarian language. She explains the grade of difficulty these school subjects have for her and how she tries to solve it with the help of her friend, but she appeals to Hungarian as the language she is learning, and she is committed to improving to understand the contents of the subjects. She is also telling how films and further reading are essential resources for understanding subjects. She highlights that all the subjects are challenging. However, the difference is how she learns with extra materials. When she is narrating this experience, and the expression "I don't care about anything if I don't understand and speak with each other" reveals her position as careless of her

interaction with her classmates. However, she ratifies her concern about her school learning process when she says, “but then I came to 6th grade and when I see it’s easy and I can learn, but *irodalom* is so hard”.

Example (3) illustrates another case where the principle of emergence provided the tools to study traces of identity in Dalila’s narrative. The linguistic features she uses in her narrative about the Hungarian language unfold potential conflicts in her learning process in school. She explains that her primary challenge of living in Hungary is language, but she links language with school and emphasizes the hard work she has to do to pay attention to what the teacher is saying. She emphasizes this drawback and the hard work she has to do to follow the class.

Example (3)

> The language has been the hardest challenge here in Hungary, the language and the school. When teacher speaks, you have to give all your attention to her and even though you can’t understand. If when she speaks I could listen in English, it could be nice [smiles]. I use my phone sometimes to translate, but teachers don’t allow us to have phones, but I don’t care because I need to understand what they are saying. I cannot participate in the class because when they talk I don’t understand, so until I can, I will try my best to do it. (Dalila, 17, Ethiopia)

Dalila also explains the strategy she uses in class to translate what her teachers say and, at the same time, she says that this is not allowed in the school, but shows her position as careless of that prohibition, “I use my phone sometimes to translate, but teachers don’t allow us to have phones, but I don’t care because I need to understand what they are saying.” In this example, it can also be observed that after saying, “if when she speaks I could listen in English, it could be nice,” she smiles. The previous quote also refers to identity issues that emerge in the narrative since the challenge for her is not exactly the content of the subject but the language itself as the means of instruction. She represents in her story the effort she has to make in the class to understand because of her Hungarian level. Thus, she draws on searching for strategies to understand, such as her phone, even if it is not allowed in the class. Her priority is to overcome the disadvantage of understanding the contents of the subjects.

The previous three examples illustrate how the data analysis was conducted when following aspects contemplated in the principle of emergence. This principle emphasizes how identities are social processes that can be viewed as emergent products in discourse through linguistic features that divide the expecting mapping between language and culture. In the three excerpts of narratives, the traits of language use that were explained overturn structures that frame social categories or groups, such as migrants, teenagers, or students.

4.4.2 The Positionality Principle

The perspective of this principle encompasses constructs of social subjectivity, local identity categories, and transitory interactional positions, rather than a collection of broad social categories that frequently circulate in research when exploring identity. Therefore, Bucholtz and Hall (2005) state that identities entail "(a) macro-level demographic categories; (b) local, ethnographically specific cultural positions; and (c) temporary and interactionally specific stances and participant roles" (p. 592). Macro-level demographic categories, such as age, gender, and ethnicity, are complemented by negotiation with local cultures and attitudes in interactions with others. In order to illustrate this principle, Bucholtz and Hall (2005) present two examples of interviews with teenagers, in which they position themselves differently by using specific linguistic features to characterize their coolness or nerd behavior. Here, the teenagers position themselves temporarily in interaction, and the linguistic markers they use indicate a more local dimension of their identity. These teenagers evaluate and compare themselves with others.

In the narratives of children and youths, this principle was followed to analyze those moments in the narratives where identity emerged through temporary roles or orientations assumed by the children. These interactional positions contribute to the formation of subjectivity and intersubjectivity in discourse, according to what Bucholtz and Hall (2005) explain. In Example (4), Parsa positions himself in a situation he experienced in school when one of his classmates gave his opinion about refugees. Here, he constructs this story, revealing his perspective and the role he played during that interaction.

Example (4)

> In 2015, I was in the school when this big wave of migrants, one of my classmates said, "I don't like these refugees, they are dirty people, they throw everything on the road, they don't respect", he was complaining about refugees, he didn't have any knowledge about refugees, nothing, he just heard in the news. So, the teacher heard what he was saying and said, "But Parsa* is here as well, do you have any problem with Parsa*?" He is fine, he had not treated you badly, all the refugees are like him, then he said, "But Parsa* is different, he is not a refugee", so I asked my teacher if I could speak a little to explain, so I explained this situation of refugees and it was clearer for my classmates. He just heard everything in the news. (Parsa, 23, Afghanistan)

This excerpt of the narrative presents Parsa's position when listening to his classmate's negative opinion about refugees based on the information from the news. He retells the speech of his classmate, changing his intonation to imitate his voice and giving examples of negative aspects of refugees, such as "they don't respect" or "they are dirty people." Refugees here are represented as a social category that has been increasing in Hungary. As part of the story, Parsa performs the position taken by his teacher, who included him as a member of the refugee category, to illustrate that refugees were not as this teenager was saying. Parsa uses direct

reported speech, quoting the words used by his classmate and his teacher to legitimize what they were telling and their positions in response to the situation of refugees. He is also defining his own positioning and negotiating his identity in a situation of contesting. Parsa performed as a third one who was explaining the situation of refugees as a social structure but without being part of it.

Then, when he narrates how he asked his teacher for permission to talk about the topic of refugees in front of the class, he uses indirect reported speech and positions himself as the person with the knowledge to speak about this topic to make things clear for everybody in the classroom. At that moment, he identifies himself as the competent person to explain because he knew he had the knowledge to do it, in contrast to his classmate who "didn't have any knowledge about refugees, nothing, he just heard in the news."

In Example (5), Akil unfolds his stance on his performance in school and recognizes himself locally as having the same level of understanding compared with his classmates. Akil demonstrates in this excerpt facets of identity regarding Hungarian language proficiency and the learning process in school. He uses "yes" as an adverb to show agreement with his own affirmation that he has the same level of understanding as his classmates, but then, he uses the adverbs "maybe" and "only" to signal his difficulties in mathematics because of the numbers change he does. He also positions himself in the group of Hungarian native speakers having the same confusion with the letters "ly" and "j" when he says, "but it's a common problem for the Hungarians as well."

Example (5)

> I understand at the same level as the others, yes. I know everything the same. Maybe I only have language difficulties in math, because sometimes I change the numbers. When the teacher asks me, I know the answer perfectly, but I don't say it good, because I change the numbers. Sometimes when I say the numbers, I changed the number, like 23, we say it like in Hungarian, 23 like in other language, but in Arabic we say 3-20 and sometimes I changed the numbers. History is ok for me, I like it. With the language I don't have any problems, there is "ly and j" and sometimes I changed them, but it's a common problem for the Hungarians as well. (Akil, 14, Iraq)

Moreover, he positions himself in the Arabic culture when explaining his confusion with the numbers. Despite understanding "everything" in the school and having the same confusion of letters as Hungarians, he explains that his problem in mathematics comes from the way in which the numbers are told in Arabic. Here, it can be observed Akil's orientation as an evaluator of his own performance in the school and assuming his temporary role of Hungarian user having difficulties with mathematics because of the influence of Arabic, and also positioning himself as part of the larger group of Hungarian native speakers having the same difficulties with

language. These roles contribute to the formation of subjectivity and intersubjectivity in discourse, as Bucholtz and Hall (2005) explain.

Example (6) corresponds to an excerpt of Daria's narrative where the principle of positionality was also the strategy to analyze aspects of her identity construction and negotiation. She was telling the reasons why she did not like the first high school where she was enrolled when arriving in Hungary. She quotes herself using direct reported speech to show her temporary role as a questioner in the local context of a celebration in the school to reward the students who were distinguished in any subjects, exams or competitions when narrating, "And I was like 'Why they don't name us?' I knew my name was going to be there, so I said 'why?'" Then, she quotes her teacher when saying, "it's not for us," making the emphasis that her teacher did not explain in detail the reason why this was happening.

Example (6)

> Another thing is that I didn't like this school because they separated us from the Hungarian people, for example, if there was something to celebrate in the school, we were there but they were naming the classes, they were naming the students from each class, which they are good in some stuff, they named all the classes except us. And I was like "Why they don't name us?" I knew my name was going to be there, so I said "why?" and my teacher was saying "it's not for us", so I don't know. (Daria, 18, Iran)

Daria uses direct speech by integrating the voices of others and her own voice in the specific discursive situation as a means of identity work and positioning. She uses the first-person plural pronoun "us" to represent the belongingness to the minority group of non-Hungarian-born students. Daria was placed in a segregated class of secondary school with other youths from Arab countries. When she was telling her story, she emphasizes the importance of learning the language of instruction to belong to the host population, which in the school was represented by the Hungarian students, or at least, students that had proficiency in the Hungarian language. In this case, she uses the third-person plural pronoun [they] to refer to the Hungarian students. The symbolic boundary here is between "us" and "they" to mark the belonging to the host population to receive the same opportunities. This boundary is conditioned on how Hungarian-born students and teachers conceive proficiency in the dominant language and its intrinsic link with belongingness to society.

She positions herself as distant from the larger context of the school and assumes an isolated stance within the group of others using the first-person plural pronoun "us." She views the school as a local context where she cannot interact or participate. As in the previous examples, this excerpt of Daria's narrative unfolds interactional positions that she occupies and then abandons in the context of discourse. This is one of the significant characteristics of the principle of positionality, which demonstrates the multiple facets of identity in social

interactions developed in specific situations. These stances or roles may compile ideological associations with local or large categories of identity, as in this case whereby she constructs her story taking a position of dissatisfaction with the segregation of the school between Hungarian and non-Hungarian students.

4.4.3 The Indexicality Principle

This principle entails identity relations through the use of language. Linguistic forms are used to construct identity positions that are the result of interactional contexts, but at the same time, are linked to social meaning. An index is a linguistic form that depends on the interactional context to have meaning. According to Bucholtz and Hall (2005), indexical processes happen at different levels of linguistic structure and use, including "(a) overt mention of identity categories and labels; (b) implicatures and presuppositions regarding one's own or others' identity position; (c) displayed evaluative and epistemic orientations to ongoing talk, as well as interactional footings and participant roles; and (d) the use of linguistic structures and systems that are ideologically associated with specific personas and groups" (p. 594).

In order to explain how these indexical processes work, Bucholtz and Hall (2005) present examples for each case, such as the instance of the term "hijra," which has the ideological association of "impotent" in India or the racial label "whitey" that is derogatory, both cases to explain how overt identity labels are part of this principle of indexicality. Moreover, they account for implicatures and presuppositions in cases in which non-sexually oriented language is used by homosexual individuals to hide their identities in contexts where there are people who do not identify with them, contrasted to the use of specific linguistic resources such as "gaydar" in interactions between themselves. Additionally, the authors illustrate the process of interactional roles with an example of a married couple that positions their identity relations by taking the role pair of "problematizer" and "problematize." Besides, the authors present another example in which the use of English instead of the Tongan language in a conversation between a Tongan salesperson and a customer in New Zealand denotes the cosmopolitan and modern identity of the seller.

In the narratives of children and youths analyzed in this research, the principle of indexicality was applied to find the linguistic forms used to construct identity positions, taking into account that indexical processes occur at all levels of linguistic structure and use. In Example (7), Varisha explains how the word "Muslim" implies to be a killer, or this is what the word suggests for people. The implicatures and presuppositions regarding this identity position have a negative connotation in the local context. She positions herself as a Muslim and uses the second-person singular pronoun [you] to create a sense of experientiality based on an interior

perspective of the event she is narrating: “When you speak to someone that is Muslim, immediately, ‘oh my God, you are going to kill us’.” With this quotation, she is also making emphasis on this event as a negative experience she has lived in her interactional contexts. She identifies as a Muslim but realizes how this word is understood negatively. This is an identity dissolution strategy that makes her argument stronger in a sense that demonstrates objectivity and generalization. She is attributing responsibility not to the individual but to the collective. In functional grammar, the use of specific personal pronouns in the narrative evidences the principle of modalization (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004), which involves rhetoric and negotiation of acting that (re)structure and (re)distribute the modal charges among the actors of a narrative, i.e., distribution of implication and commitment.

Example (7)

> When you speak to someone that is muslin, immediately, “oh my God, you are going to kill us”, they started to shadow this religion and everything. There is nothing bad in this religion actually, but they started to tell people other things, things that are not in reality, they started to paint it dark, shadow everything in this country, the culture, everything. (Varisha, 18, Afghanistan)

Besides, Varisha uses the third-person plural pronoun [they] to refer to the government leaders in Hungary to show their fault in the shading of Islam and the Arabic culture. She uses rhetoric aspects in the language to accentuate the role of the government in this situation of how people presuppose that the word “Muslim” is associated with danger and killing. She positions herself as a reflective observer of this situation in the local context while associating the implicatures of this word as part of broader ideological structures. The use of specific linguistic forms Varisha draws on makes this excerpt illustrative for the type of analysis conducted under aspects considered in the principle of indexicality.

Example (8) illustrates different linguistic resources Neema uses in her narrative that I used to interpret how she constructs identity positions. She was telling her experience in the previous grade of school. The identity facets she constructs were oriented towards her perception of being relegated by her classmates and teachers. She shows her position as an isolated girl in the class, even within the group of “others” represented by foreign students. When she says “but from China,” she uses a slow intonation that denotes obviousness to indicate students from China are well received in the school and that they are not pointed by their classmates or teachers.

Example (8)

> There were other foreign students in that class, but from China. There were a lot of difficulties in that class with my classmates. They laughed at me because of my clothing and head scarf. Also, there were difficulties with my former teacher because she didn’t like me. I couldn’t take any tests during that year. I

> was just sat down during the whole classes but couldn't participate in anything. The teacher told me that as I did not know Hungarian, I could not be part of the assessment. My classmates were always asking me: "Why do you wear this (pointing at her scarf)? Why does a muslin girl can't do sports?" The only teacher who helped me was the English teacher. (Neema, 14, Ethiopia)

In her narrative, Neema is also indicating the ideological structure that a Muslim dress code has, especially the headscarf. She positions herself as isolated and mocked because of her clothing and headscarf. Her use of direct quotes to signal what her classmates told her emphasizes the distance between her and the group and unfolds her identity issues of being Muslim in a non-Muslim context. Besides, she reiterates this alienation when narrating how her teacher set her aside for not speaking Hungarian and how this was the main reason for not being assessed and not taking an active part in the class. This identity as an alienated girl is indicated through the display of interactional footings in the classroom, which is explored by interpreting indexes in discourse. Indexicality leans on ideological structures, which concretizes the exploration of identity features in discourse.

Ana, in Example (9), brings the word "white" as the racial label to identify the European people or the dominant group. She perceives herself as not being part of this category of "white people" because of her physical appearance. Besides, she recognizes the challenges she has faced when using the verb "survive." However, she highlights the word "language" as an index that means power and privilege in the local cultural context. She refers specifically to the Hungarian language and how it has opened up the same opportunities for her as Hungarians and white people have.

Example (9)

> I know language is my strongest key to life and to survive. A lot of people have had different opinions after they talk to me based on my looks, and after they talk to me. I can make all the things that Hungarian people do and white people do, because language is a key, it is the most important thing to feel and be part of a community, mainly language is the most important. As long as I remember, I have always stopped people with racist sayings. I have used my language as a weapon. I always stop them. (Ana, 18, Syrian/Hungarian).

She accentuated the importance of language in different lines of this excerpt and associated it with words such as "weapon," "strongest key," and "the most important"; all of them used as indexes of the potency language has for Ana's identity as Hungarian speaker. She constructs this solid identity stance in her narrative and positions herself with the same privileges, and opportunities Hungarians and white people have because of language.

Examples (7), (8), and (9) elucidate how the principle of indexicality provided elements of interpretation to study identity in the narratives and how indexical processes occur at levels

of discourse through implicatures or presuppositions, interactional roles, identity labels, or linguistic structures associated with specific groups. Linguistic forms and social meanings are visible with the help of indexical processes, which rely on macro-level structures and ideologies.

4.4.4 The Relationality Principle

This principle highlights that identities are not seen as autonomous or independent but that emerges as the result of social interaction, which creates meaning in relation to other identity positions. Bucholtz and Hall (2005) describe identities as intersubjectively constructed through complementary relations, including "similarity/difference, genuineness/artifice, and authority/delegitimacy" (p. 598). The authors explain different dimensions of relationality created through identity construction, which work in conjunction with one another. These dimensions are (1) adequation and distinction, (2) authentication and denaturalization, and (3) authorization and illegitimation.

On the one hand, adequation refers to the language use that an individual chooses to support identity or express a sense of similarity with the others. On the other hand, distinction refers to the language use that constructs differences with the others. While adequation accentuates similarities, distinction emphasizes differences to position in a contrary scenario from the others. This choice depends on the context and type of interaction. The examples provided by Bucholtz and Hall (2005) to illustrate this identity relation is one of a speech delivered by president George Bush, in which he adequates Al Qaeda and Saddam Hussein with threat and danger to gain the support from American people. And the other example is the conversation between the Tongan salesperson and the customer, where the seller uses English with New Zealand accent to distance himself from the low-class customer.

The other identity relation presented by Bucholtz and Hall (2005) is authentication and denaturalization. Authentication is a social process performed in discourse and relates to how identities are discursively verified and how the language use of the individuals counts as genuine for a given purpose. The language use emphasizes the authenticity of identities. In contrast, denaturalization refers to the language use to report the artificiality or disputability of identities. In this case, identity can be denaturalized if a linguistic feature that conventionally should not be used by a particular individual is used in a specific context. The examples given by Bucholtz and Hall (2005) present the case of a conversation between one Asian American and two Dominican American teenagers, who alternate their languages purposefully between Spanish and English to denaturalize their identity as black. The other example is the case of an

Icelander, who narrates a local legend and traces back the historical background of the legend to authenticate his narration.

The final pair of identity relations presented by Bucholtz and Hall (2005) is authorization and illegitimation. This relation refers to structural and institutional aspects of identity. Whereas authorization is the imposition of an identity through structures of institutionalized power and ideology, illegitimation refers to the ways in which these structures of power remove, suppress or ignore identities. Authorization implies the recognition of identities by certain institutions, while illegitimation explains the marginalization of identities by those institutions. In order to illustrate this pair of identity relation, Bucholtz and Hall (2005) give the example of the speech of the president George Bush, in which he uses the pronoun "we" to authorize himself as the representative of the American people to gain support to attack Iraq; and the example of one group of Korean students in the United States, who were illegitimating the Americanized pronunciation of a Korean friend who left a message in an answering machine.

In Example (10) of the narratives, the relational dimension of adequation and distinction is illustrated in Fahima's story when she tells she is afraid of people's way of looking at her and her sister. She reflects on this situation and wonders about the possible reasons that cause these looks from the people around her and that make her feel different. What I could interpret from the indexes she uses, "head scarf" and "Muslim," is that they both point to the same cultural dimension about being Muslim in the local society. Fahima associates being Muslim with something that causes fear in people. The identity tension caused by wearing her headscarf with the fact of being in a different stance from the group of Hungarians emerges in the construction of the narrative.

Example (10)

> Sometimes I feel fear here in Hungary because everybody is looking at my sister and me, I don't know if it is because our head scarf or because we are Muslim. I don't feel good if we have to go to the market, for example, because all the people are looking at us as different. When I go home I tell my dad I don't want to go out because they look at us strangely and he says "you are thinking wrong, they are good people, they are very kind, don't say that, it is just because you don't know them." (Fahima, 17, Afghanistan)

Besides, Fahima tells her father about her footing of distinction, but he contests this identity tension. Fahima quotes his father as adequating Hungarians, using the third-person plural pronoun [they], with positive qualities based on his own experience. In this case, the complementary relation of similarity and difference tackled in the principle of relationality is seen in this excerpt as an example of the way it was useful for analyzing the narratives.

Another excerpt of narratives that can be used as an example of how the principle of relationality works as a technique to analyze data is Example (11), which illustrates how the characteristics of authentication and denaturalization emerge in the story told by Aiman. He is telling how his relationship with his colleagues at work is. He identifies himself as Muslim, but he modifies certain behaviors when he is with his coworkers to denaturalize his identity as Muslim. Besides, he authenticates the fact of "drinking alcohol" within the religious category of Muslim as something that is prohibited. However, his different identity facets and tensions emerge through this complementary relation of authentication and denaturalization.

Example (11)

> *Imagine if* I didn't drink with them after work, my colleagues wouldn't understand why, in every move, that's weird for them. In Muslim it is like only bad people drink, and if my colleagues cheer, *imagine* me saying no, it is for bad people. I want to have a normal life. I don't want to be a big different, but small things make change, it's good that Hungarians feel good with *you*, these things make *you* feel part of them, their society, their culture. (Aiman, 23, Syria)

This dimension of denaturalization is part of Aiman's process to position himself in the local community of Hungarians. He tells overtly that he wants to have a normal life and feel part of the Hungarian culture and society. This normal life is carried out by changing some genuine behaviors in the Muslim culture but "weird" in the group of Hungarians. He analyzes this situation of Hungarians as an external observer and reflects through the questions he wonders about how Hungarians would feel if he avoids certain activities. The use of conditionals in this excerpt is another linguistic structure that shows the different stances of identity Aiman constructs.

In Example (12), the narrative presents the complementary relation of authorization and illegitimation in Saqib's identity construction. He was narrating the story of his cousins married to Hungarian women, and in this context, he shows identity conflicts that are constructed from elements of what is correct and authorized in the Afghan cultural institution and what is seen as illegitimate. He reveals the position of Afghan families on the topic of marriage. His narrative shows the implicit nonacceptance of his parents to get married to a Hungarian woman. It is institutional legitimate in the Afghan culture, but he shows disapproval of his mother in the family structure. Saqib says he can do whatever he wants because it is rightful in his culture, but highlights the importance of choosing a wife from Afghan culture to avoid future conflicts in integrating with the family.

