

THE ONWARD MIGRATION-FAMILY NEXUS

The lived experiences of London's onward Colombian
migrants from Spain and their families



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Doctoral Thesis

By

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Dedicato a mia madre, Laura

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ABSTRACT

This research investigates the *onward migration-family nexus* by centring the lived experiences of Colombian families who onward migrated from Spain to London after the 2008 global financial crisis. Onward migration can be broadly defined as the process whereby migrants leave the country in which they settled for a period of time and migrate to another country when circumstances change. In this thesis, the onward migration-family nexus is understood as the complex ways in which families shape onward migration and the multifaceted transformations they undergo as a result.

This thesis draws from fieldwork conducted from June 2020 to May 2021 which strived to capture the voices of onward Colombian parents, onward migrant youths of Colombian descent, as well as staff, volunteers, and leaders of organisations and groups run by and for Latin American migrants in London. This dissertation also draws from fieldwork conducted between February and May 2021 as part of a Public Engagement with Research Project exploring the impact of Brexit and COVID-19 on London's Latin American community.

Taking the format of an integrated thesis, this dissertation includes an overall introduction (Chapter 1), four substantive chapters in the form of standalone journal articles each addressing a unique research question, and an overarching conclusion (Chapter 6):

- Chapter 2 examines how onward migration unfolds for families, showing that onward migration is shaped by relational factors and may be achieved through and after diverse forms of international im/mobility.
- Chapter 3 explores how families organise their social reproductive work in the onward migration process, highlighting how gendered social reproductive arrangements are renegotiated to address the challenges and opportunities families encounter in the process.

- Chapter 4 sheds light on the experiences and identities of onward migrant youths, demonstrating that onward migration provides young people with opportunities to claim identities they had limited access to in the previous country of residence and to form new ones drawing from multiple and new frames and scales of references.
- Chapter 5 explores how onward migrant families experienced the EU Settlement Scheme (EUSS)—a programme developed by the British Government to allow EU nationals and their non-EU family members to retain residence following the UK withdrawal from the EU—showing that for onward migrants and their families, the EUSS represented a formalisation of the discrimination and bordering practices they were experiencing before the EUSS and a return to a position of legal vulnerability and uncertainty.

Ultimately, this thesis advances the conceptualisation of onward migration and the understanding of the transformations that families and young people undergo following this process. Equally important, this thesis contributes to making visible the experiences of Latin Americans in the UK—a large community which lacks institutional recognition despite various campaigns advocating for it—while advancing policy debates on Brexit.

Key words: Onward migration, families, youths, Colombians, London, Brexit

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CLAUK	Coalition of Latin Americans in the UK
EAL	English as Additional Language
EEA	European Economic Area
EU	European Union
EUSS	EU Settlement Scheme
ICTs	Information Communication Technologies
INE	Instituto Nacional de Estadística
LAH	Latin American House
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OLAs	Onward Latin American Migrants
ONS	Office for National Statistics
PER	Public Engagement with Research

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction:

The onward migration-family nexus

Introduction:

The onward migration-family nexus

After getting married in Colombia, Daniel¹ and Sara left for Spain, where they lived for almost fifteen years. There, Daniel entered the construction sector and Sara gave birth to Manuela. Following the 2008 crisis, Daniel lost his job, and it became difficult to find employment. After their second daughter was born, staying in Spain was not financially viable anymore. “We had to leave my beloved Spain”, says Sara.

In 2012 they joined their relatives in London. At the time, the UK was still part of the European Union (EU), which meant that European nationals had a right to enter and reside in the UK. While Sara and her two daughters had acquired Spanish passports and could easily cross the UK border, Daniel was not eligible for Spanish nationality. To follow his family, Daniel had to wait for his wife to apply for family reunification in London, which she did successfully with the help of her sister-in-law who volunteers for a charity run by and for Latin American migrants in London.

¹ All the names appearing in this thesis are pseudonymous to protect the identity of the participants.

In London, Sara and Daniel entered the cleaning industry. Though Manuela was only six when she moved to London, she found it difficult to adjust. Her mother says she was bullied at school because she could not speak English. “I did not let them bully me!”, protests Manuela.

While they all miss Spain, Sara and Daniel feel they made the right choice. They don’t live with Daniel’s brother anymore and they can afford to visit Spain or Colombia every other year. Their daughters are bilingual, which means they help translate from English.

Yet, the future is uncertain. Sara and Daniel wonder how things will change with Brexit—the UK withdrawal from the EU. One thing is sure though: Manuela wants to leave the country as soon as possible. Contrary to some of her peers with similar trajectories, she doesn’t feel she belongs in London.

This vignette provides an insight into what onward migration meant for Sara and Daniel’s family. Onward migration is generally understood as the process whereby people leave the country of origin, settle in a second country for a period of time, and then migrate on to a third country when circumstances change (Kelly, 2013; Ahrens et al., 2016). While this definition understands onward migration as an international phenomenon, onward migration is also used to describe onward moves within a given country (e.g, Ott, 2011; Bloem and Loverigde, 2017). Whether international or not, onward migration is often reactive in nature: “[it is] a way to address dissatisfaction with the outcome of the initial migration process” (Ahrens et al., 2016, p. 96).

This research investigates the *onward migration-family nexus* in the context of Colombian onward migration from Spain to London post 2008 global financial crisis. In this thesis, the onward migration-family nexus is understood as the complex ways in which families shape onward migration and the multifaceted transformations they undergo as a result. More specifically, this thesis (1) examines how family ties and relational factors drive and shape the direction and ways in which onward migration unfolds; (2) explores how families organise and meet their social reproductive needs in the onward migration process; (3) sheds light on the experiences and identities of youths who onward migrated with their parents or on their own; and (4) traces the implications of Brexit—the UK withdrawal from the EU—for onward migrant families by focusing on how families navigated and experienced the EU Settlement Scheme (EUSS)—a programme developed by the British Government to allow EU nationals and their non-EU family members to retain residence following Brexit.

Methodologically, this dissertation relies on qualitative fieldwork conducted from June 2020 to May 2021 during which I strived to capture not only the lived experiences of London’s onward Colombian parents but also those of onward migrant youths of Colombian descent—namely, young people born from Colombian parents, aged 13-28, who onward migrated from Spain to London either with their parents or on their own. This doctoral thesis also draws from the focus groups and interviews conducted with (onward) Latin American migrants living in London between February 2021 and May 2021 as part of the Public Engagement with Research (PER) project “Enhancing the impact of migration research with Latin Americans in London”². Led by myself, my supervisor Professor Carlos Vargas-Silva, and the director of the London-based charity Latin American House (LAH) Carlos Huascar Tapias Montes, this project

² This project was funded by the University of Oxford PER Seed Fund. Further information about the project and its outputs can be found at: <https://sites.google.com/view/perseedfund2020/enhancing-the-impact-of-migration-research-with-latin-americans-in-london>

explored the Brexit and COVID-19 experiences of London's Latin American community in collaboration with LAH.

While qualitative fieldwork began shortly after the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic in March 2020 (World Health Organisation, 2020), the implications of the pandemic on the everyday life of onward Colombian families do not constitute the focal point of this thesis. However, COVID-19 did have significant implications both for the data collection process, which will be discussed in this introduction (see Section 1.4.1), and for how onward migrant families navigated the EUSS, as shown in one of the substantive chapters (Chapter 5).

This thesis focuses on Colombian onward migration from Spain to London for three main reasons. First, this thesis aims to enhance the understanding of the lived experiences of onward Latin American migrants (OLAs) in London. Colombians constitute not only the largest national group among onward Latin American migrants in London but also are among the first Latin American group that began to onward migrate to London in the aftermath of the 2008 crisis (McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016). Secondly, it has been shown that Latin American onward migration from Spain to London has a family character as indicated by the presence of children (i.e., individuals below the age of 18) among OLAs (McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016), providing an opportunity to investigate the onward migration-family nexus. Finally, this thesis focuses on Colombian onward migration to build on the research I conducted on the caring experiences of London's Latin American migrants and the role that migrant-led charities play in the lives of Latin American migrants between 2018 and 2019 as part of my MPhil degree in Sociology of Marginality and Exclusion at the University of Cambridge. This doctoral journey represented an opportunity to continue collaborating with Latin American charities to bring visibility to the Latin American population of London—a large, fast-growing group that is struggling to gain institutional recognition (Lopez Zarzosa, 2021).

This dissertation takes the format of an integrated thesis consisting of an overall introduction, four substantive chapters in the form of standalone journal articles each addressing a unique research question and presenting the findings, and an overarching conclusion. This introduction aims to (1) contextualise and justify the research focus of the thesis; (2) present and explain key theoretical and methodological choices underpinning this study; and (3) discuss how the chapters relate to each other and contribute to the understanding of the onward migration-family nexus. As such, it is longer than the introduction typically found in doctoral dissertations taking the format of traditional monographs. Because the four substantive chapters in this thesis are largely presented as they were submitted to the academic journals, there are going to be some repetitions across the thesis' chapters in terms of definitions and other descriptions.

In what follows, I will first justify why this dissertation brings families to the centre of the study of onward migration. I will then review the studies documenting Colombian migration to Spain and onward migration to London, explaining why this thesis centres the experiences of onward Colombian families in London. After defining key concepts and terminology used in the thesis, I will then justify why I opted for an integrated thesis, present the structure of the dissertation, and provide an overview of the chapters by outlining the research questions addressed in each and the key findings and arguments put forward.

1.1 Centring families in the study of onward migration

This section aims to justify why this dissertation brings families to the centre of the study of onward migration. It will first highlight why onward migration is receiving increased attention. It then shows how existing research predominantly focuses on the factors that drive and facilitate onward migration and on the socio-economic integration of onward migrants in the new destination. The section concludes by problematising the limited attention on the

families of onward migrants and explains why adopting a family lens can generate a better understanding of this type of mobility.

1.1.1 A growing interest for onward migration

“All the world seems to be on the move” wrote Mimi Sheller and John Urry in 2006. In their influential article *The New Mobilities Paradigm*, Sheller and Urry reflected on how a multitude of phenomena, ranging from globalisation and technological improvements to the democratisation of transportation and the Internet, contributed to enhancing and diversifying the mobility of people, bodies, and materials. One of the authors’ objectives was to challenge the sedentary bias of the social sciences—namely, the tendency to “treat as normal stability, meaning, and place, and [to] treat as abnormal distance, change, and placelessness” (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 208). At the same time, Sheller and Urry advocated for the need to move beyond the conceptualisation of migration as a one-time, unidirectional movement from point A to point B. Instead, they urged scholars to recognise how people’s lives may be characterised by multiple migrations and mobilities.

While remaining a relatively understudied phenomenon, onward migration has received increasing attention since the mid-2000s precisely for being a form of mobility that challenges “the simplistic mapping of migrant trajectories restricted to two nodes” (Ahrens et al., 2016, p. 58). Onward migration also challenges what Wimmer and Glick Schiller (2003) defined as methodological nationalism—that is, the tendency to treat migrants as if they were contained within national borders. In her doctoral dissertation on the onward migration of Iranian migrants from Sweden to the UK, Melissa Kelly (2013) argued that the limited attention to onward migration at the time was due to the “tendency to depict migrants as new (permanent) members of nation states [reflected by the fact that] most of the work being conducted in Migration Studies looks at issues that migrants have faced in their countries of destination:

their integration into local labour markets, housing markets, and political processes” (p. 26). The desire to challenge such methodological nationalism gave impetus to the study of onward migration.

1.1.2 Previous studies on onward migration: Drivers, facilitators, integration

The initial studies on onward migration tended to be quantitative in nature and were predominantly concerned with identifying what kind of populations are more likely to engage in onward migration in terms of skills, socio-economic background, and human capital (Kelly, 2013). Takenaka (2007) and Ademyr and Robinson (2008) found that individuals with high level of English proficiency, education and income were overrepresented among the onward migrants living in the US. Similarly, Nekby (2006) found that well-educated migrants living in Sweden were more likely to onward migrate to a third country. However, the conclusion that onward migration is the exclusive domain of highly skilled or well-educated migrants was challenged. Rezaei and Goli’s (2011) quantitative study demonstrated that migrants who first settled in Denmark with below average levels of education and labour market participation were also engaging in onward migration.

A second strand of studies adopts qualitative methodologies to explore *why* people onward migrate, showing that the factors driving onward migration in many ways resemble those driving individuals’ first migration. Notably, several of these studies are carried out in the context of the European Union. The 1993 Treaty of Maastricht stipulated EU nationals’ freedom of movement and residence in the territories of the Member States of the European Community (Rankin, 2016). The introduction of the EU freedom of movement regime and the enlargements of the EU in 2004 and 2007 enhanced intra-EU mobilities significantly (King & Pratsinakis, 2019). These further diversified following the 2008 global financial crisis (Bermudez & Oso, 2020). The 2008 crisis affected Southern European economies more

severely, intensifying South-to-North intra-EU migrations (Bermudez & Oso, 2020). In order to draw attention to the diversity of intra-EU mobilities while questioning the mainstream assumption that only “native EU citizens” take advantage of EU freedom of movement, since the early 2010s a growing body of literature has explored the mobilities of third-country nationals who naturalised in a given EU country and then onward migrated to other EU countries (e.g., Lindley & van Hear, 2007; Ahrens et al., 2016; Della Puppa, 2018; Bermudez & Oso, 2020; Della Puppa et al., 2021).

Research identifies the search for better socio-economic opportunities as a key driver of onward migration, along with escaping discrimination and social immobility (Della Puppa et al., 2021). Drawing from research with Nigerians, Somalis and Iranians’ refugees who onward migrated from other European countries to London, Ahrens et al. (2016) found that their onward migration was motivated by a perceived lack of career opportunities and study opportunities as well as racism and dissatisfaction with the political discourses surrounding migration in the European countries in which they were residing. Research conducted on the onward migration of Latin American migrants from Southern Europe to Northern Europe following the 2008 crisis shows that onward migration can be a coping strategy to deal with economic crises (Mas Giralt, 2017) and austerity measures (Vivas-Romero, 2020). Studies focusing on the Bangladeshi and Moroccan onward migration from Italy to the UK reach similar conclusions and show that onward migration was used as a strategy to escape low paid jobs such as factory work and to cope with sudden unemployment (Della Puppa, 2018; Della Puppa & King, 2018).

Onward migration is also driven by diaspora-related motives as people onward migrate to join larger co-ethnic communities as well as by the desire for cosmopolitan lifestyles. Ahrens et al. (2016) showed how Nigerians, Somalis, and Iranians living in European countries onward migrated to London as they perceived more opportunities to practice a “‘Somali’, ‘Iranian’, or

‘Nigerian’ way of life” there (p. 93). Jung et al. (2017) documented how the desire for a “cosmopolitan knowledge” motivated Northern Korean refugees living in South Korea to move to Australia. For Northern Korean refugees, “cosmopolitan knowledge” meant learning English and how to live with different cultures. Australia was where they thought they would be able to become cosmopolitan. The desire for a cosmopolitan lifestyle and for joining diasporic groups are not necessarily mutually exclusive. For example, in their study on the onward migration of Bangladeshis from Italy to London, Della Puppa and King (2018) show how onward migration was motivated by a desire to learn English—the language of global citizens—as well as the desire to join one of the largest Bangladeshi communities in Europe.

Another area of inquiry concerns factors that shape people’s dispositions towards onward migration (Della Puppa et al., 2021). The notion of “civic capital” is of particular importance. Developed by McIlwaine (2015), civic capital refers to migrants’ acquisition of citizenship rights or documented immigration status as assets that can be mobilised to migrate onward. McIlwaine (2015) found that the acquisition of Spanish passports allowed Latin Americans to move to northern European countries instead of remaining in Spain or returning to their home country following the 2008 global financial crisis. Research on the intra-European moves of African refugees revealed that becoming European citizens was also key to their onward migration from the European mainland to the UK at a time when the UK was still part of the European Union (Ahrens et al., 2016; van Liempt, 2011). Along with civic capital, age is another important factor shaping people’s disposition towards onward migration (Della Puppa et al., 2021; Della Puppa, 2018; Ramos, 2018). For example, in researching Latin Americans’ onward migration from Spain to London, Ramos (2018) shows how migrants in their late forties and fifties were more reluctant to onward migrate. While holding “migrant capital”—that is, “migration-related capabilities and resources” (Paul, 2015, p. 439)—acquired

through their first migration, mature migrants find it more challenging to onward migrate, adapt to a new place, and learn a new language at a later stage of their life.

Based on the literature on the factors that drive and facilitate onward migration, scholars concluded that people onward migrate to complete certain aspects of their integration process (Ahrens et al., 2016; McGarrigle & Ascensão, 2017). Yet, this view fails to recognise the “dark side” (Morad et al., 2021) of onward migration. For example, Jung et al. (2017) discusses the high levels of legal and economic precarity experienced by North Korean refugees who onward migrated from South Korea to Australia. Similarly, Ahrens et al. (2016) specify that while Somalis onward migrated from the European mainland to the UK to find better socio-economic opportunities, Somalis’ unemployment rate in the UK persists being high. By examining the experiences of Latin Americans who onward migrated from Spain to London after the 2008 crisis with Spanish passports, McIlwaine and Bunge (2019) developed the notion of “onward precarity” to highlight how onward migration did not necessarily allow migrants to overcome the vulnerabilities Latin Americans faced in their country of origin and in Spain.

1.1.3 Onward migrant families matter

Though slowly growing, research on how families shape and are shaped by onward migration is limited. Thus far, much of this literature has discussed how family relationships may act as both a pull and push factor. Ahrens et al. (2016) showed that the onward migration of Nigerians from Germany to London was dictated by a desire to reunite with their families. Moving beyond the European context, Mohme (2014) discusses cases of Somali families who first moved to Sweden and then onward migrated to Egypt to join their relatives. The desire to provide better socio-economic opportunity and stability for their family members can also drive onward migration decisions. In their study with African refugees in the US, Weine et al. (2011) found that onward migration can be used by parents to improve the livelihoods of their

households. Furthermore, parents onward migrate to improve their children's educational opportunities (e.g., learning new languages) (Ramos, 2018; Morad & Sacchetto, 2020).

Fewer studies have addressed how onward migration affects family life. Early on, Weine et al. (2011) found that onward migration posed several risks to Burundi and Liberian refugees' families onward migrating within the US, including poverty, crowded housing, and the loss of the support from left-behind communities. Weine et al. (2011) also show that onward migration represented an additional disruption in children's lives, as they had to leave behind the friendships that they were able to forge in the previous place of residence. In addressing the experiences of Bangladeshi families who moved from Italy to London, Morad et al. (2021) found that families experienced the deterioration of their living conditions. Onward migration may also entail the "re-transnationalisation" of families. McCarthy (2020) uses this term to indicate that onward migrant families may have already experienced separation prior to onward migrating. Families may not be able to onward migrate all together due to some of its members lacking civic capital or because of familial caring responsibilities (McCarthy, 2020; Bermudez, 2020; Bermudez & Oso, 2019).

The limited attention to the family worlds of onward migrants reflects what Bryceson (2019) identified as the broader tendency within Migration Studies to underappreciate the family as an important unit of analysis. Despite the growth of Transnational Family Studies—the field that "highlights the degree to which migrants are actively engaged in kinship practices which transcend geographical distance and national borders" (Heath et al., 2011, p. 2)—and migration scholars' call to conceptualise migrants as relational beings (e.g., Roseneil & Ketoviky, 2016; Montero-Sieburth et al., 2021), migrants' family worlds continue to sit at the margins of migration scholarship. Ignoring families in the study of migration prevents scholars from appreciating and understanding an important dimension of migrants' everyday life. Furthermore, it leaves little room to critically deconstruct hegemonic understanding of the

“migrant family” as culturally and racially homogeneous, a burden for the working male migrant, and the site of “backward” values which may threaten the host society—discourses deployed to justify increasingly restrictive family reunification laws and restrictions on social protection and welfare in several countries (Chavez, 2017; Kraler et al., 2011; Grillo, 2008).

By exploring how families shape and are shaped by onward migration, this thesis challenges what Eleonore Kofman (2000) would describe as the “methodological individualism”—that is, the tendency to treat migrants as males and as individuals disembodied from their familial and community ties—of onward migration research. Adopting a family lens has the potential to enhance the understanding of onward migration, how it unfolds, and the factors that shape its direction. While it is now established that family relationships may be a driver of onward migration, we know little about how onward migration unfolds for families, and how different family members with different positionalities experience this form of mobility. Furthermore, as described in the previous section, studies are now documenting the socio-economic inequalities that families confront in the onward destination. Yet, less is known about how families strategize to deal with these and to continue meeting their needs. Finally, centring the family will allow to recognise the participation of children and young people in onward migration, whose perspectives and experiences have been practically neglected (notable exceptions include Mohme, 2014; Kelly, 2017).

1.2 Centring the lived experiences of onward Colombian families

This study investigates the onward migration-family nexus in the context of Colombian onward migration from Spain to London following the 2008 global financial crisis. This section first presents the studies documenting Colombians’ migration to Spain and their subsequent onward migration to London. It ends by explaining why this thesis centres the experiences of onward Colombian families in London to contribute to the understanding of the complex ways

in which families shape onward migration and the multifaceted transformation they undergo as a result.

1.2.1 Colombian migration to Spain

Colombia underwent five decades of armed conflict between left-wing guerrillas, right-wing paramilitary groups, and state forces fuelled by illegal drug trades and socio-economic crises (Bermudez, 2016). By 2016 Colombia's armed conflict internally displaced 7.3 million people (Carvajal, 2017). The armed conflict led also to international migration which began gaining momentum in the 1960s (Mojica, 2015). At the time, emigrants were mostly rural workers attracted to Venezuela and Ecuador's booming economies (Mojica, 2015; Mejía Ochoa, 2012). In the early 1970s, young professionals and middle classes began moving to the US. The end of the Venezuelan oil boom in the 1980s and the introduction of more restrictive immigration policies in the US at the end of 1990s and following 9/11 forced Colombians to move to other destination countries (Guarnizo, 2006).

In Europe, Spain became the most popular destination. The appeal of moving to Spain was for Colombians and many Latin Americans due to historical colonial ties and linguistic similarity (Pellegrino, 2004). Furthermore, in the 1990s and early 2000s, Spain experienced considerable economic growth, which created jobs in low- and middle-skilled sectors, particularly in the construction, hospitality, cleaning, and domestic sectors (Peixoto, 2009). The demand for labour was heightened by the fact that native-born citizens were choosing tertiary education and pursuing middle-skilled jobs (Hooper, 2019).

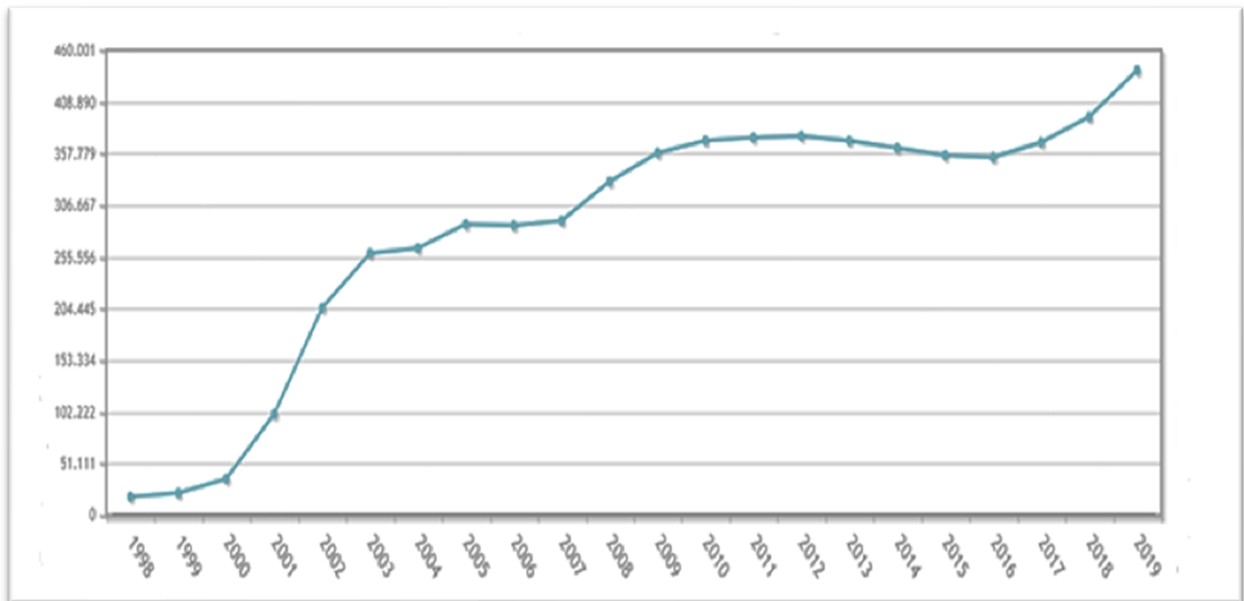


Figure 1. People born in Colombia registered in Spain’s Padrón Municipal³ 1998-2019.

(Original Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística [INE], 2020a).

Spain became an attractive destination for Colombians also because of the relative ease with which they could enter the country (Hopper, 2019). Colombians had been able to travel to Spain visa-free until 2001, when the Spanish government, preoccupied by the rise in irregular migration, introduced travel visas for Colombians (Moreno, 2004). Furthermore, Spain signed bilateral agreements with many Latin American countries, Colombia included, to facilitate the process of hiring foreign workers through regular channels (Hopper, 2019; Domingo & Ortega-Rivera, 2015). The increase of Colombian migration to Spain since the early 2000s can be seen in Figure 1. By 2019, INE estimated that there were 440,540 people born in Colombia who were living in Spain, making Colombians the second largest non-European migrant group after Moroccans.

³ The Padrón Municipal is the administrative register keeping track of the people living in a given municipality.

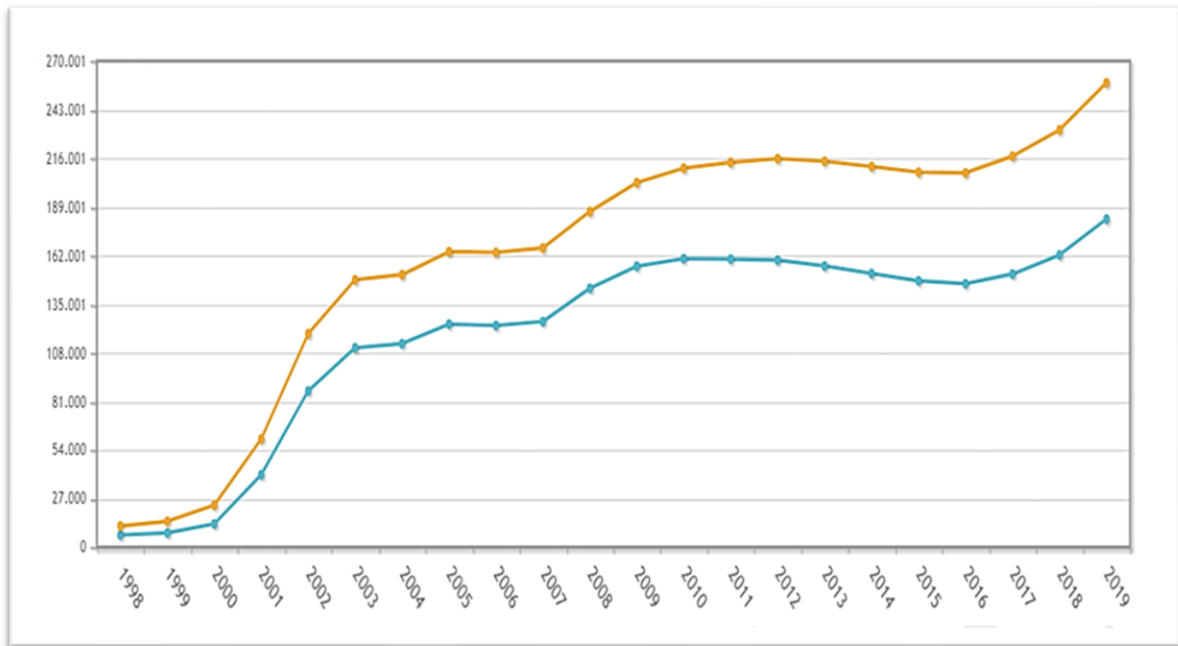


Figure 2. Females (in orange) and males (in blue) born in Colombians registered in the Spanish Padrón Municipal 1998-2019. (Original Source: INE, 2020b).