Example (12)

> My cousin has a Hungarian wife. But just him. I can get married to a Hungarian woman as well. I mean, you can do whatever you want. It depends on you, but

> moms and dads prefer Afghan women. Sorry, I have two cousins with Hungarian wives, but they are totally different. They just said hi, hi and didn't say too much and then quickly they got married. They are rude. But Afghan women know how things work, they are nicer. But it depends on the person. Nobody talks about girls at home. We don't talk about girls with my mom. Nobody talks about their girlfriends. To be honest all people want to keep their own culture, but if you like a Hungarian, you can get married with her. My mom always says don't ever take a Hungarian girl, but if I want I can do it. But in my case, I wouldn't choose a Hungarian wife because it is better someone to know your culture or your mom's culture. If we go to a wedding or any social event, she can't speak Persian, she is going to be bored in any social event. (Saqib, 19, Afghan/Hungarian)

Additionally, it can be observed how Saqib illegitimates the Hungarian wives of his cousins, first apologizing with the word "sorry" for what he was going to say, which indicates something negative as he perceives it, and then recognizing that their behaviors do not correspond to the Afghan culture, what makes them rude. He shows his preference towards Afghan women, saying that they are nicer than Hungarian ones and that they share the same culture and language of his family. Moreover, Saqib unfolds the importance of a good relationship between his future wife and his mother. Here, the relational dimension of authorization is implicit in his construction of identity because what his mother says is valuable in his decision-making.

The examples presented in this section of the principle of relationality illustrate how the dimensions of similarity and difference, authentication and denaturalization, and authorization and illegitimation are concrete parameters to explore identity construction in the narratives. How intersubjectivity is tackled here provide a sense of diversity in how relational pairs work in discourse. Therefore, this principle evidences that identities emerge only in relation to other identities within social interaction.

4.4.5 The Partialness Principle

This principle is the consequence of the relationality principle. As identity is relational, it will always be partly due to the contextually situated and ideologically configurations of self and others in which identity is constructed. Any construction of identity is in constant movement as the interaction evolves. According to Bucholtz and Hall (2005), identity is not only contextual but also ideological; it is partially deliberate and intentional. Identity can be purposefully portrayed, but at the same time, it is negotiated in interaction; it is partially an outcome of others' perceptions and an effect of larger ideological processes as well. The principle of partialness entails the dynamic and multifaceted ways in which identity is

constructed and facilitates the understanding of identity as a phenomenon relying on agency as social action.

All these accounts of the partialness of identity can intersect the five principles of the sociocultural linguistic approach and demonstrates that it is almost impossible to consider only one side of identity, or the aspects of one principle out of the five, but instead, to include and explore in the data analysis the multiple dimensions of identity through the different linguistic aspects that emerge from social interaction. In Example (13), Abbad reveals one of these dilemmas of identity that are considered in the principle of partialness when telling his priority for the Hungarian language more than Arabic, but simultaneously, he knows that this position may change. However, he expresses his preference for Arabic food and his stance on the probability of visiting Iraq in the future. Despite being Arabic, the language his mother speaks at home; he shows his lack of interest in learning this language. He prefers to ask his older brother for help to tell his mother what he does not know how to say in Arabic. He positions himself with other priorities more than learning the language spoken at home. This tension is unfolded in his uncertainty when using linguistic forms such as "I am not sure," "maybe." "just," "I think" to narrate his feelings towards Arabic culture and language.

Example (13)

> I like Arabic food because my mom makes this food, I've tried Hungarian food, "rántott" things, but I am not sure if I want to learn Arabic perfectly, maybe just reading and writing, but I think it's better to know Hungarian more than Arabic because I live in Hungary. Arabic is not a priority. I would maybe only like to travel to Iraq to see it, visit it, but that's it. When I try to speak with my mom and don't know how to say it, I seek my brother to help me out speaking with my mom. It's not a problem at all. (Abbad, 11, Iraq)

Any construction of identity is moving continuously, as can be observed in this excerpt. Thereby, the concept of agency is also linked with the principle of partialness in the sense that it is the accomplishment of social action (Ahearn, 2001), and therefore, identity is a social action that agency can negotiate. This is based on the definition that the use of language is an act of agency in itself, as Duranti (2004) affirms.

In another excerpt presented as Example (14), the partialness of identity can also be observed. Parsa shows the identity tension that emerges between the two countries and cultures. He tries to balance Hungary and Afghanistan, assigning them specific characteristics that make them unique and impossible to overlap. He compares Afghanistan as his mother and Hungary as his lover within his own life and emphasizes that these affective bonds are inseparable. Both connections accomplish different purposes, in the same way as both countries have offered him opportunities for his life.

Example (14)

> I absolutely miss my country, my country is like my mother (Afghanistan) and Hungary is my love, you can't decide just one of them. I think it was a right decision coming here, but I miss my country, of course, because if I would stay there, I wouldn't be able to do anything as when I came to Hungary, I stabilized my life, my family is stable, and I have also helped many people to continue their life during my last years, so I think it is absolutely worthy. (Parsa, 23, Afghanistan)

Since identity is relational, it is imperative partial, which is what this principle of partialness captures. It can be observed in Example (15) how the configurations of self and others are contextually situated and become the site for identity to be constructed. Saqib negotiates his identity as Afghan and Hungarian and extends this identity as European. He is illegitimating the behavior of non-Europeans in the street to act as what he considers "normally" in the context of Hungary and Europe. His identity here is constructed through configurations of the self and the other ideologically structured and articulated with the specific context.

Example (15)

> I consider myself Afghan. This is normal. But I behave as Hungarian people. I do the normal things like people do here. You can't annoy in the street, I don't make noise and this is normal in all Europe. You can bring your culture here but respect the Hungarian culture as well. I hate Afghan food. I like few of them. I don't know why my Hungarian friends love it. My mom makes sometimes and I invite my friends and they like it, but not me. I like normal food, like chicken, pasta, food that you can find in all Europe. (Saqib, 19, Afghan/Hungarian)

This excerpt also shows another display of identity in which the configurations of the others are visible when Saqib says that his Hungarian friends like Afghan food. He discloses his dislike of this type of food and categorizes it as "normal food," the one eaten in all Europe. Hence, again, he labels as "normal" the food he represents as European, authenticating his position on this issue. However, he highlights the fact that his Hungarian friends, who represent the European culture, love Afghan food. These identity tensions are constantly being negotiated in social interaction and situated practices of discourse, in part as an effect of larger ideological processes and in part due to others' perceptions. In this case, the "in-betweenness" is the dilemma Saqib is performing in his narrative towards his cultural identity.

4.5 Traces of identity construction and the process of negotiation

As the model of narrative analysis that I adopted focuses on both the features of language and the functions of culture and society, as Bucholtz and Hall (2005) synthesize, I read through the narratives separately to underline elements of intersection between language,

culture, and society to find processes of self-identification. As I was using an interactional approach of narrative analysis, I focused on each narrative as an entire account of analysis to extract passages or single phrases that summarized the essence of the story itself. I organized all these phrases as verbatim codes in a grid, as shown in Table 6, to find common themes among them by sub-group of participants according to their age, from 11 to 14 years old, from 16 to 18, and from 19 to 23.

Table 6. Verbatim codes organized by age group

11 – 14 years old	16 – 18 years old	19 – 23 years old
My mom says, my mom cooks, my mom goes, my mom speaks, my mom doesn't speak Hungarian	Translating for my mom	You gain respect if you speak Hungarian
I am the translator	Hungarian is my third language	Reevaluating Muslim religion
I don't need Arabic because Hungarian is my priority	I have to use five languages every day and sometimes get confused	Unlearning religious practices and Arabic beliefs
My classmates translate for me	I speak Arabic at home	Now I can learn other things and open my mind
The mother of a friend translates for my mom	Speaking different languages in different places for different purposes	My parents don't know I am breaking the rules of Muslim
I don't care if I can't speak with the others, I want to learn	Hungary is not an Arabic country	Questioning myself about being Muslim
There are foreigners in the class but from China	Hungarian is my weapon to survive	I like Hungary, I like Hungarian culture
I have many friends	Hungarian is essential to integrate	I feel freer here
All my classmates are my friends	Respect the others' culture and beliefs is important to integrate	My father got upset with me
I have many friends in the school, all of them from other countries	Respect is important in my family	I am very motivated to learn Hungarian
I feel closer to Hungarian culture because my friends are here	I don't feel as a Hungarian despite of the time of living here	I want to communicate with the others and understand what they talk
I don't know the culture of my home country, but my mom says that…	You only have one country, national identity	I want to behave as Hungarian
	Dress code is my own decision	I don't want to get married to a Hungarian girl, I prefer one from my culture and my mom's culture

I like Arabic food Teachers help me a lot They point at my headscarf and laugh (Muslim) Schools in Greece were poor, just for refugees MissionPlace* helps me with homework and school	I don't wear hijab, I feel embarrassed They stare at us because we are Muslim My roots are in Afghanistan Conflicts with students from the same culture Non-segregated schools are better to learn Hungarian Behaving as Hungarian and as non-Hungarian I behave as a European I don't understand the contents of the subjects School is very difficult MissionPlace* helps me with the school subjects I speak Hungarian, but I don't understand what teachers say in the classes	Hungarian girls go out at night, my sister is not allowed to party I like the values of Afghan families I eat normal food of Europe, I don't like Afghan food My cousins are different, I am not ashamed of them, but they are different I behave well, not as other immigrants I respect the European culture My mom and my sister dress as normal European, they don't wear headscarf I love my religion, Islam, it gives you balance in life Syria has a strong education Religion is very important

After this clustering, I could identify salient themes in the different narratives to create the categories that were directed to answer the main research question: *How do refugee and migrant children and youths negotiate their identities when facing potentially contradictory linguistic and other cultural needs in their daily activities in school?* through the following two sub-questions: (a) How do these children perceive themselves in the school as new arrivals in Hungary? (b) What roles do the languages spoken by these children play in their construction and negotiation of identity? Table 7 displays the verbatim codes grouped by themes according to the age of the participants.

Table 7. Themes in narratives by age group

11 – 14 years old	16 – 18 years old	19 – 23 years old
Role of the mothers in the self-identification I as a translator	Role of parents Linguistic conflicts	Conflicts with parents Segregated and non-segregated schools

I as a Hungarian user I as a Hungarian learner Learning Hungarian and learning in school Help of classmates, friends, NGO with translation Importance of Hungarian learning My friends Role of the school Conflicts between languages Conflicts between cultures In-betweenness Dress code: Otherness Refugee discourse Translanguaging	Segregated and non-segregated schools I as a Hungarian learner I as a Hungarian user I as a translator Construction of religious identity Being Muslim in a non-Muslim society Role of the school In-betweenness Dress code: Otherness Conflicts between cultures Importance of learning Hungarian Respect for others' cultures and beliefs Struggling in school Translanguaging Multicultural identity My friends Refugee discourse	Reevaluating Muslim religion Unlearning Arabic behaviors I as a Hungarian learner I as a Hungarian user Importance of learning Hungarian Integrating in Hungarian society Conflicts between cultures The sameness: Behave as a Hungarian / European Dress code: Otherness Refugee discourse Muslim discourse Gratitude and respect for Hungary Multicultural identity

Subsequently, as I found that there were emergent themes in the narratives of the three age groups, I created categories that gathered those data, including common themes from the different participants. These categories are (1) fleeing from war and envisioning their future, (2) acting as conduits for understanding between Hungarian and their mother tongue, (3) navigating between two cultures, (4) overcoming the language barrier in the school, and (5) empowerment, integration, and recognition through Hungarian. All of them are explained in the following subsections of this chapter.

4.5.1 Fleeing from war and envisioning their future

In this category, I interweave the themes related to the agency these migrants have enacted in their lives across time and space to overcome hardships and envision their future.

One of the remarkable aspects of the narrative approach I followed to analyze the data was the emphasis on understanding every child and youth as individuals, rather than members of a shared group, as in this case, refugees or migrants. Identities cannot be assigned as labels but understood as fluid, flexible, complex, and multifaceted resulting from social interaction. However, there are some theoretical views that assume that certain features can be designated to cultural groups, and some of them can remain consistent across time and space. Consequently, there are authors that lean towards the term identities more than identity, in the sense that they are shaped by multiple selves, which are negotiated, contested, and constructed in different social interactions across life. Therefore, the discourse of refugees or the perception non-refugee people has about refugees, as a group, is constructed under the premise of essentialization, that homogenize groups of individuals mistakenly. In this respect, Shapiro (2014) affirms that these discourses of essentialization to refer to refugees, position them as passive recipients of social support from the nations, governments, or NGOs and limit their negotiations of identities, which would make them active agents of their social and individual development in the society. In Yasmine's narrative, despite her age of only 12, the external view that non-refugee people have on refugees and migrants emerged to position herself as an outsider, representing the othering in her narrative and identifying herself as someone different from that group:

> We are coming here for learning and studying. We are like Hungarians and we have a Hungarian card because we give them a lot of money for learning, my dad says that. So, we pay to come here. My mom says that but my dad gives the money. School is the finally, but my dad says it was for the university here, we have the money. (Yasmine, 12, Iran)

Yasmine clarifies in her narrative the reasons why she is in Hungary and why she goes to the NGO. She distances herself from the other people who go to MissionPlace*, explaining that she participates in programs and tutorials for school subjects, but that she does not belong to the group of refugees that need help because they are poor, do not have a place to live, they are voiceless individuals. She positions herself differently and emphasizes that othering that was constructed on the basis of her parents' stances on refugeehood. Self and other are redefined through interaction. The division and integration of these categories of self and other enable individuals to authenticate or denaturalize, according to what Bucholtz and Hall (2005) argue.

The media and propaganda have played a role in displaying a view of refugees linked to pity, fear, threat, and trauma, as authors as Greenbank (2014) and Sulaiman-Hill et al. (2011) have informed in their studies. This outsider view of what being a refugee means is also present in Dalila's narrative when she says, "My story is not as the others'. I came here by plane because my dad and my mom were already here" (Dalila, 17, Ethiopia). The stories of fleeing the home

countries influenced by these discourses in propaganda and media include aspects of adversities, resilience, possible safety, and struggle. The telling of these stories, according to Eastmond (2007), can be seen as a source of agency to enact positions of empowerment and willingness of change and envision youths' future. Parsa is another youth that positions himself as a refugee, but at the same time, he unfolds his agency when he explains that a refugee is not what the news display. He resists these discourses and recognizes their existence and influence on people's mistaken view of refugees:

> In 2015, I was in the school when this big wave of migrants, one of my classmates said, "I don't like these refugees, they are dirty people, they throw everything on the road, they don't respect", he was complaining about refugees, he didn't have any knowledge about refugees, nothing, he just heard in the news. So, the teacher heard what he was saying and said, "But Parsa* is here as well, do you have any problem with Parsa*?" He is fine, he had not treated you badly, all the refugees are like him, then he said, "But Parsa* is different, he is not a refugee", so I asked my teacher if I could speak a little to explain, so I explained this situation of refugees and it was clearer for my classmates. He just heard everything in the news. (Parsa, 23, Afghanistan)

In the narratives of these children and youths, the role of agency in their lives could be identified through their stories across time. Some of these youths narrated their past experiences in their home countries and the hard moments to cross the borders and be in Hungary. The understanding of identity as a product that emerges linguistically and with other semiotic actions between people, rather than the assignation of a label of a social category of the self, is what allows to examine traces of identity in which the youths position themselves at the crossroad of language, society, and culture. Aiman describes in his narrative the journey he lived to arrive in Hungary, replacing the discourse of suffering by a discourse of adventure with peers that he considers "friends," means of transportation, experiences that make him feel motivated to follow his way and achieve his objectives in life:

> Walking, cars, train, everything…always with friends in the journey, always meeting someone new in the journey. The travel took like one year and a half. It was an adventure. In Serbia when I met that organization, I can't forget that, they were nice people and they make our days better, it was really good, we were lucky because we learned things. In other camps, you just sleep and eat and you are doing nothing, so it's bad. There, instead, I had friends, did sports, learnt languages. Now I am more happy, I have more motivation. (Aiman, 23, Syria)

For him, the indexical connection between "lucky" and "having opportunities to learn" is associated with the interactional stance of "being keen to learn," which is not aligned with the discourse of refugees as passive and voiceless individuals that are seen as "lucky" because

they can eat or sleep. Aiman recognizes himself as a member of the group of refugees that were traveling together, living an adventure, but envisioning his future as productive and motivating.

Thus, the concept of agency is crucial in this negotiation of identities in the sense that it makes individuals resist, transform, negotiate their encounter, as it is presented in Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004), who emphasize their work on the connection between human agency and negotiation of identities as well.

The past difficult experiences of youths living in a war in their home countries move them to positive transitions and negotiations of identities where agency has a pivotal role. Mobeen, for example, also narrates his experience of coming to Hungary fleeing from the war in Syria, representing the tragedy he and his family lived, but unfolding his agency in the transformation of that reality when depicting his work to learn Hungarian to enter the university and become a successful animation designer in the future:

> […] but then after 2 years a big explosion happened next to our place, in Damascus and it was the biggest explosion in Damascus, it was close to us. All the windows broke, it was so crazy. I remember I was crying, and my parents said it's time to go […] I started to use Hungarian with everybody in this institute because it was a lot of information to speak, and the teacher was really amazing because not many people spoke English, so Hungarian was the only language to explain, you had to understand that, so not having the opportunity to speak English make Hungarian easier to learn. That's what I had to do to be prepared for my studies at the university. (Mobeen, 23, Syria)

Mobeen recognizes the importance of using Hungarian to find his place in the new context. It is important to note here that agency involves the response and position of these youths to their past experience and current reality and their imagined identities, as Norton (2000) expounds. This is connected with the investment children and youths do in their learning and social development, and integrate into groups with Hungarian people to interact and learn the language because they envision their future as community members (Garzón Duarte & Posada Ortiz, 2020). This extension of themselves in the future changes the association of refugees as passive recipients of social help and support that are anchored to their past experiences of war and conflict and make them capable and active agents of their participation in society and the construction of their future.

Some of the youths focus their stories on their present time and the circumstances they live and experience at home and school. However, the interesting aspect of this theme is the role of agency in their development as individuals and how they envision their future from the present experiences they encounter:

> In Greece, we stayed four or three years and there, there was a team that was anti-immigrant so we were coming to our house, so from this team two men came and took the arm of my mom, and damaged it, so we moved to Hungary,

> but she couldn't work here because of her arm damage, we went to Austria and then we were deported here, we stayed here and they gave us passports, then we went to Germany and we stayed there for a year, and then, we came back here […] In the school, I like ethics because we study about humanity, how humans behave, what people think about the world, government, I choose it. (Afeef, 14, Iran)

Afeef constructed his refugee identity based on his experience along with his mom to flee Iran and come to Europe. The journey they lived had difficult moments that the child unfolded in his narrative. They came by walking long distances until reaching Turkey and then, by boat to Greece. In Greece, they lived a bad experience with an anti-migrant group. His mom was attacked by this group when she was going home. This child constructed his identity as a refugee from this experience and telling the moments they lived in the refugee area of Athens where they spent almost one year. He added to his narrative the wish he and his mom had to go to Austria or Germany to have a better life, but "unfortunately," he said, they were deported to Hungary where their fingerprints were taken the first time they entered Europe. They proved their status as a refugee trying to convince the Austrian authorities to let them live there. Eastmond (2007), in his work on refugee narratives, argues that "past experience is always remembered and interpreted in the light of the present as well as by the way that the future is imagined" (p. 249).

When these youths tell their stories of struggle as refugees, it can be interpreted as a source of agency because they emphasize the line between their past and how they currently perceive. Agency is seen here as the ability these children have to transform their reality and uphold themselves in their social encounters. In the same vein, they envision their future in an imagined community, as the one that Norton (1995) explains as that community constituted by the individuals with whom the children and youths wish to interact in the future, and this is what basically triggers the decisions of an individual to enter that community and achieve their goals, as the way Parsa narrates it in his story:

> I stayed there in that school for 5 years, so I got graduated from high school in Hungary and this was to me, the proudest moment of my life, because there's another story, I didn't speak the language, everything was new for me, different country, different people, different language, different school methods, different education system, and I also received a letter for outstanding performance in the school, so only two of these recognitions were given and one was for me. I was shocked to receive this letter. (Parsa, 23, Afghanistan)

Therefore, agency was the concept that could be identified following the aspects of the principles of emergence, positionality, and relationality, as a crucial aspect to understand the construction and negotiation of identities in these children and youths. They act independently and make their own free choices thinking about their future:

> I want to become a doctor and want to go back to Afghanistan to help people in my country. To help anybody who is in harsh situation. I think that medicine is the best profession in the world. (Varisha, 18, Afghanistan)

Varisha narrates her future as a doctor in her home country helping people, and this is the way she connects what she lived in her past of war conflict with what she currently lives in Hungary and how she sees herself in her future. Therefore, those discourses that come from the media and propaganda displaying the weaknesses and vulnerability of refugees can hinder the recognition of their capabilities and skills, as any other social group, to develop as social beings and be active participants in the host society.

In a nutshell, this category gathered the shifts in identities these children and youths have lived across time and space. The role of agency has been significant for their negotiation of identities and envisioning their future. In their narratives, I could observe that discourses of refugees displayed in the media trace a strong representation of difference among non-refugee or non-migrant individuals that blur the positions and specific facets of identity of these youths.

4.5.2 Acting as conduits for understanding between Hungarian and their mother tongue

There are two broad themes analyzed in the narratives that are organized under this category. One of them has to do with the role of translation in these children's lives and, the other one, the concept of translanguaging and what it represents in their stories. It is interesting to observe how these children gain the ability to translate or being translated by others. These practices of translation have two sides in the narratives of the youths that are explained here.

Through the narratives of the three sub-groups of children and youths, according to the age, it could be interpreted that family plays an essential role in their self-identification. However, in the narratives of the little ones (11-14 years old), it was a common pattern among the eight participants, and it was that they constructed meaning around the relationship they had with their mothers. The role of the mother as a heroine, advisor, authority, and in some cases, as the person who needs help from their children in translation to interact with others. Some of them are widows, and some of them are separated or single moms. Only one girl, Yasmine, out of the eight participants, lives with both parents. The other seven children are raised only by their mother. In their discourse, they represent the respect they have for them. In this sub-group of the seven kids raised by their mothers, it was found that these women were the ones who decided to flee their home countries to come to Europe searching for a better life for their children. These kids narrate experiences, in which it can be interpreted how the cultural macro-structures they unfold in their stories come from their mothers' voices. Mothers' lived

experiences and backgrounds influence the way in which children perceive themselves and solve some of the conflicts they face. Mothers play an important role in migration.