In Spain, Colombians settled in large cities, became incorporated into gendered sectors of the labour market such as hospitality, care, and construction sectors, and started reunifying their families (Ramos et al., 2018; Bermudez, 2016). Colombian migration to Spain of the late 1990s and 2000s was highly feminised (Figure 2) and young in character (Actis, 2009). Actis (2009) indicates that in 2007 the majority of Colombian migrants in Spain were between 25 and 44 years old. Actis (2009) also shows how Colombian migration to Spain of the early 2000s had a family character. In 2007, 41% of Colombian adults were married, 71% of Colombian women and 64% of Colombian men had children, and 58% of Colombians were living in households with their family members (Actis, 2009).

Colombians enjoyed high levels of regularisation and naturalisation in Spain (Figure 3). To curb the employment of irregular migrants, Spain carried out six regularisations respectively in 1985/1986, 1991, 1996, 2000, 2001, and 2005 (Finotelli & Arango, 2011). According to Finotelli and Arango (2011), these regularisations provided legal status to

101,474 Colombians. In addition, in 2004, Spain introduced a mechanism to facilitate the regularisation of migrants, named *arraigo* (rooting) (Bruquetas-Callejo et al., 2008). Since 2004, irregular migrants without a criminal record can qualify to gain legal status provided they have lived in Spain for two years and have established a work relationship of at least one year (or three years and the prospect of entering a work contract) (Bruquetas-Callejo et al., 2008). Latin Americans can then apply for Spanish nationality after two years of regularised residence in Spain, while for all other migrants the waiting time is ten years (Finotelli & La Barbera, 2013).

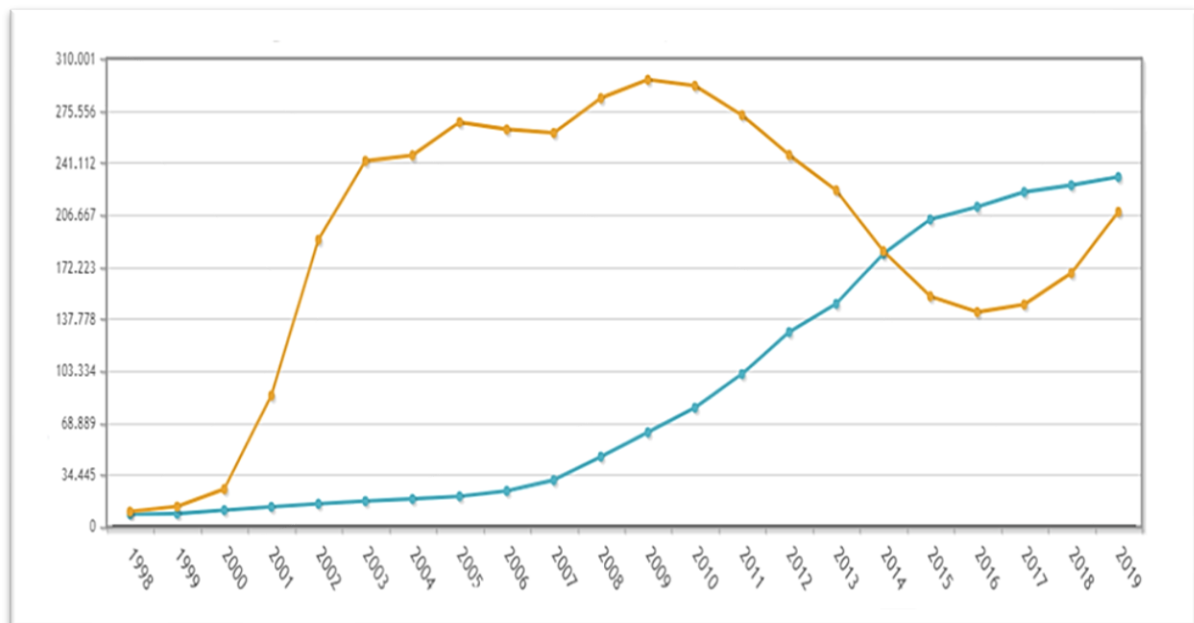


Figure 3. Colombians registered in the Spanish Padrón Municipal with Spanish nationality (in blue) and with non-Spanish nationalities (in orange) 1998-2019. Original Source: INE, 2020b

1.2.2 Colombian onward migration to London

Spain was severely impacted by the 2008 global financial crisis. Between 2008 and 2014 the country suffered one of the worst recessions in modern history which led to widespread unemployment, particularly among migrants (Royo, 2020) (Figure 4). A study by

the Colectivo Ioé (2012) shows that between 2008 and 2011 the unemployment rate for Latin Americans reached 28.5%, while the unemployment rate for Spanish nationals was 18.4%. Unemployment, coupled with the casualisation of work, and the reduction of wages had detrimental consequences for migrants in Spain. In 2012 the rate of poverty in migrant households was 31%, 12 percentage points higher than the poverty rate in Spanish households (Colectivo Ioé, 2012). Furthermore, widespread unemployment made it more difficult to renew resident permits and sponsor family members (Hopper, 2019). The introduction of austerity measures made the situation of migrants in Spain even more precarious. Between 2010 and 2014, the value of unemployment benefits and public spending in health care was reduced (Toyer & González, 2012; Vivas-Romero, 2020).

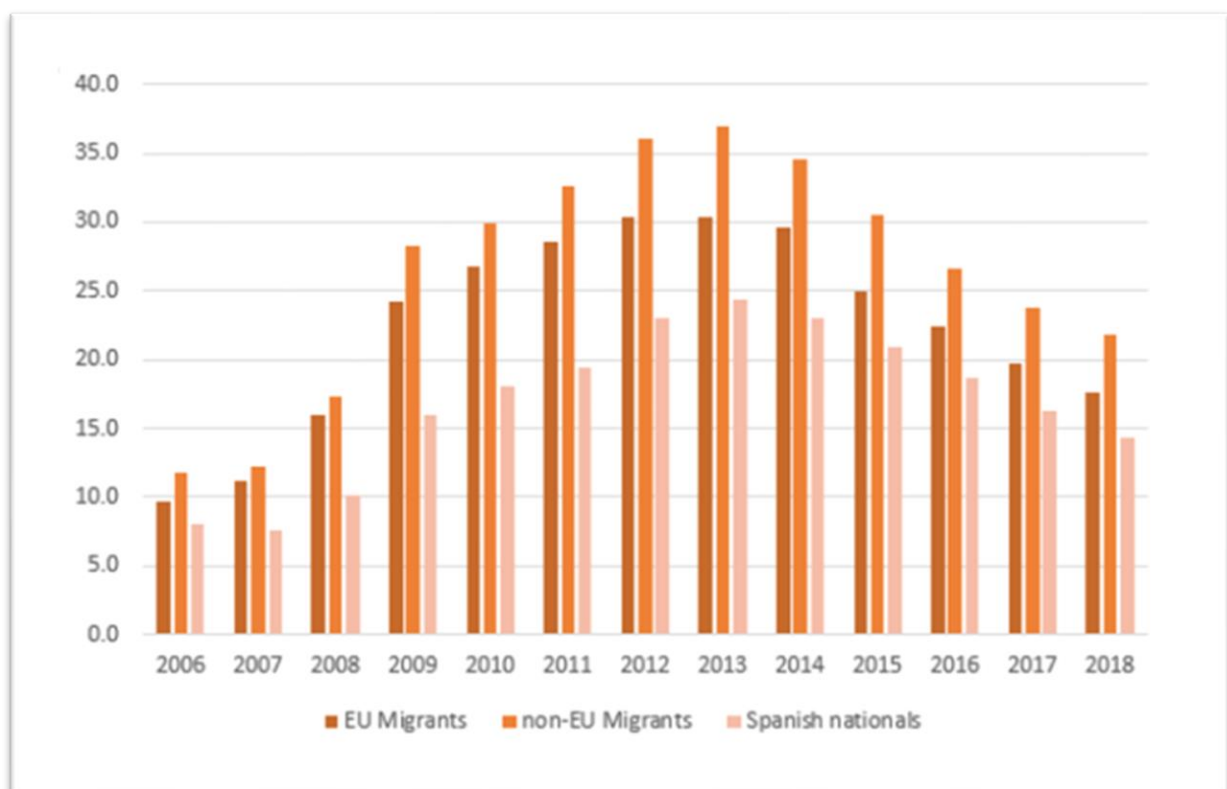


Figure 4. Spanish unemployment rates in percentage for non-EU migrants, EU migrants and Spanish nationals, 2006-2018. (Original source: Eurostat, 2019).

Leaving Spain became a strategy adopted by many Latin Americans, including Colombians, to cope with the crisis. Recaño and Jauregui-Diaz (2014) found that in 2012 Latin American emigration from Spain accounted for 34.9% of those leaving the country. While return was the preferred option among Latin Americans leaving Spain, around 15% onward migrated during that period (Recaño & Jauregui-Diaz, 2014). Dual nationality played a key role in motivating Latin Americans living in Spain to embark on new migrations within the EU (Ramos, 2018; Bermudez & Oso, 2019). London became a popular destination for Colombian migrants and more generally for Latin Americans holding Spanish passports (Mas Giralt, 2017). At the time, the UK was still part of the EU and individuals holding European passports had a right to enter and reside in the country.

London was a particularly popular destination for onward Colombian migrants due to the presence of friends, family, and a well-established Colombian diaspora (McIlwaine & Bunge, 2016). While London has a long history of attracting Colombian upper classes since the days of Independence (Guarnizo, 2006), London's Colombian population began to grow more substantially in the 1970s when Colombians started entering the country in larger numbers with work permits (Bermudez, 2011; McIlwaine, 2012). In the 1980s and 1990s, the Colombian population of London grew further with the arrival of students, tourists, as well as asylum seekers following the intensification of the armed conflict in Colombia (McIlwaine, 2012).

More broadly, London features a growing Latin American community. Latin Americans have been migrating to London in larger numbers since the second half of the twentieth century, making significant socio-economic and cultural contributions to the British capital by establishing several businesses, cultural and diasporic organisations, as well as charities aimed at supporting newly arrived Latin American migrants (Roman-Velazquez, 2014; Turcatti, 2021; Pardo, 2018). The British Census estimated that in 2011—the year when

Latin Americans began onward migrating from Spain to the UK in larger numbers (McIlwaine & Bunge, 2016)—there were 144,470⁴ Latin Americans already living in the UK, of which more than half was living in London, with Colombians constituting the second largest national group after Brazilians (McIlwaine & Bunge, 2016).

Determining the number of Colombians, and more generally of Latin Americans, who onward migrated from Spain to London is difficult. Official data about the size of return and onward migration of people leaving Spain is limited. In Spain, the Register of Spaniards Resident Abroad and the Residential Variations Statistics collected by INE are the two main sources of information to study emigration from Spain (González-Ferrer, 2013). These two registers estimate the number of people emigrating from Spain by counting how many migrants have deregistered themselves from the municipality they used to live in Spain. However, the few incentives for emigrants to record their departure means that the number of un-registrations is low (González-Ferrer, 2013; Mas Giralt, 2017).

It is equally difficult to draw conclusions from UK data. The Office for National Statistics (ONS) Labour Force Survey does not capture individuals with dual nationality. ONS records only one of the nationalities that people might have, typically the first one that is reported. In the year running from July 2020 to June 2021, ONS recorded a total of 37,000 people born in Colombia who were living in the UK, 28,000 of whom lived in London. Of those born in Colombia and residing in the UK, 17,000 had their nationality recorded as British; 15,000 reported Colombian nationality; and 5,000 reported nationalities other than Colombian or British. Onward Colombian migrants might have been counted among the people reporting the three types of nationality.

⁴ It is likely that the 2011 British Census underestimated the size of the Latin American population in the UK as it did not include undocumented migrants and those with European Passports (McIlwaine & Bunge, 2016).

Similarly, there are no official statistics on the size of the onward Latin American population in the UK. However, we can use analysis of the 2020 UK Labour Force Survey (ONS, 2020) to provide related estimates as COVID-19 seriously affected the collection of data post-2020. Using this survey, it can be estimated that for the last quarter of 2020 there were 450,000 people residing in the UK who were born in Central and South America. From these, at least 60,000 have EU nationality from another EU country. Close to 60% of those 60,000 live in London and about the same share reported arriving since 2011.

1.2.3 The significance of onward Colombian families' lived experiences

Colombian onward migration to London appears to be an ideal case study to explore the onward migration-family nexus as several studies indicate that the family is a central aspect of onward Latin American migration to London and Colombians constitute one of the largest groups among the Latin American population who onward migrated from Southern Europe to London following the 2008 crisis (Bermudez, 2020; McIlwaine & Bunge, 2016; McCarthy, 2020). The family character of this migration is evident from the presence of children—namely, individuals below eighteen years old—among onward Latin American migrants (OLAs). McIlwaine and Bunge (2016) estimated that in 2013 there were slightly more children (19,820) than adults (19,400) among OLAs in the UK. Furthermore, McIlwaine and Bunge (2016) found that in 2013 70% of OLAs had their children living with them in the UK, 19% of the children were living in another European country, while 14% of their children were in Latin America.

Yet, onward Latin American families in London have received little attention. Existing research predominantly focuses on the socio-economic challenges and precarity that OLAs face upon arrival in London (McIlwaine & Bunge, 2019; McIlwaine, 2015; Mas Giralt, 2017; Mas Giralt, 2015). McIlwaine and Bunge (2016) found that in 2013 half of OLAs were employed in the cleaning and domestic sector due to limited English language skills and

employers' reluctance to recognise their educational titles (McIlwaine & Bunge, 2016; 2019). In 2013, three-quarters of OLAs were earning less than the London Living Wage, the wage required to lift people out of poverty (McIlwaine & Bunge, 2016). In addition, 45% experienced some form of abuse and exploitation at work, the most common of which was to not be paid for the work conducted (McIlwaine & Bunge, 2016). Settling in inner-city London, McIlwaine and Bunge (2016) found that levels of temporary housing and homelessness among OLAs were higher than the London average and that half of the OLAs were sharing accommodation with other families, with a third perceiving their accommodation as overcrowded.

This thesis centres on onward Colombian families in London to contribute not only to the theoretical understanding of the onward migration-family nexus but also to the literature on Colombian international migration and on onward Latin American migration from Southern Europe to London. Furthermore, addressing the lived experiences of onward Colombian families provides an opportunity to explore the impact of Brexit on onward migrant families. As part of the Brexit agenda, the UK ended freedom of movement on the 1st of January 2021, which means that EU⁵ nationals and their non-EU family members no longer have the right to enter and reside in the UK. EU nationals and their non-EU family members residing in the UK before the end of freedom of movement had to apply to the EUSS to preserve lawful residence. This means that onward Colombian migrants holding Spanish passports and their non-EU family members living in London also had to apply to the EUSS. Research on the EUSS, and Brexit more broadly, tends to focus on EU migrants without prior experience of migrating to Europe (e.g., Botterill et al., 2020; Radziwinowiczówna et al., 2020; Buelmann, 2020). Little

⁵ While I refer to those applying to the EUSS as EU nationals, in practice the EUSS included nationals of EU countries as well as European Economic Area (EEA) countries—namely, Switzerland, Norway, Iceland and Liechtenstein.

is known about what the EUSS, and Brexit more broadly, mean for onward migrants and their families.

1.3 Key concepts and definitions

Thus far, I have provided an overview of how onward migration is defined and understood in existing academic literature, justified why this dissertation brings families to the centre of the study of onward migration, reviewed the studies documenting Latin American onward migration to London, and explained why this thesis centres the experiences of onward Colombian families in London. Before moving on to the methodology, this section aims to clarify how the key concept of “family” is approached in this thesis and to define the terminology used to refer to research participants.

1.3.1 Family...

Family is widely recognised as a central aspect of many people’s lives. However, what family is should not be taken for granted. Contemporary families are incredibly diverse in terms of forms and structure (Kaestle, 2016). Furthermore, defining families is a rather difficult enterprise given that discourses around the family are “imbued with politically and culturally contested ideas about the correct or moral ways in which people should conduct their lives and the people with whom they should conduct them” (Razavi, 2013, p. 2). Drawing from Critical Family Studies, Feminist Studies, Transnational Family Studies, and Childhood Studies, in this thesis “family” is understood as a practice, as a site of (gendered) inequalities, as (potentially) transnational, and a site where young people exercise their agency.

...as a practice

Family research of the 1950s and 1960s equated the concept of family with the nuclear household composed of husband, wife, and their children (Borell, 2003). According to Talcott Parsons (1965)—the “architect of what was for a long time accepted as the standard theoretical family model” (Borell, 2003, p. 472)—the nuclear family was the “logical” response to industrialisation and modernisation, which unburdened the family from functions it previously performed. Following these societal changes, educational and health needs were now met by the state or the private sector. Furthermore, industrialisation meant that many products hitherto produced within families were now produced in factories and could be purchased (Parsons, 1965; Parsons & Bales, 1955). For Parsons, this meant that there was no need for extended families anymore. At the same time, industrialisation required higher mobility, as families had to move to find work. By being a small, and flexible unit, the nuclear family could satisfy the demands of industrialisation. On these premises, Parsons viewed the nuclear family as the most common and desirable family form.

These ideas were gradually challenged from the 1970s onwards (Borell, 2003). Feminist scholars began criticising the exclusionary character underlying the conceptualisation of the family as the nuclear, heterosexual household, as it abnormalizes non-heterosexual families and families headed by single parents (Benston, 1969; Borell, 2003; Kaestle, 2016). The increase in divorce rates, the existence of blended families, cohabitation, same-sex, and single-parent families contributed to challenging the idea of the nuclear family as the universal norm (Morgan, 1996; Gittins, 1993; Giddens, 1992). Since the late 1990s and early 2000s, what may be identified as Critical Family Studies began questioning the understanding of family as a pre-existing category defined by its structure.

In this respect the work by Morgan (1996; 2011a) is fundamental. Morgan (1996) coined the expression “family practices” to refer to the ordinary, everyday actions that people

do, insofar as they are intended to have some effect on another family member (Morgan, 2011a; 2011b). These may range from “family talk” (Cheal, 2002) to familial practices of intimacy and care. Here, care encapsulates both the physical and emotional labour necessary to care for others (Yeates, 2004). Intimacy practices are understood as those which establish “close association and privileged knowledge [...] loving, caring and sharing may also be seen as dimensions of intimacy” (Morgan, 2011a, p. 3). According to Morgan (2011a, p. 3), “in enacting these practices, the other is defined as a family member”.

This study draws from Critical Family Studies precisely because they recognise the social, rather than the biological and legal, character of family relationships and value the everyday practices through which intimate relationships are established, re-created, and challenged. Understanding family as a practice becomes a strategy to avoid imposing a universal, normative understanding of what the family is or should be for onward migrants. Instead, it allows us to pay attention to how parents and young people define their own families.

...as a site of (gendered) inequalities

This thesis understands families not only as emerging from a set of practices, but also as a site of (gendered) inequalities. Gender can be understood as “the meaning people give to the biological reality that there are two sexes [...] a human invention that organizes our behaviour and thought, not as a set of static structures or roles but as an ongoing process” (Pessar, 2005, p. 2). Feminist scholarship has been fundamental to bring gender consciousness to Family Studies as it questioned the exclusionary conceptualisations of *what* constitutes family, as noted in the previous section (Borell, 2003; Kaestle, 2016; Zinn, 2000).

Feminist scholarship also challenged the construction of the family as a harmonious entity characterised by “sex roles” (Parsons & Bales, 1955). In Parsons’s functionalist theory, the major function of the family was to socialise children. The family fulfilled this function

through differentiated sex roles. According to Parsons (1965), these “sex roles” were a consequence of biological compatibility: “men were ‘designed’ to provide sustenance, working away from the home [...] and women to stay at home to fulfil their biological role as the carer of children” (Gabb, 2008, p. 14). Feminist scholars have heavily criticised Parsons’s theory for naturalising gender differences and constructing domesticity as the “appropriate” realm for women (Benston, 1969; Kaestle, 2016).

Instead, they demonstrated how gender can be an organising principle in family life and what consequences this might have for women (Benston, 1969; Shehan & Kaestle 2009). Feminist scholars highlighted the gendered nature of social reproduction—that is, “the creation and recreation of people as cultural and social as well as physical beings” (Glenn, 1992, p. 4). Social reproductive work includes activities such as giving birth, domestic and care labour, the socialisation of children and the provision of emotional support (Laslett & Brenner, 1989; Glenn, 1992; Gedalof, 2009). Feminist research has shown how being held responsible for social reproductive work makes it harder for women to climb the social ladder (Benston, 1969; Fulcher et al., 2015). Scholars have also demonstrated how when both paid and unpaid reproductive work is considered, women tend to work on average more hours (Kofman, 2014; Swenson & Zvonkovic, 2016) in addition to being more likely to feel guilty when away from home because of work (Henderson et al., 2016).

Importantly, the family is not only a gendered site but also a site of intersectional inequalities. Coined by American civil rights advocate and leading scholar of critical race theory Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) to advocate against the specific discrimination faced by women of colour in the US, “intersectionality” is a concept that forces us to recognise that “people’s lives and the organisation of power in a given society are better understood as being shaped not by a single axis of social division” (Collins and Bilge, 2016, p. 2). On this account,

the extent to which families can meet their social reproductive needs depends on their unique positionality (Zinn, 2000; Bassel & Emejulu, 2017).

To fulfil their social reproductive needs and goals, families can potentially draw from the support of other families, charities, or the welfare state in addition to outsourcing some of their responsibilities to the market (e.g., pay for childcare) (Razavi, 2007). Yet, a vast body of literature demonstrates that access to these resources is uneven. Lister (2004) discusses the struggles of families in poverty who cannot outsource reproductive tasks to the market and need to confront minimalistic welfare states. A well-established tradition of scholarship in the US and UK shows how racism undermines the social reproductive rights and capacities of black and migrant families (Roberts, 1988; Davis, 1981; Colen, 1995; Bassel & Emejulu, 2017).

Drawing from this work, this study understands families as a site of gendered inequalities. Adopting a gender lens become particularly important as this thesis aims to understand how onward migration unfolds for different family members who may be expected to fulfil different gender roles. Furthermore, a gender lens combined with the understanding that different types of social inequalities shape family life become fundamental to understand how parents organise social reproductive work and meet their social reproductive needs in onward migration.

...as (potentially) transnational

This thesis draws also from the insights offered by Transnational Family Studies. The expression “transnational families” was coined by Bryceson and Vuorela (2002, p. 3) to refer to “families that live some or most of the time separated from each other yet hold together and create something that can be seen as a feeling of collective welfare and unity, namely ‘familyhood’, even across national borders”. Bryceson and Vuorela (2002) argued that such sense of familyhood is maintained through migrants’ transnational practices, namely those

practices “that take place on recurrent basis across national borders and that require a regular and significant commitment of time” (Portes, 1999, p. 464).

According to Bryceson and Vuorela (2002), migration scholarship up to the early 2000s had privileged the analysis of migrant families’ integration within the borders of nation states. Through the concept of “transnational family”, Bryceson and Vuorela aimed to challenge the methodological nationalism underpinning research on migrants and their families at the time, while questioning the assumption that migration “breaks” families. As a matter of fact, a well-established body of literature shows how family members divided by borders can achieve a sense of co-presence despite distance (Baldassar et al., 2007; Acedera & Yeoh, 2019; Nedelcu & Wyss, 2016).

Transnational Family Studies is also a response to the dissatisfaction with the global care chain paradigm prevalent in the early 2000s (Baldassar, 2007; Baldassar & Wilding, 2014; Bonizzoni & Boccagni, 2014; Boccagni, 2012). Coined by Hochschild (2000), the expression global care chain refers to how women from the so-called Global South migrate to do care work for other women in the so-called Global North, leaving behind a “care drain”. Scholars adopting a transnational lens began demonstrating evidence against such “care drain”. Research shows that when parents migrate, the care for children and elderly are shifted to left behind family members (Baldassar et al., 2007; Boehm, 2012; Dreby, 2010; Lam and Yeoh, 2018). Furthermore, individuals and families who migrated continue to care for their left behind family members from distance and despite the distance, for example, through economic remittances or providing emotional support by regularly communicating using Information Communication Technologies (ICTs) (e.g., calls, video calls, emails) (Vivas-Romero, 2017; Dreby, 2010; Baldassar et al., 2007).

This doctoral research focuses on onward migrants living in London and does not include the voices of their family members living elsewhere. Nonetheless, this thesis

understands their families and their family relationships as *potentially* transnational. The transnational lens allows us to recognise the fact that not all family members of onward migrants might be living in London and that onward migrants may be engaging in transnational family practices tying them to their family members abroad (e.g., sending remittances, trips to visit them, and maintaining communication through ICTs) which may have important implications for their onward migration trajectories as well as their adaptation experiences in the onward destination.

...as a site where children exercise agency

A decade ago, Heidbrink (2014) criticised the tendency of migration scholars to define the family through the presence of children while failing to centre their voices and interpretation of migration and family life and reproducing dominant understanding of migrant children as vulnerable and lacking agency. To avoid reproducing what Mas Giralt (2016) referred to as the “adultist bias” of Migration Studies, this thesis addresses the perspectives of young people born from Colombian parents, aged 13-28, who onward migrated from Spain to London either with their parents or on their own. As such, this thesis includes the voices of people who are legally defined as “children” by virtue of being younger than 18 years old or who fell under the legal category of “children” when they onward migrated. Very much like the concept of “family”, the terms “children” and “childhood” are imbued with several, at times, controversial and contradictory cultural meanings. Rather than assuming a shared understanding of what and who children are, this thesis draws from Childhood Studies to elucidate how “children” are conceptualised in this thesis.

Broadly understood as the quest to critically analyse societal discourses surrounding childhood and make sense of the experiences of those culturally or legally defined as “children”, Childhood Studies emerged in the 1980s out of a clear dissatisfaction with the ways

childhood and youth were theoretically approached (Spyrou, 2018). Up until the 1980s, the established paradigms to understand young people were the ones offered by developmental psychology (e.g., Piaget, 1951) and sociological theories of socialisation (e.g., Parsons, 1951). The underlying assumption of these paradigms was that children undergo the same developmental stages and socialisation processes, independently of context (Spyrou, 2018).

Scholars in the late 1980s and early 1990s began questioning the conceptualisation of childhood as a universal, natural category implicit in developmental and socialisation theories of the time (Spyrou, 2018; Comim et al., 2011). Academics commenced appreciating the historical research conducted by scholars such as Ariès (1960) showing how the concept of childhood was a modern invention. The work by James and Prout (1990) has been fundamental in urging scholars to endorse the idea of childhood as a social construction—rather than biological immaturity—that is culturally specific and may vary depending on historical circumstances. James and Prout (1990) were among the first scholars recognising the importance of analysing both the construction *and* the experience of childhood in relation to children’s own positionality in terms of gender, race, social class and other salient identity markers.

At the same time, academics began criticising the construction of children and young people as passive subjects lacking agency (Spyrou, 2018). The developmental approach to childhood of the time held that children lacked social skills and abilities, which are acquired by maturing biologically (Spyrou, 2018). In a similar fashion, socialisation theories did not account for children and young people’s active engagement with the process of socialisation, nor with the ways in which they may challenge and bring about conflicts with those who are supposed to socialise them (e.g., parents) (Comim et al., 2011). This betrays an understanding of children and youth as lacking agency. Yet, scholars began showing how young people are

social actors, insofar they are aware of their surroundings and able to manipulate these (Bluebond-Langner, 1978; Hardman, 1973; James & Prout, 1990).

Since then, scholarship attempting to understand children and young people's lives from their own perspective began burgeoning, including in Migration Studies (Spyrou, 2018). Yet, in the late 2010s academics started contesting the ways in which young people's agency was being romanticised (Wyness, 2006; Prout, 2011; 2005). As Lomax (2012) remarked, scholars were constructing an "all-knowing and all-seeing child who has unique insight into his/her own life and the subjective reality of his/her peers" (p. 106). Mizen and Ofosu-Kusi (2013) criticised this conceptualisation for obfuscating children and youths' vulnerability by over-emphasising their agency. Furthermore, scholars observed how the idea of an all-knowing subject is antithetical to postmodern developments viewing knowledge as inevitably, and inherently relational and partial (Lomax, 2012; Spyrou, 2018).

Following these developments, academics in and out of Migration Studies have been conceptualising children and young people as social agents capable of making small and large choices in light of the available opportunities and constraints (Heidbrink, 2014). In addition, scholars like Bordonaro and Payne (2012) and Spyrou (2018) have been advocating against the depiction of children's agency as being deployed for "positive" purposes only. As Bordonaro and Payne (2012) remarked, understanding children as deploying their agency for "good" purposes betrays "normative [...] moral and social ideals about the kind of behaviour young people should demonstrate, the activities they should be engaged in, and the spaces and places deemed appropriate for them to inhabit" (p. 366). Instead, children and young people may reproduce dominant, hegemonic discourses and stereotypes that reinforce inequalities, rather than counteracting these (Spyrou, 2006).

This study relies on the latest developments in Childhood Studies to conceptualise onward migrant youths who fall under the legal category of "children" and to make sense of

young people's memories of onward migrating as minors. The conceptualisation of children as social actors allows us to move beyond normative Western ideas about childhood as a universal construct and about young people's passivity which limit nuanced understandings of children's diverse experiences of agency and vulnerability. It also allows us to appreciate young people's active engagement in the process of socialisation and in shaping their family practices, relationships, and decisions, including (onward) migration decisions and (transnational) family life.

1.3.2 Terminology used to identify research participants

Having outlined how the concept of "family" is approached in this thesis, I now turn to defining the terminology used to refer to research participants. In particular, I will explain how the following terms are used and understood in this thesis: (1) onward Colombian migrants, (2) onward migrant youths of Colombian descent, and (3) (onward) Latin American migrants.

Onward Colombian migrants

This thesis uses the term "onward Colombian migrants" to identify individuals born in Colombia who left the country as adults (e.g., after their eighteenth birthday) and lived in Spain before moving to London. However, this study does not regard onward Colombian migrants as a homogenous group and does not assume that they identify primarily as Colombian. Critical migration scholars explain how categorising migrants by their place of birth reflects academia's tendency to "take for granted a world divided into discrete and autonomous nation-states" (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2003, p. 301). It is also a form of "groupism", which Brubaker (2002) defined as the tendency to treat ethnic groups, nations, and races as homogeneous collective actors with common purposes. Furthermore, classifying migrants by their country of

birth implicitly denies their identification with the places they lived in (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2003). The fact that onward Colombian migrants have lived in multiple countries and may hold multiple nationalities (e.g., Colombian and Spanish) could have resulted in the development of multiple identities and attachments. Referring to them as “onward Colombian migrants” does not mean that these potential identifications are denied or discounted.

Onward migrant youths of Colombian descent

To examine the onward migration-family nexus, this thesis includes the experiences of onward migrant youths of Colombian descent. This term identifies young people born from Colombian parents, who onward migrated from Spain to London either with their parents or on their own. This group may include young people born in Colombia or born in Spain. This is because, while in Spain, Colombian migrants either reunified their families (e.g., they brought their children born in Colombia to Spain) or formed new ones (e.g., they had children in Spain) (Aparicio & Portes, 2014). I refer to this group as “onward migrant youths of Colombian descent” rather than “onward Colombian youths” for two main reasons. First, these young people may not necessarily identify as Colombian. Secondly, some youths may identify with more than one culture (e.g., Colombian and Spanish) and defining them as Colombians would implicitly diminish their attachment to Spain.

In terms of age, in this thesis the term “onward migrant youths” is used to identify people aged 13-28. The reason for choosing this age category is to include the voices of youths with diverse trajectories. The older ones (e.g., ages 20-28) are more likely to have been born in Colombia, to have been brought to Spain during their childhood or adolescence in the mid or late 2000s, and to have onward migrated either with their families or on their own. The younger ones in this group (e.g., ages 13-18) are more likely to have been born in Spain in the mid-2000s and moved to London with their parents. While their move to London might have

been their first migration, they still are identified as “onward migrant youths” as they experience their families’ onward migration process.

The youths who participated in this study are 13-28 years old. As such, among the research participants there are individuals who are legally defined as “children” by virtue of being younger than 18 years old or who fell under the legal category of “children” when they onward migrated. Whenever possible, this thesis will intentionally refer to them as “youths” or “young people” instead of “children” for two main reasons. First, as Heidbrink (2014) remarked, “to call someone a child [...] is to summon specific attributes of age, dependency, agency, citizenship, rights, and responsibilities” (p. 37). In other words, the word “child” carries cultural connotations of passivity which may not reflect the lived experiences of the research participants. Secondly, the youths who participated in this study below the age of 18 seldom did refer to themselves as children.

(Onward) Latin American migrants

Following McIlwaine et al. (2011), the expression “Latin American migrants” is used to identify individuals who speak Spanish or Portuguese as their first language, were born in Mexico, Central America, South America, Cuba or the Dominican Republic and left their country of origin after their eighteenth birthday. The term “Onward Latin American migrants” refers to individuals born in Latin American countries who migrated to Southern Europe as adults and then onward migrated to the UK.

This study recognises the controversial origin, use, and meaning of the concept “Latin America”. As summarised by Mas Giralt (2011a), there are two strands of thought regarding when the term was first used. Some scholars believe the term was first used by geographers in the 16th century to identify Spanish and Portuguese colonised territories (Meade, 2010). Others believe that this nomenclature was introduced by French colonisers in the 1950s to create a

political identity based on romance languages to consolidate their power in the region (Eakin, 2007). As Mas Giralt (2011a) points out, “both perspectives are Eurocentric and colonialist and reify the 'Latin' patrimony of the imperialist nations (Spain, Portugal and France) which invaded the region from 1492 onwards and disregard the important African, Indigenous and subsequent immigrant cultures that are part of the heritage of the continent” (p. 16).

Using the category “Latin American” in the context of this study is problematic also because of its pan-ethnic nature. Pan-ethnicity refers to the “extension of ethnic boundaries to incorporate several groups that previously considered themselves distinct ethnicities” (Roth, 2009, p. 929 as cited in Mas Giralt, 2011b, p. 343). Research conducted in the UK shows that migrants who fall under the “Latin American” category do not always and necessarily identify with this label (Mas Giralt, 2013). Furthermore, in the context of London, the label “Latin American” prevents one from recognising the heterogeneity of the Latin American population. Studies have shown how Latin Americans in London at times construct each other as “co-ethnics”—that is, members of the same community (Mas Giralt, 2013; Márquez-Reiter & Patiño-Santos, 2017). However, Latin Americans may differentiate each other from others on the basis of national identities, race, or socio-economic background and even migratory trajectories (Patiño-Santos & Márquez Reiter, 2018; Ramos et al., 2018).

While acknowledging these problematics, this study deploys the category “Latin American” nonetheless as this is the label commonly used by London-based charities and groups supporting and advocating for the rights of migrants from the region. The UK Government does not include the category “Latin American” in the British Ethnic Recognition Scheme (Figure 5). Given that Latin Americans are a diverse group in racial terms (Wade, 2010), the absence of a category for Latin Americans means that they fall in the cracks of the ethno-racial groups of the British Ethnic Recognition Scheme (McIlwaine et al., 2011). This translates not only in a lack of official, reliable statistics on the size of the Latin American

population in London and more broadly in the UK, but also in a lack of data on the kind of inequalities that this population confronts and on the size of their contribution to British society (Lopez Zarzosa, 2021). Scholars and advocacy groups such as the Coalition of Latin Americans in the UK (CLAUK) have been therefore using the label “Latin Americans” as a political identity to support the institutional recognition of this group (Patiño-Santos & Márquez Reiter, 2018; Pardo, 2018).

<p>Asian or Asian British</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indian • Pakistani • Bangladeshi • Chinese • Any other Asian background 	<p>Mixed or multiple ethnic groups</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • White and Black Caribbean • White and Black African • White and Asian • Any other Mixed or multiple ethnic background 	<p>Other ethnic group</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Arab • Any other ethnic group
<p>Black, Black British, Caribbean or African</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Caribbean • African • Any other Black, Black British, or Caribbean background 	<p>White</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • English, Welsh, Scottish, Northern Irish or British • Irish • Gypsy or Irish Traveller • Roma • Any other White background 	

Figure 5. British Ethnic Recognition Scheme (UK Government, 2021).

1.4 Methodology

This section aims to justify the key methodological choices underpinning this research. First, I explain why this research adopted a qualitative approach, discuss the ontological and epistemological assumptions underpinning this work, and how my own positionality and the COVID-19 pandemic shaped the research process. I then provide an overview of the methods deployed to collect, transcribe, and analyse qualitative data. This section ends with a description of the ethical practices adopted in this research.

1.4.1 Qualitative research in times of COVID-19

This research investigates the *onward migration-family nexus* in the context of Colombian onward migration from Spain to London post 2008 global financial crisis. More specifically, this thesis (1) examines how family ties and relational factors drive and shape the direction and ways in which onward migration unfolds; (2) explores how families organise and meet their social reproductive needs in the onward migration process; (3) sheds light on the experiences and identities of youths who onward migrated with their parents or on their own; and (4) traces the implications of Brexit for onward migrant families by focusing on how families navigated and experienced the EUSS.

To explore these processes, this thesis draws from qualitative fieldwork conducted between June 2020 and May 2021. Fieldwork strived to capture the voices and experiences of onward Colombian parents, onward migrant youths of Colombian descent, as well as staff, volunteers, and leaders of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), cultural organisations, and groups run by and for Latin American migrants in London through interviews, focus groups, informal conversations, and participant observation. This doctoral thesis also draws from the focus groups and interviews conducted with (onward) Latin American migrants living in London between February and May 2021 as part of the PER project exploring the impact of Brexit and COVID-19 on London's Latin American community in collaboration with LAH. Before discussing the methods deployed for data collection in greater detail (see Section 1.4.2), I will first outline the ontological and epistemological assumptions underpinning this work and share key reflections on how my own positionality and the COVID-19 pandemic shaped fieldwork.

Ontological and epistemological assumptions

This qualitative study is grounded in an interpretive paradigm characterised by the ontological assumption that, to put it in Geertz's (1973) words, "man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun" (p. 4). In other words, an interpretive approach holds reality as socially constructed and the qualitative researcher or ethnographer has the task to make visible and interpret such constructed webs of meanings that constitute reality for research participants. An interpretive paradigm suits this study since this research aims to understand how onward Colombian migrants make sense of onward migration and how this shapes their families *from their own perspectives*.

While holding reality as socially constructed, this study is also informed by the ontological assumption typical of a critical paradigm holding reality as characterised by material, *objective* inequalities (Carspecken, 2001). Assuming a critical approach means that family relationships are treated as power relationships which may cause harm to some and bring benefits to others. It also means that the challenges that onward Colombian migrants and their families identify as shaping their lived experiences are not regarded as mere "interpretations" but are taken as *real*. This becomes necessary to advocate against inequality, arguably the first step to change reality (Carspecken, 2001).

From an epistemological perspective, both critical and interpretive paradigms hold knowledge as socially constructed through the interactions between researchers and the participants (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). From this standpoint, knowledge remains inherently partial. Hence, this thesis does not aim to claim an objective truth, since, under a critical paradigm, claims to truths are claims to power (Carspecken, 2001). Instead, it aims to enhance the understanding of the issues at hand and to *approximate* the lived experiences of the families of onward Colombian migrants. Since the production of knowledge is always mediated by researchers whose values and social positions affect their ability to see the world through the

Other's eyes (Carspecken, 2001; Smith, 2012), I next share some reflections concerning my positionality.

Positionality

Positionality is often understood in terms of fixed social identities (e.g., race, gender, nationality, age). Yet, to conceptualise positionality, I follow scholars who understand it as a social relation. As Madison (2005) remarked, “we are not simply subjects [but] subjects in relation with the Other” (p. 16). In other words, different aspects of researchers' identities, values, and experiences become salient at different points throughout the research process—from access and data collection to analysis and interpretation. As such, simply stating my demographic markers as a white, young Italian woman, belonging to a transnational family negatively affected by the 2008 financial crisis does not provide enough information over the implications of these identities on this study.

In making transparent my positionality, I shall begin by highlighting that before starting this doctoral research I was already involved with the Latin American community of London. From October 2018 to July 2019, I conducted research on the caring experiences of Latin American migrants in London as part of my MPhil degree in Sociology of Marginality and Exclusion at the University of Cambridge. As part of this research, I volunteered for and collaborated with a London-based NGO run by Latin Americans and providing services to support Latin American migrants living in London. In addition to the MPhil thesis, the findings of this research resulted in a journal article (Turcatti, 2021) as well as a presentation and a report for the NGO, which was co-authored with one of the staff members working at the NGO at the time of the research (Turcatti & Assaraf, 2019).

This prior experience meant that I embarked on this doctoral research project with some understanding of the context. It also facilitated access to the community. The successful

collaboration with this NGO and positive relationships developed with its staff meant that they were willing to support this doctoral study by taking part in interviews and helping me reach out to onward Colombian parents to interview. Secondly, referencing the successful collaboration with this NGO helped me build trust and rapport with the leaders and staff of other London-based Latin American NGOs that I approached as part of this doctoral study.

During fieldwork, some of my identity markers became more salient than others. For example, being institutionally affiliated with the University of Oxford favoured access to Latin American NGOs, community leaders, and gatekeepers as it enhanced my credibility as a researcher. However, my being European and white with no experience of travelling to Colombia was at times seen as suspicious by some of the onward Colombian parents and Latin American migrants with whom I interacted or invited to interview. However, there were instances in which I would bond with onward Colombian parents and onward migrant youths over the shared experience of coming from Southern Europe. Furthermore, the fact that I am Italian, rather than Spanish or British, meant that they could talk about negative experiences in Spain and in the UK more easily.

My age and gender were equally salient. These made it harder for me to access fathers who did not necessarily feel interested in sharing their migration stories and narratives of hardship with a *niña* (girl)—as I was described at times. In other instances, my age and gender meant that both mothers and fathers would talk to me as if I was their daughter, confident that I could learn from the wisdom they acquired over their life course. When interviewing onward migrant youths, my age was both a source of intimidation and rapport. While teenage onward migrant youths saw me as an adult and therefore felt more intimidated to share their perspectives with me, this was not the case for onward migrant youths who, like me, were in their twenties and with whom I would bond over the shared experience of having lived in multiple countries or having to care or provide for their parents.

On this note, I shall mention that this doctoral journey has been affected by the deterioration of my mother's health, who died of cancer in March 2022 in Italy. Between October 2020 and April 2022, I found myself spending several months in Italy to care for my mother while taking on various jobs to contribute to easing the financial difficulties that illness brought about in my family. The grief I experienced from losing my mother coupled with the fatigue resulting from coping with this protracted situation delayed thesis submission by a year. My being transparent during fieldwork over my care priorities helped nurture bonds with Colombian parents strongly valuing commitment towards one's family as well as community leaders from Latin American NGOs and cultural organisations who were compassionate and understanding, having had similar experiences in the past.

These personal events shaped my personal view of the EUSS—a key aspect of this doctoral dissertation. In the webinar *Revisiting Brexit* held on the 21st of September 2022, Associate Professor Alessio D'Angelo urged researchers to make their unique experiences of Brexit transparent as these contribute to shaping their views on and evaluation of Brexit. As an Italian citizen, I had to undergo the EUSS to maintain my right to reside in the UK. As a migration researcher fluent in English, applying to the EUSS to maintain my right to remain in the UK was a straightforward process. However, the EUSS imposed restrictions on how much time I was allowed out of the country to look after and grieve my mother without losing the possibility of staying in the UK in the long term. While these experiences gave me first-hand knowledge of the EUSS, they also shaped by personal views of the EUSS in negative ways.

COVID-19

So far, I discussed why this doctoral research adopts a qualitative approach, outlined the ontological and epistemological assumptions underpinning this work, and attempted to generate transparency over my positionality. Since qualitative fieldwork was conducted

between June 2020 and May 2021, I now share some considerations on the COVID-19 pandemic and its implications on this study.

The COVID-19 pandemic meant that much of fieldwork was conducted online. Following the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic in March 2020, the UK government mandated a national lockdown that lasted until the end of June 2020. Between July 2020 and September 2020 minimal social distance measures were in place. This allowed me to conduct interviews in person as well as some in-person participant observation with parents and their families in public parks, in their homes, and in the premises of Latin American NGOs. However, in mid-September 2020, restrictions for gathering in England tightened again and in London tighter local restrictions were introduced as of mid-October 2020. England entered a second national lockdown in November 2020, followed by a third one from January 2021 to March 2021. Only on the 12th of April 2021, measures were loosened again⁶.

COVID-19 raised initial concerns over my ability to access research participants. However, I successfully and inventively addressed these by working closely with Latin American NGOs and cultural organisations. In June 2020, I re-contacted the staff members and volunteers of the NGO with whom I collaborated while conducting research as part of my MPhil degree. During Summer 2020, I contacted some of their colleagues working in other Latin American NGOs and cultural organisations, who agreed to participate in online interviews and helped me reach out to onward Colombian migrants. The fact that interviews started only in Summer 2020 was helpful as by then online communication had become largely normalised among Latin Americans in London, compared to the beginning of the pandemic in March 2020. This allowed me to continue data collection during lockdowns, including when I was in Italy to look after my mother.

⁶ For more detailed information over the lockdowns and measures adopted in the UK in response to the pandemic, see Institute for Government (2022).

The connection with and support of Latin American NGOs and cultural organisations was important also because it allowed me to access the online spaces that they created to support Latin American migrants and to continue providing their services despite the lockdowns. For example, Latin American NGOs organised several webinars on issues that were important to their clients, such as the EUSS or work rights during the pandemic. Some Latin American NGOs would host coffee mornings, their knitting workshops, and educational workshops online too. I also came across a group of Latin American parents who used to meet in person once a month prior to the pandemic and then started to meet online weekly. In other words, the Latin American community adapted to the pandemic just like any other organisation, business, or university, allowing me to conduct qualitative fieldwork online.

Online interviews and participant observation in online spaces should not be devalued. Discounting online spaces and online interaction as less “real”, valuable, rich, or authentic is problematic for many reasons. First, this view implies that in-person spaces for interaction are more “real” or “unmediated”. Yet, from a social constructivist perspective, in-person interaction is as socially constructed as online interaction. Secondly, this view discounts the fact that during the pandemic these new online contexts of interaction constituted highly important spaces for Latin American migrants where they could ask questions, share worries, find support, continue socialising, and overcome isolation. Finally, as discussed in the previous sections, Transnational Family Studies have shown how, thanks to recent technological advances, ICTs allow people to nurture intimacy, connection, and love in meaningful ways despite physical distance. Hence, online communication is not necessarily and inherently of less quality than in-person communication.

Yet, conducting interviews or participant observation from the comfort of our homes has important implications for knowledge production. As Professor Michael Keith (2023) put it, “unhomely new places make the familiar strange and the strange familiar”. Travelling to

new locations and places to conduct fieldwork allows researchers to embed themselves in new, unfamiliar contexts. This helps us to understand what it is that we do not know and to identify important questions to ask (Keith, 2023). It also allows us to pick up on contextual cues and gather what is typically described as “mute evidence”—that is, the material culture embedded in the locations where fieldwork takes place which acts as a “guide [...] of cultural mores [...] jargon or language” (Fontana & Frey, 2000, p. 655). Furthermore, in-person fieldwork can help us understand and experience what those places, contextual cues, mute evidence, and material culture mean for the people whose lives and perspectives we are trying to understand.

These processes become apparent when I reflect on the interviews with onward Colombian parents conducted in person in summer 2020. Interviewing parents in person meant that they invited me to have the interview in places that were meaningful to them and to participate in some of their everyday practices. For example, I conducted some interviews with onward Colombian parents in their homes where we shared a *cafecito* (coffee) and some *buñuelos* (Colombian dessert made from fried dough and sugar); in the parks where they spend the Sunday with their children having a picnic and playing ping pong when the weather is good; in Colombian restaurants where they get a taste of their home country during lunch break from work; or in neighbourhoods where they do their shopping, go to church, and meet their friends. I found that being able to share and participate in some of their everyday practices helped build a stronger rapport while providing opportunities for unexpected surprises and learnings. For example, on one occasion, when interviewing a mother in her home, her husband came home from picking up children from the nursery. He joined the conversation, and the presence of their toddlers sparked a conversation over gender dynamics within their household. These kind of unexpected surprises and events are rather limited when doing interviews online.

It is also vital to acknowledge the consequences of having to conduct most of the fieldwork online when striving to capture the experiences of young people, particularly

adolescents. Researchers whose aim is to centre and understand the perspectives of children and adolescents often use the “mosaic approach”. Developed by Clark and Moss (2001), the mosaic approach recognises young people as experts and agents both in their lives and in the research process and implies the use of a variety of visual and oral methods to collect their perspectives. As put by Crivello et al (2009), “each method [...] represent[s] a unique tile in the ‘mosaic’” (p. 57), helping researchers gain a fuller understanding of young people’s experiences. By being multi-method, the mosaic approach allows for a better understanding of children’s experiences, as these might be communicated both orally and visually (Greig et al., 2011). This thesis includes the experiences of onward migrant youths of Colombian descent, some of whom were in their teenage years. One of the aims of this study was to explore how young people make sense of their identities in the onward migration process. Initially, I had planned to ask youths to draw a map of the places they lived in to facilitate the conversation on identity and gain a better understanding of their experiences across places. However, having to conduct most of the interviews online prevented me from using visual methods such as map drawing.

Finally, online fieldwork has consequences for researchers’ ability to achieve or strive for *multivocality*—that is, to make space in the research process for a variety of voices and perspectives (Tracy, 2013). In this research, online fieldwork meant that I was over reliant on gatekeepers. As explained earlier, to access onward Colombian migrants I relied on the help of Latin American NGOs and cultural organisations. Because these organisations tend to support Latin American migrants in low-paid jobs, the vast majority of onward Colombian migrants I interviewed were working in the cleaning or hospitality sectors. The lockdowns prevented me, for example, to stroll around London neighbourhoods with a strong Latin American presence such as Elephant and Castle or Seven Sisters or to spend time in Latin American churches where I could have met potential interviewees with more diverse backgrounds. Furthermore,

online interviews automatically exclude or limit the participation of those with no access to the Internet, those who are not equipped with technological devices, as well as those who have limited “media literacy”—that is, understanding of and knowledge on how to use technology and navigate mediated environments effectively (Jenkins et al., 2006). In Section 5.4 some of the practices to enhance the participation of those most affected by the digital divide are discussed along with other ethical practices deployed in this thesis.

Table 1. Data collection methods

Methods and participants	Period
Semi-structured interviews and informal conversations with 39 experts (e.g., staff members and volunteers of Latin American NGOs, leaders of organisations and groups run by and for Latin American migrants)	July - Aug 2020 Oct - Nov 2020 Jan - Feb 2021
Participant observation in (1) the premises of Latin American NGOs, (2) public webinars organised by Latin American NGOs, and (3) in the weekly online meetings of a Latin American parent group	July 2020 - May 2021
Life history interviews with 51 onward Colombian parents (33 mothers and 18 fathers)	Aug 2020 - April 2021
Semi-structured interviews with 21 onward migrant youths of Colombian descent and informal conversations with 2 onward migrant youths of Colombian descent	Aug 2020 - March 2021
Focus groups with onward migrant youths of Latin American descent who were students of a Colombian community leader and teacher (1 focus group with 9 students in Year 10; 1 focus group with 12 students in Year 11)	Sept - Oct 2020
Two-session interactive course on social policy in the context of the pandemic with 15 students in Year 11 born from Latin American parents co-organised with a Colombian community leader and teacher	Feb 2021
Semi-structured interviews with 9 onward Latin American migrants who naturalised in Europe	Feb - May 2021
Semi-structured interviews with 6 non-EU family members of onward Latin American migrants	Feb - May 2021
Focus groups with Latin American migrants which included 6 onward Latin American migrants; 3 non-EU family members of onward Latin American migrants, and 6 people who acquired EU nationality by descent	Feb - May 2021

1.4.2 Data collection methods overview

This section provides an overview of the data collection methods⁷ (Table 1) deployed to (1) become familiar with the context; (2) understand the experiences of onward Colombian parents; (3) include the voices of onward migrant youths of Colombian descent; and (4) understand what the EUSS meant for onward migrants and their families. Where applicable and in order to minimise repetition, I will refer the reader to the upcoming chapters where data collection methods are explained in more detail. Additional information can be found in the appendix, which includes the letters of introductions used to access key gatekeepers (**Appendix B**); digital leaflets to access interviewees (**Appendix C**); information sheets (**Appendix D**); consent forms (**Appendix E**); interview guides (**Appendix F**); and anonymised logs presenting key information about interviewees and participant observation conducted (**Appendix G**).

Understanding context

First, this study draws from semi-structured interviews and informal conversations with 39 experts which were meant to help me become sensitive to the key issues onward Latin American migrants face, particularly in the context of Brexit and the pandemic (**Appendix F1: Expert interview guide**). Familiarisation with the cultural context is indeed key before beginning to interview migrants and their family members (Lu & Gatua, 2014; Bolzman et al., 2017). Experts included (1) staff from London-based Latin American NGOs and cultural organisations supporting Latin American migrants; (2) staff from research and/or advocacy groups advocating for the visibility of Latin Americans; and (3) the organisers of a group of

⁷ While I use the term “data collection methods”, this thesis does not endorse the view that data is “out there” to be collected. Instead, as outlined in Section 1.4.1, this thesis understands knowledge as socially constructed through the interactions between the researchers and those who entrust them with their experiences and worldviews.

Latin American parents (**Appendix G1: Experts log**). These interviews lasted between 30 and 60 minutes and were conducted online, typically on zoom.

As already mentioned, to access experts, I first reached out to the staff of the NGO where I volunteered and conducted fieldwork for my MPhil degree. I then used snowballing sampling to access their colleagues and reached out to other organisations by emailing their leaders a letter of presentation (**Appendix B1**). From Summer 2020 to May 2021, I also conducted observations in the public webinars and educational workshops organised by Latin American NGOs which addressed topics of interest to the community (e.g., how to apply for the EUSS, welfare benefits etc.) (**Appendix G2: Participant observation log**). These public webinars and workshops kept me informed about new developments regarding Brexit and the pandemic.

Understanding parents

With onward Colombian parents (33 mothers, 18 fathers) (**Appendix G3: Onward Colombian mothers log; Appendix G4: Onward Colombian fathers log**), I conducted what Scott and Alwin (1998) identify as an event-centred life history. All interviews started with the open question: “Tell me your story: how did you end up in London?”. Though relatively unstructured, follow-up questions about their families, how their familial relationships informed their migratory trajectories, and how onward migration has impacted their families and their families’ organisation of social reproductive work were asked (**Appendix F2: Life history interview guide**). Parents were mostly accessed through referral from Latin American NGOs and organisations whose staff and volunteers were equipped with a leaflet (**Appendix C1**) about the research in a digital format to share with potential interviewees. Snowball sampling was also used to access additional parents. The interviews were conducted in Spanish and more than half online (see Chapter 2 for further details on interviews with parents).

Life history interviews with parents were complemented with participant observation in the weekly online meetings of the Latin American parent group whose organisers I interviewed (**Appendix G2: Participant observation log**). The organisers invited me to deliver a presentation to the group about the research I was conducting to explore parents' reactions and seek consent to conduct participant observation in their weekly meetings. Given the lockdown and social distancing measures introduced by the government at the time, these meetings were being held online. These meetings offer a space for Latin American parents to seek advice from peers and invited speakers on a variety of topics (e.g., how to support their children with schooling during the pandemic). As most of the parents are onward migrants, conducting participant observation gave me insights on the issues that mattered for onward Latin American migrants' families in addition to enhancing access to and contributing to build rapport with onward Colombian parents, some of whom later participated in the life history interviews.

Understanding youths

This thesis also strived to understand the experiences of onward migrant youths of Colombian descent aged 13-28. In total, I interviewed 21 youths and held informal conversations with 2 young people while spending the afternoon with their families (**Appendix G5: Onward migrant youths log**). Youths were mostly accessed through parents. After interviewing parents, I would ask them if they were willing to have their children participate in an interview with me in their presence. I then used snowballing sampling with interviewees in their twenties. Interviews were conducted in Spanish, mostly online, and lasted 30-60 minutes. Youths were asked how they felt about the places they lived in, their families, and identities (see Chapter 4 for more details about interview dynamics) (**Appendix F3: Interview guide onward migrant youths**).

Most of the interviews with young people were conducted after I held focus groups with the students of one of the organisers of the Latin American parent group where I carried out participant observation, who is a Colombian English as Additional Language (EAL) teacher in a secondary school in London attended by several students born from Latin American parents. In Fall 2020, I held two focus groups respectively with 9 students in Year 10 and 12 students in Year 11, all of whom were born from Latin American parents and onward migrated from Southern Europe (**Appendix G6: Latin American students log**). Students were asked how they felt about moving to London; how they think migration affects families; and how they identify (**Appendix F4: Focus group guide onward Latin American students**)

The focus groups lasted 50 minutes, were conducted during the teacher's lesson time, and had a hybrid format: students and teacher were at school, while I connected online on zoom. Back then, visitors were not allowed in the school's premises due to COVID-19. The hybrid nature of the focus groups meant that it was harder to build rapport with the students, who reasonably were not too inclined in sharing their opinions and experiences with a stranger on a screen. The moderating role of the teacher—who is highly respected among her students given the tremendous support she provides not only to them but also to their parents—became fundamental since she encouraged students to voice their perspectives. Holding these focus groups before starting to interview young people helped me identify key issues to explore in more depth during the interviews.