In the narratives of these children and youths, their roles as translators or translated were unveiled, and the concept of agency was crucial to understanding these positionings in interaction. Their role as translators between their mothers and the settings in the host society enacts an autonomous practice that provides independence and generates them a type of empowerment in specific settings. Conversely, their role as subjects of translation locates them in a different position characterized by submission and passivity.

The aspect of becoming mediators between their first language, spoken at home, and Hungarian, even when they are still beginners, makes them negotiate different identity facets within the relationship with their parents. Thus, they enact the assimilation of the new culture and interact in roles of translators of their mothers, which constitutes a mediation between them and institutions of the host society:

> I translate to my mom in school and I translate everything to her and what teachers say about my brother too. I am my mom's translator and she trusts me because she knows I don't lie. If the teacher says something bad, I tell her too. But in my class, there is somebody from Egypt and his mom is from Hungary and sometimes they translate for us, because his mom can speak a little Arabic, so they help us. When we arrive, this woman was helping us with Hungarian and she told us what we need to do, what's the important and she helped us so much. But now, I am the translator. (Akil, 14, Iraq)

Akil shifts from being a subject of translation to an agent in the process of integration and assimilation into the culture, whereas his mother negotiates identities in spaces of resistance and survival of her language. Cronin (2006) has worked on the links between translation and migration, and he also explains the autonomous and heteronomous types of translation practices to emphasize if the migrants are the ones who translate or the ones who are translated by others. Yasmine, for example, narrates how her classmate acted as the bridge between her and her teachers:

> I spoke English when I arrived in Hungary. My teachers can't understand English, but one Hungarian friend knows English and Hungarian and she is the one who translates for the teachers. I don't know Hungarian. My classmates can understand my English. (Yasmine, 12, Iran)

The fact of being migrants, many times, indexes the requiring translation, which alters the balance of power in the social interaction and the dynamics in the negotiation of identities in the sense of authorization between the production and reception of what is being translated, as Polezzi (2012) argues, any act of translation is bounded to an ethical tension:

> I am from Iran and the other girl is from Afghanistan, I don't know why but she hates me. Hungarians don't say anything, but teachers think we are very good friends, and they told me sit together. She is always complaining about me, I don't know, it's not true, she really lies. She is translating bad things to me. My Hungarian is not full but I understand some, so I know she is translating bad. (Yasmine, 12, Iran)

Yasmine narrates how her classmate, from Afghanistan, translates for her misleadingly due to the tension existing between them. Teachers perceive both of them as the others, i.e., non-Hungarians, indexing this othering on the premise that they share their linguistic identity. Thus, as heteronomous practice, translation can be seen as a defensive strategy in the sense that it gives voice to the migrant children in school, but at the same time, reiterates their difference and controls the act of speaking and interaction.

Migration entails several hardships, such as learning a new language and adjusting to a different culture. These challenges are usually much easier for children than adults since they attend schools with locals, where they are exposed to the dominant language and culture.

Parents, and especially mothers, who stay at home most of the time, create a bond of reliance on their children to translate and mediate the new language and culture in several settings of the host society, such as schools, doctor's office, and legal offices that deal with documents of immigration. In her narrative, Varisha tells how she has always acted as the translator of her mom when she goes to the doctor's:

> My mom couldn't learn because of the war in Afghanistan, she couldn't access to education, she is a housewife because of this. If she would have the opportunity to study, she would be in business because she is very smart for business. She always gives advices to my dad, when he had this restaurant. It was a great mistake for her. They don't allow her to learn, which is something that makes her feel bad. That is why she feels really bad that I have to go with her every time to the doctor to translate in Hungarian because she says this is not a job for her daughter to do. I say to her that it is not a problem. My mom was 37 or 35 when she came here, and she never learned anything before, so it was difficult for her to start learning a new language, Hungarian. She feels bad for that, she tries to learn, but… (Varisha, 18, Afghanistan)

The principle of positionality makes clear Varisha's stance as a translator of her mother, contextualizing the reasons why her mother could not learn Hungarian. Therefore, this positioning leads to role reversal in some settings outside the home. Her mother expresses dependent behaviors, and Varisha acts supportively and motherly in an attempt to meet her mother's needs. Translation is seen here as an autonomous practice that allows understanding that language in a monolingual framework does not mark the identity of a migrant child, usually seen through the lens of a permanent otherness. However, conversely, it provides a scenario

where the identities of these youths can be negotiated to balance power relations in specific social contexts:

> I started to attend the classes for older people in the camp during one year instead of my mom, and there was one teacher that I really loves that helped me so much, and I learnt my first basis of Hungarian with her. I knew by then that my mom was not going to be able to learn this language because she is at home all the time and Hungarian is very hard, so that's why I had to learn the language very well to help my mom for translation. (Varisha, 18, Afghanistan)

Varisha took her role as the translator of her mom seriously since she was learning Hungarian in the camp. She knew that her mother would need her help in the future. It is interesting to know as well in these narratives that this decision of becoming translators is related to the reason for being in Hungary. This is the discourse of gratitude these children manifest when telling that their parents were migrating in search of a better life for them, as their children. Varisha, for example, tells in her story why her parents decided to come to Hungary: "[…] my parents came here to Hungary because they didn't want me to live the same. Basically, we are here for my education and a better life, not for money, not for anything else…if money were the reason, we wouldn't have stayed here, so that's why I feel better here, I have been here for ten years". Varisha, as other migrant children, is more assimilated into the culture and language of Hungary. Hence, she feels responsible for translating to her mother. It is the response of satisfaction and reward for them to decide to search for a better place to be safe and with no obligation to learn the language or assimilate the new culture. This bond makes that other facets of identity of migrant children and youths negotiate at the intersection of carrying the hopes and dreams of their parents for them to have a safer life and the social contexts where they interact.

Moreover, in the same line of linguistic phenomena analyzed in the narratives of the children and youths, the aspect of translanguaging also emerged. The natural intertwining of languages emerged as an important resource of knowledge and strategy of communication for them: "I and my family speak both languages at home. Sometimes in Hungarian, sometimes in Persian, but we mostly speak Persian, but sometimes we don't remember words and we use them in Hungarian, it's mixed" (Saqib, 19, Afghan/Hungarian).

According to the situation, these youths bring cultural and linguistic backgrounds from their families and community members and negotiate their identity positionings. This act of translanguaging is performed with the purpose of communication, more than focusing on the language itself, as Zainab evidences in her narrative: "[…] when we lived in the camp in Békéscsaba, we had a beautiful lakás" (Zainab, 17, Afghanistan). She is using the word "lakás" [apartment] in Hungarian without interfering with her narration.

These children use different features of languages assumed as autonomous to make the most of their communicative ability. In this vein, García (2009b) proposes the translanguaging pedagogy as a political act and a critical response to the monolingual bias of current education policy, that is linked with what the children told is happening in their schools: "[…] for irodalom and nyelvtan I need the help of my friend, because I don't find filmeket, but for történelem, I can find books or other filmeket" (Yasmine, 12, Iran). Here, Yasmine uses the Hungarian words "irodalom" [literature], "nyelvtan" [grammar], "filmek" [movies], "történelem" [history] to tell her story about the difficulties she has to overcome in school because of the monolingual system.

Thus, based on the linguistic diversity present in classrooms, translanguaging is a rich performance to add concepts or specific terms to their knowledge, make connections between ideas, associate ideas with specific terms taught in the school subjects, and help these children make their voices be heard. For these children, communicating and learning is the purpose in this sense, and using their language resources become very valuable for them, as Dalila tells in her narrative:

> It's a szakközépiskola where you can become a nurse or something like that. All the subjects are interesting, but I wish I could study them in English. It would be easier for me. I chose this school because it is vocational and with emphasis on English and Hungarian, so I thought that all the subjects were taught in English, but they were not, unfortunately. (Dalila, 17, Ethiopia)

She studies in a vocational school, which translation in Hungarian is the word she uses in her narrative, "szakközépiskola," and she made the decision to attend this school because of its emphasis on English. However, unfortunately, the monolingual schooling system does not consider this approach. One challenge in this monolingual policy is that language is considered a property of the community where the acceptable linguistic resources relevant within the classroom are the language shared by the students and the teacher. This builds up the border between the linguistic diversity of the classroom and the evaluation process and curriculum in general.

One of the adverse facets of the monolingual habitus in multilingual classes is that the knowledge of these children is constantly in danger to be sidelined because of their proficiency in Hungarian, as García, Otheguy, and Reid, W. (2015) state, "testing the proficiency of children in a language must be kept separate from testing their proficiency in language" (p. 299). This relates mainly to the languages available to the group of students to encourage migrant children to use them in order to learn and be heard. These resources of translanguaging are also scenarios that generate opportunities for negotiating identities, as Hua, Z., and Wei. L.

(2013) argue when presenting the results of a study in which Chinese university students in the UK create transnational space through flexible multilingual practices.

In brief, this category interweaved the themes related to translation as both an autonomous and heteronomous practice in the narratives of the youths and the phenomenon of translanguaging as a strategy used by these kids to communicate and learn in the school context. I also related these linguistic aspects analyzed in the narratives to the relationship between these youths and their mothers and the interactions these kids construct in school.

4.5.3 Navigating between two cultures

Another emergent theme from the analysis of the narratives corresponded to the continuous navigation between two cultures. The three sub-groups of children and youths, according to their age, represent in their narratives their multi-faceted self-identities, combining and retaining identity traces from the home country and the host culture. Even those children who were born in Hungary or have lived for many years here perceive themselves as part of their home country's culture and as part of the Hungarian one:

> If somebody asked me where are you from: I am half Afrikan and half Hungarian. From Afrika, my skin. The music is inside. The dancing is inside. From Hungary, I have the way of thinking. (Madu, 13, Togo)

> I feel closer to Hungarian culture than to Arabic, because I don't really remember about my country. If it's going to be safe and no more fight, and this, I will maybe go to Iraq to visit. I think it's going to be safe. (Akil, 14, Iraq)

In this sense, it is important to highlight the concept of identity that has been traced along with this dissertation, in which it is understood as a continuous process of becoming rather than being, as Hall (2006) emphasizes. Therefore, in the narratives of these children, the ethnicized identities proposed by Phoenix (2010) are suitable to depict the characterizations implicit in their stories. These identities are "socially constructed, multiple, potentially contradictory and situationally variable" (p. 298). Hence, they emerge as processes of construction, negotiation, and contestation in social contexts. Conversely, when it is talked about ethnic identities, these are assumed as static and fixed, and part of the essence of the individual, ascribed to cultural background bonds, but without examining the principles that underlie the self-identification process. Parsa, for example, narrates this tension that emerges in his life between having made his decision to come to Hungary, which was made by his parents, or having stayed in his homeland:

> I graduated from a Hungarian high school and then I will continue my studies again, but even before graduation my life was stable, everything was good, I was safe and happy in my life, I absolutely miss my country, my country is like my mother and Hungary is my love, you can't decide just one of them. I think it was a right decision coming here, but I miss my country, of course, because if I would stay there, I wouldn't be able to do anything as when I came to Hungary, I stabled my life, my family is stable, so I think it is absolutely worthy. (Parsa, 23, Afghanistan)

He explains in his narrative how the two cultures are in a permanent going back and forth when saying, "my country is like my mother and Hungary is my love, you can't decide just one of them." It is interesting to unfold how migration processes are decisive in negotiations of the cultural identity of these children and youths. However, it is also necessary to highlight that the children are not the ones who directly decide to migrate, but rather their parents make this decision, and the children have no other option. Likewise, the narratives show how these young people must find their place in the host country, which in this case is Hungary, and how their identities are contested and negotiated by social, cultural, and ethnic factors. Their identities are flexible and are effectively mediated in the specific contexts of participation, such as school, home, or work. In this process of identity negotiation, they position themselves according to the characteristics of each context:

> I consider myself Afghan. This is normal. But I behave as Hungarian people. I do the normal things like people do here. You can't annoy in the street, I don't make noise and this is normal in all Europe. You can bring your culture here but respect the Hungarian culture as well. I hate Afghan food. I like few of them. I don't know why my Hungarian friends love it. (Saqib, 19, Afghan/Hungarian)

Saqib was born in Hungary, and his parents had lived here for ten years before he was born; however, it is interesting to observe in his narrative his self-identification as Afghan and his emphasis as something normal to understand. This "in-betweenness" that characterizes these youths makes their 'self' flexible and in constant movement, which leads to understanding that the self-identification is not wholly conscious or rational, but that depends on the context and the influence it receives from the surroundings of the social milieu. Therefore, the principle of relationality that underlies the construction of identities can be unveiled in these narratives when interpreting that identities acquire meaning concerning other identities because it is not a unilateral process, but a process where the others actively constitute it:

> I go out with my cousins every week, we go to parties together. We meet weekly. My cousin has a Hungarian wife. But just him. I can get married to a Hungarian woman as well. I mean, you can do whatever you want. It depends on you, but moms and dads prefer Afghan women. Sorry, I have two cousins with Hungarian wives, but they are totally different. They just said hi, hi and didn't say too much and then quickly they got married. They are rude. But Afghan women know how things work, they are nicer. But it depends on the person. To be honest all people

> want to keep their own culture, but if you like a Hungarian, you can get married with her. My mom always says don't ever take a Hungarian girl, but if I want I can do it. But in my case, I wouldn't choose a Hungarian wife because it is better someone to know your culture or your mom's culture. If we go to a wedding or any social event, she can't speak Persian, she is going to be bored in any social event. (Saqib, 19, Afghan/Hungarian)

Saqib demonstrates in his narrative that identities are always in formation and changing in a going back and forth. They can be contested, challenged, or supported. These migrant youths, or in the case of Saqib, that is, the child of immigrant parents, carry their family values, behaviors, attitudes, but they are subject to continuous shifting by attempting to fit into the new culture. Thus, their ethnicized identities are constantly emerging in the social contexts these youths interact. In terms of Blommaert and Rampton (2011), Pennycook (2012), Canagarajah (2013), Márquez Reiter and Martín Rojo (2014), the translocal, transcultural, and translingual practices are the ones that support the social acting of children and youths when struggling the conflicts that they experience between their ethnic background and the new culture they are immersed in. In these situations, they negotiate their identities across shifting social networks, boundaries, and communicative practices as agents of their own identity construction. Varisha, for example, in her narrative, tells about this conflict between the two cultures and how she sees herself:

> So, when people ask me: Where are you from? Are you from Hungary? I say, yes, and they say: No, you are not… So, after that, I consider myself actually as an Afghan. I can live here, but I can't be a Hungarian, because there are too different things in my culture, between the two cultures, you know, the language, the everything you can learn, you can do both, you know, because you have to do these things when you live here, because you cannot come here and ask in Persian basic things. Culture is different, language is different. You have to learn these things, of course…I am getting more Afghan here because of my dad. He says all the time: An Afghan girl don't do this or that, I cannot go to a school trip because two days out of home is not allowed in my culture. These are things of our culture. (Varisha, 18, Afghanistan)

What becomes evident through this narrative is how belonging to the host country is negotiated in interaction with others and through the interplay of affinities or attachments to youths' parents' home country and Hungarian society. Varisha narrates a cultural struggle in her story in the attempt to depict how her Afghan roots have been enhanced in Hungary because of her parents' pressure to maintain the norms of the home country. What parents do is relevant in the positions youths take to construct their identities and make their own decisions:

> My dad tells us if we are not comfortable wearing the headscarf, you don't need to wear it, but my mom says you have to wear the scarf. We are wearing the scarf not because our dad or mom says we can or cannot wear it, but we are wearing

> it because we chose to do it by ourselves. This is a personal decision. (Fahima, 17, Gamila, 19/Afghanistan)

Fahima and Gamila narrate the tension between their parents when talking about wearing the headscarf. Their father has lived in Hungary for nine years, but their mother lives in Pakistan with her other kids. Now that these two girls live in Hungary start feeling the otherness and the difference because of their dress code. However, it is interesting to observe how their father, who has been immersed in the Hungarian culture for more years, gives them the choice of not wearing the headscarf, whereas their mother insists they have to wear it. This is another type of conflict that emerges when two cultures clash. The agency performed by the two girls resulted in their own decision of wearing their hijab, even when noticing that people in Budapest stare at them because of their dress code.

Nuraz is a youth that, in the same line as Fahima and Gamila, makes his own decision of following Islam as his foundation for life. His mother is Hungarian, and his father is Syrian, and he narrates the importance of religion in his life and how his mother converted to Muslim after getting married to his father. Nuraz clarifies that everybody can decide if they follow or not the religion, but he also emphasizes his firm conviction, not because his parents taught him, but because he realized it is what gives balance and strength to his life. He even expresses his emotion of love when talking about Islam.

> My family is Muslim. My mom converted to Muslim after getting married. I love my religion "Islam". This is the best religion to practice because it gives you balance in life. You have to control your actions, you have to be a good person, you shouldn't hurt people. A kind of balance because we are stricter with ourselves. For example, people drink a lot or take drugs, but this is not permitted in Islam. If someone believes in God, he can have a better life. My parents taught me to pray and to fast in Ramadan. However, everybody can decide. But I firmly believe in my religion. (Nuraz, 20, Hungarian/Syrian)

On the other hand, another aspect found in the narratives has to do with the fact that parents agree on the importance of learning Hungarian in the integration process of their children, and many times, they prefer their children to learn Hungarian instead of them because of the good opportunities it has for their future. However, parents do not feel very comfortable with other types of cultural and social characteristics of the host country and see them as a bad influence on their children. These characteristics imply dress coding or social behavior. Zainab narrates this struggle in her story:

> In my family the rules are very serious. A Hungarian person doesn't have serious rules in the family. They can go out to meet their boyfriend or go out to disco. The rules from Afghanistan are better for me. It is very important for how long I need to go out. I need to be on time at home. The clothes are important to be

> integrated in Hungarian society. I don't feel good with my mom when she wears hijab because the people stare at her. My parents say, you don't need to wear head scarf, but not shorts. They say that because they don't want me to feel bad. I have Hungarian and Afghan friends, but I spend more time with Hungarian friends. I have a friend who is a boy, I can't go out with him, but my parents don't know I go out with him. (Zainab, 17, Afghanistan)

Zainab knows the rules at home, agrees with them, and thinks they are better than Hungarian norms. However, she recognizes that she performs differently from what her parents' rules state, but she acts covertly. In Hungary, as the host country, parents start losing their authority somehow because their children start interpreting their surroundings and the world differently. They start learning in the schools, reading on the internet, talking to people with another cultural background, and making meaning of the world under open perspectives that might encounter conflicts with the traditions they were raised with at home. Therefore, children and youths start constructing a transcultural identity based on their experiences, knowledge, and interpretation of the new social context, which become a combination of their ethnic roots and the new culture, as Mobeen tells in his narrative:

> Back in Syria, internet was very expensive, so you just could communicate with your friends using internet. When I came here, I started to find out more information about religion, after 3 years of searching, I really don't believe in that, I didn't tell my parents about my decision, I know they are going to feel sad. My sister knew that, but my parents are very religious, they pray five or six times per day, they wake us up at six to pray, and I was telling lies to my parents that I already prayed in the morning, but it was not the truth, and then he realized and got very upset with me. (Mobeen, 23, Syria)

Therefore, this type of conflict emerges as a condition of "in-betweenness" in these youths' lives, a connection or disconnection between here and there. Thus, when talking about transculturality in multicultural social settings, there is an interaction and a relation of giving and gaining with the diversity of cultures and forms of life resulting from dialogic relations, which transcend cultural boundaries to go beyond essentialist ethnic identities. However, it is important to clarify that children who realize that others group them in the sense of subordination and stigmatization evoke their resistance as a political act. This is the case of Neema, who tells what happened in her geography class in school:

> The Geography teacher explained in the class today that Africa was a very bad continent: people don't wash their hands, people don't have houses, people have a lot of children and they don't have food. It is very sad for me because I am from Africa and the things are not like that. So, all my classmates think I am as the teacher is explaining. (Neema, 14, Ethiopia)

Individuals are positioned within political, social, economic, and cultural systems by others. This is an aspect that generates spaces of reaction where resistant facets of identity are

negotiated. These structural categorizations shape negotiation ways in the kids by locating them within certain discursive practices that are never entirely of their own choice. Therefore, they experience their intersecting positions through dominant discourses that reflect the configurations of power relations in specific social contexts. Neema expresses her allegiance to her home country and her dislocating experience in school. She perceives herself as 'other' in the school's social structure, which unfolds her alienation and lack of belonging.

In short, this category of navigating between two cultures gathers the different accounts analyzed in these youths' narratives about the potential struggles they experience when the culture of their home country or their parents encounter the culture of the host society. These struggles are shaped in interaction with others and within macro-structures of power that frame beliefs, traditions, and behaviors in the individuals, which definitely affect the process of negotiation of identities according to the social context where these youths interact.

4.5.4 Overcoming the language barrier in school

Schooling was the framework of the narratives these youngsters constructed. The experiences with their families, how they felt, and the themes of the narratives revolved around school. They described the relationships with their teachers and classmates, the school subjects, the assessment, and the hardships with language. They compare their experiences in the school with previous experiences, and they positioned themselves in the context of education with their strengths and difficulties. It is important to highlight that the support of the school is crucial in the integration process of migrant children, who usually express an empathetic attitude towards their teachers and the school:

> Here, the teachers are really nice, very nice, they help me out because, you know, I don't understand the subject and the language is difficult, truly speaking they are very patient with me. They are not bad. With classmates, I don't get so much closer here, I mean, I say hi, everything is ok with them, but I don't speak too much, only some students, mostly they are foreigners like me, I speak with them, because maybe the language, I guess, with them we speak English, but it's difficult when you don't know the language because you want to express your feelings, but you can't. Sometimes, we joke with Hungarian classmates, but we are not very close. It's not a problem because the school is not my place to meet friends, it the place for me to learn. (Dalila, 17, Ethiopia)

It is interesting to observe how Dalila positions herself in the class context, representing the two sides of the situation. On the one hand, she emphasizes the support she has received from her teachers, and on the other hand, she makes clear that the relationship with her classmates is not for the purpose of building friendship but only to create harmonious relationships. She unfolds in her narrative her conception of school as the place to learn and not

to meet friends, which places learning as her priority. The principle of positionality offers a glimpse of the stances Dalila adopts in the social context of the class and lets us interpret the role of the languages she speaks to negotiate identities in the classroom. Thus, she clarifies that she does not have close relationships with her classmates but that she speaks mostly with foreigners like her because they share English as the common language to communicate.

However, she recognizes that having proficiency in Hungarian is what opens opportunities for achieving her dream as a doctor when she speaks about her future: "My wish is to study medicine, but how can I study medicine with my level of Hungarian…I can be a midwife or nurse or something, but if I want to be a doctor, I have to start learning Hungarian very hard, but it's fine". Proficiency in the Hungarian language represents the achievements a migrant child or youth can reach in their future and the opportunities they can take advantage of for their personal and academic development. One of the problems of Hungary school education is that teaching relies on the homogeneity of the nation, as Jakab (2011) argues. Therefore, the practices led by policymakers, school principals, and teachers evidence the ideologies underlying mainstream education in Hungary. The theoretical discussion on language ideologies presented by Warriner (2015) explains the school practices in Hungary, where the education in schools is focused on learning the language of instruction, which obstructs students' individual learning process. This shows that teachers in Hungary are not prepared for educating students with a migrant background. They have to attach their personal goals to the learning of Hungarian to demonstrate they have the skills to advance academically.

Another aspect that was interpreted in the narratives was that although most of them recognize that their teachers have performed a supportive role with them, as migrants, there are other cases in which these youngsters have found hostile manifestations towards their home country's culture or the fact that they are non-Hungarian students; hence, they break this positive feeling towards school and teachers. Neema, for example, tells in her narrative the struggle she lived in the previous class because of these reasons:

> There were a lot of difficulties in that class with my classmates. They laughed at me because of my clothing and headscarf. Also, there were difficulties with my former teacher because she didn't like me. I couldn't take any tests during that year. I was just sat down during the whole classes but couldn't participate in anything. The teacher told me that as I did not know Hungarian, I could not be part of the assessment. (Neema, 14, Ethiopia)

Neema highlights the role of Hungarian in her schooling. Hungarian is the language of instruction and becomes a barrier for these migrant youths in their learning process. Participation and assessment are installed in the framework of the dominant language and are not reachable for these non-native-born youths. These youths narrate how the motivations and

expectations they bring to school can be deteriorated due to the pressure they feel when facing the classes in Hungarian. Daria's narrative also displays her struggle in learning and the moments of frustration in school:

> I have felt frustrated many times. Sometimes I don't want to learn anymore Hungarian. I am so good in languages, but I don't know, I feel sometimes as I don't want to continue learning Hungarian language, I think it's so hard. I think the most difficult is the way they talk in the street or with friends or stuff, but you think they are similar words when they talk in the school. We talk in Hungarian, but when they talk Hungarian in the school I feel that they are talking in another language. Two types of Hungarian, the one that is spoken in the streets and the one that is used in the school. I am good in Hungarian language, I cannot speak it perfectly, but I can, but in the school, everything teachers say is difficult. (Daria, 18, Iran)

Daria narrates the distinction between conversational and academic Hungarian and the struggle this brings to her learning. She even highlights her skill in learning languages, but the challenge she has found with Hungarian, especially because she is doing two processes simultaneously. She is learning Hungarian, but at the same time, she has to learn content in school and be evaluated in those contents, which sometimes leads her to feel unmotivated in her learning process. Indeed, what Ros i Sole (2014) argues is key to understand what Daria tells in her narrative. The host country's language "is seen as a barometer of migrants' integration in a particular society" (p. 57). The learning of Hungarian is compulsory to access education and future opportunities, and the skills these migrant children and youth possess or the academic background they bring are not taken into account when planning the lessons or assessing contents in school.

From the first day of class, immigrant students are put into classes and start their process of learning without any orientation regarding the language. The subjects they take are history, literature, mathematics, Hungarian grammar, biology, and English. The contents of the subjects, in turn, continue, and the evaluations run their course without the children being able to achieve the level of the processes already initiated by their Hungarian classmates:

> Another experience in the school that I can't forget was that history was my fear in school because it was taught in Hungarian language and I didn't speak Hungarian, and the terms and the words were really difficult for me to understand, even for Hungarian students it was difficult. I was trying very hard just to pass, to get two. Every year I had to calculate my grades to try to pass… I didn't feel comfortable in history classes; all my teachers knew it. All the students knew I was afraid of history, everybody, I had to spend a lot of time just to memorize it, not to understand it. (Parsa, 23, Afghanistan)

Some teachers manage to agree with immigrant students to be evaluated under other parameters, but unfortunately, it is not a frequent case. On other occasions, these students do

not have a grade in the subjects, but they must also demonstrate at the end of the course that their knowledge of both language and content has improved:

> I was about to fail in the school, I got one, one, one, one, one, failed everything, so the teachers told me, Parsa*, find a place that helps you because school is difficult for you, so I came to MissionPlace* and they found me a teacher, and after two weeks I took the exam and got two, I just passed, then I could get a three, and then four, and then I could catch up. (Parsa, 23, Afghanistan)

Students must therefore start their Hungarian learning at private institutions or NGOs that support these processes. These Hungarian classes must be taken in the afternoon after their school shift. However, it is something that they must seek and agree on their own. In school, while the teaching processes continue, children must follow the lessons even if their linguistic competence is at the level of beginners. Then, after they have already learned the basics of the language for essential communication on a day-to-day basis, the contents of the subjects continue to be unattainable due to the academic language they require to be explained.

It is here where these children begin to feel frustration and demotivation due to the fact that despite knowing the contents of the subjects in their mother tongue or a foreign language, such as English, they cannot participate or respond, nor feel part of the class due to the language barrier with Hungarian. However, this is not taken into account by the school. Thus, knowledge of the language itself continues to be more influential in educational procedures than the content of the subjects. These youths keep asking for help in NGOs to receive tutorials and attempt to reach the contents of the subjects in the school. This happens even with youths that have arrived in Hungary many years ago. They say that it is impossible to obtain a good grade in these high school subjects if they do not receive this type of support from these organizations. Therefore, teaching measures relating to the language of instruction need to be taken into account in education policies to design comprehensive and inclusive curricula that aim to improve the way migrant students are integrated into schools.

4.5.5 Empowerment, integration, and recognition through Hungarian

In this category, the focus is on the youngsters' narratives of being empowered, integrated, and grateful, and the different ways in which they are connected to the gratitude manifested by the support they have received in Hungary. One of the emergent elements in these youths' narratives was gratitude and how to speak the host country's language is a response of thankfulness. Concerning this topic, Back (2003) presents in his research how the narratives of gratitude can be representations of the unequal power underlying the relationship between refugees and host society. However, reciprocity is another implicit characteristic of this expression of gratitude, making youths position themselves as active participants in the host

society. For example, Aiman narrates his story highlighting his well-being when he can understand what others are saying and can be part of these situations:

> I consider language is really important to be in a new society. If I have an email from a bank, I can ask help because it is high level, but I push myself to learn. You feel you miss something when you are surrounding ten people and they talk and laugh, even if they translate it's not the same, you feel you are missing something, it feels good to be able to participate, if you could help when somebody is asking for an address and it is bad because you know where the place is but you can' t explain because of the language. (Aiman, 23, Syria)

Aiman depicts his willingness to participate actively in Hungarian society on a daily basis. He emphasizes that it is not the same to be translated because this is something that puts you in a dependent position, and your integration, as he expresses, will not be as active as if you were directly participating in the social interaction. He negotiates his identities as a legitimate and accepted youth, being diligent and capable of overcoming barriers that distance him from the host society. Time and reciprocity are two aspects that Aiman brings in his narrative when he says that he is willing to give back, not only because it is a formality but also because it represents his participation and integration. This agency he demonstrates in being an active part of the host society is also a way to represent independence:

> I am learning the language because it is part of the integration and you need it to communicate with people, people speak English, but you have to give back, and pay back, you have to learn the language. People are happy that I speak basic Hungarian and it's a good feeling. (Aiman, 23, Syria)

Aiman negotiates his self-reliance, responsibility, and freedom in the social milieu through learning the language of the host country. Hungarian, for him, represents the door that contributes to develop mediation strategies and raise confidence and self-esteem to perform in the host society. He works hard in the learning of Hungarian, and he complements what he studies in the NGO with further readings, listening activities, speaking with Hungarians at work, and different strategies he creates to learn vocabulary, such as sticking small papers with new words in different parts of the house. He is very resourceful and takes advantage of any opportunity to practice Hungarian and learn something new. Integration and acceptance are important aspects for his well-being, as he tells in his narrative:

> I always try food Hungarians cook. After work, I like to meet with them to eat pizza or it's good when they invite me to their house, and I say, Oh my God they invited me so it means they see me as one of them, they accept me, that's a good feeling. I have received a lot, I want more from this culture, we were under corruption in Syria and we received a bad perspective of life, here it's totally different and everybody minds his own business, I like this way, I like to do what

> makes me happy, I don't want to do what other think is better for me, or my parents, or society, I want to act more as an European than a Syrian. (Aiman, 23, Syria)

It is clear that for Aiman, the integration goes beyond language, although it plays a primordial role. Integration implies knowing the culture, participate with others, be part of different activities with Hungarians. This is a way of demonstrating that he is interested and willing to be part of the host country. His gratitude is evident along with his narrative. He feels safe in Hungary and extends the scope towards Europe. He is explicit when saying that he wants to act as a European. The process of transculturation is present in Aiman's narrative, understood as the cultural and linguistic exchanges with the host society. He describes trajectories away from war and corruption to position himself in a place that offers him opportunities to grow and learn.

Hungarian is also perceived as the tool to empower migrants to act politically in the social milieu. Through the narratives, most youths unveil their perceptions of Hungarian as the priority to be integrated into the host society. In this case, as was mentioned previously, the influence and decision of parents are essential to moving their children into the learning of Hungarian. Many parents enhance the interest of the children in learning Hungarian and place it at the forefront, even if they, as parents, do not learn. They make the decision to shape a better life for their children, but they keep apart from the process of learning. Ana was born in Hungary, and she narrates how her mother and grandparents organize all the steps for her to learn Hungarian in the first place, before learning Arabic, which is the mother tongue of her family:

> When I was a baby they arranged everything for me to have a Hungarian babysitter, so I could learn Hungarian. My family had to go back to Syria and I was living with the Hungarian family. She was a very close friend of my family and she was the one who raised me next to my close family. She was talking to me all the time in Hungarian of course.
>
> I didn't know Arabic and my mom and grandparents didn't know Hungarian, because they decided I had to learn Hungarian because it was going to be better for my future and they were right, but communication with them was difficult, so I started to learn Arabic through animations and asking them questions about meaning of words. (Ana, 18, Syrian/Hungarian)

Ana emphasizes in her narrative the good decision her family made in pursuit of a better life for her. Currently, she thanks her family for that decision because they opened her eyes to understand that this is not an Arabic country and that language and culture function differently. Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) recognize the significant influence of ideology, power

relations, values, and language use on the construction and negotiation of identities in social interaction. When language is used to develop self-control and build up relationships as well as respond and act in specific contexts is seen as a tool of empowerment, as in Ana's case when she refers to Hungarian as her weapon to survive. In her narrative, she keeps her distance from Hungarian people, despite being born here:

> I know language is my strongest key for life and to survive. A lot of people have had different opinions after just looking at me and after they talk to me. As long as I remember, I have always stopped people with racist sayings. I have used my language as a weapon. I always stop them. (Ana, 18, Syrian/Hungarian)

It is interesting to find across her narrative how Hungarian has allowed her to construct and negotiate identities according to the social context and specific discursive practices and how she has constructed her self-reliance through language. In her narrative, some traces of otherness and difference have emerged because of her physical features. The foregoing has made her use language as the shield to protect herself from racism and negative labels. Language of the host country is the system that empowers her in social interactions when she feels she is being pointed as the different one: "With my language I can even prove I am one of them [Hungarians], I can do all the things that Hungarian people do and white people do, because language is a key, it is the most important thing to feel and be part of a community."

In a nutshell, this category has presented the identities negotiated in scenarios of gratitude and empowerment and the interaction they have, from the perception of the youths, in the complex process of integration in the host society. The place language has in social inclusion is of significant importance from the youths' perspective. However, this priority suggests other vital aspects within the emergent conflicts and tensions between cultures that intersect with the previous categories.

4.6 Summary of the chapter

This chapter presented the interpretation of the narratives constructed by the children and youths. I explained how the process of transcription was the first approach to analyze the data and how I leaned on the sociocultural linguistic approach proposed by Bucholtz and Hall (2005) to analyze the narratives, following the understanding of identity as produced within linguistic interaction and other semiotic practices. The five principles underlying this model were also explained and justified in this chapter, with examples provided by Bucholtz and Hall on how to use them in discourse to approach identity. I also gave examples of narrative excerpts from this study to depict how the analysis was followed under each principle proposed in this approach. After explaining this procedure, this chapter presented how the data generated

through the personal narratives was organized and how verbatim codes and themes led to the formation of five categories that give an account of the interpretations of the data and that point at the answers of the research questions.

The names I gave to the categories following the keywords of the research questions that led this study were (1) fleeing from war and envisioning their future, (2) acting as conduits for understanding between Hungarian and their mother tongue, (3) navigating between two cultures, (4) overcoming the language barrier in school, and (5) empowerment, integration, and recognition through Hungarian.

Chapter 5 Findings from Interviews with School Teachers and Staff in MissionPlace*

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the categories created when analyzing the data concerning interviews of school teachers and staff in MissionPlace*. This analysis followed the guidelines of thematic analysis, as it was explained in section 3.9. The purpose of working with these data sets was to answer the two research sub-questions: (c) How do school teachers understand the education and integration process of migrant and refugee children in Hungary? and (d) What is the role of MissionPlace* in the social inclusion of these children? The foregoing within the framework of language rights that leads this dissertation.

After reading through the 20 transcripts corresponding to eight school teachers and principals, and 12 members of the staff in MissionPlace* and identifying the themes in the two data sets separately, I found the relations between them and organized three categories. The themes identified in the data sets and the corresponding codes I used as summary markers are listed in Table 8 and Table 9 as follows. Each category will be explained in sections 5.2, 5.3, and 5.4 in this chapter.

*Table 8. Themes and codes of interviews with staff in MissionPlace**

Themes	Codes as summary markers
Hungarian is the priority to be integrated in the society.	Role of Hungarian
Hungarian learning requires motivation. Independence is one of the results to learn Hungarian. Parental education is an important index of children's learning and integration.	Learning Hungarian as a process
Specific difficulties based on mother tongue and literacy practices. English becomes the obstacle to learn Hungarian. The purpose of stay is the trigger to learn Hungarian. Struggling with Hungarian vowels is one of the main difficulties. Reading children's faces. HFL is important to teach Hungarian and know methodologies to teach.	Teaching Hungarian to migrants
Regulations from the government in 2017 marked a before and an after for supporting integration programs. Building walls is the priority in migration policies.	National policies to support integration

Refugees are the enemy and government is the hero. Racism and islamophobic are the consequences of the government discourse.	
Monolingualism characterizes the mainstream classes. Evaluation and curriculum based on monolingualism. Old-school methodology. Mediation between NGO and school. Importance of attending non-segregated schools.	Enrolling in the school
Mediation with schools. Special tutoring program for children and youths. Help of international and local volunteers. The church and its role in the program of integration. Proper jobs for people.	MissionPlace* and its role in supporting education
Parents are the adults. Tensions between parents and children. Children as translators. Communication gap between parents and school.	The role of parents in children's education and integration
Open minded and less religious people are more into being integrated in Hungarian society. Religious rules as an obstacle to learn. Religious beliefs and dress codes make the integration difficult. Understanding cultures is a process of giving and gaining.	Discordances between cultures

Table 9. Themes and codes of interviews with school teachers

Themes	Codes
Enrolled in the school because they live in the same district or because of mediation of NGO or church. Children are placed in a group according to their age. Autonomy of the school in the methodology and intercultural program. Multicultural programs are appealing for these children. Immigration office as collaborator to have the papers to access the school. Inside the school the world is different compared with the outside.	Educational policies and registration in the school
Other children of Afghan background help the newcomers.	Integration in the school

Children are enthusiastic to participate in the activities of the school. The multicultural approach integrates children from different countries. Children see the diversity as a value.	
It's easy when they speak English. NGO is the support to learn Hungarian. It would be easy to have a permanent HFL teacher in the school. Proficiency in Hungarian to be placed in the right grade to learn the subjects and be evaluated. Foreign children are placed in bilingual classes to have marks in English. Regulations from the government in 2017 marked a before and after for supporting integration programs. Children that share the mother tongue translate for the newcomers.	Children's languages and Hungarian
Building bonds between classmates. Newcomers are interesting. The earlier the better to accept the differences. Teachers are receptive and do their best even if the kids don't communicate in English or Hungarian. Hungarian kids learn to be tolerant.	Relationship with classmates
The headscarf causes curiosity in non-Muslim students. It would be really helpful to have an HFL teachers for these children to study Hungarian for one year. NGO is supportive but they do not provide intensive courses of Hungarian. Level of the subjects is behind compared to the other kids. A different type of assessment.	Difficulties in the school
No formal program of multiculturalism. Art room. Money for migrant children. Multicultural days. Erasmus projects.	Programs of integration in school
No national policies to support this process. Keeping contact with NGO. Teachers do what they can to work with these children. No help from the government.	National policies of integration – Learning Hungarian

Immigration office. Help of NGOs. EU project of integration.	
Regular meetings with parents, some of them more active than others. They have never complaint for migrant children, but for Roma children. It would be great to work with parents together to do for example the evaluation of these kids on the subjects to diagnose their level. Communication with parents through different channels.	Parents and school
Until 19 they can be admitted. No restrictions. Groups just for them. Just one grade for them, but different groups if they have different levels of speaking. Grade zero just to learn Hungarian. They can take it twice if they need it. Refugees from Fót. They are very fluctuating. Some of them are integrated with Hungarian students, but they don't advance because they are not very interested. Conflicts between them. Teachers don't know how to handle the situation with these youths when they are integrated in Hungarian classes.	Segregated school

After organizing the themes from the interviews and identifying common elements in the answers of both groups of participants, I created three categories that were addressed to answer the two sub-questions. These categories are (1) invisibility of refugee and migrant children in the educational policies, (2) building boundaries in the classroom through monolingual teaching practices, and (3) MissionPlace* as the place of mediation between children, family, and school. Each category is explained in the following sections of the chapter.

5.2 Invisibility of refugee and migrant children in the educational policies

This category was created to contextualize the situation of refugee and migrant children in the educational system in Hungary, based on what school teachers and principals of schools answered in the interviews. In Hungary, the national law of education is Act CXC of 2011,

which regulates the right of children to public education. According to this Act, every child must have access to education during compulsory school age, that is in the age range of six to sixteen years old. It is stated that the educational institution that provides the mandatory tasks must be the school located in the place of residence of the child; therefore, schools are obliged to enroll the children that live or stay within the area of the district, as it is the case of Budapest:.

> In the case of the girls the father lives in the district of the school, so it is easy for them to enroll. The others are because they ask in MissionPlace* and they recommend this school because they know it. And it is also the empathy of the teachers because they are willing to accept responsibilities to help them in the class, so it is also depending on the teachers if they want to cope with the difficulties. (Principal, K.S.)

All the children with non-Hungarian citizenship must demonstrate that they are under the protection of the refugee law or have an immigrant status or a residence permit. These requirements prove that these children have followed the legal procedure to be settled in Hungary. With any of these documents, the non-Hungarian citizen child can study under the same conditions as any other Hungarian child. Therefore, the principals that participated in the interview emphasize the fact that migrant children have the same rights as the Hungarian students and that they are enrolled under the same conditions, and that the schools work together with the Immigration Office:

> We only have refugees with papers because we accept those who have followed the procedure, so we actually work together with immigration office as well, so we have a strong partnership with them and only those can be accepted, those with residence permit, address card. (Principal, bilingual school)

There are other schools that are located in the transit zones that teachers mention in the interview, but they are not part of the Hungarian educational system. These schools organize practical activities for the children who are in the camps and that are applying for asylum. The Act on Public Education also states that all children are provided with textbooks free of charge regardless of their country.

All the school teachers and principals coincide with the fact that both the enrollment of the children and the ways of assessing their progress or diagnosing their academic performance are under the responsibility and decision of the principals. There are no rules for schools to proceed in these cases when newcomers access the school. The only policy regulation for the inclusion of migrant children into the schooling system in Hungary was an intercultural program issued in 2005 by the Ministry of Education, which describes guidelines for educating non-Hungarian children with the principles of interculturalism. The fundamental basis of this program is the promotion of linguistic and cultural diversity as a value, as well as providing opportunities to migrant children to learn the Hungarian language and culture. The objectives

of this pedagogical program are, first, to educate receptive individuals capable of communicating and cooperate between languages and cultures and, second, to promote the integration of non-Hungarian children by facilitating the opportunities to learn the language.

Principals of the schools, who were interviewed, affirmed that newcomers are enrolled into respective classes according to their age, previous documented educational background, and level of Hungarian. However, this had changed since 2017, when the regulations of the government changed. Before 2017, there was a teacher of Hungarian as a foreign language in some schools, and he/she was in charge of diagnosing the level of Hungarian of the newcomer as well as the one who follows the language learning process of these children. The assessment of these children in school was also different because the Hungarian teacher was the one who organized the progress plan for the student to follow as well as the criteria of evaluation considering the individual differences. The duration of this intercultural educational program was two years. One of the interesting aspects of these regulations is that every educational institution is independent in the way of implementing this program. There are no general guidelines in the national curriculum:

> We have an intercultural pedagogical program, so policies don't interfere with these children, so these children who come here are willing into the whole process of getting residence permit, so we can take only those children who have residence permit and I don't see any difference between what happened some years ago, you know. (Principal, bilingual school)

This requires that schools hire both a teacher of Hungarian as a foreign language and a qualified teacher of the native language and culture of the migrant child. However, the financial conditions of the government and the lack of professionals make these conditions impossible.

Another situation that is characteristic of the Hungarian educational system is the monolingual mainstream instruction model that builds up boundaries between cultures in the school. In this line, Jakab (2011) argues that most teachers are not prepared for educating migrant children. He also suggests that this monolingual model of the Hungarian system places the knowledge of Hungarian as the priority in the social structure. Because of this, some schools reject the application of migrant children who cannot use Hungarian, which is why the NGO mediates with those schools that have already done work with this type of population.