Then, in February 2021, I co-organised with the same teacher a two-session course on social policy in the context of the pandemic with 15 students in Year 11 born from Latin American parents (**Appendix G6: Latin American students log**). This was an educational activity with a research purpose as it was meant to explore how Latin American youths experienced the pandemic as part of the PER project with LAH (**Appendix F6: Guide two-session course on social policy in the context of the pandemic for Latin American**

students). There are two main reasons why we opted for this format instead of doing more traditional focus groups. First, we thought that stimulating students to share their perspectives may be best achieved through an engaging educational activity, rather than asking them direct questions about their personal experiences which they may find more intimidating. Secondly, by offering an educational activity, students would benefit from it, rather than just answering questions for research purposes. This doctoral dissertation draws from the experiences students shared in these sessions as the majority of the students had experienced onward migration and they discussed how the pandemic exacerbated some of the challenges their families were already facing.

The lessons were delivered by myself while the teacher acted as facilitator and moderator. Both sessions lasted 50 minutes, were conducted in Spanish, and took place on zoom during the teacher's lesson time as at the time instruction was taking place online due to the national lockdown. The fact that some of the students participating in the lessons already knew me from the focus groups conducted in Fall 2021 meant that they felt more comfortable sharing their perspectives. Furthermore, because the sessions took place fully online, rather than in a hybrid format, we were able to use Jamboard to encourage timid students to share their views anonymously. Jamboard is a digital whiteboard that lets individuals collaborate in real time (e.g., they can add stickers and comments on the same whiteboard). For example, when asking questions such as "what policies should we introduce to support young people with a migration background in London during the pandemic?", students were invited to first write their answer on the Jamboard anonymously. Then, students who felt comfortable could voice and explain their response in more detail.

Understanding the EUSS

Finally, this doctoral study draws from some of the data collected as part of the PER project exploring the Brexit and COVID-19 experiences of London's Latin American migrants in collaboration with LAH, whose staff members acted as co-researchers. Of the Latin Americans who participated either in the focus groups or interviews (**Appendix F5: Focus group/interview guide PER project**) for the PER project: (1) 6 acquired EU nationality by descent; (2) 15 acquired EU passports via naturalisation in an EU country and then onward migrated to London; and (3) 9 were non-EU family members of Latin Americans with EU passports (**Appendix G7: PER project's participants log**). This thesis combines the insights shared by these individuals with those of the onward Colombian parents interviewed to gain a better understanding of the implications of the EUSS for onward migrants and their families. As data collection for this project was carried out between February 2021 and May 2021, most of the focus groups and interviews were conducted online and participants were accessed through an online form (**Appendix C4**) and digital leaflets (**Appendix C2; Appendix C3**) circulated on LAH's social media and newsletter (for further details, see Chapter 5).

I shall explain the rationale underpinning this PER project. This PER project emerged directly out of a conversation between myself, my supervisor, and the director of LAH. During this conversation, the director of LAH emphasised the need to establish mutually beneficial collaborations between researchers and charities and move beyond a model where charities grant researchers access to their community without clear indication as to how their communities are going to benefit from the researchers' presence and work. This perspective is one that has received increasing support among migration scholars who argue for the need to move beyond extractive research practices and to mitigate power imbalances between academia and migrant communities (Mata-Codesal et al., 2020; Ozkul, 2020; Montero-Sieburth, 2020).

From that conversation, we sought funding to carry out a participatory research project that would reflect and be driven by the needs and interests of LAH and the Latin American migrants they represent. As succinctly summarised by Mata-Codesal et al., (2020), “participatory research is an umbrella term under which nests, more or less comfortable, a wide-ranging variety of research projects using different methodological approaches and research techniques, whose main aim is to achieve an equal distribution of power among all those involved in the research process” (p. 203). While there is no one way of doing participatory research, participatory research shares some key principles, including: the attempt to achieve an equal distribution of power among all those involved in the research process; seeing researchers and participants as co-creators, formulating research questions that are socially relevant for the communities one works with; and striving to achieve non extractive outcomes (Mata-Codesal et al., 2020).

During the PER project, we strived to make our research participatory by actively engaging LAH staff members in the research-related decision-making process and creating opportunities for LAH staff members to directly get involved with the data collection process, analysis, and dissemination. With the LAH staff members, we held several online meetings between February and June 2021 to devise the research questions, methodological approach, research outcomes, and findings dissemination strategy. One of the staff members, Natalia Bassotti, co-organised and co-run the focus groups and interviews with me. Another staff member, Beatriz Porto, was responsible for the communication aspect of the project as she designed the flyers and forms to access and record interest from potential interviewees as well as designed the final report. Some of the staff and volunteers also helped us reach out to potential interviewees. The final report was co-authored by myself, and Professor Carlos Vargas-Silva upon the explicit request of the director of LAH who felt that, by avoiding LAH being a co-author, the report would have been perceived more credible by the local authorities

and other parties LAH was planning to share it with. Nonetheless, LAH provided feedback over the analysis and the report.

1.4.3 Transcription and analysis

During fieldwork, I kept a fieldwork log and a fieldwork diary. In the fieldwork log, I recorded fieldwork activities (e.g., date, place, type of fieldwork activity, people involved) and kept a log of the participants. In the fieldwork diary, I would record descriptive fieldnotes as soon as possible after field visits or observations in online webinars and workshops. Recording fieldnotes swiftly is important to retain as much contextual details as possible (Spradley, 1980). I would also write reflective notes where I tried to reflect on my positionality during field visits, observations, and interviews. Recording descriptive and reflective notes as soon as possible was particularly important, given that I did not always have the chance to transcribe the interviews in full immediately after they were held.

Recording descriptive fieldnotes was “easier” following online interviews and online participant observation. When conducting in-person interviews or field visits, I would not typically write down notes on my diary to avoid being perceived as intrusive and endangering rapport with my interlocutors. To retain as much contextual information as possible, I would record myself describing the visit when leaving the field and walking to the train station. Once on the train or at home, I would then listen to my voice notes and write these down. In contrast, when conducting online interviews and online participant observation, I could promptly write down descriptive notes once the online meetings would end.

In transcribing the interviews, I strived to follow the *verbatim principle* espoused by Spradley (1979) to minimally distort participants’ meaning making. However, I encountered diverse obstacles. First, Spanish is not my first language. While fluent in the language, I am not fully proficient in Spanish as I have been learning it for only five years. Furthermore,

interviewees had diverse accents. For example, the staff members interviewed were often from different Latin American countries, including Colombia, Peru, Argentina, Chile, Mexico, Ecuador. As such, their accents and idiomatic expressions varied greatly. This was also the case for the Colombian parents and young people interviewed whose cultural roots are from different parts of Colombia. As a result, their accents varied greatly. For these same reasons, transcribing focus groups was more challenging. While during interviews, interviewees would help me by speaking more slowly or I would have the opportunity to ask for clarification over certain words or idiomatic expressions, this was not the case during focus groups. Furthermore, following the verbatim principle was challenging at times when transcribing online interviews where Internet connection would drop or the sound would not work properly.

This thesis examines (1) how family ties and relational factors drive and shape the direction and ways in which onward migration unfolds; (2) how families organise and meet their social reproductive needs in the onward migration process; (3) the experiences and identities of onward migrant youths; and (4) the implications of Brexit for onward migrant families. Qualitative data was analysed against these research aims. This means that for each of these research aims I would select the appropriate source of data and analyse it using *thematic analysis*, defined by Braun and Clarke (2006) as “a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data” (p. 79). Thematic analysis involves three levels of coding: *first-level coding* is used to identify codes—“the most basic segment [...] of raw data [...] that can be assessed in a meaningful way regarding the phenomenon” (Boyatzis, 1998, p. 63 as cited in Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 88); *second-level coding* “involves sorting the different codes into potential [sub]themes” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 89); *third-level coding* groups sub-themes into wider themes. The use of *N-Vivo* aided the analytical process. For each research aim, I would create a new “project” on *N-Vivo*, upload relevant qualitative data, and conduct thematic analysis.

1.4.4 Ethical considerations, dilemmas, and practices

With regards to ethics, this research complies with the principle of informed consent. Prior to conducting interviews with adults, including experts as well those participating in the PER project (e.g., 18 years old or older), I would provide them with an information sheet (information sheets for adult interviewees: **Appendix D1; Appendix D2; Appendix D5**) explaining the study and what their participation would entail as well as consent forms—all of which were translated to Spanish (consent forms for adult interviewees: **Appendix E1; Appendix E2; Appendix E7**). While I strived to record interviewees' written consent, some participants preferred providing consent orally, especially when the interviews were conducted online, which made the signing of the consent form more difficult, particularly for those not mastering digital skills.

To strive for *informed* consent, I would always provide interviewees with an opportunity to first discuss the information sheet over the phone, before agreeing to take part in the interview. At the beginning of each interview, I would recap orally the information contained in the information sheet and provide them with an opportunity to ask questions before beginning the interview, while checking again interviewees were still happy to go ahead. This was particularly important when interviewing onward migrants referred to me by NGO staff supporting them to access key services (e.g., welfare benefits; helping them to apply to the EUSS). This might have made some of them feel compelled to take part in the interview to not disappoint the NGO staff or for fear of repercussions. The measures described above helped with providing multiple opportunities for onward migrants to decline the interview invitation.

Before interviewing minors (13-17 years old), I would provide parents with an information sheet (**Appendix D3**) explaining what their children's participation in the study would entail and an opt-in form (**Appendix E3**) to provide their parental consent. I would also share with them an information sheet tailored to adolescents and ask parents to share it with

their children (**Appendix D4**). Before starting the interviews with minors, I would introduce myself, provide an overview of the research, clarify what their participation would entail, as well as seek their consent/assent (**Appendix E4; Appendix E5**). In doing so, I would highlight that it was okay for them to not want to take part in the interview even though their parents gave their permission. These steps were taken to minimise the risk of having young people take part in the interview uniquely because they felt compelled to do so by their parents. Importantly, interviews conducted with minors always involved the presence of one of their parents for safeguarding reasons.

With regards to the focus groups held with students, the teacher with whom these were organised sought the approval of the school's principal first, then reached out to their parents, provided them with information sheets (**Appendix D3**) and opt-in forms (**Appendix E3**), and gathered their consent. Before beginning the focus groups, youths would be reminded of the research purpose of our meeting and asked for their assent/consent (**Appendix E4; Appendix E5**). These steps were also taken for the two-session course organised as part of the PER project. After the school principal approved the course proposal (**Appendix B2**), the teacher sought parental consent and students' assent/consent. Importantly, before every session, I would remind the students of the research purpose of the session and that it was not mandatory to participate in the discussion if they did not want but they could still benefit from the lessons.

This thesis also complies with the principles of anonymity and confidentiality. To protect the anonymity of the participants, an identifier number was assigned to each participant to be used in fieldnotes and interview transcripts and the names appearing in this thesis are pseudonymous. Similarly, the names of the cultural organisations, the school, and NGOs that were involved in this study are not mentioned and were assigned a unique identifier, with the exception of LAH, since the PER project was a public collaboration.

It is also important to clarify how I addressed the ethical dilemmas that conducting online observations raise. The webinars organised by Latin American NGOs on issues such as how to access the EUSS or how to access work rights during the pandemic were public and therefore accessible to anyone. As explained earlier, I participated in these webinars to gain a better understanding of the context from informed experts and advisors. However, the meetings of the Latin American parent group were not public, as one had to be personally invited by its organisers. Earlier I mentioned that before carrying out participant observation in these meetings, I first delivered a presentation to the group about myself and the research. This was meant not only to gather their feedback and first impressions on the research but also to explore how parents felt about having me conduct observations in their meetings and gather their consent. Whenever new parents would join these meetings, all the people present would introduce themselves to the new parents. Likewise, I would introduce myself as a researcher and explain my presence in the group in function of the research I was conducting (**Appendix E6: Script to ask oral consent of adults in private groups**).

Finally, this research considers care an integral part of research ethics. I strived to deploy a *care ethics* which emphasises the need “to develop more ‘care-ful’ (i.e. care-informed) research relationships” (Herron & Skinner, 2013, p. 1697). During the interviews, I strived to validate participants’ perspectives and values, while being *sensitive and sensible* to not probe further when the process of sharing experiences became uncomfortable for interviewees. Adopting a care ethics also meant that I strived to not endanger participants’ family relationships by sharing what family members told me in confidentiality when interviewing members of the same family. Similarly, whenever I would interview parents referred to me by Latin American NGOs, I would not share interviewees’ information with NGOs staff members.

A care ethics also required me to take steps to minimise exclusion. This meant making myself available at the time and place most convenient to interviewees so that they could

participate in the study. It also meant carrying out interviews online when the participants were concerned about COVID-19, even during periods when social distancing rules did not prevent face to face interaction. Finally, when having to conduct interviews online, I strived to choose the medium that the interviewees felt most comfortable with. None of the interviewees would use Microsoft Teams. Instead, several preferred Zoom. Some asked me to conduct the interviews via WhatsApp video call because they found it easier to use or because they did not know how to use Zoom or Microsoft Teams. WhatsApp is indeed the most common ICT used by Latin American migrants in London to look for jobs, communicate with each other, access information, and more (CLAUK, 2020).

Finally, this thesis understands reciprocity as a key dimension of research ethics. Decolonial and feminist scholars criticise extractive research practices, whereby the researcher “takes and leaves” without reciprocating (Fine et al., 2000; Smith, 2012). There are three main ways in which I strived for reciprocity. First, I agreed to requests from the NGOs and cultural organisations that supported the study to deliver online workshops on topics of interest. For example, I delivered online workshops on how to recognise fake news in the context of the pandemic as well as workshops on how to access university degrees. I also offered my time to teach some of their clients how to use Zoom, as this was commonly used by NGOs for their webinars and workshops. Furthermore, I strived to share research findings with the community organisations by agreeing to present in events bringing together researchers, community workers, as well as volunteers with lived experiences. Finally, the desire to reciprocate and conduct research that was useful and driven by the interests of the community underpinned the PER project developed in collaboration with LAH.

Table 2. Outline of the dissertation

Chapter 1	Introduction: The onward migration-family nexus
Chapter 2	Remapping onward migration through the trajectories of Colombian parents in London
<i>RQ1</i>	How do family ties and relational factors shape the direction and unfolding of onward migration?
<i>Status</i>	Published in the Journal of Migration Studies, Vol. 10 (4) on the 9 th of August 2022
Chapter 3	Social reproduction in onward migration: Colombian mothers and fathers from Spain to London
<i>RQ2</i>	How do fathers and mothers experience and organise social reproductive labour in and following onward migration?
<i>Status</i>	This chapter has not been submitted to any journal yet.
Chapter 4	Identities in onward migration: Young people of Colombian descent in London
<i>RQ3</i>	What implications does onward migration have for young people’s identities?
<i>Status</i>	Published in the Journal of Children’s Geographies on the 30 th of May 2023
Chapter 5	“I returned to being an immigrant”: Onward Latin American migrants and Brexit
<i>Co-author</i>	Carlos Vargas-Silva
<i>RQ4</i>	How was the EUSS experienced by onward migrants and their families?
<i>Status</i>	Published in the Journal of Ethnic and Racial Studies, Vol. 45 (16) on the 5 th of April 2022
Chapter 6	Conclusion

1.5 Structure and outline of the thesis

This dissertation takes the format of an integrated thesis consisting of six chapters: an introduction, four substantive chapters in the form of standalone journal articles, and an overarching conclusion. Each of the four substantive chapter addresses a unique research question, contributing to the overall understanding of the onward migration-family nexus. Table 2 provides the outline of the dissertation, the title of each substantive chapter, and the main research question addressed in each chapter. The table also indicates co-authorship where

applicable and the status of the four substantive chapters in terms of whether they have been submitted for publication, whether they have been published, and in which journal. This section will first explain why I opted for an integrated thesis format and the challenges of adopting such format. I will then provide an overview of thesis. For each chapter, I will outline and present the rationale behind the main research question addressed by each, and the key findings and arguments put forward.

1.5.1 Integrated thesis format: Rationale and challenges

There are three main reasons why I opted for an integrated format. First, the nature of the research questions and the methodology favoured the choice of the integrated thesis format over the traditional monograph. The research questions (see Table 2) address different aspects of the family life of onward Colombian migrants and during fieldwork diverse perspective were collected. This allowed me to write four standalone articles which remain interrelated as they all contribute to the understanding of the onward migration-family nexus. Secondly, an integrated format was chosen to share the thesis findings more promptly and effectively with the academic community. As previous discussed, this thesis aims to contribute to the visibility of the (onward) Latin American population in the UK. Journal articles are typically more visible compared to doctoral dissertations.

Finally, there are also personal reasons behind the choice of an integrated thesis format. An integrated format enabled me to complete the doctorate in a timely fashion. My doctoral journey has been affected by my caring responsibilities towards my mother, which intensified from October 2020 and continued until she passed away in March 2022. By October 2021, it was clear that my mother's journey was coming to an end. As between December 2020 and May 2021 I had started to work on two journal articles to reflect on the experiences I was

coming across during fieldwork, the integrated thesis format allowed me to capitalise on the writing done up to that point to complete the thesis without further delays.

However, an integrated thesis presents some challenges. The first concerns repetitions. In an integrated thesis, the expectation is that each chapter can stand on its own and can be read independently. While the chapters focus on different aspects of the onward migration-family nexus, they all contain sections describing previous studies on onward migration and providing contextual information regarding the onward migration of Colombians and Latin Americans. Furthermore, while the chapters draw from different data sources collected during fieldwork, the methodology sections of the chapters can and do overlap to some degree.

The second main challenge concerns the fact that the integrated thesis format is a new “genre” in Anthropology and Migration Studies. This means that there are few past examples of doctoral theses to emulate and learn from. Furthermore, guidelines and expectations on how to effectively write and assess dissertations that take this format are not as well developed.

The third main challenge concerns showing that one possesses adequate background knowledge. Writing the substantive chapters in the form of journal articles means that there is limited space for background information due to the need to adhere to word count standards, which limit the space available to justify major decisions concerning methodology or theoretical choices. To compensate for this, I wrote a longer introduction to the thesis with the aim to provide a more comprehensive overview of the background knowledge and justifying key choices concerning the methodology, theoretical concepts, and the terminology adopted.

1.5.2 Overview of the chapters

Having explained why I opted for an integrated thesis format, I will now provide an overview of thesis. For each chapter, I will outline the main research question addressed, the key findings and arguments put forward, and the contributions made.

Chapter 1

Chapter 1 “*Introduction: The onward migration-family nexus*” aimed to (1) contextualise and justify the research focus of the thesis; (2) present and justify the key theoretical and methodological choices underpinning this study; and (3) provide an overview of the thesis. The key argument put forward in the introduction is that the family as an analytical lens has received limited attention in the study of onward migration and yet has the potential to enhance the understanding of this phenomenon, how it unfolds and how it is experienced, in addition to bringing to light the agency and resourcefulness of onward migrant families and recognising the participation of young people in the onward migration process.

Chapter 2

Chapter 2 “*Remapping onward migration through the trajectories of Colombian parents in London*” addresses the following research question: *How do family ties and relational factors shape the direction and unfolding of onward migration?* By addressing this question, this thesis aims to refine the conceptualisation of onward migration. Scholars have begun criticising the fact that onward migration is often treated as a linear, relatively straightforward movement from a first destination country to a second one (e.g., Bermudez & Oso, 2019; Schapendonk, 2021). Onward migration may be a more complex phenomenon, particularly when the relational and familial worlds of onward migrants are considered. For example, research has shown that gender roles and caring responsibilities may delay individuals’ onward migration (Bermudez & Oso, 2019). Furthermore, migrants may want, need, or happen to carry out other travels and engage in other forms of mobility before being able or deciding to onward migrate.

Drawing primarily from life history interviews conducted with onward Colombian parents, this article identifies five types of onward migration trajectories resulting from the

interplay between structural and relational factors such as family obligations, gender roles, loving and conflictual relationships. For some parents, (1) onward migration unfolded linearly as they could move directly from Spain to London without significant factors constraining their move. For others, (2) onward migration was delayed by experiences of immobility. (3) Onward migration was achieved in a stepwise fashion when parents or their family members had to move to other countries to acquire the capital needed to onward migrate or to facilitate their family's onward migration. (4) Some underwent multiple onward migrations before finding a desirable alternative to Spain. Finally, (5) in other cases onward migration followed other types of international mobilities when these did not bring about the desired outcomes.

The chapter demonstrates how onward migration may be achieved through and after diverse forms of international im/mobility and that the way in which it unfolds depends on relational factors, such as family obligations, gendered caring responsibilities, family members' legal status as well as loving and conflictual relationships with significant others. Ultimately, this chapter proposes a conceptualisation of onward migration as an open-ended, relational process that may entail and may be achieved through multiple international im/mobilities.

Chapter 3

Chapter 3 "*Social reproduction in onward migration: Colombian mothers and fathers from Spain to London*" draws primarily from the life history interviews conducted with onward Colombian parents and participant observation carried out in the weekly online meetings of the Latin American parent group to address the following research question: *How do fathers and mothers experience and organise social reproductive labour in and following onward migration?* To date, research addressing the intersection between onward migration and social reproduction has mostly shown how gender roles can delay the onward migration of women

(e.g., Bermudez & Osos, 2019) and that onward migration can pose significant threats to families' ability to meet their social reproductive needs (Morad & Sacchetto, 2020; Weine et al. 2011). Less attention has been paid to how families strategize to address and overcome these.

The chapter shows that fathers who participated in the study typically onward migrated first to fulfil their breadwinning role, while the mothers interviewed would stay in Spain to look after their children, following later. These social reproductive arrangements where fathers are the primary breadwinners, while mothers remain responsible for most social reproductive work were not necessarily maintained. To cope with downward mobility in London, at times some fathers became more involved in social reproductive work viewed as feminine, while mothers began outsourcing their social reproductive tasks to other actors to better meet their families' needs and to seize the educational and career opportunities London offers. Based on these findings, this article concludes that onward migrant families renegotiate their social reproductive arrangements over time to address the socio-economic challenges and opportunities its members encounter in the onward destination.

By exploring how social reproductive work is experienced by, organised, and distributed between fathers and mothers during onward migration, this thesis contributes to bring to light the agency and resourcefulness of onward migrants and their families. Furthermore, by addressing the perspectives of both fathers and mothers, this thesis enhances the understanding of the gendered processes underpinning onward migrant families' organisation of social reproductive work, while contributing to making visible the social reproductive experiences of migrant men, which have historically been neglected and have only recently started to receive attention (Locke, 2017; Lam & Yeoh, 2018).

Chapter 4

Chapter 4 “*Identities in onward migration: Young people of Colombian descent in London*” relies on the interviews conducted with onward migrant youths of Colombian descent as well as with the focus groups conducted with the students of Latin American background of the EAL teacher and community organiser with whom I collaborated to address the following research question: “*What implications does onward migration have for young people’s identities?*”. By exploring this research question, this thesis aims to make visible the experiences of onward migrant youths while advancing the literature exploring the processes shaping the socio-cultural identities of migrant children and youths more broadly.

How young people make sense of their identities from their own perspectives has emerged as an important research area since migrant youths’ identity narratives provide key insights on their experiences of migration and family life across borders (Arias Cubas et al., 2022). However, most studies focused primarily on the second generations (e.g., youths born in their parents’ destination country) or youths migrating to a new place in their childhood or adolescence. This reflects what van Geel and Mazzucato (2018) described as the tendency of migration scholars to conceptualise young people as either immobile (e.g., left behind or being born and remaining in their parents’ destination country) or as migrating only once. This partially explains why research on children and young people who underwent onward migration is virtually non-existent (notable exceptions: Mohme, 2014; Kelly 2017). By exploring what implications onward migration has for how young people make sense of their identities, this thesis contributes to challenging conventional categories to classify migrant children and youths while enhancing the understanding of the experiences of onward migrant youths.

This chapter shows that onward migrant youths’ identifications are diverse and shaped by their trajectories prior to onward migrating (e.g., whether they were born and partially raised

in Colombia or whether they were born and partially raised in Spain) and their formative experiences in the previous country of residence (e.g., engagement in transnational family practice, discrimination). Following onward migration, young people find themselves in a new relational environment which may offer opportunities to claim identities they had limited access to in the previous country of residence and which are deployed strategically to gain belonging, to express longing for left-behind families and friends, and to highlight the challenges they face in the onward destination. Some youths may develop new identities drawing from diverse frames and scales of references in the onward destination provided they feel accepted and can access opportunities.

Ultimately, this chapter argues that multiple migrations open opportunities for forming identities drawing from multiple frames and scales of references and calls for the need to move beyond conventional categories which classify children and youths as other immobile or as migrating only once.

Chapter 5

Co-authored with Professor Carlos Vargas-Silva (see **Appendix A** for his permission to include the chapter in the thesis), Chapter 5 “*I returned to being an immigrant’: Onward Latin American migrants and Brexit*” addresses the following research question: *How was the EUSS experienced by onward migrants and their families?* By focusing on the EUSS, this thesis aims to explore the impact of Brexit on onward migrants and their family members.

Studies on the EUSS and more generally on Brexit have been criticised for not fully addressing the heterogeneity of the EU population in the UK (Benson et al., 2022). One particular experience for which there is less research is that of migrants who moved to Europe, acquired EU nationality via naturalisation, and then onward migrated to the UK. Contrary to most EU nationals in the UK, these individuals have experienced being the subject of

immigration control before, including periods of irregularity, and are more likely to have non-EU family members. By exploring how onward migrants and their non-EU family members experienced the EUSS, this thesis contributes to policy debates over the effectiveness of this scheme in securing the rights of onward EU migrants and their non-EU family members, while advancing the understanding of how migrants experience having their recently acquired rights questioned.

The chapter draws from the interviews conducted with onward Colombian parents, with the staff of Latin American NGOs, and with onward Latin American migrants (OLAs) and their non-EU family members during the PER project with LAH. While confirming existing concerns about the “cracks” in the EUSS and the anxieties it created for the EU population in the UK, particularly for low-income groups with limited digital skills and English fluency, the chapter shows that having prior experience of being subject to immigration control in some cases acted as a factor that favoured onward migrants’ uptake of the EUSS. The chapter also highlights the implications of the EUSS for onward migrants’ families as some of the participants’ non-EU family members were not able to apply successfully to the EUSS due to misinformation and the difficulty of meeting the EUSS eligibility criteria, which became particularly difficult during the pandemic. The chapter concludes by calling for research that takes into account the diversity of the EU population in the UK if the Brexit and post-Brexit experiences of individuals and families are to be fully understood.

Chapter 6

Chapter 6 “*Conclusion*” provides a summary of the key arguments put forward in this thesis and highlights the thesis’s theoretical, contextual, and policy contributions, its limitations, and scope for further research.

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CHAPTER 2

Remapping onward migration through the trajectories of Colombian parents in London

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Following the Confirmation of Status Examination held on the 26th of October 2022, amendments have been made to the chapter to include the feedback from the examiners Professor Michael Keith and Dr. Mariña Fernández-Reino. These changes are reflected in the chapter included in this thesis but not in the published version.

Remapping onward migration through the trajectories of Colombian parents in London

Abstract

Onward migration is generally defined as the process whereby people leave the country of origin, settle in a second country, and then migrate to a third country when circumstances change. This study advances the conceptualisation of onward migration by exploring the trajectories of 51 Colombian parents who settled in Spain in the early 2000s and then onward migrated to London after the 2008 crisis through the lens of relationality and mobility. Drawing from life history interviews, this article identifies five types of onward migration trajectories resulting from the interplay between structural and relational factors such as family obligations, gender roles, loving and conflictual relationships. For some parents, (1) onward migration unfolded linearly as they could move directly from Spain to London without significant factors constraining their move. For others, (2) onward migration was delayed by experiences of immobility. (3) Onward migration was achieved in a stepwise fashion when parents or their family members had to move to other countries to acquire the capital needed to onward migrate or to facilitate their family's onward migration. (4) Some underwent multiple onward migrations before finding a desirable alternative to Spain. Finally, (5) in other cases onward migration followed other types of international mobilities when these did not bring about the desired outcomes. Ultimately, this article proposes a conceptualisation of onward migration as an open-ended, relational process that may entail and be achieved through multiple international im/mobilities.