Due to the fact that there is no general model in the national curriculum to integrate migrant children in the school, teachers are the ones who play the most important role in this task. The methodology used by teachers depends on their professional development, educational experience, and especially, willingness to design and implement activities that include migrant children. The teacher training in Hungary is focused on educating Hungarian children who share the same language and culture. The monolingual habitus is present in

mainstream education in Hungary. The learning of Hungarian is what prevails in Hungarian schools and what is installed in teachers' minds.

In the interviews, the teachers and staff in MissionPlace* agree on a timeline marked by the ceasing of funds for integration programs in 2017, which was an unannounced decision made by the government. Before this termination of funds, Hungary received funds from the European Union under the Asylum, Migration, and Integration Fund (AMIF), which was managed by the Ministry of Interior. With the support of these funds, the opportunities in schools were different because they could hire teachers of Hungarian as a foreign language who worked with the migrant children in their process of learning the language and catching up with the classes.

> We also had a chance to take part of an EU project which was about migrant children education in Hungary and how to integrate them, so it was a consorting which means that different parties were taking part in it, the big pedagogical institute in Budapest and one which was a civil organization called A* also, three of us were in the project, A* provided extra kind of training for our teachers which was really helpful, the pedagogical institute provided us the same, plus A* provided us also volunteers from universities who came to learn with the children after school, so they didn't have to sit in the afternoon classes they had one-to-one help pair, also they had the chance to work together with a university in Miskolc who has developed course books for these children, they have developed books in geography and science mostly and our children were using those books and we were piloting those books, so I don't know at which phase they are right now. (ST, bilingual school)

In the NGO, there were more teachers, more students, and more resources that allowed the design and implementation of projects that benefited the integration of the migrant population. After the ceasing of these funds, there are no programs of integration promoted by the government, but only reinforcement of security in the borders to be stricter with the entrance of migrants to European territory:

> The organization worked like this: First they received the support of the EU, financially, so the EU sent the money to the Ministry of Interior Affairs in Hungary and they added 20 or 25 % from the interior government to complement the funds for the organization. But after that incident, the Hungarian government announced that organizations couldn't help refugees from the money that came from the EU, so it means that there is not support. (P1, MissionPlace*)

An official document presents the migration strategy in Hungary for the period 2014-2020, which guides the actions to integrate the migrant population into the Hungarian society. However, this document emphasizes the rights this population has on receiving support services, legal assistance, and representation in all phases of the asylum procedure. It does not state anything related to education or another type of program.

In summary, the official document that is taken into account in the national educational policies related to migrant children is the intercultural pedagogical program published in 2005 by the Ministry of Education, in which the government enables primary and secondary schools to develop and maintain extracurricular education activities to help migrant children learn the Hungarian language and reach the school curriculum. Moreover, an anti-immigrant campaign has been conducted in the last years. Thus, for the government, the educational integration of migrant children is not a priority. This campaign and the lack of educational policies to integrate children from different backgrounds contradict the model of considering linguistic and cultural diversity a rich learning resource.

5.3 Building boundaries in the classroom through monolingual teaching practices

In this category, all the themes related to the emphasis of schools on mainstream education are gathered. The increasing presence of migrant children in Europe makes linguistic and cultural diversity visible in schools. This influences the whole conception of education to be rethought and reimagined to improve the conditions of schooling in order to guarantee an education with intercultural benefits for all the students. One of the responsibilities of schools is precisely to extend the indoor practices to families and local communities to use the rich resources that linguistic and cultural diversity brings. In fact, migrant children with their languages, traditions, cultures, way of thinking, along with parents' support, teachers, and other stakeholders, contribute to ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong opportunities for everybody.

Spaces in the school are invited to display multiculturalism where interest and respect prevail, disregarding if the teachers or all the students can communicate in the languages of these migrant kids or not. Multilingualism and multiculturalism are together and constitute a rich resource and a global facet that is impossible to omit. The foregoing is an essential aspect that creates discursive situations and contexts where new identity negotiations are forged. Therefore, education conceived based on knowing the student as a whole generates insights into their own interpretation and understanding of situations and facilitates their learning process. Multilingual students bring schools a vast account of knowledge that can be used as the basis for learning and teaching.

When children and youths are enrolled in the Hungarian educational system, they are placed directly into mainstream classes, or in the case of secondary school, some schools provide a grade zero or a preparatory class to give Hungarian lessons separately from the other classes of the school. It has been suggested that these classes provide more time and space for language learning than the time available in mainstream classes. This is very important,

especially in secondary schools, where the subjects and requirements are more complex than in elementary school and demand a good command of Hungarian. These lessons in separate classes are aimed at allowing for more intensive teaching or more targeted support to be given to the newcomers:

> It's a secondary school so they can come at the age of 14 and when they come for the first time they are not put together in the same classes with the Hungarian students, but it's kind of a year zero for them for one year and during this year they only learn Hungarian, they have Math and English, but 18 hours of Hungarian so it is intensive, so the emphasis is on Hungarian and they are not according to age or different grades, but in groups based on their level of Hungarian, this year is only one group, so in September they can be enrolled in 9th grade if their level of Hungarian has improved, but if not they can spend another year in this zero grade so they can do it twice if there is a need. (ST2, TK)

However, it has also been studied that segregated classes can impede the integration of these youths in the host society. For example, Bunar (2017) affirms that although intensive language learning may be beneficial in preparing the newcomers to enter education, some experiences have proved that education in this type of preparatory classes can be unhelpful for social integration, in the sense that these youths have no contact with their native-born peers, which was also told by some youths in the narratives. However, what it is important to highlight here is the assumption that principals and school teachers have about learning Hungarian within the idea of a national language, which has generated hardships and failures in the learning process of migrant children. To balance students' language learning and subject content learning is critical. Therefore, teachers in the interviews say that it is not only Hungarian learning what matters for these youths, but also the learning support they can receive. Thus, the NGOs are the organizations that are in charge of providing this support and mediation that complements the work in school.

I bring here the concept of monolingual habitus proposed by Gogolin (2013) to explain how this mainstream education model decreases the possibilities for children with a diverse linguistic background to learn. Teachers who create this habitus in multilinguistic classrooms are assuming that the children are a homogeneous group. This phenomenon is based on the conviction that monolingualism is the norm of a nation. Therefore, when analyzing this phenomenon, it can be understood that linguistic diversity is linked to social justice. In this case, Piller (2016) asserts that linguistic diversity creates conditions for language to work as grounds for discrimination and disadvantage. This phenomenon is a political act that favors certain linguistic discourses over others. According to Piller (2016), this model of monolingualism implemented in diverse linguistic classrooms reproduce the socioeconomic order of a nationalist society that has been implemented since the nineteenth century. She also

intertwines the concept of hidden curriculum and what it represents in education with these monolingual practices in the classroom.

The foregoing sheds light on the analysis of Hungary's educational system, which perpetuates barriers for inclusion policies through the monolingual model as the priority. Meanwhile, migrant students are lagging behind their native-born peers because they cannot participate or be active agents in their learning process, but have to reach the level of proficiency in Hungarian required to join the mainstream classes and try to understand the content of the subjects:

> What I have seen as a witness in this kind of process is that even those children we know they are very talented but because they don't know the language, well they cannot manage in the central language exam and that actually draws them back from getting into the good schools, […] I think the schools could have a kind of feedback about it before they make the decision with these children, the supporting note, that would be nice, that's what I would definitely welcome because I feel sorry for them. (ST1, bilingual school)

Another aspect that was found in these interviews was the assessment process for these children. In this case, teachers suggest that the evaluation system for them has to be recreated. These kids cannot be evaluated with the same system as their native-born peers but through supportive notes that report how their performance has been during school studies. This report could be taken into account when deciding on future possibilities to access higher education.

In summary, this category emphasizes the assumption Hungarian schools have on the topic of preservation of the national language and the consequences it has through the lens of social justice. This position is contradictory with the intercultural pedagogical program, which aims to create a dialogue between cultures and sustain the social inclusion of migrant kids. However, the teachers and principals say that the implementation of this pedagogical program is unintended. Every school is free to use it and choose the methodology more convenient for them, which does not guarantee rigorous monitoring or joint work with the different educational institutions of the country.

5.4 MissionPlace* as the place of mediation between children, family, and school

This category explains the vital role played by MisionPlace*, an NGO supported by the Reformed church, as the mediator in the school-parents relationship and children-parents relationship as well. One of the first things that MissionPlace* offers when there are new refugee or migrant families that approach the organization asking for orientation in the process of integration is to find a school or kindergarten for their children. According to the National Act of Public Education, the schools that enroll these children are located in the same districts

where these children live, as was explained previously in one of the categories. Therefore, in some cases, if it is MissionPlace*, the organization that helps them find a place to live, they already know the schools around that place and start the mediation to talk to the principals and introduce the specific family. In other cases, they help with the first contact between the school or schools located in the district where the family is already:

> We are always in connection with the schools of our children, with the principal, the teachers, the parents, and the children. We keep the communication between the school and the parents through MissionPlace*, even if the teacher wants to send a message or notification to the parents, they send it through us to make sure it is read, so any problem in the school, we go with their family to discuss, so we follow the whole process until their graduation. (SW3, NGO)

The director of MissionPlace* calls the principal, presents the case, makes an appointment for the family, and one of the members of the staff goes to the appointment with the family, introduces the child and his/her parents, and initiates the mediation with the school to exchange information of contact and to ensure that the school knows that the NGO is the responsible for helping the child in extra-curricular activities to learn Hungarian and reach the contents of the subjects. From that moment, any information or communication that the school needs to send to the parents is first sent to the NGO, which is in charge of communicating it to the parents. As most of the parents do not speak English or Hungarian, the ones in charge of this type of communication are the social workers of the NGO, who speak the languages of the families: Arabic, Pashto, Dari, Kurdish, Urdu, among others.

There are some cases in which the schools of the district where these children live reject the application of the child, arguing that they do not have a place in the class, according to the age of the child, or that the corresponding teachers do not have time to focus on the process of the child, who does not speak the mainstream language of instruction. In these cases, the director of the NGO contacts some schools that are open to this type of population and have an intercultural approach for the classes. One of the elementary schools that works with an inclusive approach and that has worked for many years with a diverse population is one dual language school located in the VII district in Budapest, the same district where MissionPlace* has its office. This school was one of the participating schools in the interviews for this research.

The methodology and the approach of this school are designed following the principles of the intercultural pedagogical program issued in 2005 by the Ministry of Education, and that was explained in a previous category. The dual language classes of this school have been operating since 1995 with the support of native-speaking teachers, and the approach of the school is based on linguistic and cultural diversity. This school has been welcoming students from other countries for over 15 years.

Although there is no dual language system, the other school with a similar approach is a school located in Csepel, the XXI district in Budapest, which also works with students from other countries, and its approach is framed within the cultural diversity as well. They also implement the intercultural pedagogical program. This school was also one of the participating schools in the interviews for this research. Both schools maintain permanent contact with MisionPlace* and do joint work for the benefit of these children and youths.

One of the salient themes when analyzing the interviews was the importance of establishing links between schools and migrant children's parents. The role parents have in the schooling of these children can help improve their achievement and influence children's attitudes towards other cultural groups, as is presented by Van Driel, Darmody, and Kerzil (2016). Education of these children is considered as a first step in the two-way process of integration. For this reason, the mediation that MissionPlace* and other NGOs have performed to support this process is valuable. According to the staff in MisionPlace*, most parents misunderstand the concept of interculturalism and attempt to see integration as a one-way process, where there is no exchange of cultures. This misunderstanding results in conflict instead of dialogue between cultures:

> It is not just to learn the language, it is also to show the interest towards the accepting countries and culture. I mean, you don't have to change you religion or clothes or traditions, but to show that you are interested, like I'll try to do the same, I'll try to show like an example, I always ask about the Ramadan, I always ask when they go to the mosque because they are very happy when I ask this, they start smiling because it feels good for them, because somebody is interested in their culture, and I think it should work vice versa, if they show some interest then I can, ok, they don't look down to other people who eat pork or don't pray because they are not religious or something, just accept it, and just to know that we have Christmas. (T2, NGO)

Therefore, tensions among parents and children emerge at home, and in these cases, the NGO mediates. Children start a socialization process in the schools; they learn the language and establish bonds with teachers and classmates. Thus their identities are negotiated in other contexts that differ from those used in their home countries. Consequently, they meet differences with their parents' positions, who resist the culture of the host society and persist on the same cultural rules from their home countries.

One of the tensions that often emerge from this resistance has to do with Muslim practices. The staff of MissionPlace* coincides with the fact that for children who are in school is difficult to study during the weeks of Ramadan. According to the religious rules, Muslims must fast from sunrise to sunset. In many cases, children cannot attend school because they feel weak and sick during these days. In other cases, these children get sick in school, and teachers

have to communicate immediately with MissionPlace* to pick them up. These kids start feeling in-betweenness because they do not know if they have to follow their parents' conditions or if they better go to school and eat something behind their parents' back. This type of conflict affects the learning process of the kids and causes backwardness compared with their classmates.

Another type of struggle between parents and children is the dress code. Some open parents have shaped a different perspective and give their girls the option to decide if they are wearing the hijab or not. However, there are other cases in which the girls do not want to wear it because they feel different from the others in school, but they cannot decide not to wear it because their parents do not allow them.

Regarding language, there is one frequent situation that emerges in the relationship parents-children that affects children's progress in school. Some parents, especially mothers, depend on their children for translation, so if they need to do a legal procedure or go to the doctor's or any other office, they take their children with them regardless of their schedule in school. In these cases, the NGO also mediates and tries to make parents understand the importance of attending school and having extra-curricular activities.

The staff in MissionPlace* also explained in the interviews that there are two types of parents: literate and illiterate. The literate parents are more receptive to the dialogue and are open to the changes they need to perform to help their children improve in their learning process. These parents go to the meetings programmed by the school and are aware of what is needed for the benefit of their children. They work together with the NGO. In contrast, illiterate parents are more resistant to change and dialogue between cultures. They are radical in matters of religion and its rules and do not understand the process of integration that their children are living in the host society. Frequently, this type of parents delegates all the duties and responsibilities of schooling to MisionPlace*:

> We have some parents who are educated and that's a big factor. When they're educated they can understand that the rules are not the same, they can be flexible, because they have their brains. Sometimes the fathers study in Hungary, go back home and bring back their families. They are so open-minded because they travel a lot, they know Hungary. They can help their wives to accept this world. But when a family is not educated, they can be so old-fashioned. You just can't change their minds. The women are like rocks, they are so hard, you have to follow Muslim rules, they don't care about their children education. (T1, NGO)

In brief, the involvement of parents in their children's schooling plays a significant role in the process of integration. The main channel of communication and mediation in different conflictive situations that emerge in the relationship between parents-children is MissionPlace*. The first contact with schools, the school meetings, the conflicts that emerge in

the school setting related to these children are supported by the NGO. The philosophy of the schools used to work with migrant children is based on the principles of the intercultural model, which is written under the same directions as the EU member states. The goal of this model aims at supporting the integration of migrants in the host countries. These agreements and official documents analyzed to contextualize the migration legislation in Hungary are published online (see Appendix 5).

5.5 Summary of the chapter

This chapter presented the data analysis procedure of the interviews with school teachers, principals, and staff in MissionPlace*. I interviewed eight participants from schools and 12 participants from MissionPlace*. This analysis followed the guidelines of thematic analysis. I read through the transcripts of the interviews using the software Delve and underlined emergent themes. Then, I classified those themes and assigned codes that summarized the themes to facilitate the data organization. I wrote these themes in Tables 8 and 9 in this chapter. Then, I organized three categories to gather the common themes that intersected salient aspects to answer two research sub-questions: (1) How do school teachers understand the education and integration process of migrant and refugee children in Hungary? and (2) What is the role of MissionPlace* in the social inclusion of these children? These categories were (1) invisibility of refugee and migrant children in the educational policies, (2) building boundaries in the classroom through monolingual teaching practices, and (3) MissionPlace* as the place of mediation between children, family, and school.

In the first category, I gathered the themes related to migration legislation in Hungary and how the educational policies include migrant children in their guidelines. Here, the intercultural pedagogical program that has been implemented since 2005 was the one that teachers mentioned in the interviews. In the second category, the themes related to the language of instruction in the mainstream classes and how this type of instruction is related to the monolingual habitus, which leads to a type of social injustice that is evident in the classrooms with linguistic diversity. And the third category focuses its attention on the role the NGO plays to mediate relationships between parents and children and school and parents.

Chapter 6 Discussion and Critical Reflections

6.1 Introduction

This chapter aims at delving into the meaning and relevance of the findings in this study. The objective is to answer the research questions posed to address the study and to relate the findings to previous research. The main purpose of this thesis was to explore and interpret the type of tensions, struggles, or conflicts that migrant and refugee children and youths experience when facing contradictory linguistic and cultural needs in the school context, intending to unfold some identity negotiations and constructions. For this, I followed the five categories that were organized after the interpretation of the data generated by the narratives of the children and youths and the three categories that emerged from the data as a result of the interviews conducted with school teachers and staff in MissionPlace*.

After analyzing these eight categories, product of the interpretation of the three sets of data, and following the study's research questions, five broad topics emerged. These topics direct the answers and are the guidelines to organize this chapter. They are (1) self-perceptions of migrant and refugee children in the school as new arrivals in Hungary, (2) role of languages in the construction and negotiation of identities, (3) education and integration process from the perspective of school teachers and principals, (4) role of MissionPlace* in the social inclusion of the children and youths, and (5) negotiation of identities when facing contradictory linguistic and cultural needs. Under each heading of this chapter, one research question is presented and guides the discussion. Firstly, the four sub-questions are discussed, and lastly, the main research question will be tackled.

The main research question that led this thesis was *How do refugee and migrant children and youths negotiate their identities when facing potentially contradictory linguistic and other cultural needs in their daily activities in school?* And the following four sub-questions were posed as well:

(a)How do these children perceive themselves in the school as new arrivals in Hungary?

(b)What roles do the languages spoken by these children play in their construction and negotiation of identity?

(c)How do school teachers understand the education and integration process of migrant and refugee children in Hungary?

(d)What is the role of MissionPlace* in the social inclusion of these children?

6.2 Self-perceptions of migrant and refugee children in the school as new arrivals in Hungary

The first sub-question addressed in this study was *how do these children perceive themselves in the school as new arrivals in Hungary?*

The processes related to identity are in permanent movement. They are flexible and are constructed in every social situation. Hence, when talking about self-identification, the process of construction is also important to interpret how these children perceive themselves. In this case, I draw on what Hall (2017) states about becoming rather than being, in the same vein of the understanding of identity as always in process. Then, we should talk about a process of self-identification rather that complete characteristics of perception. Identity is always transformed socially, which implies that language and culture are main components of the social.

The 22 participants were of different age, background, and their length of stay in Hungary varied from one participant to the other, as it was described in Table 3 in the section 3.5.1. Thus, I analyzed for this sub-question the moment of their past when they arrived in Hungary and the circumstances around them and how they constructed their small stories within the whole narrative, because the sub-question specifies that these self-perceptions were as new arrivals in Hungary.

Therefore, when interpreting the five categories resulting from the narratives, I could identify that age was a primary factor in the way youths and children perceive themselves. If they arrived at the age of kindergarten or the first two years of elementary school, they perceived themselves just as children. At this age, they were happy because they were with other children of their age, playing, talking, sharing. Hungarian was the language spoken by their teachers and classmates in the kindergarten or school, but it was not perceived as something alien to their life. It was new for them as it was the process of starting school, so its acquisition was under a natural approach in the same environment of the school. This is the same case for children who were born in Hungary. They perceived themselves as children going to school to meet friends and play.

If they arrived a little older and with previous experience of schooling in their home countries, they perceived themselves as different. They constructed their self-identification in a new social context that included a new language of communication and instruction. They positioned themselves in relation to others who spoke a new language. Therefore, it is important to understand the key to the construction of identity from discourse, which are basically the notions of *self* and *other*, or "*sameness and difference*" (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004, p. 369; Rajagopalan, 2001). Individuals need to be faced with another to be able to perceive their own

identity. The others are the referential points for individuals to see themselves in particular ways.

In the case of teenagers, language and other factors influenced on the construction of their self-perception. They perceived themselves as the odd ones. Thus, dress code, physical features, behaviors, language, and previous experiences of schooling in their home countries intertwined to shape the scenarios of construction of self-identification. From a social constructionist perspective, on the basis of the principles described in the sociocultural linguistic approach, identity is understood as "the social positioning of the self and others" (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 586), which definitely was found in the analysis of the narratives. Some of the youths perceive themselves in a country with more opportunities to know about the world, religion, education, and freedom. This perception about themselves was expressed in terms of gratefulness and their yearning of belonging to the host country. They were observing and comparing their past self with their present self to construct a new self and find a sense of belonging in the host country.

Furthermore, some of them their self-identification was also projected into the future through hopes and goals about what they would like to become. Thus, it can be observed how these youth try to link their different selves through time to make sense to themselves and others. They make connections to the world across time and space and imagine their possibilities for the future (Norton, 1997; Block, 2007).

Some other youths perceive themselves as non-refugees and make special emphasis on this situation because they felt the pressure of others' assumptions of what being a refugee is. They did not want to be identify as refugees because they associate this status to poverty, suffering, long journeys, and needy people. Conversely, there were some participants who identified themselves as refugees and told their stories of acknowledgement with the host country because they found here the opportunities they could not have in their home countries.

However, some participants revealed certain feeling of pessimism because of the Hungarian language. They saw themselves as people with a few available opportunities of future education because of language. They have dreams of being successful professionals but feel that those goals will not be reached because they do not know the language of instruction in the school. They are lagging behind their Hungarian-born classmates and perceive themselves in position of disadvantage.

6.3 Role of languages in the construction and negotiation of identities

The second sub-question addressed in this study was *what roles do the languages spoken by these children play in their construction and negotiation of identity?*

The answer for this sub-question is intrinsically attached to the relation between language and identity that was discussed in the section 1.4. Under the social constructionist perspective that frames this study, language not only conveys identities, but also constructs them. These two concepts are interrelated and are imprinted with ideological associations. Discourses are scenarios where language constitutes meaning and, at the same time, relations of power.

The children and youths that participated in this study draw on three or more languages. Their first language or home languages, Hungarian, and English. Their first language is the language they use to communicate with their parents or family members or people from the same country of origin. Some youths use two or three languages to communicate at home depending on the situation. This is common in children with African origin. Hungarian is the language of instruction in school, the language of the host country, and the language they are learning. English is the other language they use as the lingua franca.