Key words: Colombians, London, Onward Migration, Mobility, Relationality, Family

2.1 Introduction

As individuals and families are migrating more than once in their lives, the single-origin-single-destination model has proven inadequate to conceptualise contemporary international migration (Schapendonk & Steel, 2014; Schapendonk et al. 2020; Paul & Yeoh, 2021). In Europe, freedom of movement contributed to challenging the understanding of migration as a one-time movement between two locations (McIlwaine, 2015). Ample evidence demonstrates that migration is sequential elsewhere too. Migrants may transit through several countries before they reach their preferred destination (Paul, 2011; Djajić, 2017; Paul & Yeoh, 2021).

Onward migration is one of the types of international migration questioning “the simplistic mapping of migrant trajectories restricted to two nodes” (Ahrens et al., 2016, p. 58). Onward migration is generally defined as the unplanned, voluntary process whereby people leave the country of origin, settle in a second country for a period of time, and then migrate on to a third country when circumstances change (Kelly, 2013). Thus far, research has addressed its drivers as well as the opportunities and vulnerabilities it reproduces (e.g., Weine et al., 2011; Kelly 2013; Ahrens et al. 2016; McIlwaine & Bunge, 2019; Tsujimoto, 2016). Scholars have also started investigating how onward migration reconfigures families (Della Puppa, 2018; McCarthy, 2020).

In this article, I consider how a relational lens coupled with the mobility paradigm contributes to the understanding of onward migration. Drawing from the sociology of personal life (Roseneil & Ketoviky, 2016), I conceptualise migrants as relational beings whose trajectories are constructed with and in relations to others. Informed by the mobility paradigm too (Schapendonk et al., 2020), this article understands migration trajectories as relational, open-ended processes which may be characterised by multiple journeys and experiences of immobility.

By combining a relational lens with the mobility paradigm, the aim of this article is twofold: (1) to remap onward migration by uncovering the forms of im/mobility through which onward migration is achieved; and (2) to highlight how these are constructed relationally. To do so, I explore the onward migration trajectories of 51 Colombian parents who settled in Spain in the early 2000s and then onward migrated to London after the 2008 global financial crisis. These were collected through life history interviews between July 2020 and May 2021.

Following the introduction, this article first contextualises onward migration within the broader scholarship challenging the single-origin-single-destination model of international migration. It then reviews the studies on onward migration and outlines why a relational lens coupled with the mobility paradigm can help remap onward migration. After presenting the methodology, I begin drawing a typology of Colombian parents' onward migration trajectories in order to demonstrate (1) that onward migration may be achieved through and after diverse forms of international im/mobility and that (2) onward migration is a relational process, as the way in which it unfolds depends on relational factors, such as family obligations, gendered caring responsibilities, family members' legal status as well as loving and conflictual relationships with significant others.

Ultimately, this article proposes a conceptualisation of onward migration as an open-ended, relational process that may entail and may be achieved through multiple international im/mobilities and demonstrates that by combining a relational lens with the mobility paradigm onward migration can be remapped and its complexity can be appreciated.

2.2 Contextualising, conceptualising, and remapping onward migration

2.2.1 Beyond the single-origin-single-destination model of international migration

The mainstream understanding of migration as a one-time, unidirectional movement began being questioned in the context of the mobility and transnational turn in Migration

Studies (Schapendonk & Steel, 2014; Francisco-Menchavez, 2020). Since the 2000s, scholars started addressing the multiple journeys that characterise people's lives as well as the "new places and technologies that enhance the mobility of some peoples [...] and heighten the immobility of others" (Sheller & Urry 2006, p. 207). At the same time, transnational research showed that migrants may move back and forth between their countries of origin and destination due to the transnational relations linking migrants and their left-behind communities and families (Bermudez & Oso, 2019; Francisco-Menchavez, 2020).

Studies on transit migration also contributed to questioning the single-origin-single-destination model (Paul & Yeoh, 2021). Transit migration refers to migrants who cross multiple countries before arriving to their chosen destination (Djajić, 2015). There exists today ample research in the African and Latin American contexts showing how migrants, in order to reach respectively Europe and North America, cross and temporarily settle in multiple countries to work and accumulate savings to continue their journey (Djajić, 2017).

Stepwise migration is another form of international mobility questioning mainstream understandings of migration (Paul & Yeoh, 2021). Paul (2011; 2015) used this concept to explain the international migration patterns of Filipina domestic workers travelling to countries easy to entry, where they accumulate capital to then move upwardly to their preferred destinations. Stepwise migration is a strategy adopted by other migrants too. For example, in Zijlstra's (2020) research, Turkey became a corridor for Iranian students who did not initially gain entry to Western countries' universities due to their selectivity and visa restrictions.

In light of these developments, Paul and Yeoh (2021) introduced the term multinational migrations "to capture the varied movements of international migrants across more than one overseas destination with significant time spent in each country" (p. 3) Onward migration—the focus of this article—falls within this umbrella term. The next section reviews the literature

on onward migration and outlines how it differs from the kinds of multinational migrations described above.

2.2.2 Onward migration: A review of the literature

Onward migration—at times referred to as secondary migration—is generally defined as the unplanned, voluntary process whereby people leave the country of origin, settle in a second country for a period of time, and then migrate on to a third country when circumstances change (Kelly, 2013; Ahrens et al., 2016). Onward migration qualitatively differs from multinational migrations with which it bears resemblance, particularly stepwise and transit migration (Ahrens et al., 2016; Kelly, 2013; Mas Giralt, 2017). While the latter refers to the movement of migrants who know their final destination, onward migration is reactive in nature and is understood “as a way to address dissatisfaction with the outcome of the initial migration process” (Ahrens et al., 2016, p. 96) and to escape social immobility by searching for better opportunities in a new destination (Della Puppa et al., 2021).

While remaining relatively understudied, research on onward migration has burgeoned in the last fifteen years. In the late 2000s, researchers began highlighting the secondary migration of skilled and educated individuals from and to North America and Europe (e.g., Takenaka, 2007; Nekby, 2006). Studies have also been conducted on refugees’ onward migration within the US (e.g., Weine et al., 2011; Ott, 2011). In order to draw attention to the diversity of European mobilities brought about by freedom of movement, since the early 2010s particular attention has been paid to the intra-European onward migration of third-country nationals who had acquired European passports (e.g., Lindley & van Hear, 2007; Ahrens et al., 2016; Della Puppa, 2018; Bermudez & Oso, 2020; Della Puppa et al., 2021).

Scholars demonstrated the role civic capital plays in facilitating onward migration. Developed by McIlwaine (2015), civic capital refers to migrants’ acquisition of citizenship

rights or documented immigration status as assets that can be mobilised to migrate onward. The acquisition of Spanish passports allowed Latin Americans to move to northern European countries instead of remaining in Spain or returning to their home country following the 2008 global financial crisis (McIlwaine, 2015; Mas Giralt, 2017; Ramos, 2018; Bermudez, 2020). Research on the intra-European moves of African refugees revealed that becoming European citizens was also key to their onward migration from the European mainland to the UK when the UK was still part of the European Union (Ahrens et al., 2016; van Liempt, 2011). Similarly, studies conducted in the US showed how being granted asylum is fundamental to refugees' state-to-state onward migration (Weine et al., 2011; Ott, 2011).

Scholars also examined the drivers of onward migration. Drawing on research with Nigerians, Somalis and Iranians' refugees who onward migrated from European countries to London, Ahrens et al. (2016) identified five reasons why migrants may decide to leave the country in which they initially settled: 1) a perceived lack of career opportunities and 2) study opportunities; 3) racism and dissatisfaction with the political discourses surrounding migration; as well as 4) the desire to reunite with diasporic communities and 5) family members living in the onward destination. Research conducted on the South-to-North intra-European migration of third-country nationals after 2008 demonstrated that onward migration can be a coping strategy to deal with economic crises (Mas Giralt, 2017) and austerity measures (Vivas-Romero, 2020). In their study with African refugees in the US, Weine et al. (2011) found that onward migration can be used by parents to improve the livelihood and wellbeing of their households. Furthermore, parents decide to onward migrate to improve their children's educational opportunities, including learning new languages (Ramos, 2018; Morad & Sacchetto, 2020).

Yet, onward migration has a "dark side" too (Morad et al., 2021). Early on, Weine et al. (2011) found that onward migration posed several risks to Burundi and Liberian refugees'

families onward migrating within the US, including poverty, crowded housing, and the loss of the support from left-behind communities. By examining the downward mobility of Latin Americans who onward migrated from Spain to London after the 2008 crisis with Spanish passports, McIlwaine and Bunge (2019) developed the notion of “onward precarity” to highlight how onward migration may not allow migrants to overcome the vulnerabilities they encountered in their country of origin and in Spain. Turcatti and Vargas-Silva (2022) show how Brexit—the UK withdrawal from the EU—exacerbated the precarity experienced by Latin Americans with European passports in London. With Brexit, they felt their legal status and the rights associated with their European nationality were now in question. Onward migration may also entail the “re-transnationalisation” of families. McCarthy (2020) uses this term to indicate that onward migrant families may have already experienced separation prior to onward migrating. Families may not be able to onward migrate all together due to some of its members lacking civic capital or because of familial caring responsibilities (Bermudez, 2020; Bermudez & Oso, 2019).

The vulnerabilities (re)produced by onward migration can deter migrants from onward migrating. In Dimitriadis’s (2020) study, Albanian construction workers in Italy and Greece—both countries heavily affected by the 2008 crisis—were reluctant to onward migrate to Northern Europe precisely because they feared the precarity they would encounter there, including discrimination or having to settle for less favourable lifestyles. In Della Puppa’s (2018) study, to avoid re-transnationalising their families by onward migrating, Moroccan and Bangladeshi families living in Italy deployed different strategies to deal with the consequences of the 2008 financial crisis, including cohabitation between multiple families or having the family breadwinner commuting to close-by towns for work. Hence, even though onward migration may be considered a solution to deal with changing circumstances, it is not necessarily a desired one.

2.2.3 Remapping onward migration through relationality and mobility

This article builds on the literature reviewed above by considering how a relational lens contributes to the understanding of onward migration. In the sociology of personal life, the concept of relationality has been used to capture the ways in which subjectivities are “constructed in relationships with others, and in relation to others and to social norms” (May, 2011 p. 5 as cited in Roseneil & Ketokivi, 2016). The relational lens was used to challenge the individualisation theories of the 1990s arguing that traditional relationships and social structures such as kinship and family had lost their influence over individuals as of late modernity (Roseneil & Ketokivi, 2016). Instead, sociologists showed that people were still making decisions about their wills or about moving not simply in terms of their own specific needs, but in relation to others (Mason, 2004; Finch & Mason, 1993). In this respect, the relational lens is inclusive as it captures the ways in which all families—not just the heteronormative, nuclear family—as well as kin, friendships and acquaintances shape individuals’ subjectivities and lives (Roseneil & Ketokivi, 2016).

Informed by this work, this article conceptualises onward migrants not as isolated individuals who exist before their relationships, but as relational beings whose onward migration trajectories are constructed *with and in relations to* significant others (Roseneil & Ketoviky, 2016). Migration has increasingly been understood as a relational process (Montero-Sieburth et al., 2021). For example, within families, the decision of *who* migrates is shaped by factors such as gender roles and parents’ decisions to leave, stay behind, join family members abroad or return to their homeland are mediated by the educational and caring needs of children (Ryan & Sales, 2013). Migration is also mediated by migrants’ intimate relationships more broadly. For instance, Pardis (2015) powerfully showed how domestic migrant workers remained in the Gulf or returned to their home country because of the love for their partners,

children, or friends, even though the price to pay was remaining undocumented and risking incarceration.

Importantly, I would like to acknowledge the fact that relationality as a lens recognises that people's sense of who they are, their decisions, and life trajectories are constructed in relation not only to other people, but also in relation to the non-human. The latter may include places, infrastructures, objects. Migrants' sense of self and migratory decisions are informed also by non-human aspects, such as the natural landscapes they are fond of, the houses where they lived, or the NGOs and churches where they volunteered or receive support. While I acknowledge that relationality invokes dimensions related to both the human and the non-human, this article confines the analysis to the human and in particular to significant others and family relationships. This is a conscious choice made to bring to light the key roles that family relationships play in onward migration.

To conceptualise onward migration, this article also draws from the mobility paradigm understanding migration trajectories "as open spatio-temporal processes [which] may consist of multiple journeys going in various directions" (Schapendonk et al., 2020, p. 212). The mobility paradigm puts emphasis on the relationality of mobility and stasis (Schapendonk & Steel, 2014). Transnational family research shows that the mobility of some family members may trump the movement of others (Schapendonk & Steel, 2014). Furthermore, migration may entail periods of immobility for migrants who may not be able to continue their journeys due to factors such as lack of capital or documents (Schapendonk & Steel, 2014). Informed by this, onward migration trajectories are conceptualised not necessarily as a single, linear movement from one destination country to another, but as a relational process that may potentially entail multiple forms of mobility as well as immobility for migrants and their loved ones.

Combining a relational lens with the mobility paradigm may allow to understand migrants' complex journeys. While examining the mobility strategies of Latin American

migrants in Spain after the 2008 crisis, Bermudez and Oso (2019) found that women at times opted for return migration to deal with the economic crisis and the tensions with their partners. However, the cultural and economic difficulties to re-adjust to their home country coupled with conflictual relationships with their family members living there and the desire to reconcile with their partners brought them back to Spain. This study captures how complex patterns of im/mobility can be explained by addressing migrants' relational and intimate lives, and not just structural factors such as economic crises.

By combining a relational lens with the mobility paradigm, this article aims (1) to remap onward migration by uncovering the forms of im/mobility through which onward migration is achieved; and (2) to highlight how these are constructed relationally. As shown in the previous section, existing scholarship has recognised the family as a driver of onward migration and site where onward migration is negotiated. However, less explicit attention has been paid *simultaneously* to the multiple forms of im/mobility through which onward migration is achieved and how these are constructed with and in relation to significant others. In order to remap onward migration and highlight its relational nature, this article focuses on Colombian parents who onward migrated from Spain to London after the 2008 crisis. This article focuses on parents, rather than individuals without children, to better highlight how relational factors, including caring and providing for children, can complicate onward migration trajectories.

2.3 Remapping Colombians' onward migration through life histories

This article draws from life history interviews conducted between July 2020 and May 2021 with 33 onward Colombian mothers and 18 onward Colombian fathers who settled in Spain in the early 2000s and now live in London. In the early 2000s, Spain was experiencing economic growth and the country became a major destination for migrants escaping Colombia's prolonged armed conflict and the economic downturn of the 1990s (Pellegrino,

2004). Colombians were attracted to Spain also by linguistic similarities and the measures introduced by the Spanish government facilitating the regularisation of Latin American migrants (Pellegrino, 2004). Furthermore, Latin Americans could apply for Spanish nationality after only two years of regular residence in Spain (McIlwaine, 2015). However, in the aftermath of the 2008 crisis, Colombians began to move from Spain to London—a popular onward destination due to the availability of jobs despite the crisis and the existence of an already established Colombian community (McIlwaine 2015).

To explore Colombian parents' onward migration trajectories, I conducted what Scott and Alwin (1998) identified as an event-centred life history. I asked interviewees to share their migration stories to identify the motivations that drove them to onward migrate and how onward migration was achieved. All interviews started with the open question: “tell me your story, how did you end up in London?”. Though relatively unstructured and guided by the interviewee, follow-up questions concerning the role of significant others in shaping participants' onward migration trajectories were asked.

Life histories seemed appropriate to remap onward migration and to highlight its relational nature. First, life histories allow for an in-depth understanding of how macro structural forces (e.g., economic crisis) and meso forces (e.g., family decisions) are negotiated by individuals (Mey, 2017). This is relevant in the context of this study which aims for a relational understanding of onward trajectories. Secondly, as open-ended, relatively unstructured interviews, life histories encourage participants to tell stories that matter to them (Gubrium & Holstein, 2008). They provided a privileged window into the kind of experiences, events, family and relationships that shaped participants' onward migration in important ways.

All the interviews were conducted in Spanish and lasted 60-180 minutes. Colombian parents were interviewed individually to allow interviewees to provide their own perspectives on the factors that shaped their trajectories, avoiding the possibility of having the viewpoint of

one of the partners taking over. This also allowed to include the perspectives of parents who were separated or were not living with their partners. The fathers and mothers interviewed individually were not related with the exception of two couples, as after interviewing the two mothers, their respective husbands expressed interest in being interviewed too. However, I conducted 9 mother-father interviews as some participants wanted to share their onward migration story with their partners.

Of all the interviews 17 were conducted face-to-face, while 26 took place online in order to accommodate the interviewees' health concerns and to deal with the mobility restrictions resulting from the COVID-19 pandemic. By the time I began conducting online interviews, participants had already become familiar with digital technologies such as zoom and with having online interactions. Yet, face-to-face interviews tended to be longer and richer in contextual details, as these were conducted in places that had meanings for the participants, including parks where they would go with their children, neighbourhoods in which they lived or initially settled, or their homes. This prompted conversations about everyday practices that would have otherwise not been addressed through online interviews.

To approach onward Colombian parents, I mostly relied on the help of two London-based NGOs providing services to Latin American migrants and then on snowballing sampling. I first contacted the NGO with whom I conducted a research project in 2018-2019 and for whom I used to volunteer. As the NGO staff agreed to help me reach out to their onward Colombian clients, I accepted to deliver online educational workshops to their clients during the 2020 lockdowns on topics of interest to the community. I also relied on the help of a second NGO with whom my doctoral supervisor and I carried out a public engagement project from June 2020 to June 2021 exploring qualitatively the impact of Brexit and the pandemic on London's Latin American migrants, which resulted in the publication of a report (Turcatti & Vargas-Silva, 2021). To approach onward Colombian parents, the NGOs' staff members would

contact potential interviewees. They would then put me in touch with those who expressed interest in taking part. The fact that I am a young Italian woman and that the NGOs' clients tend to be mostly women partially explains why I managed to interview more women than men.

With regards to ethics, this research complied with the principles of confidentiality, anonymity, and informed consent. All the names appearing in this article are pseudonyms and identity markers were altered. To negotiate informed consent, I would first share information sheets with interviewees and provide the opportunity to ask questions about the research and discuss it over the phone before the interview. While I strived to record interviewees' written consent, some participants preferred providing consent orally, especially when the interviews were conducted online, which made the signing of the consent form more difficult for those not mastering digital skills.

Once transcribed, thematic analysis—the process whereby the researcher identifies substantive sub-themes and themes in the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006)—was used to identify in the fieldnotes and interview transcripts: (1) interviewees' trajectories in the aftermath of the 2008 crisis; (2) interviewees' motivations for onward migrating; and (3) the role of families and significant others in shaping interviewees' onward migration routes. Particular attention was paid to the transcripts of the interviewees who were related and the father-mother interviews in order to identify whether participants had contrasting views over the ways in which their onward migration unfolded or the factors that contributed to their onward mobilities described in the next section.

2.4 Colombians' onward migration trajectories

This section draws a typology of Colombian parents' onward migration trajectories in order to demonstrate (1) that onward migration may entail and be achieved through different

forms of international im/mobility and that (2) onward migration trajectories are constructed relationally since the way in which these unfold depends on factors such as family obligations, gendered caring responsibilities, family members' legal status as well as loving and conflictual relationships with significant others.

2.4.1 Linear onward migration

Southern European economies were severely affected by the 2008 crisis (Bermudez & Oso, 2020). For Colombian migrants in Spain holding Spanish nationality, onward migration to London became a strategy to cope with the consequences of the crisis as at the time the UK was still part of the EU (Mas Giralt, 2017; Bermudez, 2020). For some of the Colombian parents interviewed, this onward migration unfolded linearly. By *linear onward migration*, it is meant that participants could migrate from Spain to London directly without significant factors constraining their onward move.

This was the case, for example, of Nelson, a Colombian divorced father in his fifties who lived in Spain for almost twenty years, where he acquired a Spanish passport. As he did not manage to bring to Spain his two children, they remained in Colombia, raised by their mother. Nelson explained why he onward migrated to London:

I moved to London because there were no jobs. Apart from the crisis, because of your age they don't give you work. It comes to a point when they tell you: no, you are old, you can't work. So, you ask yourself: what do I do now that I don't have much money left. So, you do your best and then I came to London because here someone offered me a job.⁸

⁸ All the quotes have been translated from Spanish to English by the author.

The story of Viviana, a Colombian single mother in her thirties, resembles that of Nelson. Viviana migrated to Spain in her twenties in order to financially provide for her three children whom she left under the care of her mother. In Spain, Viviana started the family reunification process. However, while her children had the legal right to move to Spain by the time the 2008 crisis began, the crisis prevented Viviana from saving the money she needed to pay for her children's flight and for a bigger apartment to live in. Following the invitation of a friend living in London, Viviana was able to onward migrate thanks to her Spanish passport, in the hope that she could reunite her family in the UK.

This section shows that the need to provide not only for themselves but also for their left-behind family members played a central role in Colombian migrants' decision to move onwards. This is in line with previous scholarship highlighting how migrants make decisions about their onward moves not simply in terms of their own specific needs, but in relation to significant others (Weine et al., 2011). These findings also demonstrate that the relational lens is useful to understand not only why migrants opt for onward migration, but how it unfolds. Nelson and Viviana could indeed onward migrate directly from Spain to London not only because they held civic capital in the form of Spanish nationality, as scholars already highlighted (e.g., McIlwaine, 2015; Mas Giralt, 2017; Bermudez, 2020), but also because of the absence of significant family ties in Spain which could constrain their onward move.

2.4.2 Delayed onward migration

The precarisation of life in Spain following the 2008 crisis motivated nuclear Colombian families to onward migrate too (Mas Giralt, 2017; Bermudez & Oso, 2019; McIlwaine & Bunge, 2019). Filomena's words, a Colombian mother, powerfully capture the impact the crisis had on her family and the reasons why Colombian families onward migrated to London:

We had bought an apartment in Spain, which we refurnished, decorated [...] We made it welcoming for us to live there [...] We had bought a car [...] But the crisis came [...] we sold the car [...] We gave up our apartment [...] we had to pay 730 euros to keep the apartment, but my husband earned 600 a month and what I earned was very little. [...] We also saw many young people in Spain just doing nothing, not studying, not working and we didn't want our children to take that route.

However, most parents explained how their family's onward migration was a complicated affair. Factors such as the unequal distribution of civic capital within families, caring responsibilities, as well as conflictual and loving relationships with significant others resulted in delayed onward migration for some of the participants and their family members. The term *delayed onward migration* used here refers to the immobility migrants may experience before being able or being willing to move onwards.

Research conducted on the South-North intra-European onward migration of Latin Americans following the 2008 crisis already showed that migrant families may not onward migrate all at once (McCarthy, 2020; Della Puppa, 2018). This is because not all family members may hold the civic capital necessary to move onwards at the time the decision to onward migrate is made (Bermudez, 2020; McCarthy, 2020; Della Puppa, 2018). This was the case for Pablo's daughter. Pablo and his wife were living in a small town in the North of Spain when the crisis hit. As the jobs available shrunk, Pablo's family decided to move to London. However, Pablo's youngest daughter, who at the time was seventeen, could not move with them. Her onward migration was delayed by the fact that her application for the Spanish

passport was still pending. Her naturalisation process took three years to be finalised. Only then, Pablo's daughter was able to reach her family in London.

Bermudez and Oso (2019) show that families may not onward migrate all together due to gendered caring arrangements. In their study on Latin Americans' mobility strategies following the 2008 crisis in Spain, Bermudez and Oso found that fathers would onward migrate first to London, while mothers would remain behind to take care of their children and follow later once husbands had achieved some degree of stability in housing and work. This was often the case among the interviewees who remarked how within Colombian culture women are often expected to comply with their caring roles, which explains why mothers often stayed behind to care for their children and would follow after.

Following the crisis, single mothers had to make decisions about whose onward migration would be delayed. This decision depended on several relational factors, including the age of their children and on whether they had relatives in London. Marina's mother, for example, onward migrated to London leaving Marina in Spain to take care of her younger brother though she was only sixteen at the time. Marina and her brother joined their mother in London only when she had found a big enough room where they could all stay, secured a place in school for her children, and a job to support their lives in London. Other single mothers whose children were too young to be left in Spain on their own sent them with relatives in London. This is what Xiomara did. By sending her child to London under the care of her brother, Xiomara could move to a less expensive room, save money while she waited for the end of her job contract and find employment in London.

Conflictual and loving relationships complicate migration trajectories too by making individuals stay put, join their loved ones, or return (Pardis, 2015). For some of the participants in this study, conflictual and loving relationships with significant others resulted in their onward migration being delayed, as exemplified by the case of Rosario and José, two

Colombian parents who were interviewed together in their home. During the interview, Rosario explained how she moved to London with her child on her own after the crisis. Though José was unemployed at the time, he was not ready to leave Spain yet. José delayed his decision to move to London because of his desire to stay close to his relatives. José was indeed one of the last in his family to move to Spain and he had already suffered from being apart from his relatives.

After the interview, as Rosario walked me to the station, I learned that at the time the 2008 crisis began, Rosario and her husband were not getting along—another reason why José did not move to London with her. Yet, José soon began feeling the absence of his wife and child and moved to London. Once there, their conjugal relationship did not improve, as Rosario explained:

We both worked a lot [...] Sometimes we just came home at midnight or later. We would prepare the food and clothes for our son and go to bed at two in the morning to be up the next day at seven, take my son to school, and go to work again. [...] Yes, we both worked, but the money is never enough in London and this always causes tensions [...] You also don't have much time for being intimate with your husband and this can also affect marriage.

Eventually, this situation exacerbated pre-existing conjugal conflicts and José returned to Spain to his relatives. After spending some time apart, Rosario gave him an ultimatum: “either you come here with me or we are over”. José then returned to London with the intention to settle there permanently and make his marriage work, which he did.

These findings show once again the relational nature of onward migration as Colombian parents' decision to bring their families to London was indeed motivated by the desire to enhance their families' livelihoods and opportunities. Furthermore, this section demonstrates that the relational lens is useful to trace not only the reasons why migrants opt for onward migration, but also the forms of immobility that may underlie migrants' onward journeys. Indeed, the stories presented show that migrants may experience immobility prior to onward migration due to relational factors such as gendered caring arrangements, conflictual and loving relationships with significant others, as well as the unequal distribution of civic capital within families—confirming the findings of previous studies (Bermudez, 2020; Bermudez & Oso, 2019; McCarthy, 2020; Della Puppa, 2018). The next section demonstrates that a relational lens can help us capture the unexpected forms of international mobility that onward migration may produce—a phenomenon which have thus far received less attention.

2.4.3 Stepwise Onward Migration

For some of the interviewees and their family members, the lack of civic capital and caring responsibilities made their onward migration unfold in a stepwise fashion. Paul (2011; 2015) uses the term stepwise migration to indicate migrants' movement to countries where they can acquire the capital or skills needed to enter the preferred destination. Similarly, *stepwise onward migration* is here used to refer to those cases in which migrants or their family members move to other places not only to acquire the forms of capital needed to onward migrate to London but also to facilitate their family's onward migration.

Onward migration unfolded in a stepwise fashion for Daniel, a Colombian father in his late fifties who was living with his wife and daughters in the South of Spain. Daniel and his wife Carmen, who were interviewed together, decided to onward migrate to London because

of the crisis. While Carmen and their daughter already had Spanish passports by the time the decision was made, Daniel discovered to not be entitled to Spanish nationality:

I always had the residence permit as I always had a job. Normally, you need to have a residence permit for a year, then renew it for two years. After that, Latin Americans can apply for the Spanish passport, provided you have been paying taxes [...] What happened is that my boss used to take money off the salary saying that it was for the taxes [...] But when I went to apply for the passport, I discovered he was not paying the taxes and it looked like I didn't declare any and could not have my Spanish passport.

To join his wife and daughters in London, Daniel returned to Colombia, where he applied for a family visa and waited there until his wife finalised the family reunification process from the UK. Only then, could Daniel leave Colombia and settle in London.

For Daniel, onward migration unfolded in a stepwise fashion due to his need to acquire the civic capital to onward migrate. However, onward migration can unfold in a stepwise manner for social reproductive reasons too, as Patricia's story shows. By the time the crisis hit Spain, Patricia had two children and had recently separated from her partner. Soon, she began considering moving to London with her children, where a friend of hers lived. In order to onward migrate, Patricia sent her children to Colombia, under the care of her parents. This was an opportunity for them to get to know their home country and stay with their grandparents, while she faced the crisis, completed the naturalisation process for herself and her children, and arranged her onward migration to London. A couple of years later, Patricia was able to bring her children to London.

These findings are important for two main reasons. First, they show that the lack of civic capital and caring responsibilities may not necessarily lead to experiences of immobility prior to onward migration, contrary to what previous studies suggested (Bermudez, 2020; Bermudez & Oso, 2019; Della Puppa, 2018), but may produce new forms of mobility as a necessary step towards onward migration. Secondly, the stories presented in this section demonstrate that these unexpected forms of international mobility can be appreciated when onward migration is understood as a relational process negotiated and constructed with significant others.

2.4.4 Multiple onward migrations

Thus far, this article demonstrated that onward migration from one destination country to another may unfold (1) linearly, (2) may be delayed, (3) or may be achieved through steps and that relational factors can play a key role in determining the way in which onward migration unfolds. However, I came across Colombian parents who onward migrated multiple times to different countries on their own or with their families, before finally finding a desirable home in London. The story of Hadi's family exemplifies this.

Hadi met her husband in Colombia, where they got married. Her husband then migrated to Spain in search of socio-economic opportunities. She joined him a few years later and had three children. When the crisis began, they all onward migrated to Miami hoping to find better prospects. They opted for Miami because some of her husband's relatives were living there. However, they remained in Miami only for three years as Hadi and her husband soon realised that without documents they could not carry a proper life there and they unhappily returned to Spain, where they had a right to live by virtue of having become Spanish nationals. Hadi explained why they then left Spain and onward migrated to London:

For us it was difficult [to return to Spain] [...] They [her children] didn't want to come back. They kept saying: 'Why did we come back? We don't like Spain, we want to go back to Miami' and they would cry. [...] They always suffered from bullying at school there [...] never felt accepted [...] For us [parents] it wasn't any less easy to find a job. This is why I kept looking for an exit. I wanted to go to Norway, France... Just an exit. In the end, it was London, since we had a friend here who found a job for my husband.

Hadi's story demonstrates that combining a mobility approach with a relational lens allows us to appreciate the open-ended, relational nature of onward migration and multinational migrations more broadly. To recall, Paul and Yeoh (202) define multinational migrations as "the varied movements of international migrants across more than one overseas destination with significant time spent in each country" (p. 3). According to Paul and Yeoh (2021), multinational migrations are dynamic and open-ended processes "contingent on shifting and uneven capitals [...] and shaped by migrants' evolving geographical imaginaries, aspirations and sense of themselves" (p. 6). This can be observed in Hadi's case since her family's multiple onward migrations were motivated by factors such as parents' desire to access better socio-economic opportunities and to live documented, rather than being "illegal", as Hadi put it. Yet, this section also shows that multiple onward migrations—and multinational migrations more broadly—are constructed relationally and mediated by migrants' relationships to significant others. Indeed, in Hadi's case, the desire to make her children happy and provide them with an environment where they would feel accepted was as crucial in driving her family's second onward migration.

2.4.5 Onward migration: An afterthought following multinational migrations

While some interviewees underwent multiple onward migrations, for other parents, onward migration was an afterthought, a strategy deployed when realising that the other types of international mobility they opted for after the 2008 crisis did not bring about the desired outcomes.

For example, Cristina and Pier opted to onward migrate to London after having returned to Colombia. Cristina and Pier lived in Spain for ten years, they had a daughter, and became chefs. With the crisis, they realised that opportunities for professional growth were limited and returned to Colombia. At the time, Pier's brother was setting up his own hotel chain and asked him to be the head chef. Having studied international law and human rights, Cristina could participate in the Colombian peace process while their daughter could learn about her cultural heritage. In Bogotá, Cristina and Pier later set up their own restaurant, where they applied the knowledge acquired in Europe. Yet, the business was not going as they desired. Furthermore, they wanted to give their daughter the opportunity to study in an international community and live in a safer place where she could be independent. "It was time for a change", said Cristina. They considered returning to Spain, but they knew Spain could no longer offer what they were looking for, both from an economic and cultural perspective. This is when they decided to move to London, which they considered a cosmopolitan city, rich in economic and educational opportunities for them and their daughter.

Ingrid's story is similar, with the exception that her family's onward migration to London was preceded by moving back and forth between Spain and Colombia. Ingrid explains that the house where she lived with her husband and two sons burnt down in the late 2010s. This motivated Ingrid and her two sons to return to Colombia to stay at her mother's, while her husband remained in Spain looking for a less precarious job. After a little more than a year, Ingrid decided to return to Spain with her children. While she enjoyed being with her mother

and seeing her sons learning about Colombia, Ingrid missed the lifestyle and the safety of Spain. However, when reuniting with her husband, she realised that the time apart had negatively affected their marriage. Her conjugal relationship was further destabilised by the fact that she struggled to find a job where she would feel satisfied and rewarded. Ingrid also disagreed with her husband over the negative influence that being in Spain was having on her sons who had by then become adolescents and spent much time hanging out in the streets with their friends. This is what motivated her to onward migrate to London on her own. In London, Ingrid found better prospects for herself and her family. Her husband and sons joined her a year later.

These findings echo those of Bermudez and Oso (2019) who showed that onward migration was not the only form of mobility some Latin Americans living in Spain opted for after the crisis. As in Bermudez and Oso's study, Colombian parents' complex post-2008 mobilities can be explained by addressing the interplay between structural factors and migrants' intimate lives. The stories presented in this section show that, apart from structural socio-economic factors, relational factors such as the love nurtured for significant others, family obligations as well as conflictual relationships can be as crucial in shaping migrants' multinational migrations and determining whether these give the desired outcomes.

2.5 Conclusion

This article set out to advance the conceptualisation of onward migration by exploring the onward migration trajectories of Colombian parents who settled in Spain in the early 2000s and then moved to London after the 2008 global financial crisis through the lens of relationality (Roseneil & Ketoviky, 2016) and mobility (Schapendonk & Steel, 2014; Schapendonk et al., 2020). Adopting a relational lens meant conceptualising Colombian parents as relational beings who make decisions about their lives in light of their intimate relationships, and not just their

own needs. Combining a relational lens with the mobility approach meant conceptualising Colombian parents' migration trajectories as relational, open-ended processes that may involve experiences of mobility and immobility.

Drawing from life history interviews with onward Colombian parents, this article identified five types of onward migration trajectories emerging out of the interplay between structural factors and migrants' intimate lives and relationships. For some parents, (1) onward migration was *linear* as they could move directly from Spain to London without significant factors constraining or altering the direction of their onward move. For others, (2) onward migration was *delayed* as they experienced immobility before being able or being willing to move onwards. (3) Onward migration was achieved in a *stepwise fashion* when migrants needed to move to other places in order to be able to move to the onward destination. (4) Some underwent *multiple onward migrations* before finding a desirable alternative to the country they were trying to leave. Finally, (5) for others, onward migration *followed other types of multinational migrations* (e.g., return or circular migration) and was a strategy deployed when realising that these other mobilities did not bring about the desired outcomes.

This article contributes to the literature on onward migration in three main ways. First, it demonstrates the usefulness of a relational lens to explain the ways in which onward migration unfolds. It was shown that some parents could onward migrate directly from Spain to London not only because they held civic capital in the form of Spanish passports but also because of the absence of significant family ties constraining their onward move. In other circumstances, relational factors (e.g., caring responsibilities and loving or conflictual relationships) resulted in onward migration being delayed, unfolding in a stepwise fashion, or following other forms of international mobility. In this respect, this article echoes Bermudez and Oso (2019) in emphasising that the complexity of migrants' international mobility

patterns—what Paul and Yeoh (2021) call multinational migrations—can be explained by addressing migrants’ intimate lives, and not just macro structural factors.

Secondly, this article shows that onward migration not only may involve experiences of immobility, as already advanced by previous scholars (Bermudez, 2020; Bermudez & Oso, 2019; McCarthy, 2020; Della Puppa, 2018), but it may also be achieved through new forms of mobility. For some parents, onward migration was delayed by factors such as gendered caring arrangements, conflictual and loving relationships with significant others, as well as the unequal distribution of civic capital within families. However, for other Colombian parents, onward migrating required them to move to another place in order to acquire the capital needed to onward migrate or to facilitate their family’s onward migration.

Thirdly, the findings demonstrate the open-ended nature of onward migration as well as that onward migration can be one of the multinational migrations individuals and families undergo throughout their lives—both phenomena that have received little attention in the literature. For some parents, onward migration followed other forms of international mobility, such as return and circular migrations, as already discussed by Bermudez and Oso’s (2019) findings. This article adds to this by presenting the stories of Colombian parents who onward migrated multiple times to different countries on their own or with their families, before finally finding a desirable home in London.

All in all, this article proposes a conceptualisation of onward migration as an open-ended, relational process that may entail multiple international im/mobilities and suggests that by combining a relational lens with the mobility paradigm onward migration can be remapped and its complexity can be appreciated. While theoretically relevant, remapping onward migration is practically important if families and individuals’ experiences of settlement and integration in a given place are to be understood. With regards to onward migrants, one can assume that their process of adaptation in the onward destination may be affected and shaped

by their previous mobilities and the ways in which onward migration unfolded for them. As such, this article calls for further research on the adaptation experiences of onward migrants which considers the ways in which onward migration unfolded.

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CHAPTER 3

Social reproduction in onward migration:

Colombian mothers and fathers from Spain to London

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This chapter has not been submitted to any journal yet.

Social reproduction in onward migration: Colombian mothers and fathers from Spain to London

Abstract

This article examines how social reproductive work is experienced by and distributed between fathers and mothers during onward migration—the process whereby people leave their homeland, settle in a second country, and then migrate to a third country when circumstances change. Gendered in nature, social reproductive work refers to the activities involved in maintaining people daily and intergenerationally. Several studies explore how families' social reproductive arrangements are disrupted, reconfigured, or maintained following migration. Less is known about the organisation of social reproductive labour in families who migrated multiple times. This article draws from fieldwork with 33 Colombian mothers and 18 Colombian fathers who onward migrated from Spain to London. Fathers typically onward migrated first to fulfil their breadwinning role, while mothers would stay in Spain to look after their children, following later. These social reproductive arrangements where fathers are the primary breadwinners, while mothers remain responsible for most social reproductive work were not necessarily maintained. To cope with downward mobility and precarity in London, at times fathers became more involved in social reproductive work which was viewed as feminine, while mothers began outsourcing their social reproductive tasks to other actors to better meet their families' needs and to seize the educational and career opportunities London offers. Ultimately, this article sheds light on the social reproductive experiences of onward migrant fathers and mothers and illustrates that onward migrant families renegotiate their social reproductive arrangements over time to address the socio-economic challenges and opportunities its members encounter in the onward destination.

Keywords: social reproduction, onward migration, gender, Colombian families, London

3.1 Introduction

Families migrate for many reasons, including to enhance their livelihoods, safety, opportunities, or to ensure their members' caring needs are met. From a feminist perspective, social reproduction refers to “maintaining and sustaining human beings throughout their life cycle” (Troung 1996, p. 32). Migration can therefore be viewed as a social reproductive strategy (Kilkey et al., 2018). Migration can also alter how social reproductive work is distributed within families. Gendered in nature, social reproductive work includes, for example, domestic work, care, material provision, and the socialisation of children (Glenn, 1992).

Several studies explore how families' social reproductive arrangements are disrupted, reconfigured, or maintained following migration (McIlwaine, 2010; Lam & Yeoh, 2018; Choi, 2019; Kaur, 2022). Less is known about how social reproductive needs are met by families who have undergone multiple migrations, such as onward migrant families. Onward migration is broadly defined as the process whereby people leave the country of origin, settle in a second country, and then migrate on to a third country when circumstances change (Ahrens et al., 2016).

This article aims to advance the understanding of how families reconfigure their social reproductive arrangements in onward migration, paying special attention to the gender dynamics informing this process. Specifically, this article examines (1) how social reproductive work is experienced and distributed by and between fathers and mothers during onward migration, and (2) whether and under what conditions the social reproductive arrangements set up in the process of onward migrating change once both fathers and mothers settle in the onward destination.

This article draws from fieldwork conducted between June 2020 and May 2021 which included interviews with 33 Colombian mothers and 18 Colombian fathers who onward migrated from Spain to London after the 2008 global financial crisis. The perspectives of *both*

fathers and mothers are addressed to better capture the gendered processes underpinning onward migrant families' organisation of social reproductive work. Furthermore, by including the voices of fathers, this article contributes to making visible the social reproductive experiences of migrant men, which have historically been neglected (Locke, 2017; Lam & Yeoh, 2018).

In what follows, I first outline feminist conceptualisations of social reproduction and review the literature on how migration shapes and is shaped by families' social reproductive needs and gender practices concerning the organisation of social reproductive work. After discussing existing studies on onward migration and outlining the methodology, I present how Colombian fathers and mothers respectively described and experienced their social reproductive roles during onward migration and after settling in London.

For most interviewees, onward migration was a social reproductive strategy painfully structured by gender roles: fathers would typically onward migrate first to fulfil their breadwinning role despite the cost of temporarily separating from their families, while mothers would stay in Spain to look after their children on their own and with limited resources, onward migrating once their husbands were settled. These social reproductive arrangements where fathers are the primary breadwinners, while mothers remain responsible for most social reproductive work were not necessarily maintained in the onward destination. To cope with the downward mobility several families faced in London, some fathers became more involved in social reproductive tasks viewed as feminine with mixed feelings, while some mothers began outsourcing some of their social reproductive responsibilities to other actors to ensure their families' needs were better met and to seize the educational and career opportunities London offers, which they felt they never had in Spain.

Ultimately, this article contributes to the understanding of the social reproductive experiences of *both* onward migrant fathers and mothers and illustrates that onward migrant

families renegotiate their social reproductive arrangements over time to address the socio-economic challenges and opportunities families and its members encounter in the onward destination.

3.2 Feminist conceptualisations of social reproduction

From a feminist perspective, social reproduction refers to the process of “maintaining and sustaining human beings throughout their life cycle” (Truong, 1996, p. 32). Social reproductive work is defined as the “array of activities and relationships involved in maintaining people both on a daily basis and intergenerationally” (Nakano Glenn, 1992, p. 1). Among other tasks, social reproductive labour includes domestic work, care, the socialisation of children, and the provision of emotional support and material necessities, such as breadwinning.

Feminist scholars highlight the gendered nature of social reproductive work (Kofman, 2014). Gender is here defined as “the meaning people give to the biological reality that there are two sexes [...] a human invention that organises our behaviour and thought, not as a set of static structures or roles but as an ongoing process” (Pessar, 2005, p. 2). Early on, Benston (1969) observed how gender ideologies constructing women as “natural” carers and men as “natural” breadwinners legitimise arrangements where women take on devalued, feminised social reproductive tasks (e.g., domestic work, care), while men become breadwinners. These dynamics, in turn, further disadvantage women’s access to the labour market and occupational mobility (Kofman, 2014).

Social reproductive work is not only gendered, but racialised too (Kofman, 2014). Glenn (1992) observed how in twentieth-century US social reproduction began being more heavily commodified. Social reproductive work previously taking place in households could now be bought by more wealthy individuals. Racial minority women came to be

disproportionately employed in “lower-level” reproductive work, such as domestic work and childcare. This continues to apply today in the Global North where the participation of women in the labour market, the persistence of gender ideologies exempting men from social reproductive work, and the failure of the state to provide viable alternatives created a “care deficit”, disproportionately filled by migrant and racial minority women (Datta et al., 2010).

The fact that social reproductive work can be both paid and unpaid illustrates that the family is not the only site of social reproduction. According to Katz (2001), social reproduction “involves a complex interplay of a variety of actors in different sites” (p. 131). Razavi (2007) identified four main actors to whom social reproductive tasks can be outsourced: (1) other relatives and households; (2) markets (e.g., arranging the provision of food through restaurants or domestic work and care needs through paid workers); (3) the welfare state (e.g., welfare benefits or social housing); and (4) NGOs. Importantly, the process of outsourcing social reproduction can be a gendered task. For example, in a study exploring the role of a migrant-led NGO in the lives of Latin American migrants in London, Turcatti (2021) found that the NGO’s clients were overwhelmingly women who would approach the organisation to receive support with applying for welfare benefits to augment their families’ financial resources or with other social reproductive tasks, such as enrolling their children in schools.

Researching families’ social reproductive work can help us better understand the reproduction of wider social inequalities. This was illustrated early on by Colen (1995), whose concept of “stratified social reproduction” captures the fact that not everyone has access to the material, social, and cultural resources needed to ensure the social reproduction of their families. In her study on the parenting practices of West Indian mothers working as child-carers for middle-class families in New York, Colen found that, contrary to their employers, migrant mothers could not provide the same level of security and care to their children due to fragmented local networks, low wages, low-quality housing, and insecure legal status. This had

detrimental outcomes for their children's opportunities for social mobility, illustrating the intimate connection between stratified social reproduction and the reproduction of wider social inequalities.

This article aims to explore how social reproductive work is experienced and distributed by and between fathers and mothers during onward migration. As this article pays attention to the gendered processes underpinning onward migrant families' organisation of social reproductive work, the next section reviews the literature exploring the intersection between migration and families' gender practices concerning social reproductive labour.

3.3 Gendered social reproductive arrangements in migrant families

Migration shapes and is shaped by families' social reproductive arrangements and their gendered practices concerning social reproductive work (Dreby, 2010; Kaur, 2022). In families with traditional gendered division of labour, men may migrate to fulfil their breadwinning role, while women stay behind to carry out feminised social reproductive work, such as care and domestic work (Dreby, 2010; Kaur, 2022). Following male migration, left-behind women remain responsible for social reproductive work while shouldering new responsibilities, including compensating for the loss of finances when remittances are insufficient or unreliable (Pandey, 2021).

While traditional gendered social reproductive arrangements inform migratory decisions, women are and have been "birds of passage" (Morokvasic, 1984) too. Women migrate for several reasons, including to transgress gender norms, escape gender violence, or achieve emancipation (Morokvasic, 1984; Fleur, 2016; O'Neil et al., 2016). Furthermore, since the late twentieth century, the increasing demand for paid feminised social reproductive labour such as domestic and care work in the Global North created migration opportunities for women (Datta et al., 2010). Hochschild (2000) coined the term "global care chain" to refer to the

process by which women from the Global South migrate to take on paid social reproductive labour in the Global North, leaving a “care drain” in their families.

This view has been challenged by research showing that, following female migration, social reproductive work is redistributed among left-behind family members, often other women (e.g., grandmothers or aunts) (Dreby, 2010; Lam & Yeoh, 2018). Interestingly, emerging scholarship shows that left-behind fathers do not always outsource their newly acquired feminised social reproductive work to female relatives. At times, they may take responsibility for these, redefining notions of masculinity and fatherhood in ways that accommodate for these new feminised roles (Choi, 2019; Lam & Yeoh, 2018).

Research on gender practices concerning the organisation of social reproductive labour among migrant families abroad provides an equally complex picture. Migration may challenge patriarchal practices in migrants’ households. Early on, Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994) found that Mexican men who migrated to the US on their own and became accustomed to household tasks would contribute to childcare and domestic work when their wives and children would follow. Furthermore, following migration, women may enter the labour market, accruing higher earnings and decision-making power in their households (Fleur, 2016; O’Neil et al., 2016).

While encouraging, the view that migration brings about gender-equal social reproductive arrangements assumes that migrants come from cultures upholding traditional gender ideologies, which may not always be the case (Pessar, 2005). Secondly, changes in gender practices should not be equated with a change in gender ideologies, as migrant men may take on feminised social reproductive roles reluctantly (McIlwaine, 2010). Furthermore, migrant women concentrated in feminised, racialised, and low-income work may not acquire the earning potential to gain decision-making power within their households (O’Neil et al., 2016). Migration may also lead to what McIlwaine (2010) calls “migrant machismo”: migrant men occupying disenfranchised social positions and feminised sectors of the labour market

may resort to dominant behaviour in the household to make up for the loss of status in the new country of residence.

Furthermore, the idea that migration challenges patriarchal practices in migrants' households implicitly conceptualises migrant men as uninvolved fathers and family members (Locke, 2017). Behnke et al. (2008) debunk these stereotypes by showing how Mexican men in the US remain committed to their children's upbringing as evidenced by their preoccupation for the negative influences that US culture may have on them. Focusing on the experiences of fathers facing deportation in the US, Das Gupta (2014) remarks how deportation threatens their desire to be good fathers and participate in their families' social reproductive work.

The literature examining how the gendered social reproductive arrangements of families are disrupted, reconfigured, or maintained through and following migration is vast. In contrast, we know less about the organisation of social reproductive work and the gendered processes underpinning this in families who have undergone multiple migrations, such as onward migrant families.

3.4 Social reproduction in onward migration

Onward migration is broadly defined as the process whereby people leave the country of origin, settle in a country, and then migrate on to another country when circumstances change (Ahrens et al., 2016). Research indicates that onward migration is reactive in nature and results from the “dissatisfaction with the outcome of the initial migration process” (Ahrens et al., 2016, p. 96). It can be a strategy to escape social immobility (Della Puppa et al., 2021) or to cope with economic crises (Mas Giralt, 2017). Importantly, onward migration is facilitated by “civic capital”—a term coined by McIlwaine (2012) to indicate how migrants' acquisition of citizenship rights or immigration status become assets that can be mobilised to onward migrate. For example, acquiring European passports allowed African refugees to

onward migrate to the UK from other European countries when the UK was still part of the European Union (Ahrens et al., 2016). In the US, being granted asylum enables refugees' onward migration to other US states (Weine et al., 2011).

Onward migration is not always an individual enterprise but can be a family affair too. Weine et al. (2011) found that African refugees in the US would onward migrate to other states to improve the livelihoods of their households. Morad and Sacchetto (2020) show that the onward migration of Bangladeshi parents from Italy to the UK was motivated by the desire to improve their career prospects and their children's educational opportunities. Yet, onward migration can pose new challenges for families. In the study by Weine et al. (2011), onward Burundi and Liberian refugees' families in the US faced poverty, crowded housing, and the loss of the support from left-behind communities. Furthermore, onward migration may result in family separation. Focusing on Latin American families who onward migrated from Spain to London, McCarthy (2020) found they were not able to onward migrate all together due to some of its members lacking the required documentation. In addressing the experiences of Bangladeshi families who moved from Italy to London, Morad et al. (2021) found that families experienced the deterioration of their living conditions.

These studies do not explicitly adopt a social reproductive lens. Yet, they do suggest that onward migration can be a social reproductive strategy as families onward migrate to enhance their livelihoods, quality of life, and opportunities. Less is known about how families distribute their social reproductive work during and following onward migration. To date, some research indicates that families' onward migration can be structured by gender roles. For example, Bermudez and Oso (2019) found that in Latin American families onward migrating from Southern Europe, men would commonly move first, while women would stay behind to ensure childcare until their husbands are settled in the onward destination. We know less about how onward migrant fathers and mothers may experience these gendered social reproductive

arrangements. Furthermore, while research highlights the challenges that families may face in the onward destination, as highlighted above, less attention has been paid to what these challenges mean for families' social reproductive arrangements and the gendered processes informing the distribution of social reproductive labour within families.

To shed light on these dynamics, this article explores how Colombian fathers and mothers who onward migrated from Spain to London after the 2008 crisis experienced their social reproductive roles during onward migration and after settling in London. In the early 2000s, Spain was experiencing economic growth and the country became a major destination for migrants escaping Colombia's prolonged armed conflict and the economic downturn of the 1990s (Bermudez, 2020). In Spain, Colombians settled mostly in large cities and began reunifying or forming new families (Bermudez, 2020). However, their livelihoods deteriorated following the 2008 global financial crisis. Colombian families and other Latin American groups began moving to London using the European passports they acquired in Spain (McIlwaine and Bunge, 2016). At the time, the UK was still part of the European Union and EU/EEA citizens still held the right to enter and reside in Britain.

3.5 Methodology

This article draws from life history interviews conducted between July 2020 and May 2021 with 33 onward Colombian mothers and 18 onward Colombian fathers who settled in Spain in the early 2000s and now live in London. Nearly everyone held Spanish passports and worked as cleaners, waiters, or carers. The outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic in March 2020 and the lockdown restrictions that were implemented through 2020 and 2021 meant that to access interviewees I predominantly relied on London-based NGOs led by and for Latin American migrants with whom I have been volunteering and carrying out research with since 2019. The NGOs' staff would put me in touch with their clients and I would then use

snowballing sampling to identify additional interviewees. The fact that these NGOs typically support low-income Latin American migrants explains why most of the interviewees were employed in low-paid sectors of the labour market.

With onward Colombian fathers and mothers, I conducted what Scott and Alwin (1998) identified as an event-centred life history as the interviews focused specifically on participants' migration stories. Though relatively unstructured and guided by the interviewee, follow-up questions concerning how social reproductive work was experienced by the interviewees and distributed within their families were asked. Life histories seemed appropriate not only because they encourage participants to tell stories that matter to them (Gubrium & Holstein 2008), but also because they provided insights on how the interviewees' families social reproductive needs were met *during* the process of relocating their family in the onward destination as well as *after* they had settled in London.

All the interviews were conducted in Spanish and lasted between 60 and 180 minutes. Interviewed individually, mothers and fathers were typically not related to each other. However, I conducted 9 mother-father interviews as some participants wanted to share their onward migration story with their partners. Of all the interviews, 26 took place online to accommodate the interviewees' health concerns and to deal with the COVID-19 mobility restrictions, while 17 were conducted face-to-face in Summer 2020 when lockdown restrictions were eased. Online interviews were not as long and rich in details as face-to-face interviews. Face-to-face interviews took place in the interviewees' homes or public spaces that were meaningful to them, such as parks where they spend free time with their families or in cafes next to the churches they attend. This prompted conversations about everyday practices concerning social reproductive work that would have otherwise not been addressed through online interviews.

The COVID-19 mobility restriction and lockdowns also meant that I could not carry out extensive participant observation with the interviewees and their families, which would have allowed me to observe families' practices concerning social reproductive work. However, I conducted participant observation in the weekly online meetings of a Latin American parent group led by community organisers and leaders involved with the NGOs I have been working with since 2019. Attended predominantly by Latin American mothers who onward migrated from Spain to London, these meetings offer a space for parents to share experiences, seek advice from peers, and learn about their rights from invited speakers. As participants would often discuss the challenges they face as parents in London, these meetings helped me contextualise the life history interviews and provided me with additional insights on how onward migrant families organise social reproductive work and address the social reproductive challenges families face.

With regards to ethics, this research complied with the principles of confidentiality, anonymity, and informed consent. To negotiate informed consent with interviewees, I would first share information sheets and provide the opportunity to ask questions about the research and discuss it over the phone before the interview. Before starting to conduct participant observation in the meetings of the Latin American parent group, the organisers invited me to deliver a presentation about the research to explore parents' reactions and seek consent from participants to conduct observations.

Once transcribed, thematic analysis—the process whereby the researcher identifies substantive sub-themes and themes in the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006)—was used to identify in the fieldnotes and interview transcripts the social reproductive tasks onward Colombian mothers and fathers reported being responsible for during onward migrating and after settling in London as well as how they experienced, explained, and felt about these roles. In the following two sections, the narratives of onward Colombian fathers and mothers are presented.

All the names appearing in this article are pseudonyms and identity markers were altered to preserve anonymity.

3.6 Onward Colombian fathers: From breadwinning to care?

This section examines how onward Colombian fathers described and experienced their social reproductive roles during onward migration and after settling in London. Fathers typically described themselves as the main breadwinners of their families while living in Spain, but their earning capacity was negatively affected by the 2008 crisis. For the fathers interviewed, onward migration became a means to fulfil their breadwinning role. However, the extent to which they could regain their role as financial providers was contingent upon them holding the legal status to onward migrate and was challenged by downward mobility in the onward destination. Several fathers interviewed entered feminised, low-paid jobs, requiring them and their wives to work long hours. At times, this resulted in fathers becoming more involved in feminised social reproductive tasks within their families. This illustrates that even when traditional gender roles structure families' onward migration, social reproductive arrangements and gender practices concerning social reproductive work may be renegotiated over time to address the socio-economic challenges families encounter in the onward destination.