There are multiple identities that emerged in the narratives. All of them constructed and negotiated in social interactions through language. This is based on the theory stated by linguistic anthropologists, such as Bucholtz and Hall (2004a, 2004b, 2005), who study identity issues under the concept of social interaction due to the fact that language exists in a heterogeneous, changing and dynamic form. It is through differences that identity is indexed and interpreted.

Hungarian, for example, as the language of the host country and the language of instruction in school, plays an important role in negotiations of identity such as learner of Hungarian, user of Hungarian, learner through Hungarian, translator, future professional, questioner of cultures. All of these facets of identities negotiated, intersected, contested in different social settings. Discourses were always the site of struggling and construction of these identities. Therefore, it is important to bring that social interaction is the basis of identity, poststructuralist views are indispensable to analyze the complex procedure of identity negotiation and construction. Authors, such as Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004), recognize the significant influence cloistered factors entailed in the dynamics of social interaction have on individuals' negotiation and construction of identity. These factors might be ideology, power relations, capital, norms, values, culture, and language use. All these social interactional powers are embedded in discourse, which has complex political and social meanings.

English as lingua franca played the role in the negotiation of identities such as migrant, refugee, new arrival, classmate, learner in school, friend, international peer. However, I emphasize here that all of these are traces of identities that emerged in the narratives. They are not complete or fixed, and they are not mutually exclusive. They act together, dialogue, clash,

and intersect with other languages that the children use in other specific situations. This is the evidence of the principle of relationality and partialness that underlie the sociocultural linguistic approach to study identity. Likewise, the first language or home languages permeate other settings that have roots on their home countries or their parents' home countries. They shape identities of son, daughter, sister, brother, ethnicized identities, cultural identities, in-between identities, and different traces that are related to cultural roots.

For this sub-question and to understand the answer of the role languages play in the construction and negotiation of identities, it is necessary to bring Heller's (2006, 2011) theoretical positions. She has problematized and discussed the connections perceived between national identity, language, and place. She has focused her research mainly on the broad scope of post-colonialism, which emphasizes on the human consequences of the control and exploitation of the imperial power.

Moreover, Bucholtz and Hall (2005) focus on four semiotic processes to study how identities are negotiated and constructed through language: (1) Practice, (2) indexicality, (3) ideology, and (4) performance. These scholars avoid essentialism in the theorization of identity to depict it as a political phenomenon that can be understood through a variety of symbolic resources, and particularly language. In the same vein, Pascale (2011) assures that "language itself is *epistemic*: language makes 'reality' real" (p. 165). How we relate to ourselves and to each other depends not only on the words we exchange, but also on the conceptualization that language makes possible.

6.4 Education and integration process from the perspective of school teachers and principals

The third sub-question addressed in this study was *how do school teachers understand the education and integration process of migrant and refugee children in Hungary?*

The integration process and education of migrant and refugee children go hand in hand. The most important aspect that teachers highlight as crucial in the integration process of these children is the learning of Hungarian. All of them coincide with the same point of view. The teaching of Hungarian to migrant children poses particular challenges as this language needs to be learned and mastered to a sufficiently high level in order to learn other subjects. Proficiency in the language of instruction also facilitates the socialization process in schools. For these reasons, specific teaching measures relating to the language of instruction need to be part of any comprehensive education policy that seeks to improve the way migrant students are integrated into schools.

Themes related to the legislation of migration in Hungary and the educational policies regarding the inclusion of migrant children in their guidelines were gathered. Here, the intercultural pedagogical program that has been implemented since 2005 was the one that teachers recognized as part of an integration program for multiculturalism and multilingualism. This is an intercultural pedagogical program that the Ministry of Education published and promoted with the purpose of integrating foreign students into the educational system in Hungary. This program enables primary and secondary schools to develop and maintain extracurricular education activities to help migrant children learn the Hungarian language and reach the school curriculum. However, it is not mandatory, and each school is left to decide if they implement it, depending on the particular teachers' willingness to work with it. Moreover, the Government's anti-immigrant campaign since 2015 indexes the hostile official education policy that undermines the educational integration of migrant children. Such a policy is not a priority at all. This campaign and the lack of educational policies to integrate migrant children from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds gets in the way of considering linguistic and cultural diversity as a rich resource of learning for the majority of children as well.

The teachers and the principals I approached mentioned this program as the axis for the education of these kids. Notwithstanding, there is no general instruction in the national curriculum of Hungary for the implementation of this program. Besides, it is not mandatory, so each school should be free to determine if it is appropriate to implement it in the school or the guidelines to do it, or the type of methodology to use. In some schools, there is one official day for multicultural exhibitions, when children share traditions from their home countries, through dance performance, drawings, and oral presentations. Intercultural education may be used to build such an environment as it promotes the creation of a common learning and living space in which all students can dialogue, recognize their similarities beyond their differences, show respect for one another, and potentially change the way they see themselves and others.

There are different types of challenges that migrant children face when enrolling in school. One of them is the limited scope of initial assessment, which does not always consider their academic performance in their home country. This leads to inappropriate grade placement because it is subjected to the age of the child and Hungarian language level. The other hardships are the language provision that is not adapted to the needs of students with a different mother tongue; insufficient learning support as well as a lack of social and emotional support; teachers who are not trained to deal with diversity in the classroom; and deficient parents' involvement in the process. These difficulties are framed in the absence of educational policies that deal with this particular situation. For the last years, the government has promoted a campaign against

immigrants, and its priority is not precisely to design a program of social integration or education for these children.

The teachers interviewed also agree on the important role the NGOs have in the integration of these kids in the host country. Moreover, they recognize the valuable work they do with these kids to give them the necessary academic support to reach the level of the subject contents. They also think that the joint work schools do with NGOs is a key aspect for a successful education and integration of these kids.

Proficiency in the language of instruction is necessary for students to access the school curriculum and to benefit from the learning opportunities offered by schools. School performance depends very much on students' level of literacy in the language of instruction. Teachers perceive language as the door for children to fulfill their potential in education, which plays a major role in building a more democratic and equitable society.

Moreover, themes concerning the language of instruction in the mainstream classes and the monolingual habitus (Gogolin, 1997; Piller, 2016) of the school were gathered. This situation results in linguistically mediated social injustice that is evident in the classrooms of linguistic diversity. The increasing presence of migrant children in Europe, including Hungary, however, makes linguistic and cultural diversity visible in schools. This visibility could invite policymakers to rethink its consequences for the conception of education and to come up with practices improving the conditions of schooling, recognizing the intercultural benefits of the multicultural and multilingual constellation of classrooms for all the students. One of the responsibilities of schools is precisely to extend the in-class practices to families and local communities to use the rich resources that linguistic and cultural diversity brings. In fact, migrant children with their languages, traditions, cultures, way of thinking, along with parents' support, teachers, and other stakeholders, contribute to ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong opportunities for everybody. This policy could be achieved by the multilingual habitus (Benson, 2014), which makes the language of instruction explicit through the development of appropriate materials that reflect the linguistic diversity of the learners and the community they belong to.

6.5 Role of MissionPlace* in the social inclusion of the children and youths

The fourth sub-question addressed in this study was *what is the role of MissionPlace* in the social inclusion of these children?*

MissionPlace* is an NGO in Budapest, supported by the Reformed church. This was the setting where I did the fieldwork for this study. The main goal of MissionPlace* is to see

refugees at the same level as a Hungarian citizen. Social inclusion is their goal. They want the same opportunities for refugees and people with subsidiary protection; thus, the housing program and the language program are very important in the social inclusion of refugees. The NGO rents apartments directly from landlords for the housing program and then rents them to refugees, so they act as the support and mediator in this process. Meanwhile, these people study Hungarian for free in the NGO and, if they require any guidance in vocational training, MissionPlace* also helps.

As long as the housing program lasts, the person has to attend Hungarian lessons and show improvement in the process of learning. When the housing program finishes, refugees will know Hungarian, and after reaching this proficiency in the language, integration in the host country will be easier. Both language and housing programs are crucial to finding a job, with the help and support of MissionPlace*. They help them prepare for the job interviews, write the CV and contact the responsible for the job offer. If they have health problems, the NGO also provides guidance and support in the procedure to go to the doctor. If they need a lawyer or they get a negative response from the government in any legal procedure, MissionPlace* provides a lawyer. In a nutshell, all the support refugees need to start a life in Hungary is offered by the NGO. This is the role it has in the program of social inclusion of refugees. The main purpose of MissionPlace* is to see refugees participate actively and completely in the host society; thus, social justice can be palpable.

As the NGO supports refugee and migrant people of all ages and backgrounds, they also offer a program of academic tutoring for children and youths and support the process of enrolling in school. They believe that the most important part to help children integrate into the host country is schooling. Teachers in the NGO have a study plan for adults and a separate plan for children based on individual needs. The teachers help them with the content of the school and simultaneously with Hungarian learning. The work with children has a different approach and methodology than the work with adults. MissionPlace* has never worked with unaccompanied children. After the asylum-seeking process finishes, these children are sent to a foster home in Fót, a small city near Budapest. For this reason, the NGO has always worked with children who arrived in Hungary with both parents or any of them.

Another important role the NGO plays in the social inclusion of these children is as a mediator in the relationship between parents and children and parents-school. MissionPlace* follows all the process of schooling of every child, from the moment of their registration until their graduation. They act as the channel of communication between school and parents. All types of communication are sent to the NGO, and then the NGO communicates it to the parents. Teachers of the NGO attend school meetings with parents when it is needed. Likewise,

MissionPlace* mediates between parents and children when there are tensions or conflicts caused by cultural factors or ways of thinking that affect the learning process of the kids.

6.6 Negotiation of identities when facing contradictory linguistic and cultural needs

The main research question that led this study was *how do refugee and migrant children and youths negotiate their identities when facing potentially contradictory linguistic and other cultural needs in their daily activities in school?*

Child migration is a common phenomenon in society and has been increasing lately because of socio-economic, political, or environmental reasons. Many children have to flee their homes. Some of them set forth on the journey with their parents, and some others, unaccompanied. It is interesting to know that most of these children who migrate with their parents did not make the decision to do it, but they were subjected to their parents' decisions. This forced displacement carries a feeling of uprooting that influences the individual and social development of these children. Every child is unique, and as such, brings with him experiences, stories, and memories that interplay at the moment of interacting. Every interaction is social, and thus, the conception of the social is the axis to understand that identities result from contestation and negotiation in discursive scenarios. Identities are flexible, multi-layered, adaptable, in permanent construction and dialogue. In this interaction, different factors, external or internal, intertwine to make meaning and create positionings that represent specific moments within the interaction. These stances are shaped in a continuous relationship of self and others.

Within this framework of child migration and the implication it has for children's social development, it is important to recall that the understanding of identity along this study has drawn on the definition by Bucholtz and Hall (2005), as "the social positioning of the self and others" (p. 586). That is why different authors talk about identities instead of a single identity. The current study analyzes these identities in the youths and children through the interpretation of their narratives from a sociocultural linguistic perspective. Narratives are a form of discourse that displays different positions and roles that the teller takes in the organized events or stories he/she narrates. Therefore, narratives are key accounts to understand the negotiations of identities through linguistic resources and discursive elements participants use.

In order to answer the main research question, I read through the narratives and identified social positionings through the five principles underlying the sociocultural linguistic approach. The principle of emergence worked as an intersecting line emanating from the understanding of identity as an emerging phenomenon from the specific conditions of linguistic interaction. This principle was applicable in all instances of identity construction. According to

Bucholtz and Hall (2005), identity, as emergent, can be unraveled when linguistic features show the deviance of the social category to which individuals are normatively assigned. Empowerment, integration, and recognition through Hungarian have presented the identities negotiated in scenarios of gratitude and empowerment and their interaction in the integration process. The place language has in social inclusion is of significant importance from the youths' perspective. However, it is important to mention that the different negotiations of identity are not mutually exclusive, and they intersect in specific situations of the different social interactions.

The principle of positionality encompasses constructs of social subjectivity, local identity categories, and transitory interactional positions, rather than a collection of broad social categories that frequently circulate in research when exploring identity. Therefore, Bucholtz and Hall (2005) state that identities entail "(a) macro-level demographic categories; (b) local, ethnographically specific cultural positions; and (c) temporary and interactionally specific stances and participant roles" (p. 592). Macro-level demographic categories, such as age, gender, and ethnicity, are complemented by negotiation with local cultures and attitudes in interactions with others. Navigating between two cultures is the interpretation of the struggles these children experience when the culture of their home country or their parents' encounter the culture of the host society. These struggles are shaped in interaction with others and within macro-structures of power that frame beliefs, traditions, and behaviors in the individuals, which definitely affect the process of negotiation of identities according to the social context where these youths interact.

The principle of indexicality entails identity relations through the use of language. Linguistic forms are used to construct identity positions that are the result of interactional contexts, but at the same time, are linked to social meaning. An index is a linguistic form that depends on the interactional context to have meaning. According to Bucholtz and Hall (2005), indexical processes happen at different levels of linguistic structure and use, including "(a) overt mention of identity categories and labels; (b) implicatures and presuppositions regarding one's own or others' identity position; (c) displayed evaluative and epistemic orientations to ongoing talk, as well as interactional footings and participant roles; and (d) the use of linguistic structures and systems that are ideologically associated with specific personas and groups" (p. 594). *Overcoming the language barrier in school* is one of the categories that represent the struggles these children and youths have to face when living two simultaneous processes. One of them is learning Hungarian, and the other is trying to understand the contents of the school subjects and learn. The traces of identity that are unveiled in the narratives shift across different feelings and positionings related to their configuration as Hungarian learners.

The relationality principle highlights that identities are not seen as autonomous or independent, but that emerge as the result of social interaction, which creates meaning in relation to other identity positions. Bucholtz and Hall (2005) describe identities as intersubjectively constructed through complementary relations, including "similarity/difference, genuineness/artifice, and authority/delegitimacy" (p. 598). *Acting as conduits for understanding between Hungarian and the mother tongue* unveils the identities these youths negotiate in school and other social contexts when facing contradictory linguistic needs. They can shift from translators to translated, depending on the interactional situation they are experiencing. They become translators for their mothers, who do not speak Hungarian and translated by classmates to bridge over linguistic needs in school. Other traces of identity revealed in the narratives are related to language users through the translanguaging strategy. These youths draw on the languages they use to make communication possible in specific situations.

The principle of partialness is the consequence of the relationality principle. As identity is relational, it will always be partial due to the contextually situated and ideologically configurations of self and others in which identity is constructed. Any construction of identity is in constant movement as the interaction evolves. According to Bucholtz and Hall (2005), identity is not only contextual but also ideological; it is partially deliberate and intentional. Identity can be purposefully portrayed, but at the same time, it is negotiated in interaction; it is partially an outcome of others' perceptions and an effect of larger ideological processes as well. The principle of partialness entails the dynamic and multifaceted ways in which identity is constructed and facilitates the understanding of identity as a phenomenon relying on agency as a social action. *Fleeing from war and envisioning their future* is one of the interpretations I gave to the negotiation of identities these youths unfolded in their narratives. The multiple social positionings these children have determined through their social action in specific contexts of interaction have shifted across time and space. Thus, agency as social action is decisive in these negotiations of identity. These social positionings are constructed in relation to macro-social categories that have been imposed by the media, where refugees are represented as dependent, passive, and voiceless.

6.7 Summary of the chapter

This chapter of discussion and critical reflections brought the interpretations of the data generated by the three groups of participants, as a result of personal narratives constructed by the migrant and refugee children and youths and interviews conducted to school teachers and staff in MissionPlace*, the setting where I did the fieldwork. After analyzing the data following

the five principles of the sociocultural linguistic approach, proposed by Bucholtz and Hall (2005) for the narratives, and the thematic analysis, proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006), for the interviews, eight categories emerged. These categories were the basis to answer the research questions through the identification of broad topics that led the discussion and oriented the answers presented in this chapter. The main question and the four sub-questions posed to conduct this research are discussed under five sections of this chapter. The first sub-question that corresponds to *how these children perceive themselves in the school as new arrivals in Hungary?* is discussed under the heading of self-perceptions migrant and refugee children in the school as new arrivals in Hungary. The second sub-question, *what roles do the languages spoken by these children play in their construction and negotiation of identity?* Is discussed in the section on the role of languages in the construction and negotiation of identities. The third and fourth sub-questions, *how do school teachers understand the education and integration process of migrant and refugee children in Hungary?* And *what is the role of MissionPlace* in the social inclusion of these children?* Are answered under the headings of *education and integration process from the perspective of school teachers and principals, and the role of MissionPlace* in the social inclusion of the children and youths.* The last section of the chapter discussed the main question of the research: *How do refugee and migrant children and youths negotiate their identities when facing potentially contradictory linguistic and other cultural needs in their daily activities in school?*

Conclusion

The purpose of this research was to explore the linguistic dimension of discrimination in education with a specific focus on migration in the broad field of linguistic diversity and social justice, which is a highly invisible aspect of social vulnerability. Thus, this study investigated the potential tensions and conflicts among languages and cultures of refugee and migrant children in the Hungarian education context and the negotiation of identities these children perform to position themselves in the new society. This research addressed issues at the intersection of language and identity and language rights and ideology. Language is the vehicle to construct identity, and it is embedded in ideological processes and structures of power that influence the formation of identities. As discussed in the literature review and theoretical framework, identity has been broadly studied in the last decades in different fields of the social sciences and humanities. Likewise, migration due to globalization and other specific reasons has been studied from varied angles and perspectives. However, there is a limited amount of published research related to identity construction of migrant children in Hungary. This is because Hungary is a country that is not considered an immigration country within the EU but rather a transit country for asylum seekers. Thus, this study can become a first step to start the reflection towards new educational dynamics that favor cultural and linguistic diversity for the economic and social strengthening of the country.

In applied linguistics, this research contributed to the understanding and implementing the five principles of the sociocultural linguistic approach (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005) to analyze narratives when studying identity, which is conceived as a social and cultural constructed phenomenon during an interaction. This approach is helpful to make identity palpable through language use. In conjunction with narrative analysis, this approach expands the methodological framework to work with narratives and identities. Furthermore, this study evidences the broader applicability of the sociocultural linguistic approach as a theoretical and methodological framework in linguistic studies. Moreover, its interactional-oriented character broadens its implementation in studies of discourse.

In this research, narratives were interpreted as sites of discourse where language practices and social interaction converge (De Fina & Baynham, 2012). Therefore, the linguistic elements embedded in the narratives and the stories that come to life again told from different angles of the narrator's position are rich sites of negotiation of identities. Besides, the five principles of the sociocultural linguistic approach offered key elements to anchor the concept of identity in social interaction. Identity under the sociocultural linguistic approach is understood as a social and cultural phenomenon achieved intersubjectively. The linguistic

resources children and youths used in their narratives were the ones that facilitated the exploration and interpretation of identity positionings, as well as the understanding of identity as an ongoing construction in every discursive context. It can be observed that the five principles intertwine in discourse, which broaden the perspective to understand and analyze identity as a linguistic phenomenon. Although each principle focuses on particular linguistic elements and relations, there are no marked boundaries between them.

For this study, it was unnecessary to apply the five principles to their fullest but to consider the main aspects that each principle implies. As others influence the individual's self-identity, it was necessary to analyze how others affected the refugee and migrant youths' identities as I reflected on identity negotiation processes. In fact, through the narratives, it was evident that identity positions are portrayed as articulations of the interactions among these children and youths and other people in the school and outside the school, such as classmates, teachers, and neighbors. These social interactions are crucial to understanding how identity is constructed and negotiated according to what characterizes the principles of emergence, positionality, indexicality, relationality, and partialness. Identity, as multilayered, performs conflicts, struggles, and gaps. These conflicts of refugee and migrant children were analyzed through the lens of language rights, understood as a constituent part of human rights, in which the individual and group rights prevail over the language itself (Kymlicka, 2001).

The emergence and positionality principles emphasize that identity is constructed in discourse and emerges in the interaction. As a result, these principles challenge the fixed and essentialist visions of identity framed in structuralist models. Moreover, these two principles include temporary interactional positions situated in local contexts, which broaden the perspective of identity within macro-social structures. The principle of indexicality summarizes the linguistic resources used by the interactants to position themselves and others in discourse. And the principles of relationality and partialness are intrinsically connected in the sense that both describe the multiple and flexible facets of identity, considering complementary relations shaped through identity processes. These two principles also consider the restrictions of the individual as self and the role of social action in the process of identity construction.

Each narrative generated during the data collection was analyzed and interpreted separately. I read through them and underlined excerpts that could be coded under the title of each principle organizing this exercise in the software Delve. After having finished this first coding process based on the identification of the linguistic resources and relations explained in the five principles, I proceeded to the second task of coding, which was focused on underlining identity positions, conflicts, and negotiations in the excerpts already coded under the labels of

the five principles. I used the same tools of the software Delve to select, label, and organize the excerpts.

I organized five categories to have an overview of the 22 narratives. Each category has a name that represents how these children negotiate their identities when facing tensions in the school and their social encounters. These categories were (1) fleeing from war and envisioning their future, (2) acting as conduits for understanding between Hungarian and their mother tongue, (3) navigating between two cultures, (4) overcoming the language barrier in school, and (5) empowerment, integration, and recognition through Hungarian.

Furthermore, to extend the discussion on integration and educational policies as a fundamental part of social justice and language rights, I interviewed two groups of participants: school teachers and principals and staff in MissionPlace*. The type of interviews and the data analysis procedure I conducted with these groups were different compared to the collection and interpretation of the children's narratives. For these two sets of data, I used thematic analysis to find common themes among the participants regarding the questions addressed in the interviews. Although the type of interview conducted to the staff in MissionPlace* was ethnographic, I also analyzed the data finding common themes that afterward I could conflate to organize overarching themes between the two groups of participants. After this, and finding points of intersections with the analysis of the narratives, I could answer the main research question and the four sub-questions that led this study. From the thematic analysis of the two sets of data, I created three categories, namely (1) invisibility of refugee and migrant children in the educational policy, (2) building boundaries in the classroom through monolingual teaching practices, and (3) MissionPlace* as the place of mediation between children, family, and school. The eight categories with the corresponding research questions are organized in Table 10 in the next page.