3.6.1 Reclaiming breadwinning through onward migration

The 2008 crisis led to the highest unemployment rates among Western countries between 2008 and 2014. Between 2008 and 2011 the unemployment rate for Latin Americans reached 28.5%, while the unemployment rate for Spanish nationals was 18.4% (Colectivo Ioé, 2012). At the time of the crisis, almost all the fathers interviewed were living in Spain with their partners and children. Fathers would often describe how in Spain their wives would

combine part-time work with childcare while they acted as their families' main breadwinner. The crisis impacted their ability to fulfil their breadwinning role, as described by Nodier, who has been living in London with his wife and children for almost ten years:

I left [Spain] because at that time I was working as a taxi driver, and we were earning very little money [...]. My wife was working... but we weren't earning as much as before... a salary of 700, 800 euro. I, for example, used to earn 1600, 1800, 2000 euro.

Through migration, men may come to fulfil their gendered social reproductive role as financial providers (Dreby, 2010). Similarly, most fathers interviewed conceptualised onward migration as a means to reclaim their status as breadwinner following the crisis. This was commonly viewed as key to their role as fathers along with providing better opportunities to their children and disciplining. As put by one interviewee:

I need to provide for them [his children] [...] As a father... it is discipline, give them a good education [...] The main responsibility I have as a father, as a husband, as a man is... to pay for the rent, the bills, the Internet, the phone.

Fathers were often the pioneers of onward migration, as also shown in previous studies on onward Latin American migration to London (Bermudez & Oso, 2019). This meant they had to temporarily separate from their families. For some fathers, this was a cause of great pain and preoccupation. Oscar had his wife and daughter move to London three months after onward migrating as he “could not stand living without them”. Armando was particularly worried about

the impact his absence would have on his children's behaviour. Filipe worried about the consequences of family separation on his relationship with his child:

If you have a child... you come to save money, but money doesn't buy the cariño (love) of your children [...] if your dad is not with you, it hurts [...] There are times when my wife tells me: "if you hadn't brought us [meaning herself and their child] here [in London], we would have more money saved by now". I tell her: "yes, but I wouldn't have all the cariño that my daughter has for me now"

The emotional pain and preoccupation interviewees experienced when onward migrating reminds us that even when migrant fathers see breadwinning as central to their parenting role and may not necessarily engage in feminised social reproductive work such as childcare and domestic work, they do play an active role in the socialisation and education of their children (Locke, 2017). Secondly, it confirms previous research highlighting the tension migrant fathers can experience when the need to comply with socially ascribed breadwinning roles is at odds with their desire for parenting and involvement in their households (Kilkey et al., 2014).

3.6.2 Challenges to breadwinning: Documents, downward mobility, feminised labour

Fathers' ability to reclaim their breadwinning role through onward migration was contingent upon them holding "civic capital" (McIlwaine, 2012) in the form of Spanish passports. While the UK officially withdrew from the European Union on the 31st of January 2020, EU citizens maintained the right to move to and reside in the UK up until the 31st of December 2020. Virtually all fathers interviewed held Spanish passports. In Spain, Latin

Americans can apply for Spanish passports after only two years of regularised residence (Bermudez & Oso, 2019). All fathers interviewed could therefore easily move to the UK in the aftermath of the 2008 crisis except for Daniel, who did not hold Spanish nationality. His wife, who did hold Spanish nationality, moved first to London with their daughters. There she applied for a family visa for her husband.

More commonly, fathers struggled to reclaim their breadwinning role due to downward mobility. Several onward Latin American migrants in London are incorporated in low-income, feminised industries, such as cleaning, caring, and hospitality (McIlwaine & Bunge, 2016). Most of the fathers interviewed worked as cleaners, often with zero-hour contracts, or in the hospitality sector as waiters or cooks. They ascribed this to not speaking English fluently and the need to provide for their families. McIlwaine and Bunge (2019) coined the term “onward precarity” to indicate how onward migration may not necessarily allow individuals to uplift their livelihoods and quality of life.

Working in feminised occupations in London was a new experience for virtually all the fathers interviewed. Colombians who migrated to Spain in the late 1990s and early 2000s got incorporated in gendered sectors of the labour market, with men taking on jobs socially viewed as masculine (Bermudez, 2016). McIlwaine (2010) found that among Latin American migrants in London working in feminised occupations, male migrants had a harder time than women to adjust to “women’s work”, particularly middle-class men. This was also the case for some onward Colombian fathers interviewed who felt these jobs were demeaning. Miguel, who comes from a middle-class family and was a successful entrepreneur in Spain but now works as a cleaner, felt particularly bitter about it:

When you have a low quality of life... Even though you say you get used to it... it's not easy. In Spain, I owned a restaurant. I would have

aperitivo for breakfast. The food we offered at the restaurant... It was refined Spanish cuisine. You know? Obviously, if you don't have any other option, you have to get used to it [referring to his life in London and his new job as a cleaner] [...] In London... Even though they tell you there's lots of work, you come here to have a salary to survive and nothing else.

Others took pride in “doing whatever it takes”, including feminised paid work, to provide for their families. The fact that their children are now bilingual and can access university more easily than in Spain thanks to the scholarships and loans available in the UK is a result of their professional sacrifices too. While this narrative was particularly common among fathers with more modest backgrounds, there were some fathers who studied in university in Colombia or held professional jobs in Spain, like Pier, who did appeal to similar narratives to cope with feminised labour and downward mobility:

Right now our priority is Marisa [his daughter]. For a father, it always comes the moment when our interests slide in the background and now everything that happens to us as a family needs to benefit her.

3.6.3 From breadwinning to caring?

The precarious nature of the feminised jobs migrants may be engaged in coupled with the loss of extended family networks following migration has consequences for migrant families' gender practices regarding social reproductive work (McIlwaine, 2010). For example, during the interview, Patty and Pablo explained they both work and share childcare. Patty works early in the morning and late at night, while Pablo works during the day. When she is at

work, Pablo stays with the children and prepares them breakfast and gets them ready to go to school. When Patty returns from work, she takes them to school while he sets off to work.

Fathers had diverse feelings about these changes in gender practices. At times, they complied with reluctance, confirming that changes in families' gender practices do not necessarily lead to a change in gender ideologies (McIlwaine, 2010). For example, one father explicitly claimed that the domestic sphere is the "natural place" of women:

Women biologically have a specific function and men have another. If you follow biology, the family will work. But if the men care for the children, that is not biological [...] the home is the space for women, it is where they have power. If women are happy, then the family is happy. I will give you an example. If in a family the mother dies, that family is over. If the father dies, then the family keeps going. This is biological.

Others viewed their involvement in domestic work and childcare as opportunities to engage with their families and be involved with their children. For example, Cristina and Pier, who are passionate about cooking, explained how doing groceries and cooking together on Sundays become important family moments during which they get to spend time with their daughter and teach her about Colombian culture by showing her how to recognise the best avocados and plantain to cook Colombian recipes.

Yet these changes in gendered social reproductive arrangements may not be permanent. As onward Colombian families settle and adjust to life in London, fathers may find more stable employment at times achieving social mobility. For example, Paco moved out of cleaning and became a full-time chef for a renowned restaurant in London while Armando became an

entrepreneur and set up his own cleaning business. Their wives could reduce their work hours and dedicate themselves to the running of the household.

In other cases, fathers would draw from their transnational networks to outsource their newly acquired feminised social reproductive roles to other women in their families—a phenomenon described by Baldassar and Merla (2014) as “circulation of care” (p. 35). For example, I came across cases where grandmothers living in Spain moved in with their adult daughters or sons in London to help them with childcare and domestic work, lifting the burden of feminised social reproductive tasks from fathers who could dedicate themselves to working more hours.

For some interviewees, the return to a more traditional gendered division of social reproductive labour meant that the biological order was restored. Others felt saddened by the loss of time to spend with their families. Fathers who did not manage to achieve social mobility but continued working extended hours in low-income, feminised jobs often remarked how they missed Spain where they had time to “enjoy family and life”.

3.7 Onward Colombian mothers:

Beyond stratified social reproductive labour?

This section examines how onward Colombian mothers described and experienced their social reproductive responsibilities during onward migration and after settling in London. The mothers who participated in the study typically felt responsible for most social reproductive tasks both in Spain, while onward migrating, and in London. In the British capital, several mothers entered low-paid feminised sectors, which they felt prevents them from adequately fulfilling their social reproductive responsibilities. Some mothers began outsourcing their social reproductive work to other actors to ensure the needs of their families were better met but also to seize London’s educational and career opportunities, which they felt they never had

in Spain. These findings illustrate that onward migrant families' social reproductive arrangements evolve over time in response not only to the socio-economic challenges they face in the onward migration but also to the opportunities the onward destination may offer to its members.

3.7.1 Social reproductive labour during onward migration

When asked about why they onward migrated to London, mothers discussed the impact the 2008 crisis had on their family's income, similarly to the fathers interviewed. They also felt that Spain was not a good place to raise their children anymore due to the lack of educational and working opportunities. Cristina, for example, explained how she did not want her daughter to be raised among the "ninis" of Spain—youths that *ni estudian, ni trabajan* (neither study nor work):

The generation in which Marisa would have been raised... They are poorly educated. [...] They are 30 years old and are not studying [...] During summer, they work a few months to travel, their parents give them money for petrol, or they work to buy cigarettes. They are allowed to drop out of school [...]. They don't care about learning a new language."

Some mothers took credit for the decision to relocate their families in London. Yet, gender structured their onward migration (Bermudez & Oso, 2019) as mothers would typically stay behind to look after their children. The previous section showed that fathers suffered family separation when onward migrating. For mothers, remaining in Spain was equally hard, particularly for those who had to combine work with the care of young children:

I stayed in Spain for a year and three months alone with my youngest child. [...] I had a bad time because I was alone. Everything depended on me [...] When my husband was here at least he helped me bring him to school or with the homework. But then, I had to do it all myself. Because, of course, I had to wait until he settled and decided whether to stay in London or not. That year, I had a really bad time.

While most mothers interviewed followed, I came across women with Spanish passports who defied gender norms and onward migrated first. Some women took the initiative to onward migrate because their partners were reluctant to endure downward mobility and worse living conditions in the onward destination. As explained by Rosario:

I said: "No, I have to work, I have to find a way for my son". He [her husband] said: "I am not going anywhere". I liked it because here [in London] I knew it was big, there was work and everything is in English [...] He did not like it here because he did not like living in a single room [...] I didn't care. I get used to it because you've got to do what you've got to do to seguir adelante (keep going).

Women's migration requires the reorganisation of social reproductive labour but does not necessarily lead to a change in gender practices and ideologies within families (Dreby, 2010; Lam & Yeoh, 2018). Only one of the mothers interviewed who pioneered onward migration left her children in Spain under the care of her husband. More commonly, pioneer onward migrant mothers would temporarily leave their children under the care of their mothers,

sisters, or adult daughters in Spain, as their husbands or ex-partners were reluctant to assume childcare roles. Mothers who did not manage to outsource childcare to other female relatives in Spain, particularly single mothers, would either onward migrate with their children or send them to Colombia under the care of their grandmothers, as in the case of Adriana who had recently separated from her husband when the crisis hit Spain. This confirms that gendered transnational family networks can be invaluable spaces where women can outsource social reproductive work when crossing borders (Dreby, 2010; Baldassar & Merla, 2014).

3.7.2 Stratified social reproductive labour following onward migration

Mothers often felt they bore responsibility for most social reproductive work in London.

As put by one interviewee:

My husband, look, he doesn't have issues with time, or limitations, nothing. He has always been working full time [...] because he doesn't have any obligations with his children, with the house, or anything. [...] For me it's been hard because I have to take care of my child who is young [...] I had to find a job and adapt to the time, take him to school, pick him up from school, and try to spend time with him.

Like several fathers who participated in this study, most mothers interviewed entered low-income, feminised industries, particularly cleaning (McIlwaine & Bunge, 2019). They identified English barriers and the need to augment their family's income while caring for their children as important factors that pushed them into these jobs. Working a couple of hours in the early morning and late evening as cleaners allows them to combine work with their childcare and domestic responsibilities. For some, working in feminised industries was not a

new experience. Colombian migration to Spain of the late 1990s and early 2000s was indeed highly feminised (Bermudez, 2016). Colombian migrant women contributed to fill Spain's "care deficit" (Datta et al., 2010). Nonetheless, working as cleaners represented a significant downward move. As remarked by one interviewee:

I spoke with many people who in Spain were working, have much experience in many sectors, they have many qualities and skills [...] and they say: "I am happy with my four hours of cleaning". I say: but you have your degree, your profession [...] I would be happier if I went back to work in homes, in elderly care!

Colen (1995) coined the term *stratified social reproduction* to refer to how social reproductive labour "is differentially experienced, valued, and rewarded according to inequalities of access to material and social resources in particular historical and cultural contexts" (p. 78). Mothers felt that working in low-paid feminised industries in London prevents them from adequately ensuring the social reproduction of their families. Low wages make it harder to provide for material everyday necessities, such as adequate accommodation or educational resources to their children. Mothers in the cleaning sector often worked unsociable hours early in the morning and late in the evening, resulting in them having less energy and time to be fully present for their children. They also felt they had little opportunities to learn English in these jobs where interaction with English native speaking co-workers is minimal. Yet, mothers considered English fundamental to support their children in their educational journey.

3.7.3 Beyond stratified social reproductive labour?

Some mothers began outsourcing some of their social reproductive work to other actors to ensure their families' needs were better met. This, however, did not always result in a change in gender practices. When they could not rely on their husbands or ex-partners' support, mothers would reach out to their female relatives in London. Indeed, Colombians onward migrated to London attracted not only by labour opportunities but also by the fact that some already had Colombian relatives and friends living there (Bermudez & Oso, 2019). These were particularly salient for mothers who pioneered onward migration and single mothers. For example, Sofia, who spent the first couple of years in London on her own with her two daughters while she waited for her husband's family visa to be issued, was supported by her sister-in-law who had moved to London in the 1990s. She welcomed Sofia and her daughters in her home, helped her with childcare duties, and supported her daughters' transition to a new school.

In exploring the role of a London-based Latin American NGO in the lives of Latin American migrants, Turcatti (2021) showed that migrant-led NGOs can be key in supporting migrant women to access adequate resources to socially reproduce their families. The mothers I met through Latin American NGOs and the Latin American parent group where I carried out participant observation would often express their gratitude to these organisations who helped them fulfil their social reproductive roles by supporting them to access welfare benefits, housing, and the healthcare system in addition to help them find a school place for their children and offering educational support to their children such as homework help or free English classes.

Some mothers identified the opportunity of outsourcing social reproductive work to relatives, NGOs, or the state (e.g., in the form of welfare benefits) as key to allow them not only to better meet the needs of their families but also to seize the educational and career

opportunities London offers to migrant women. It is indeed well established that women's social reproductive responsibilities in their families can be an obstacle to their social mobility (Beston, 1969; Kofman, 2014). Several mothers felt that in Spain their career and educational options were limited by ageism and gender inequality, as powerfully captured by one mother:

There [in Spain] women older than forty... Well, they tell them no! If you don't have a profession, you end up working in cleaning or caring for the elderly. I mean, you don't have the option to improve your life, to find a better job, you don't have option. No, no, no. [...] here, on the other hand [...] I like it here because here people respect you [...] here, a girl has the same mental capacity as a boy. [...] In Spain they are very machista in the sense that they think men are more intelligent than women.

In contrast, in London some interviewees perceived greater gender equality and opportunities for adult education in addition to less discrimination towards migrants. This sentiment was often expressed by mothers who remarked that “you don't see a Latino or Black person working in a bank”, which they feel to be the case in London.

Carolina's case best exemplifies how mothers would outsource social reproductive work motivated to access these opportunities for social mobility too. At the time of the interview, Carolina was working as a nurse. Upon arrival in London, she entered the cleaning sector but wanted more for herself and her family. After studying English, she enrolled in a course for nurses. Carolina was proud to have been one of those nurses on the frontline of the pandemic. She explained she was able to combine her apprenticeship with part-time work thanks to her husband:

When I started my studies, my son was in secondary school and I was absent [...] My husband was cooking, caring for our child, and attending the house while I was studying. The most difficult part of becoming a nurse was not studying but having to do the training and you need to follow the time of the hospital [...] My husband did everything possible to make my life easier.

However, as already discussed above, not all interviewees could rely on the support of their partners, either because they were separated, their partners would work long hours to support their families, or because their partners had a “machista” mindset, as reported by one interviewee. Furthermore, not all mothers had extensive family networks in London. As a result, I came across mothers who would outsource some of their social reproductive tasks to their adolescent children who, for example, would help with the care of their younger siblings to undertake training or educational opportunities. This was the case of Adriana, a Colombian single mother, who was undertaking a university course on Criminology at the time of the interview and recounted how she would work on her university assignments while her children would complete their high school homework. If most fathers interviewed struggled to achieve social mobility and often wanted to return to Spain, mothers who were able to access support to ensure the social reproduction of their families as well as potential opportunities to achieve social mobility would more often express the desire to remain in London.

3.8 Conclusion

Several studies explore how families’ social reproductive arrangements are disrupted, reconfigured, or maintained following migration (McIlwaine, 2010; Lam & Yeoh, 2018; Choi,

2019; Kaur, 2022). In contrast, less is known about the organisation of social reproductive labour in families who migrated multiple times, such as onward migrant families. By exploring how Colombian fathers and mothers who onward migrated from Spain to London described their social reproductive roles, this article aimed to shed light on (1) how social reproductive work is experienced and distributed by and between fathers and mothers during onward migration, and (2) whether and under what conditions the social reproductive arrangements set up in the process of onward migrating change once both fathers and mothers settle in the onward destination.

First, this article showed that gendered social reproductive arrangements where fathers are the primary breadwinners while mothers remain responsible for most social reproductive work can structure and be maintained in the process of onward migration. In line with the findings of previous studies with Latin Americans who onward migrated from Spain (e.g., Bermudez and Oso, 2019), this article illustrates that fathers would typically onward migrate first to fulfil their breadwinning role provided they held the “civic capital” (McIlwaine, 2012) necessary to onward migrate (e.g., EU passport), while mothers would stay in Spain to look after their children, onward migrating once their husbands were settled. Importantly, gender practices concerning social reproductive work were not necessarily challenged when women would take the initiative to onward migrate as mothers would more commonly remain responsible for childcare or would entrust their female relatives in Spain to temporarily look after their children while they settled in London. This aligns with the existing literature showing that women’s migration often requires the reorganisation of social reproductive labour but does not necessarily lead to a change in gender practices and ideologies within families (Dreby, 2010; Lam & Yeoh, 2018; McIlwaine, 2010).

Secondly, this article contributes to the existing literature on onward migration by showing that onward migrant families renegotiate their social reproductive arrangements to

deal with the socio-economic challenges they encounter in the onward destination. In line with the several studies on the labour market experiences of Latin American migrants who onward migrated from Southern Europe to London (McIlwaine & Bunge, 2019; 2016), many onward Colombian fathers and mothers interviewed experienced downward mobility and entered precarious, feminised sectors of the labour market such as cleaning, which required both mothers and fathers to work long hours for low wages. This study showed that in some cases these new material conditions can lead to a more gender-equal share of social reproductive work as fathers may take up more feminised social reproductive roles with mixed feelings to help meet their families' needs. At the same time, mothers working long hours in feminised, low-paid sectors of the labour market began to outsource some of their social reproductive tasks to various actors in different sites (e.g., female relatives, Latin American NGOs, or the state in the form of welfare benefits) to ensure the social reproductive needs of their families and children are met, particularly when they cannot rely on their partners.

Finally, it was shown that onward migrant families renegotiate their social reproductive arrangements also in response to the socio-economic opportunities the new destination offers. For example, the findings highlighted that as onward Colombian families settle and adjust to life in London, fathers may find more stable employment at times achieving social mobility, resulting in more traditional gendered division of labour to be re-established. At the same time, the desire of mothers to seize the educational and labour opportunities London offers drove the redistribution of social reproductive tasks among family members. For mothers who could not rely on the involvement of their partners, outsourcing their social reproductive work to female relatives or adolescent children became fundamental for them to seize the educational and work opportunities London offers, which they felt they never had in Spain, because of their age, gender, and migration background.

Ultimately, this article contributes to the understanding of the social reproductive experiences of *both* onward migrant fathers and mothers and illustrates that onward migrant families renegotiate their social reproductive arrangements over time to address the socio-economic challenges and opportunities families and its members encounter in the onward destination.

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CHAPTER 4

Identities in onward migration:

Young people of Colombian descent in London

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Identities in Onward Migration:

Young people of Colombian descent in London

Abstract

This article explores the identity formation of onward migrant youths—namely, individuals aged 13-28 who were born and/or raised in their parents' first destination country and then migrated to other countries, either together with their parents or on their own. Drawing from interviews with youths of Colombian descent who onward migrated from Spain to London, this article shows that onward migrant youths' identifications are shaped by their trajectories prior to onward migrating and their formative experiences in the previous country of residence. Following onward migration, young people find themselves in a new relational environment which may offer opportunities to claim identities they had limited access to in the previous country of residence and which are deployed strategically to gain belonging, to express longing for left-behind families and friends, and to highlight the challenges they face in the onward destination. Some youths may develop new identities drawing from diverse frames and scales of reference in the onward destination provided they feel accepted and can access opportunities. Ultimately, this article contributes to the understanding of onward migrant youths as a highly heterogeneous group while challenging conventional categories to classify migrant children and youths.

Key words: Identity, Onward Migration, Youths, Colombians, Spain, London

4.1 Introduction

Scholars have become more interested in the lives of migrant children and youths and their socio-cultural identities—namely, the social and cultural groups with which one identifies and feels attached to (Schwartz et al., 2006). The earliest work theorised that migrant youths either assimilate and come to identify with the receiving country or resist assimilation, maintaining their heritage identity (Arias Cubas et al., 2022). Since then, scholars have found that young migrants’ patterns of identifications are more complex, shaped by several factors, and may develop against frames of reference other than the sending and receiving country (Arias Cuba et al., 2022; Mas Giralt, 2015).

Several studies focus on the second generations and individuals migrating during childhood or adolescence. Less is known about young people who underwent multiple migrations, such as onward migrant youths. In this article, “onward migrant youths” refer to individuals aged 13-28 who experienced onward migration—the process whereby migrants settle in a country for a period of time and then migrate on to another country when circumstances change (Ahrens et al., 2016). Existing research indicates that onward migrant youths include young people who migrated to a first destination country as children or adolescents, and then onward migrated with their parents or on their own as well as youths born and raised from migrant parents in a given destination country who then relocated with their parents to a new destination (Ramos, 2018).

This article centres the voices of onward migrant youths to contribute to challenging what van Geel and Mazzucato (2018) described as the tendency of migration scholars to conceptualise young people as either immobile (e.g., left behind or being born and remaining in their parents’ destination country) or as migrating only once. More specifically, this article explores how onward migrant youths understand their socio-cultural identities. First, I examine how their formative experiences and trajectories prior to onward migrating inform their identity

formation. I then explore how onward migrant youths remake and mobilise their identities in the onward destination.

This article draws from fieldwork conducted in London with youths born from Colombian parents who onward migrated from Spain to London after the 2008 global crisis, which severely affected the economies of Southern Europe (Ramos, 2018). The young people in this article are described as “onward migrant youths of Colombian descent” instead of “onward Colombian youths” as they may not necessarily identify as Colombian.

In what follows, I first assess the literature on migrant youths’ identities. After providing an overview of Colombians’ onward migration to London and describing the methodology, I present the findings. Youths often drew from national frames to describe their identities and identified their trajectories to Spain, their engagement in transnational practices, and experiences of discrimination in Spain as salient in shaping their identifications. In London, young people find themselves in a new relational environment which offers opportunities to claim identities they had limited access to in Spain and which are deployed strategically to gain belonging, to express longing for left-behind families and friends, and to highlight the challenges they face in the onward destination. Some youths begin to identify with London when they can access opportunities and feel accepted.

In addition to challenging conventional categories to classify migrant children and youths, this article shows that for young people multiple migrations not only involve the renegotiation of their identities but also open opportunities for claiming and forming identities drawing from multiple frames and scales of reference.

4.2 Migrant youths’ identities

From an anti-essentialist perspective, identities are not natural, fixed, or pre-determined, but result from constructing boundaries between imagined groups (Brubaker,

2002). These boundaries, and therefore identities, are constructed discursively (e.g., through the stories we tell) as well as relationally as they are formed through processes of self-definition and definition by others (Slootman, 2018).

Traditional assimilation models postulate that migrant youths either assimilate and come to identify with the receiving country or resist assimilation and maintain their identification with their parents' homeland (Arias Cubas et al., 2022; Boland, 2020). Under these models, identification with the receiving country is a precondition for successful adaptation. These models have been therefore criticised for promoting a negative view of diversity, fuelling the backlash against multiculturalism (Reynolds & Zontini, 2016; Arias Cubas et al., 2022).

Assimilation models also fail to recognise that migrant youths may identify with both cultures, acquiring multiple identities that are performed strategically to gain acceptance and belonging (Slootman, 2018; Arias Cuba et al., 2022). For example, studies indicate that second-generation Muslim youths in the Netherlands “code-switch” between Dutch aspects of their identity and the identity markers of the culture of their parents depending on context (Visser, 2016).

Migrant youths can also develop hybrid identities when they combine elements from various cultures to form a distinctive way of being. Conceived by Bhabha (1994) to refer to cultural mixedness in postcolonial contexts, hybridity has been observed in migrant youths' everyday practices. For example, in Maira's (2002) study, second-generation Indian youths articulate hybrid identities by creatively combining traditional forms of Bhangra dance with elements of American hip-hop. By focusing on Muslim youths in Spain, Boland (2020) takes the mixing of languages as evidence of their hybrid identities.

Focusing on the factors shaping migrant youths' identifications, early on Rumbaut (2004) identified the age at which youths migrate as salient. Rumbaut classifies migrant youths

using the following categories: 1) second generation for youths born and raised by migrant parents in the destination country; 2) 1.75 generation for those who migrated before the age of 5; 3) 1.5 generation for individuals migrating between 6-12 years old; and 4) 1.25 generation for new arrivals at 13-17 years old. According to Rumbaut, the 1.5 and 1.25 generations find it harder to identify with the new country of residence as it is harder for them to learn the new language and cultural rules.

Irrespective of generational cohort, migrant youths' identification processes are shaped by discrimination. Discrimination can spark emotions of shame, leading to young people's emotional distancing from their heritage culture (Katartzi, 2017). In Katartzi's (2017) study, youths born from Albanian parents would hide their origin to gain acceptance among their Greek peers when confronted with discrimination. Other studies demonstrate that migrant youths who cannot access opportunities consciously resist identifications with the receiving culture (Verkuyten et al., 2012).

Transnational scholars highlight that migrant youths' identities are informed also by their engagement in transnational fields (Reynolds and Zontini, 2014; Mas Giralt, 2015). King and Christou (2011) show that, through familial visits and return migration to the parental homeland, migrant youths develop knowledge of their heritage culture and affective bonds which tie them to their parents' homeland.

Further highlighting the complexity of migrant youths' identities, studies indicate that young people may define their socio-cultural identities against frames and scales of reference other than the sending and receiving country (Mas Giralt, 2015). For example, Crul et al. (2013) found that young people of migrant background in Amsterdam may find it easier to identify with the city, rather than The Netherlands, due to its multicultural and cosmopolitan culture.

While moving away from assimilation models conceptualising migrant youths' identities in dichotomous and reductionist ways, these studies have focused primarily on the

second generations (e.g., youths born in their parents' destination country) or youths migrating to a new place in their childhood or adolescence. This is less helpful for understanding the experiences of young people engaging in multiple migrations. Recently, Van Geel and Mazzucato (2018) showed that young people are experiencing multiple forms of mobility and migration before they reach adulthood—findings that challenge conventional ways of conceptualising young people's migration. This article advances the understanding of the implications that multiple migrations have on young people's identities by focusing on onward migrant youths—a group defying conventional categories that has received less attention.

4.3 Visibilising onward migrant youths

Broadly defined as the process whereby people leave the country of origin, settle in a given country for a period of time, and then migrate on to another country (Ahrens et al., 2016), onward migration has received increasing attention in the last two decades. Onward migration can result from a “dissatisfaction with the outcome of the initial migration process” (Ahrens et al., 2016, p. 96). According to Della Puppa et al. (2021), it is a strategy to escape social immobility by searching for better opportunities elsewhere. Family is both a driver and site where onward migration is negotiated (Bermudez & Oso, 2019). Weine et al. (2011) found that African refugees in the US would use onward migration to improve the livelihoods of their households. Mohme (2014) discusses cases of Somali families who first moved to Sweden and then onward migrated to Egypt to join their relatives. Morad and Sacchetto (2020) focus on Bangladeshi families who onward migrated from Italy to the UK to improve their career prospects and their children's educational opportunities.