Migration implies significant changes in the way of life. It requires adjustments that lead to face new realities in the resettlement place. These modifications entail an open and receptive mind, not only from the newcomers but also from the locals in the host country. This intersection between cultures, ways of thinking, languages, and socio-economic backgrounds constitutes a decisive moment to reshape and negotiate identities as individuals and construct a balanced integration process. Migrants have to struggle daily with their own beliefs, values, and traditions to find their place in the host society. All these changes and the learning experiences they must face make them different people in negotiating identities. Ideologies understood as social practices frame the principles underlying education (Warriner, 2015) as assumptions, beliefs, and prejudices shape them.

Table 10. Research questions and categories

<table>
<tr><th colspan="3">Research questions</th><th>Categories</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="4">How do refugee and migrant children and youths negotiate their identities when facing potentially contradictory linguistic and other cultural needs in their daily activities in school?</td><td rowspan="4">How do these children perceive themselves in the school as new arrivals in Hungary?</td><td rowspan="6">What roles do the languages spoken by these children play in their construction and negotiation of identity?</td><td>fleeing from war and envisioning their future</td></tr>
<tr><td>acting as conduits for understanding between Hungarian and their mother tongue</td></tr>
<tr><td>navigating between two cultures</td></tr>
<tr><td>overcoming the language barrier in school</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">How do school teachers understand the education and integration process of migrant and refugee children in Hungary?</td><td rowspan="2"></td><td>empowerment, integration, and recognition through Hungarian</td></tr>
<tr><td>invisibility of refugee and migrant children in the educational policy</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>building boundaries in the classroom through monolingual teaching practices</td></tr>
<tr><td>What is the role of MissionPlace* in the social inclusion of these children?</td><td></td><td>MissionPlace* as the place of mediation between children, family, and school</td></tr>
</table>

Migration implies significant changes in the way of life. It requires adjustments that lead to face new realities in the resettlement place. These modifications entail an open and receptive mind, not only from the newcomers but also from the locals in the host country. This intersection between cultures, ways of thinking, languages, and socio-economic backgrounds constitutes a decisive moment to reshape and negotiate identities as individuals and construct a balanced integration process. Migrants have to struggle daily with their own beliefs, values, and traditions to find their place in the host society. All these changes and the learning experiences they must face make them different people in negotiating identities. Ideologies understood as social practices frame the principles underlying education (Warriner, 2015) as assumptions, beliefs, and prejudices shape them.

Commonly, people associate identity with one nationality, one particular language, and one culture. This assumption makes people feel they do not belong to the new community or

the country of origin. There is a perception of dissolution in some of the narratives and a sense of detachment that leads the responsibility to the collective. In this sense, the microanalysis of linguistic resources in the narratives, such as the use of personal pronouns in specific moments of the narrative, eases the process of interpretation. These pronouns set symbolic barriers between individuals and create imagined communities (Anderson, 1983, 1991) that can be modified depending on the social interaction. The concept of imagined communities is linked to the notion of belongingness, and its symbolic representation is given unconsciously with the use of certain personal pronouns. The use of "us" in the narratives of the migrant children and youth was attached to how they perceive themselves in the host society. The construction of a collective identity that the non-Hungarian-born individuals represent makes them feel different somehow.

On the one hand, my contribution was to extend the results of the various studies that explore the relevance of language policies of linguistic diversity in schooling for their effect in the negotiation of children's identities in the ongoing migration process in Europe. On the other hand, it was of a more theoretical and general nature in so far as it is meant to test the explanatory power of the Minority Language Rights (MLR) model through the discussion of the possible social and linguistic injustices of the educational system. In terms of research in applied linguistics, this study continues the debate on how from narrative analysis, integration through education in Europe can be better understood for the design and implementation of coexistence strategies in multicultural settings. Issues in the relationship between linguistic diversity and social justice can be considered as a way forward for such a future.

Within the different challenges that migrant children and youth have to face on a daily basis, to achieve their academic tasks and understand what they are studying in the school, language is one of them. Integration of migrants presents the most common challenges new arrivals have to face, with the language being one of the first barriers in their process of recognition, adaptation, and further integration. This issue hinders the access and advance in the educational system to fully complete the requirements of every class. In order to overcome this barrier, schooling and authorities have to be prepared with a well-planned educational system that considers this challenge as the most urgent to cope with. Another issue to overcome is that some children arrive with previous knowledge or attested skills, or some others have gaps in their education background, or sometimes they have not had any schooling before arriving. The problem of this basically lies in the lack of strategies and tests to properly assess children's previous knowledge. The seminar report on the integration of migrants (European Commission/Eurydice, 2017) also highlights this situation. Therefore, language becomes a barrier to understanding, learning, and preparing for future opportunities.

Studies regarding the teaching of migrant students show that in Hungary, the topic of preservation of the language and culture of origin throughout the schooling of migrant children remains virtually untouched and ignored in connection with the integration of migrants into school and society. Upon checking the content of the intercultural pedagogical program against the practice of the school education of migrant students, it can be seen that the program has not been widely used. Besides, its application is accidental, and schools address the demands and needs of migrant students only to the strictly necessary extent, mainly focusing on their language progress and alignment regarding the different school subjects.

Due to the Hungarian legislation and lack of budget support, programs promoting school integration within spaces of linguistic diversity are not guaranteed.

In other words, Hungary has not become a host country during the increasing situation of migration in Europe. Nevertheless, the European Commission has promoted the inclusion and adaptation of intercultural programs to create new forms of education based on linguistic and cultural diversity resulting from continuous migration and globalization. But in practice, some European Union countries have not paid enough attention to the benefits of education in the multilingual atmosphere of Europe. Although Hungary is not considered a country of immigration because of the campaigns against immigrants, it still receives migrants from different backgrounds.

Nevertheless, the focus on education continues to be based on principles of the monolingual habitus, which mark the distance between the goal of integration and the teaching practices implemented in the classroom. If these migrant children do not know the host country's language, they are not able to follow the contents of the subjects in the school. This is a conflicting situation that needs deep analysis and study between the European Union member states.

Regarding the limitations of this study, it is important to mention that the initial research proposal was designed to be implemented with newly arrived children in Sweden. The methodological framework was thought to observe these children in schools and interview them and their teachers. Unfortunately, the conditions to move to Sweden to do the research were modified, and I could not travel. This situation made me rethink the methodological organization of the study to select the setting and population in Hungary, which was not easy. Due to this, one of the limitations of the study was the amount of qualitative material that I collected to be analyzed through the lens of the narrative approach. In order to fill the methodological gaps caused by the change of setting and population, I did not narrow the variables to select the participants or the number of participants to be interviewed in the study. Narrative analysis is more enriching when the number of narratives is no more than ten. In this

way, the analysis can be deepened, and the results of each narrative can be presented in more detail. The data handling and analysis approach made the work overwhelming. Working with three groups of participants, with different variables within the same group, made the analysis and the interpretation more difficult.

I see future research stemming from this study taking several directions. One of them is in language learning, research on Hungarian learning from a decolonial perspective. This research should include the analysis of the intercultural pedagogical program that some schools in Hungary implement, and that was originally issued to work on the integration of migrant children. Comparative studies with educational models designed and implemented in countries such as Sweden, Germany, Finland, and Austria can open up new perspectives for integration and positive changes that adjust to the multicultural and linguistic models of modern times towards constructing a more just and equitable society. I also recommend extending the research with migrant and refugee children from the angle of the host society. It would be interesting to deepen how much the host society is willing to encourage linguistic diversity as a legitimate form of communication. The concept of transculturalism, instead of interculturalism, would be the framework for this research. Other studies that narrow the scope of the research can be carried out after selecting the participants taking into account variables such as age, mother tongue, length of stay in Hungary, legal status, or/and religion. The findings in these studies will prepare the ground to do comparative studies. Parents can also be involved in this type of study.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 Presentation Letter in Hungarian

Szegedi Tudományegyetem (SzTE)* University of Szeged
Angol-Amerikai Intézet * Institute of English and American Studies
Szeged, Egyetem u. 2. Hungary, H-6722
Tel./Fax: (62) 544-259; <ieas@lit.u-szeged.hu>

Február 18, 2019

Tisztelt Hölgyem /Uram!

Eliana Garzón Duartet szeretném bemutatni, a Szegedi Tudományegyetem Nyelvészeti Doktori Iskolájának harmadéves PhD hallgatóját az Angol Alkalmazott Nyelvészeti programban. Eliana jelenleg a "Menekült gyerekek identitás alkotása és a nyelvi jogok" című projektjén dolgozik. A projekt az oktatásban előforduló diszkrimináció nyelvi dimenzióit kutatja, a nyelvhez való hozzáférés társadalmi igazságosság tágabb tudományos területen belül, amely a szociális sebezhetőség és identitás alkotás legkevésbé látható aspektusa. A gyermek menekültek életét a megélt nyelvi és kulturális feszültségek, konfliktusok szempontjából kívánja vizsgálni, valamint az ezek sikeres áthidalására tett erőfeszítéseket a magyar oktatás kontextusában. Jelenleg budapesti terepmunkát készül folytatni, adatgyűjtése során a következő kérdésekre fog fókuszálni: (1) hogyan kezelik ezek a gyerekek az iskoláztatásuk során felmerülő kommunikációs konfliktusokat; (2) milyen szerepet játszik a nyelvi választás identitás alkotásukban az iskolai kontextuson belül; (3) én-tudatuk, identitásuk nyelvi és kulturális dimenzióinak egybeesése és különbözősége.
Két és fél éve vagyok Eliana témavezetője, kutatása folyamatának kezdete óta ismerem munkáját. Kiváló eredménnyel védte meg kutatási tervét 2018. júniusában. Kolumbiában tanárként és iskola-menedzserként szerzett korábban tapasztalatot, valamint gyermekjogi kutatási konzulensként vett részt különböző nemzetközi kutatási projektekben. Tanulmányi és szakmai tapasztalatainak részleteit önéletrajzában olvashatják. Felelős, odaadó kutatónak ismertem meg.
További információk szükségessége esetén állok szíves rendelkezésükre.

Tisztelettel,

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Appendix 2 Consent Form for Child Participants

I volunteer to participate in a research project conducted by the PhD candidate, Garzón Duarte Eliana, from the program of English Applied Linguistics, at the Doctoral School of Linguistics, University of Szeged. I understand that this project is designed to gather information about our process of integration in the Hungarian society and the efforts to bridge possible tensions among languages and cultures; all of this only for academic purposes. I understand that the researcher will not identify me by name in any reports using information obtained from interviews or observations, and that my confidentiality as a participant in this study will remain secure. I understand that any pictures of me will be taken to be used in any reports. I also understand that the audio records will be used only by the researcher for the purpose of transcribing the texts. These precautions will protect my anonymity as a participant of this research.

Participant name: _____
My signature: _____
Date: _____

Signature of the researcher: _____

Appendix 3 Parental Consent Form

I allow my child to participate in the research project conducted by the PhD candidate, Garzón Duarte Eliana, from the program of English Applied Linguistics, at the Doctoral School of Linguistics, University of Szeged. I understand that this project is designed to gather information about my child's process of integration in the Hungarian society and the efforts to bridge possible tensions among languages and cultures; all of this only for academic purposes. I understand that the researcher will not identify my child by his/her name in any reports using information obtained from interviews or observations, and that his/her confidentiality as a participant in this study will remain secure. I understand that any pictures of him/her will be taken to be used in any reports. I also understand that the audio records will be used only by the researcher for the purpose of transcribing the texts. These precautions will protect his/her anonymity as a participant of this research.

Parent name: _____
Signature: _____
Date: _____

Signature of the researcher: _____

Appendix 4 Interview for School Teachers and Principals

I kindly ask you for your agreement on recording the interview.

1) What educational policies support the enrolment of these newly arrived children in this school?
2) What was the process for you to register these children in the school?
3) Did these children take any academic/performance tests for you to assess their academic level?
4) How do you see the integration of these children in the school so far?
5) What role do you think Hungarian and the children's first language may have in their integration?
6) How do you see their relationship with other children in the class?
7) What difficulties do these children encounter in school in your experience?
8) Are there any programs in the school that aim at integrating these children?
9) Do you think it would make your job easier if you had one / had a better one?
10) Do you think the national policies of integration consider your local needs in relation to the child refugees' first language and their ability to learn Hungarian?

Appendix 5 Official Documents Analyzed

Documents	Link
World Migration Report 2020	https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/wmr_2020.pdf
Refugee and Migrant Children in Europe Accompanied, Unaccompanied and Separated	https://www.unicef.org/eca/media/12671/file
Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees	https://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10
COUNCIL DIRECTIVE 2004/83/EC of 29 April 2004 on minimum standards for the qualification and status of third country nationals or stateless persons as refugees or as persons who otherwise need international protection and the content of the protection granted	https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:32004L0083&qid=1611438726819&from=en
Convention relating to the status of stateless persons	https://www.unhcr.org/ibelong/wp-content/uploads/1954-Convention-relating-to-the-Status-of-Stateless-Persons_ENG.pdf

All valid permits by reason, length of validity and citizenship on 31 December of each year	http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=migr_resvalid&lang=en
Külföldi állampolgárok vándorlása [Migration of international citizens]	http://statinfo.ksh.hu/Statinfo/haViewer.jsp
Hungary Refugee Statistics 1989-2021	https://www.macrotrends.net/countries/HUN/hungary/refugee-statistics
Asylum and migration in the EU: facts and figures	https://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/headlines/society/20170629STO78630/asylum-and-migration-in-the-eu-facts-and-figures
The process of residence permit in Hungary	https://asylumineurope.org/reports/country/hungary/content-international-protection/status-and-residence/residence-permit/
The Migration Strategy and the seven-year strategic document related to Asylum and Migration Fund established by the European Union for the years 2014-20	http://belugyialapok.hu/alapok/sites/default/files/Migration%20Strategy%20Hungary.pdf
Interkulturális pedagógiai program (Original language title)	https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/index.cfm?action=furl.go&go=/librarydoc/intercultural-pedagogical-programme

ASSESS Project on the Integration of Vulnerable Migrant Groups: National Reports on Hungary	https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/librarydoc/assess-project-on-the-integration-of-vulnerable-migrant-groups-national-reports-on-hungary
Act CXC of 2011 on National Public Education	https://www.ilo.org/dyn/natlex/docs/ELECTRONIC/106832/131356/F-1702001629/act_national_education.pdf
Home at last for young refugees in Hungarian orphanage	https://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2016/2/56cafd8e5/home-young-refugees-hungarian-orphanage.html
Almost 14 000 unaccompanied minors among asylum seekers registered in the EU in 2019	https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/documents/2995521/10774034/3-28042020-AP-EN.pdf/03c694ba-9a9b-1a50-c9f4-29db665221a8
Country Report: Hungary	https://asylumineurope.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/report-download_aida_hu_2019update.pdf
Refugee and Migrant Children in Europe Accompanied, Unaccompanied and Separated	https://www.unicef.org/eca/media/12671/file
Joint Working Group seminar on the integration of migrants, Brussels, 28 March 2017	https://ec.europa.eu/education/sites/default/files/document-library-docs/2017-report-migrant-integration_en.pdf
COUNCIL DIRECTIVE 2004/83/EC of 29 April 2004	https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:32004L0083&qid=1611438726819&from=en

on minimum standards for the qualification and status of third country nationals or stateless persons as refugees or as persons who otherwise need international protection and the content of the protection granted	
Integrating students from migrant backgrounds into schools in Europe	https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/39c05fd6-2446-11e9-8d04-01aa75ed71a1/language-en/format-PDF
Legislation and Official Policy Documents	https://eacea.ec.europa.eu/national-policies/eurydice/content/legislation-29_en
Communication from the commission to the European Parliament, the council, the European economic and social committee and the committee of the regions On a European agenda for culture in a globalizing world	https://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2007:0242:FIN:EN:PDF
Communication from the commission to the European Parliament, the council, the European economic and social committee	https://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2008:0566:FIN:EN:PDF

and the committee of the regions Multilingualism: an asset for Europe and a shared commitment	
Council conclusion of 21 November 2008 on a European strategy for multilingualism (2008/C 320/01)	https://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2008:320:0001:0003:EN:PDF
Council conclusions of 20 May 2014 on multilingualism and the development of language competences (2014/C 183/06)	https://eurlex.europa.eu/legalcontent/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52014XG0614(06)&from=EN
Convention on the Rights of the Child Adopted and opened for signature, ratification and accession by General Assembly resolution 44/25 of 20 November 1989 entry into force 2 September 1990, in accordance with article 49	https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/crc.aspx?fbclid=IwAR35cVUouzhmgWieqVBgZYcB2B0AxOmow0WCMu4zy7eIWfQD-VMAwGkORks

Appendix 6 Samples of Sections of Narratives' Transcripts

Akil (14, Iraq)

I am 14 years old. We came in 2011. I was five years old when we arrived to Hungary. I don't really remember so much from Iraq. I don't remember when we came to Hungary. We lived first in Debrecen. I was there in kindergarten first, then we moved to Budapest and my brother was in the kindergarten, he started in Budapest. I was at school from first to third class, then we went to Szeged. In Szeged my brother started school. Then, we moved to Budapest.

My classmate's house was near to ours, so every time we came down, played and everything. There were two teachers: Anett néni and Zsóka néni and they were really special teachers, they helped me so much and now I speak to them on mobile, so we speak. The relationship with my classmates was good. In kindergarten I didn't speak so much Hungarian, I was learning and when I went to the school I started to speak a little with the others, so I heard what they were speaking, I was not very good in speaking, but I tried to communicate. But in second class, I was speaking better in Hungarian.

Sometimes I translated my mom in school. But in my class, there is somebody from Egypt and his mom is from Hungary and they were translating for us, because the mother can speak a little Arabic, so they helped us. So, this woman was helping us with Hungarian and she told us what we needed to do, what's the important and she helped us so much. Hungarian was sometimes easy, sometimes it was difficult. I don't know how to tell it in English, Hungarian or Arabic. I still have this problem, it is difficult to say something perfectly. Sometimes when I say the numbers, I change the number, like twenty-three, we say it like in Hungarian, twenty-three like in other language, but in Arabic we say three-twenty and sometimes I change the numbers.

Some things changed, like the teachers, there are so many teachers and, in the school, the one in Budapest, they weren't so many teachers. There were two teachers and they teach us everything. And here every teacher is doing something else, like math is doing the math and science, science. I'm good with everybody, everybody is good. Only in the class there is one child that don't speak so much. He doesn't like the others, so he doesn't speak so much. He doesn't have so many friends; he doesn't like to communicate. The teachers help me so much and they are good teachers. They can teach easily and they're helpful.

I've never felt someone was rude to me, never. Just normal. I understand at the same level as the others, yes. I know everything the same. Maybe I only have language difficulties in math, because sometimes I change the numbers. When the teacher asks me, I know the answer perfectly, but I don't say it good, because I change the numbers. History is ok for me, I like it. With the language I don't have any problems, there is "ly and j" and sometimes I change them, but it's a common problem for the Hungarians as well.

I feel Szeged is safer than Budapest, because is smaller. When I wanted to meet with my friends, we know every part of Szeged, so it's easy when we are going somewhere. But Budapest is a pretty big city, is the biggest, I think. It's not safe as Szeged, it's more dangerous, I think.
I have friends, everybody in the school is my friend. There is a girl from class C, she is from America, if I know good, because she said she was from America.

My friends and teachers ask me so much about Arabic culture. They question so much about my life, where I come from, were we lived before, why did we come here and this type, or what kind of food we eat and these questions. What type of plants, trees are in Iraq. I can't answer some of them. I feel closer to Hungarian culture than to Arabic, because I don't really remember about my country.

If it's going to be safe and no more fight, and this, I will maybe go to Iraq to visit. I think it's going to be safe. Our grandfather is sometimes in Turkey and sometimes in Iraq, so they're changing. But they're more in Turkey because it's not very safe in Iraq. We call them almost every day and speak what's new. But we were all the family in December in Turkey: me, my brother, my mother, my mother's sister, her daughter so all the family was there, last Christmas. My mom looks in the internet and I know from her that Iraq is not safe.

All my friends are here and I feel like I was born here, so I feel it's my culture. My mom says life is better in Budapest and she can work more easily, because it's a big city with so more markets, so she thinks she can find job more easily. My mom has only friends from Hungary. She only has one Arabic friend, the mom of the child. She is friend of two families, someone was the teacher of my brother, she helped my brother to speak. And the other family is the one from Hungary and Egypt in my class, only those.

Varisha (18, Afghanistan)

When we came here to Hungary, the first year, I didn't know anything, just my two mother languages. I had to go to the school in the camp with the other kids but the teaching was not so good for us, just sitting there and come here and no more. Then, I started to attend the classes for older people in the camp during one year instead of my mom, and there was one teacher that I really loves that helped me so much, and I learnt my first basis of Hungarian with her. I knew by then that my mom was not going to be able to learn this language because she is at home all the time and Hungarian is very hard, so that's why I had to learn the language very well to help my mom for translation.

Then, we rented a flat here in Budapest and I started school in a school near the flat, and everybody was really helpful and nice with me. I met there second moms. I knew words and sentences in Hungarian but I didn't know yet how to make a conversation. Then, we had to move to another flat where was located near Afghan families, so it was good for my mom. It was very far, in district 21. So, the journey to go to school was really long. I wanted to stay there in the same school because they were really nice with me. I improved a lot, from getting low grades until getting five in the process. I have always been one year older compared to my classmates, because my father recommended me to repeat second grade. After that, my marks were better, I was the best student, and you know that this is difficult for a refugee, I was always thankful with my teachers because they really helped me. I was nine years old when finishing second grade.

Teachers in the camp were so hard, like discriminating me, you can't do this, you can't learn this, this is very difficult, but my teachers in the school were totally the opposite. Very kind, very helpful, she placed me normally on one chair with the other kids, she explained me this is the schedule, these are the books. In the afternoon, there was a teacher who helped us, the whole class, with homework and practice, and this helped me a lot, and after two months I could talk with my classmates and construct a type of good relationship. Of course, there were guys who bullying me, but not because of my origin, but because they were just kids. There was a girl who was really bossy and she was jealous of me because I became the best of the class. This girl was from China, there were other two Chinese kids, and one of them had to go back two years before because he didn't understand anything. We were in third grade and he had to go

to first grade again. There were no differences in the treat of teachers to the students despite of the country of origin. Everybody was the same in the classroom.

I remember that my teacher motivated us to participate in the class by raising the hand and we got points, and that motivated me to participate and she always encouraged me to participate, for example, when reading a story or something, so I think this made me learn Hungarian easily as well. There was one volunteer that went to my home once a week and helped me learn Hungarian, but mostly what I learnt was in the school with the subjects.

I think I have to increase my knowledge in Hungarian every time. But it took me to learn Hungarian more or less two years. Now I feel that I have three mother tongues: Dari, Pashto, Hungarian. Dari is the Afghan dialect of Persian. In Afghanistan we learn in summer, in winter we are at home. Summers are really hot, and winters are very cold there. I feel very good in Hungary regarding school. If I compare schools here with schools in Afghanistan. I am really thankful because I have a school here in Hungary and extracurricular programs, and support programs in the school, books, I have everything here.

I want to become a doctor and want to go back to Afghanistan to help people in my country. To help anybody who is in harsh situation. I think that medicine is the best profession in the world. The thing is that sometimes I feel I am not enough good academically to be a doctor, but I want to be a doctor, I have had that goal since I was a child, and still I am working on that, I am not good at self-confidence. That's why I feel sometimes demotivated.

I can compare universities because I have relatives in Austria, UK, Holland, Canada, so I know that my cousins study at good universities and they receive money from the government just to study. I know they are in a good situation if I compare it with Hungary. But I have other type of motivations, like not to choose a profession just because of money. I want to help. My parents tell me ok, stay here, be a professional, stay in one place and then you can travel abroad if you want.

My father's family lives in Afghanistan. We were living in Pakistan just for five years because of the Taliban in Afghanistan, so when we thought the situation was good, we went back to Afghanistan, but it was not completely true. My father emigrated to Norway first and lived there for two years and then he could not solve his situation to took us there, so he went back to Afghanistan, and then we came here together. My uncles and cousins could go to other

countries because there is a direct route from Pakistan to Austria, but my father didn't do it in that way. Anyway, all this journey was because of me. My father was always thinking about me and my future. In Afghanistan you don't really know when you are going to be killed.

Saqib (19, Hungarian/Afghanistan background)

I and my family speak both languages at home. It is mixed. Sometimes in Hungarian, sometimes in Afghan. We mostly speak Afghan. We call it Persian. But we mix the languages. My parents talked to me just in Persian when I was a kid. It is difficult to say how children can learn languages because some cousins that were not born here, for example, speak Hungarian perfectly without accent, despite of their parents don't speak Hungarian. It depends on how long how you've been here. We don't know how babies learn both languages simultaneously. Children learn because when they are outside they hear people talking and we learn. Hungarian has special words. When I was a kid I remember that there were some words I didn't understand, but it was not a difficulty for me because at the end with my classmates we could understand each other without problems. It was easy for me to learn Hungarian in the kindergarten.

I haven't had problems with any Hungarians. Most people don't like immigrants or gypsies, but some of them like them. Some gypsies seem to be Turkish or Arabs because of their features. So Hungarian people think they are gypsies and don't tell them anything. One year ago, there was a huge time of immigration, so there were many people on internet saying things about immigration, but now it is chilling. In Keleti there were many people living there like in a camp. All the media was focused on that situation.

Nowadays, I can understand that many Hungarian people don't like immigration, but we have to understand that something is happening, but you know the problems they make. I am not saying that I am against immigrants, but you know, there are some people who are good and some others who are bad. To be honest, there are many young people who come, young men. They are not educated, they are different, they don't know how to talk with the people, they don't understand that here the culture is different. For example, they don't know how to talk on the street, they make so much noise, and people don't like that.

Hungary is like a transport country. This is the first country for immigrants to move to other countries. To be honest, people don't want to stay here. They want to go to richer countries where they can earn more money. This is a poor country, but it doesn't mean that you cannot

live here because if you want you can go further. You can find job anytime. I am happy here because you can get a good job here. I don't understand why people say they can't find a job here. It depends on the person. If you want to get it, you can do it. It is not like London, for example, people go there to wash dishes and they can earn more, but they spend more and they have to work harder. There are many immigrants there.

I am going to take my exam at the end of high school, then I am going to take a year off, then I will go to the university to study Civil Engineering. In that year off, I want to work with my cousin because he has a very big carpet shop. He started here, and then Germany, and he wants to continue expanding the shop to Romania. It is a very big shop. He is asking me to join him because he needs me in his business. I manage his website because he has to do many things. There is too much work for him. He sleeps just two-three hours because there is a lot of work there. To be honest, it is good for me because I can earn much more money even if I have my diploma. My family wants me to get my diploma. I want to have a B option always. Even if my family has money. If it is about money, you don't have a family. For me it will be a shame if somebody asks me: What did you study? and I say Nothing… So … no.

I know the basis of religion, but I don't practice. There are many things we have to learn by memory to pray. My mom and my dad know those prayers, but not me. It is very hard for me. They don't go to pray five times a day or something like that. They don't use a scarf or something. She is a European woman. We don't have a specific dress code. My mom for example is a very normal woman who goes to shopping, use make up, so people don't recognize she is a Muslim. She likes to go to hairdressers and have her hair well. Even my mom and my sisters are going late at night alone, but in Afghanistan, women can't do that. For example, here, wives are stronger that men.

To be honest, I think the care of a child is very different here in Hungary than in Afghanistan. Here, when the daughter is sixteen years old, the teenager age, goes out and wants to go everywhere and arrives at 9:00 pm at home and the parents just say to them: well, where have you been? ah ok ok, and it is normal for parents. If the girl brings the boyfriend at home, that's very normal. In my culture, things are different, even the girls can't do anything, even my father, for example, and my sister wants to go out at 7:00 pm he says no no you can't go. I am a boy and it is different, because I can protect myself. But anyway, I tell my parents everything and I go outside. With the girls is different. If I had a daughter, I wouldn't give her permission to go out at night to party, because there is too much alcohol, smoke and party and it is not a good

atmosphere for girls. I think she has to take care. If it is a son it is different. I would take care of her as much as I can. Boys can protect themselves. It is different with them. You know, to drink alcohol at that age, I don't like it.

Aiman (23, Syria)

A lot of people abused and people that don't need help they pretended to be Syrian. My interview was over 3 hours, they asked me all the information from Syria, only Syrians can answer that about president, history, tv shows, channels you have to be Syrian to understand. but at the beginning in the big wave they couldn't do it so that's why they couldn't do the right filter. They couldn't handle. the country was not prepared for this situation, so they pretended to be Syrian or from another country in war, to get the residence, but nowadays there are few people and now they have good translators, and everything well prepared, they analyzed your accent.

My mother language is Kurdish and Arabic as well, this is the only official language Arabic, but there are small languages different languages like Kurdish, but my mother speaks Kurdish, so we learned Arabic in school and in the offices is Arabic because you have to. I needed two more years to finish my high school in Syria, but unfortunately, I couldn't because I had to be in Irak, so I couldn't do it there, for example in Sweden my siblings they have an excellent integration program, immediately they could learn Swedish and be integrated in one year. for me it was more difficult, because I had to start in 10th grade and prepare myself. the problem here now I had to start from 8th grade and then you have to continue, so it is not hard to do it, so gonna get something, but it you have to go to history and language and everything, I hope I can do it. I think most of the Syrians have a good education, I am too polite this is what people tell me in my work here. This is from the society in Syria or school, I don't know, maybe it is an effect for us, a positive one.

In 2011 the war started. first it was demonstrations, system has to be changed, we have to be more open, and then, people started to say that people were violated in their rights, then they had guns, and then Russian were there, Americans, Palestine, Irak, everybody, so I don't know, people were afraid, it was crazy, and people started to change. Just the city has a lot of damages, especially the East part of the city. People who live near the sea are living in the paradise, because all the military international bases are there, so you can't go there to live or for tourism, there noting happens. We lived in Damascus.

Here the perception of human is different. In Syria, if somebody attacks, the other attack, they don't care about people or children, whatever, everybody is fighting in Syria, Israel, Russia, America, Turkey, … Russia they want the strategic point to the sea, Israel is fighting because they want to protect themselves, America wants the oil, to help Israel, Turkey wants a part to be united, Iran hates Israel, so that's why…all the government put us as if we don't exist.

People are still afraid, there is no water in some places, it is not the same as before, but it is still the Turkish part and everybody, it's better than before, but still it is bad. People in the capital don't like the government, but you can speak and you can't give your opinion because you are going to be killed. You have to pretend to be happy, it is the same as in North Korea, you have to see his pictures everywhere and people behave as if the president was the salvation of the world, we choose him and he is the one, but people are afraid. Russia, Iran, Irak, Palestine are there. Everything was part of plan. We have terrorists, it is out of control. We don't know what it is happening under the table, we don't know who the enemy is, we don't know.There are many people that can't work in Syria, children can't afford a school. There are many problems.

Elementary school is easy, you have English but actually you don't care, education is not good, Arabic language, I couldn't learn it because it is not a lot. In Sweden my siblings get points to enter the university, in Kurdish they have points. The book that was based on communist system. Media in Syria, books, tv is under control in Syria. When you come to Europe, you see how open they are. It's different.

Then I came back to Hungary after visiting my family in Sweden. I had a friend was here and helped to connect to M*** and K***. In Sweden or Germany, you have social workers, but now in Hungary they don't have this. My friend is form Irak, I met him in the journey. In 8 days, I could manage all my documents here. I managed to find a job, I am still on it, I really like this workplace because they are super kind, it is a really nice place, it's crazy, and I started to learn the language here. In M*** they have Hungarian classes, but they are not as good as here in K***. I really appreciate the help in M***, they helped me a lot as well to start. Now, in K*** I met these kind people. Now I have this good feeling, then I could go to visit my family and came back, you know it is like a refreshing, now I am working, I am learning the language because it is part of the integration and you need it to communicate for people, people speak English, but you have to give back, and pay back, you have to learn the language, people are happy that I speak basic Hungarian and it's a good feeling.

When I started to work, I didn't understand, now I am learning really fast, now my coworkers speak all the time in Hungarian, here I am advancing a lot. My boss is Hungarian and he corrects me kindly and if I don't understand I can ask. In M*** they found me this job, there is a restaurant, I made an interview in English and they told me don't worry, they are very kind, it's a Hungarian restaurant, but they have international food, Syrian, Portugal, Lebanon, Morocco, from the Mediterranean, I do the dishes, cut the vegetables, clean, sometimes I clean, it's really good for not having any education and not to speak the language. You can't work in an office. I work 40 or 45 hours per week, 4 days, I choose the days, because I can come to school and learn, it is flexible my schedule. All of my colleagues speak really good English, so they spoke to me in English, and then they started with Hungarian, and now it is 90% in Hungarian, and if I don't really understand they use English. I push them to make me understand Hungarian.

Appendix 7 Samples of Interviews with School Teacher, Principal, and Teacher in MissionPlace*

Principal of bilingual school

We have an intercultural pedagogical program, so policies don't interfere with these children, so these children who come here are willing into the whole process of getting residence permit, so we can take only those children who have residence permit and I don't see any difference between what happened some years ago, you know. My personal opinion, I think, that it's a bigger issue out in the world rather than it is here, so our students know these children and they are very good friends with these children, they go out with them, they play with them, they go to the cinema with them so they are not minorities, well, I would say yes, but there is no such a thing like minority problem here or looking at these children differently because of what the government says, so I can see in what the government says as well and I do think we somehow have to supervise who is coming into our country, but I also see and I have got contact with Immigration Office, so wherever we have to take these children to study trips all around Europe, we have to go through a certain procedure and we are very good friends with them I would say, so they are very supportive ant they also say that you know, whenever someone wants to go through the process it's still allowed, it's possible, the problem causers are those, the people, the number of people who don't want to get through the process and there are enough people to support the whole process, so for example their work not doubled but tripled in the last couple of years and they are overwhelmed, you know, it's too much for them to take, but I don't see very big differences in school levels, every year there are more and more students coming still.

We have around 45 new arrivals this year, between 40 and 70, because you know, they come and sometimes they don't get the extension, so we cannot deal with them any longer and they go back to their own countries, so they have to sort it out, some move to another country, so that's why we are losing them, but then there are new comers every year. For example, there were two kids yesterday, they came in September from South Afrika, and their mother got the residence permit, so the children's residence permit is under process, so we are expecting them in 5th and 6th grades. For example, there some students in the classes and they don't speak Hungarian and they have to learn for example Geography in English, but we have the opportunity to give them time to evaluate them, so usually we keep a written report about their performances instead of a mark or percentages from the teachers, with those percentages we can see the improvement, and if there is improvement, after a while, we try to give them marks

because that's what they need to get into secondary education here, but at the end of the school year they have into their report books participated instead of bad marks, because they can't manage to be at the same level with the others, and for example, even in the curriculum we have Geography in 6th grade in Hungarian, we offer them to possibility of doing it in English, and we have got English books and they study at home, and our English teacher is native teacher so she has the degree to teach all the subjects and she is the one who is testing the child and he gets some private tutoring, so at the end of the school year, he is going to have in his report card a mark because that's what they expect in Brussels from them, otherwise they are going to be in trouble in their score and he is going to have a kind of state sentence that is in English, we always have this possibility that the subject was taught in English.

We communicate with parents through different channels, email, so it is difficult because if they don't speak Hungarian either English, so at the beginning of the school year we always ask them for somebody who help them and they always bring somebody who speaks either Hungarian or English and we, class teachers, make sure in which language they can read information, and we send the information in both languages in Hungarian and English as well, so it is a hard work for the English teachers and for the class teachers as well, so we send all the information in both languages if it's possible. The mediators are the people from religious organizations, as MissionPlace*, so if there is a problem with the child, there is an accident, which happens, then we call the contact person and let them know, so we have these kind of straight channels where we can reach the parents and my experience is that we don't have as many problems with them as with Hungarians, because they are into support, it's important for them to integrate their children and make them have a happier and safer life.

Basically, I don't see a big difference, a big paradigm just by having these children. Our teachers say that sometimes it's difficult if they don't speak any of the languages, if they don't speak English for example, so there is no way to communicate at the beginning, but they try, they always sit them with a peer and give them an extra task, you know like you draw this, and copy this and they give different tasks so they are part of the lesson.

Teacher in MissionPlace*

When I started, refugees cared about the Hungarian language, they wanted to know better, discover the things in Hungary, that was the main majority, they had motivation and energy. After the propaganda they became sad, unmotivated and fearful. Before the propaganda I was

able to motivate them, but after the propaganda they didn't trust what I said, it didn't motivate them. It was harsh and so sad, because I am such an optimistic person, but I can see the harder, negative side of things too. I believe that if somebody wants to fight for their life, they can, but they have to work hard. It was hard to tell these little children they have to fight, they have to study more, more and more, because it's not enough when you know the "gyros or kebab" language, it is not. You have to be better, because if you want to stay here, this is a really difficult country for staying. You have to fight for your life.

Hungarian educational system is a mess, is a mess for Hungarian children. The exercises, the teachers, is a mess. I am so angry there are not changes, they are really old-schooled, and for example when there is a foreign student, even if they study a lot, they can only get a three. I am so happy, because it is not a one, there is a big difference between one and three. So I am so proud of them. But they study a lot and they want a five, but they can't get that mark, because they're not Hungarian native speakers, so how can I motivate them? They just can't get the highest mark, but they studied a lot. If I were their teacher, I would give them the highest mark, because they study a lot, but this is the Hungarian educational system. It's a big problem with the Hungarian students too: motivation. I can say three! Super! I like the three! But they say no five is the best. But don't care about the five, three is really really good. I'm really happy. But they're just so sad: oh no! I learnt a lot and I just got a three, that's not OK, so I'm not OK. Yeah, they are sad if they can't get the highest marks.

For me it's really good to see how they become better every week, their Hungarian and how they become more independent. They can tell the teacher if they don't understand and ask for help, they can have Hungarian friends or just friends in general. We have students with harsh past and not very good social skills, but now they communicate with others and make friends, I don't care in which language but it's really good to see the process. They have contacts in Hungary, can buy things in a shop and of course speak Hungarian better and say really funny things, so I can laugh a lot. I love it! Every week they say something funny.
Every week they're growing and they understand themselves and the world better. And that for me is a really satisfying thing.

I go to the school I say I'm here, we're here, so we can help the students and their parents of course. So, I go to the parents' meetings with the parents. I am so strict in this. When a parent doesn't understand, I don't care, she or he has to come with me. Because that's their parental exercise, so they have to come. I don't care if they don't understand, but they have to sit next

to me, they have to show to the headmaster that they're here for their child. I write down everything, and after that I ask one of our colleagues that knows their language and we translate everything to them. But it's really important that the teachers see them. I am so strict.

When the teachers have to communicate something, first they tell me, but then I share everything with the parents, of course in their native language. But I think it is easier for the teachers to communicate with me first, but after two or three years they have to meet. But sometimes I feel parents are really tired, they have depression. It's not easy to have a whole new life in another country, you don't understand the language, women are alone at home. It's not easy for them. They can't move, they don't want to go to the parents meeting, they don't care. I know depression, and I know those are the symptoms. They don't have the motivation to do something, but they have to for the children sake. They have to go to the school and show to the teachers they are there and care about their children. It's not easy, I think. Sometimes people say I don't have so much empathy, but I'm just strict. I can feel sorry for them, but they are the parents, they are the adults and they have to do something. The children are not adults, so they depend on the parents. So, the parents have to behave like adults, have to, it's a must. And I'm so strict in this case. I can understand depression and that they're tired, but they have to be the adults.

Teacher in a non-bilingual school

With respect to the fourth-grade girl, she has had a huge disadvantage concerning the subjects she is like 4 years behind and concerning the language, she is like 10 years behind. He doesn't see a chance for her to catch up within half a year because that's impossible, so what will happen is that probably she is going to continue in 4th grade again from September and then hopefully by September she will be better, she doesn't know English but anyway it is easier because her class start learning English in 4th grade, so she is just a couple of months behind the others and he is trying to help her with that, with Math it is also easier because she can deal also with that.

The other girl hasn't been tested in anything because in the school they need to have the official papers to proceed so until they have her status they can do something, so as she is in 7th grade they can test the subjects in English for her, the colleagues try to explain things both in English and in Hungarian at class, but they cannot do always that because it takes time. But the teacher says this girl is lucky because there is this other girl from Afghanistan, she can help with translating and then she can understand more and she is also very good at Math, she is very neat

and everything she writes is very neatly and nicely written, she writes beautifully. According to her experience as a teacher, new children learn Hungarian during a year, so she can be happy to take her to eighth year next year so she can remain with the same age level and also she already makes some friends, it's just her Hungarian so she is sure she is going to cope with that.

The teacher accepted because the previous class was also multicultural because it has a boy from Afghanistan that we could integrate easily and taught him easily. Now, we have one boy from China and one girl from Afghanistan, and we see this as something natural.

Our class is also multicultural, we had somebody from Ukraine last year, there is an Arab girl who is still here. There are no conflicts in the school with these children from other countries. The classmates are used to have not just Hungarian students, but it is normal to have other students from other cultures They speak differently, so it is not a problem to accept them because they are used to it despite of the different culture and speaking. The classmates from both classes are used to have mates who speak differently. The classmates have the experience, they are used to it and also the teachers.

For the teachers it is not a challenge or a difficulty to have these children, In 7th grade they can use this Afghan girl who translates and in 4th grade there is no one, but he has a former student from the previous class who speaks the language and he just asks him to come during the break and help her in advance what is going to happen in the next class, so she has already something written down on her notebook, like exercises from the book, so she knows roughly she has an idea about what's going to happen during the next class. Another strategy is English even if the girl in 7th grade doesn't speak too much, but understand some instructions. Also, the teacher mentions the dance rehearsal, she was very into it and was very concentrated to understand the instructions, so she is very quite into concentrating, she is improving, so the teacher doesn't see it as very big problem.

The only thing is language that is hard for her (in 4th grade), so they show and draw like this activity game, so the teacher says is always a debate for whom is going to be sit next to her during the next class, because they want to help, they say she is very sweet and very kind. So this is the only thing for her difficult to understand, the language. But it is a kind of interesting game also for Hungarian students to make themselves be understood, so it's a kind of a game you play, it's a fun game for the Hungarian kids as well.

In 7th girl, the teacher says she finds it very tiring because the girl tries to concentrate so much and when they study chemistry or physics for example it should be very difficult to follow 45 minutes, and in physics for example when they have to calculate something, she can't do that, she can't follow the explanation during the whole class, and she tries to concentrate so hard that she clearly feels very tired after a while and she has 7 lessons every day so she is here from 8 in the morning till 2:30, and then she goes to K*** to have some Hungarian lessons so it is absolutely understandable and she is trying all the day to concentrate and put together the understanding of the subject and the understanding of the language so it's very tiring for her, and the teacher says that for example today she came into the class and she looked extremely exhausted, so the idea is that for those classes like chemistry which she is not following, they would like to keep her out from those classes, so it is not so tiring, and then do something like reading and writing from a first grade book exercises especially for her, so they are not above her level and also they are planning to do activities especially if the weather gets better take her outside, go to the market, see the name of some fruits or vegetables, and still go for a walk, do something outside that is not so exhausting for her.

It is interesting for him as a teacher that the whole atmosphere, how the others perceive from you, even if you can't say a single word, but still they feel something about your attitude, your eyes, and if they are like kind of peaceful, quiet, and you can sense this attitude is very important for their classmates to accept them because when they find this peaceful atmosphere is really catching for the others (Hungarian kids).

Usually they know a lot more, parents come in here with the child and teachers immediately sit with them trying to find basic information like what kind of school they went to, teaching in small groups, big groups, they try to find out information about family background, circumstances. For example with one boy who came, they saw clearly that they had very financial problems here in Hungary, so they could provide some food from the school and with the other parents try to collect some clothes, money, whatever, but in this case that they don't have any idea if they maybe need help, so if they should or shouldn't, so it would be very useful to know more about the children. For example, the little girl in 4th grade doesn't know that 5+5 is 10 so he thinks she needs to be placed in one lower level, but maybe, for this, they would need the basic information to do this.

There is nothing like organized coming from the Ministry of education, or offices, anything, they just know there are some groups that help, so they know this from the same students who

already know more, because no official information came from the government and then people who come to help like there was someone who had a professional interpreting course at the university came and he helped with special works and they could always telephone him if they needed help or some information, but it's kind of tricky because not anybody easily can enter in the school and say oh I want to help with these boys, but they have a responsibility as teachers, and there are groups that pretend to be helpful, but they are not so you have to be very careful with this.