While these studies suggest that children and youths are participating in onward migration, research addressing their perspectives is limited. Mohme (2014) discusses how the children of Somali migrants who onward migrated from Sweden to Egypt perceived this move

as disrupting their schooling. Weine et al. (2011) highlight the emotional pain that children of African refugees who onward migrated within the US felt by having to leave behind their friendships (Weine et al., 2011). Focusing on youths in their twenties born and/or raised in Sweden by Iranian parents, Kelly (2017) shows that their onward migration from Sweden to London was a way of achieving their high-level career goals and independence.

This article advances this literature by exploring how onward migrant youths make sense of their socio-cultural identities. I first examine how their formative experiences and trajectories prior to onward migrating inform their identifications. Since identities may change over the life-course and depending on social and geographical locations (Mas Giralt, 2015), I then investigate how young people make sense of who they are in the onward destination. Finally, I explore whether onward migrant youths develop new identities following onward migration. In van Liempt's (2011) study, some young Somalis who onward migrated from the Netherlands to the UK began identifying as "a little British". In this article, I consider whether onward migrant youths form new identities against frames of reference other than the national context.

This article centres the voices of onward migrant youths of Colombian descent living in London. In the late 1990s, Spain became a major destination country for Colombians, and more generally, Latin American migrants (Bermudez, 2020a). In Spain, Colombians settled in large cities and began forming or reunifying their families. However, the 2008 global financial crisis led to widespread unemployment in Spain, particularly among migrants. Latin Americans, including Colombians, who had acquired Spanish passports began onward migrating to other European destinations (Bermudez, 2020a; Bermudez & Oso, 2019). At the time of the crisis, the UK was still part of the European Union and London was an attractive destination for many Latin Americans holding EU passports. However, as Bermudez (2020a)

remarked, while European nationality allowed Colombian families to onward migrate to the UK, holding EU passports did not necessarily protect them from precarity.

Drawing from interviews with Colombians and Ecuadorians who onward migrated from Spain to London, Ramos (2018) identified three main groups of onward migrants: (1) individuals in their fifties who felt unenthusiastic about onward migrating; (2) migrants in their thirties and forties often migrating with their children and approaching the onward move as a chance to improve their career prospects and their children's educational opportunities; and (3) youths born in Latin America, who migrated to Spain as children or adolescents, and then onward migrated to London in their twenties to access job opportunities and gain independence. Given the diversity of the trajectories of London's onward migrant youths of Colombian descent, their voices can provide unique insights into the implications of diverse migration patterns for young people's identities.

4.4 Methodology

This article draws from fieldwork conducted between July 2020 and May 2021 for a larger study on the experiences of onward Colombian families in London during which I strived to include the voices of young people aged 13-28. This age bracket was chosen to include youths with diverse trajectories. The older ones (e.g., ages 20-28) are more likely to have been born in Colombia, to have been brought to Spain during their childhood or adolescence in the mid or late 2000s, and to have onward migrated either with their families or on their own. The younger ones in this group (e.g., ages 13-18) are more likely to have been born in Spain in the mid-2000s and moved to London with their parents or relatives. While their move to London might have been their first migration, they still are regarded as 'onward migrant youths' as they experience their families' onward migration process.

During fieldwork I conducted semi-structured interviews with 21 onward migrant youths of Colombian descent in addition to holding informal conversations with 2 young people while spending the afternoon with their families. While acknowledging that the number of participants is limited, the interviews with youths were conducted as part of a year-long qualitative fieldwork during which I interviewed 39 experts from Latin American Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) supporting Latin American families and 51 onward Colombian parents. I also conducted participant observation in the online meetings of a group attended by several onward Latin American parents. This helped me contextualise and better understand young people's experiences.

Of the 23 young people (7 males, 16 females) who participated in the study, 1) 5 were born in Colombia, raised in Spain, and onward migrated to London during their childhood or adolescence with their parents; 2) 6 were born in Colombia, raised in Spain, and onward migrated to London as young adults (e.g. between 18 and 25 years old) on their own; 3) 12 were born and raised in Spain and onward migrated to London as children or adolescents with their parents. The fact that two thirds of the interviewees were female can be partially attributed to the fact that I am a young woman myself. Female interviewees were more open to the idea of sharing their experiences with me.

Interviewees were mostly accessed through their parents. After interviewing onward Colombian parents, I would ask them whether they were willing to have their children participate in an interview with me. Accessing youths through their parents allowed me to interview both adolescents and youths in their twenties. I then used snowballing sampling with interviewees in their twenties to access their friends born from Colombian parents who had similar trajectories.

During the interview, youths were asked to recount how they felt about the places they lived in, why they moved to London, and how they experienced this transition. Interviewees

were also asked about their families and friends in order to gain a better understanding of how onward migration impacted their relationships and to identify whether they engaged in transnational practices. Young people were also explicitly asked about how they identify given the many places in which they lived and whether they would identify with the Latin American/European identities.

Interviews were conducted in Spanish, mostly online due to COVID-19 restrictions, and lasted 30-60 minutes. When interviewing minors, their parents were present for safeguarding reasons. While this might have influenced young people's responses, the presence of parents made some youths, particularly the youngest, feel more at ease. While parents tended to not interfere with the interview process, in some cases they would interject to validate their children's perspectives, contributing to making adolescents feel at ease.

Semi-structured interviews were preceded by two focus groups with the students of a Colombian English as Additional Language (EAL) teacher who teaches in a secondary school in London. In Fall 2020, I held two focus groups respectively with 9 students in Year 10 and 12 students in Year 11, all of whom were born from Latin American parents and had onward migrated to London from Spain. Students were asked how they felt about moving to London; how they think migration affects families; and how they identify. The focus groups lasted 50 minutes, were conducted during the teacher's lesson time, and had a hybrid format: students and teacher were at school, while I connected online. At the time, visitors were not allowed in the school's premises due to COVID-19.

This research complied with the principles of informed consent, anonymity, and confidentiality. Before interviewing minors, I would provide parents with information sheets for them and their children and seek parental consent. I also sought young people's assent to ensure they were happy to partake in the study. With regards to the focus groups, the teacher

sought the approval of the school's principal first, then reached out to parents, provided them with information sheets and opt-in forms, and gathered their consent.

Interviews and focus groups were transcribed in the same language in which they were conducted. Only the quotes included in this article were translated to English by the author. Thematic analysis was then used to identify (1) the formative experiences youths named as key in shaping their identifications; (2) which identities they mobilise and claim in the onward destination and why; (3) whether they developed new identifications in the onward destination and the factors that contributed to this. All the names and identity markers in the next sections were altered to preserve anonymity.

4.5 Constructing identities in Spain

This section presents the narratives of (1) youths born and raised in Spain from Colombian parents and (2) young people born in Colombia who migrated to Spain as children or adolescents. Youths primarily drew from national frames (e.g., being Colombian, being Spanish) to describe their identities and named their trajectories, places of birth, transnational practices, and experiences of discrimination as being salient in shaping their identifications.

4.5.1 Youths born and raised in Spain

Some of the interviewees were born and raised in Spain by Colombian parents. They then onward migrated with their families to London as children (e.g., between 5 and 11) or during their adolescence (e.g., between 12 and 17). As in Gilsonan and Lee's (2021) study, they attributed their onward migration to the 2008 crisis. Following Rumbaut's (2004) classification, they would be classified as second generation in Spain as they were born from Colombian parents who moved to Spain as adults.

When asked about their identities, for many the answer was “I’m Spanish” as Spain was the place where they were born and raised. Christou and King (2010) use the term “emotional landscapes” to refer to migrant youths’ affective memories and idealised images of their homeland, arguing they are powerful in fostering transnational attachments. Similarly, these youths preserved affective memories tying them to their country of birth. This is evident in the interview with Manuela, a 15-year-old who moved to London at the age of six:

I remember a lot of my time in Spain [...] In Spain there is the house of my grandpa. It's not my real grandpa, but it's like he was. In the future, I want to buy it [the house] because I liked it so much [...] It was hard to leave [Spain] [...] I had to leave all the memories I had with my grandpa.

While claiming their Spanish identity, those who engaged in transnational practices would identify as Colombian more easily than others. Transnational practices allow second generation youths to acquire knowledge about their parental homeland and develop affective relationships with their relatives, bringing them closer to their heritage culture (Katartzi, 2017; Reynold & Zontini, 2014; Mas Giralt, 2015). Marisa, a 17-year-old girl who moved to London at the age of 14, described herself as “100 percent Colombia and 100 percent Spanish [...] not half and half”. She learnt about Colombian culture through her regular visits to Colombia which allowed her to get to know her *abuelitos* (grandparents) and befriend her cousins, with whom she regularly video calls. On the contrary, youths who did not engage in transnational practices would struggle to identify with their parents’ homeland, as highlighted by a student during the focus groups:

I feel more Spanish because even though my whole family is Latin, I always lived in Spain, I have never been to Ecuador, I have no idea how life is there. I don't know anyone from my family there.

Second generations can learn about their heritage culture not only through transnational practices but also through their families' teachings (Mas Giralt, 2015). Prior to moving to London with his parents, Jacob lived in Spain surrounded by his relatives from whom he learnt about Colombian culture. For him, this is one of the reasons he can claim to be Colombian. Yet opportunities for intergenerational transmission of culture are shaped by class (Turcatti, 2021). Susana, a 20-year-old woman who onward migrated with her mother as a teenager, explains that her mother "was always working" and would enrol Susana in "every possible after-school activity" so that she would be looked after. As a result, Susana felt more exposed to Spanish culture, which is why she refers to herself as Spanish.

Other youths highlighted how their greater exposure to Spanish culture was due to their parents' integration strategies. This was evident in the interview with Patricia, a 17-year-old who onward migrated to London with her dad when she was 14, who doesn't "feel Latina at all":

My parents were never the typical Latinos that put Latin music, salsa, bachata [...] I grew up with this kind of music, with more European music [...] I never had that feeling of being Latin.

During the interview, her father explained he wanted his daughter to "integrate into Spanish society" and not be seen as "other Latinos". Despite sharing language and cultural similarities with Spanish culture, Latin Americans continue to be perceived as the Other with low

aspirations and poor outcomes (Lobera, 2021). By embracing Spanish culture, Patricia's father wanted to protect his daughter from being othered.

Despite often seeing themselves as Spanish, interviewees highlighted how their Spanish identity was contested. In Spain, Latin Americans experience discrimination, reminding them of their otherness and questioning their belonging (Lobera, 2021). This is well captured by Manuel, a 21-year-old young man who moved to London at the age of 14:

When I was in school [...] I was bullied. They bullied me because I was a foreigner, they bullied me because I didn't have much money, they bullied me because I was simply different. Because I wasn't Spanish. I was the "Colombian boy", you know?

The sense of being Other was heightened for youths with darker skin. "In Spain they are very closed minded, there's lots of racism", says Alejandro. While identifying as Spanish, Susana explained her skin colour set her apart: "I suffered racism because they [schoolmates] weren't used to seeing people with darker skin".

4.5.2 Youths migrating from Colombia to Spain

Onward Colombian youths also include individuals born in Colombia who migrated to Spain as children or adolescents to reunite with their parents who had left in search of better economic opportunities or to escape the armed conflict. Some of them onward migrated to London as adolescents with their parents following the 2008 crisis (Gilsenan & Lee, 2021). Others moved to London on their own in their early twenties to deal with the unemployment following the crisis or to gain independence, as also discussed by Ramos (2018).

When asked about their identities, they would emphasise their Colombian roots. Compared to youths born and raised in Spain, they claimed their Colombian identity more easily as they all held memories of their upbringing in Colombia and several continued visiting and communicating with their relatives there. This was the case of Rosalina, a 21-year-old who migrated to Spain with her mother and sister at the age of six to join her father and then onward migrated to London with her family as a teenager. She says:

I always say I am Colombian. I never say I am from Spain because you can tell [she laughs, referring to her Spanish accent] [...] I am Colombian because that's where I was born [...] where my family is from.

In highlighting her Spanish accent while discussing her attachment to Colombia, Rosalina is implicitly claiming her identification with Spain too. Later on, she would indeed refer to herself as both Spanish and Colombian. Yet, other interviewees born in Colombia were reluctant to identify as Spanish. Youths migrating during their childhood and adolescence can face several challenges, making it hard for them to develop attachments to the host country (Katartzi, 2017; Rumbaut, 2004). For Marina, moving to Spain at the age of 12 to reunite with her mother meant separating from her grandmother, by whom she was raised, and acquiring a new set of responsibilities, including looking after her younger brother while her mother was at work. These experiences meant that she kept “dreaming about returning to Colombia”. As identified by Le Espiritu and Trran (2002), imagined returns to an idealised homeland are powerful means through which young people maintain and nurture their transnational attachments and identities.

Furthermore, youths born in Colombia reported experiences of discrimination. While Colombians speak Spanish, “certain words are different [...] in Colombia we say *carro* (car) but in Spain they say *coche* (car)”, says José. Youths highlighted how their schoolmates would “bully” them for their Colombian accent and reproduce stereotypes about Colombians as “narcos” or “delinquents”. “I suffered lots of bullying in school”, says Marina.

On the contrary, positive relationships with members of the host society and accessing opportunities help youths develop attachments to the host society (Arias Cuba et al., 2022). This was the case of Pamela who moved to Spain with her parents when she was seven. Upon arrival, her family settled in Navarra where she did not feel welcomed as “people were closed minded because there was less immigration”. Her experience changed when her family moved to Andalucía:

People were more open minded [...] I felt much more comfortable. I started studying hard, I wanted to stay in Spain, because before I didn't see myself in Spain, I wanted to return to Colombia. Things started to go better [...] I started to have lots of friends.

Now, when asked about her identity, Pamela sees herself as both Spanish and Colombian.

4.6 Renegotiating identities in London

The previous section demonstrated that to understand onward migrant youths' identities, their trajectories, experiences, and relational worlds preceding onward migration must be considered. Here, I show that following onward migration young people find themselves in a new relational environment which may offer opportunities to claim identities they used to have limited access to, and which young people learn to deploy strategically to gain belonging to

multiple social spaces, to express longing for left-behind families and friends, and to highlight new challenges.

4.6.1 “Here I feel more Spanish”

From an anti-essentialist perspective, identities are not fixed but may change over the life-course and depending on social and geographical locations (Mas Giralt, 2015). By onward migrating, youths find themselves in a new relational environment which allows them to claim identities they used to have limited access to. “Here I feel more Spanish”, says Raul. Raul is a 16-year-old born and raised in Spain, who onward migrated to London with his family at the age of 14. One of the reasons why he feels “more Spanish” is because his Spanish identity is not as contested as it was in Spain. On the contrary, his British schoolmates call him “Spanish” because of his mother tongue and by virtue of coming from Spain. Some youths felt ‘more Spanish’ also because they find it hard to relate to peers who moved to London directly from Latin American countries. This is well explained by Patricia. During the interview, Patricia described herself as a “foreigner” when talking about her white, native peers in Spain. Yet, in discussing her experiences in London, she positions herself as “very Spanish”:

I was never able to make many friends in school [in London] [...] The majority of the pupils at school came from Latin America directly. I always felt different from them. I never understood Latin culture, so I never managed to have good friendships with them. Because they were very Latin, and I was very Spanish.

Some youths claimed they could not relate to their peers coming directly from Latin American countries not just because they didn’t share similar cultural reference and migratory

experiences as in Patricia's case, but to gain belonging in London. Despite spending her first years of life in Colombia, Fiona explains she acquired a more "European" mentality while living in Spain. According to her, this means holding fewer conservative values when it comes to gender norms, sexuality, and racial diversity which align with London's multicultural, cosmopolitan character. Fiona's words not only suggest that some youths internalise colonial discourses constructing Europe as the site of modernity and Latin America as the site of backward values (Lobera, 2021), but are mobilising these discourses to gain inclusion in London, at the expense of othering their peers.

Onward migrant youths' privileging of certain identities over others must also be understood as a strategy to express longing for their left-behind friends and families. As put by one of the adolescents during a focus group: "I feel more Spanish because I miss my family". In Gilson and Lee's (2021) study, young people of Latin American background were reluctant to onward migrate to London with their parents as it meant separating from their friends and relatives. "I didn't like coming here at all because there [in Spain] I had my friends and my family and well... now I am here", says one of the students participating in the focus groups.

Young people's emphasis on their Spanish identity was also a way of expressing they missed the lifestyle they had in Spain. Onward Latin American families in London face various challenges (McIlwaine & Bunge, 2019). For example, some interviewees had lived or were living with their parents in shared accommodations. Others reported spending little time with their parents to the point that "there are days that we don't see each other". Latin Americans who onward migrated to London following the crisis experience precarity, as they get incorporated in low-income occupations, particularly in the cleaning sector, which require working long, unsociable hours and having little time for family life (Bermudez, 2020b). Pablo, a 16-year-old of Colombian descent, powerfully summarises the deterioration of the quality of life faced by some onward migrant families:

The majority of Latin Americans that come here [to London] from Europe [Spain] think to come here for their future, for the future of their children, because here there is better transport, better jobs, more money. But sometimes they focus too much on these things and they forget about the quality of life, to enjoy life.

This greater appreciation of Spain was showcased also by some interviewees born in Colombia, who moved to Spain as adolescents or children, and had a difficult time adjusting there. Marina always felt like an outsider in Spain. She moved to London at the age of 17 with her mother and younger brother. In London, she shared accommodation with strangers, had to learn a new language, and started working with her mother as a cleaner before going to school. As Marina remarked: “it was normal, my friends were doing it too”. Because of these experiences, she “learnt to appreciate much more what we had in Spain, we didn’t realise the quality of life we had, the comfort we had”.

This section showed that some youths might re-position themselves as Spanish and/or European because of the new relational environment. This re-positioning is also a way of gaining belonging in the new destination and signalling the new set of challenges they face in London. The next section shows that youths begin to embrace and mobilise other identities too in London.

4.6.2 “Here, I feel more Colombian”

While youths felt they could claim their Spanish identity more easily because it was not as contested as it was in Spain, they could also claim to be Colombian or Latin American without feeling as discriminated against as they were in Spain. Discrimination can spark

emotions of shame, leading to young people's distancing themselves from their heritage culture (Katartzi, 2017). This is exemplified by Maria, the Colombian teacher with whom I organised the focus groups:

I have students who say they were Spanish in Spain, or they would put on a Spanish accent to not be bullied [...] Once, an Ecuadorian girl with beautiful black, straight, long hair... she arrived [to her first school day] blond! [laughs] After a couple of months, she went back to her black hair. She told me: "I used to dye my hair to not look so Latin in Spain".

This does not mean that in London youths of Latin American background do not confront discrimination. They confront stereotypes of Latin Americans being "narcos", with girls being objectified through the stereotype that "Latin Americans girls are sexy" (Mas Giralt & Granada, 2014). Some interviewees also identified a new prejudice that is forming in London: that all Latin Americans are "just cleaners". However, the young people in this study often felt that discrimination is more overt in Spain. This can be explained by the colonial relationship between Spain and Latin American countries which makes Latin Americans a highly visible and problematised group (Lobera, 2021). In contrast, Latin Americans in London suffer from institutional invisibility as they are still classified as Other in official statistics (Turcatti, 2021).

The fact that some of Maria's students would begin claiming identifications with their parents' homeland and embrace the pan-ethnic Latin American identity is also due to the school activities she organises. Migrant youths begin identifying with their heritage culture when they perceive their background to be valued and appreciated (Arias Cuba et al., 2022). Maria

regularly invites role models of Latin American background to her classroom to share the challenges they overcame and to celebrate festivities from various Latin American cultures, which ultimately help counteract stereotypes over Latin Americans in her school—fundamental to support migrant students to re-insert in school (Rodríguez-Cruz, 2022). Through these activities, Maria is contributing to the creation of a pan-ethnic Latin American identity to which positive meanings are attached and which her students can claim with pride.

Migrant youths mobilise their identities, for different reasons, including to gain acceptance and access resources (Mas Giralt, 2011; Boland, 2020). Onward migrant youths of Colombian descent learn quickly to deploy their Colombian and Latin American identities strategically. As put by Paula, a 16-year-old girl born and raised in Spain by Ecuadorian parents during a focus group: “Here in London, I feel a little bit more Ecuadorian [...] when I go to Spain, I feel much more Spanish”. Positioning herself as Ecuadorian in London allows her to bond with other peers of Latin American background. This helped her make friends who could interpret for her when she first arrived. Youths who onward migrated in their twenties mobilise their identities in similar ways. For example, Pamela positioned herself as Colombian when she described how she found housing. When looking for accommodation, Pamela reached out to “*another* Colombian girl” she knew from Spain, who was living in London with her family and had a spare room to rent.

Yet, young people’s embracing of their heritage identity in the onward destination is more than a strategic move as it can also be the outcome of new transnational experiences. Bermudez and Oso (2019) show that some Latin American families prior to onward migrating to London temporarily returned to their country of origin. I did come across interviewees who moved with their families to their parents’ homeland after the 2008 crisis and before migrating to London. These new experiences helped them get closer to their heritage culture. Others began to engage with their parents’ cultural heritage in London. For example, Patricia, who

onward migrated with her father at the age of 14 while her mother remained in Spain as her parents are divorced, explains that:

Now that I don't live with her [her mother] anymore, all that music from when I was a child, like bachata and salsa, that my mum loved and that I did not like and I would never listen to...It's a bit crazy, but now I listen to it so much because it reminds me of her... Now, I love it too.

Patricia has begun engaging with her parents' culture as a means of bridging the physical distance with her mother.

Finally, some interviewees would claim their Colombian or Latin American identities to legitimise their belonging to diasporic places. In London, Latin Americans are a vibrant community: they run businesses, direct charities, organise festivals, and hold masses in Spanish and Portuguese (Bermudez & Cuberos-Gallardo, 2021). For the newly arrived onward migrant families, these become sites where they can receive support, form new friendships, and engage in cultural and political activities (Bermudez & Cuberos-Gallardo, 2021). One of the Colombian mothers interviewed remarked how these sites can be particularly important for onward Latin American families from Spain who might not necessarily receive the support of the Spanish community in London, because of the persistence of discriminatory attitudes by Spanish people abroad.

These Latin American spaces in London benefit onward migrant youths of Colombian descent too. After onward migrating to London with his parents and little sister when he was eight, Jacob's parents began participating in the cultural activities organised by Latin American diaspora groups and NGOs. There, he started taking regular salsa classes with his mother and

making friendships. He recalls how he used to privilege his Spanish identity while living in Spain. Now, he defines himself as Colombian and Latin American. By doing so he claims and continues to legitimise his belonging to the new spaces he has come to inhabit.

4.7 Developing new identities?

The previous section showed that onward migrant youths draw from a diverse repertoire of identities to adjust to the onward destination. In her work with young Somalis who onward migrated from the Netherlands to the UK, van Liempt (2011) found that some young people were also developing attachments to the onward destination, beginning to identify as “a little British”. This section demonstrates that onward migrant youths may develop new identities against frames of reference other than the national context.

Contrary to the young people in van Liempt’s (2011) study, none of the interviewees felt they could claim to be British. As put by a student during a focus group: “I don’t say I am from here because I only live here, I don’t have family here, I wasn’t born here”. However, this may not necessarily be the case for everyone. For example, Jacob explains that his younger sister feels more British than Spanish or Colombian. He attributes this to the fact that when their family onward migrated to London, his sister was three years old. This meant she learnt English more quickly and integrated faster.

This comparison suggests that onward migrating at a young age makes it easier for youths to feel part of the new society. This trend was confirmed by some parents who would compare the integration experiences of their older and younger children in the onward destination. However, age of arrival is one factor among several. Sofia, who was 15 at the time of the interview, dreams about leaving London as soon as she finishes high school. While onward migrating at the age of 5, moving to London meant separating from his dad who had first to complete the family reunification process before being able to move to London.

Furthermore, Sofia has vivid memories of the bullying she suffered in school for not speaking English and her darker skin tone. Sofia's experience shows that onward migrating at a younger age does not automatically result in young people's identification with and attachment to the onward destination.

Like Sofia, none of the interviewees claimed to be British. Yet, contrary to Sofia, some felt London is their home now. Young migrants can indeed develop identities against frames of reference other than the sending and receiving country (Mas Giralt, 2015). "I'm not British, but I identify with London now", says Manuel. Born and raised in Spain, Manuel had moved to London at the age of 14 and he is now in his twenties. Upon arrival, he faced several challenges, including homelessness. He remembers sitting in the waiting room of the council for three days before he and his mother were offered temporary accommodation. He was also bullied at school because he could not speak English. However, once he learnt English, he began having friends from "all over the world" that accepted him for who he is. He was not depreciatively labelled the "Colombian boy" as he was in Spain. Manuel now identifies with what he perceives to be the values of Londoners—namely, acceptance of diversity and multiculturalism.

Some interviewees reported to "identify with London" also because they feel that they have better chances to climb the ladder in the British capital, showing how localised identities are contingent on access to opportunities as much as national identities are (Arias Cuba et al., 2022). Patricia, who was born and raised in Spain before she onward migrated with her father to London at the age of 14, powerfully captures this:

*In Spain the food and the weather is better, the lifestyle is incredible
[...] But the mentality... If in Spain you had the same opportunities you
have in England, Spain would be a paradise. But they don't have them!*

So, honestly, I feel I identify more with London because... they help you [...] I am not English but if they told me: “choose between Spain and England”, I would choose England.

Patricia’s sentiment is echoed by some of the youths born in Colombia who onward migrated to London in their twenties who achieved the independence they were looking for. Damaris’s story is a good example. In Spain, Damaris had dropped out of school because “school was not for me [...] you don’t see Latinos or Black people working in a bank in Spain”. She onward migrated to London to “find herself” but she was incorporated in the cleaning sector. She went back to school because she wanted “more from life”. Damaris learnt English in the free classes offered by a charity, where she was also helped to get into an apprenticeship of dental nursing. Later, she found a job in a dentist studio, which she ended up hating. Hence, she applied to university to study public relations and communications, becoming the first woman in her family to attend university. Damaris now has it clear that she wants to stay in London.

4.8 Conclusion

Recently, van Geel and Mazzucato (2018) highlighted how scholars tend to focus on the second generations—that is, youths born from migrant parents in a given destination country—or youths migrating only once during their childhood, adolescence, or early twenties. This means that less attention is paid to young people who have experienced multiple migrations, such as onward migrant youths. To advance our understanding of the implications of multiple migrations for young people, this article examined how onward migrant youths make sense of their socio-cultural identities by drawing from interviews with onward migrant youths of Colombian descent living in London.

This article shows that onward migrant youths can form a highly diverse group both in terms of trajectories and identifications. Onward migrant youths of Colombian descent identified their trajectories and places of birth as playing a key role in shaping their identifications, with their engagement in transnational practices tying them to Colombia and experiences of discrimination in Spain as being equally salient. These findings mirror those of the studies conducted with second generations and migrant youths showing that generational cohorts matter to understand migrant youths' adaptation experiences (Rumbaut 2004) and that engagement in transnational practices (Reynolds and Zontini 2014), lack of opportunities, and discrimination (Arias Cuba et al. 2022) are key factors shaping young people's identifications. While confirming previous research, these findings are nonetheless important because they force us to recognise that onward migrant youths cannot be considered a uniform group and provide important background to understand what onward migrating means for their identities.

Secondly, this article contributes to the understanding of the implications that multiple migrations have for young people and their identities. Scholars show how migrant youths' identities change depending on social and geographical locations and youths learn quickly to "code-switch" between identities strategically (Mas Giralt 2015; Visser 2016; Boland 2020). This article suggests that these processes apply also for when young people onward migrate. Following onward migration, young people find themselves in a new relational environment which may offer opportunities to claim identities they had limited access to in the previous country of residence and which are deployed strategically to gain belonging, to express longing for left-behind families and friends, to highlight the challenges they face in the onward destination, and to gain acceptance. Importantly, it was highlighted that facing dire socio-economic circumstances upon arrival can result in young people claiming their 'Spanishness' to highlight the challenges faced by their families in the onward destination but it can also

result in young people aligning with the Latin American community to find support to face these.

Finally, this article demonstrates that multiple migrations open opportunities for forming identities drawing from multiple frames and scales of reference. Thus far, research showed that onward migrant youths may develop attachments and begin identifying with the onward destination at the national level (van Liempt, 2011). However, it was discussed that onward migrant youths may form new identities against frames other than the national one. Importantly, these new identities and attachments to the onward destination are contingent on whether young people feel accepted and whether they can access opportunities over time. As such, the length of residence and age of arrival to the onward destination remain key factors to consider in order to understand youths' new identifications with and attachments to the onward destination.

While additional research is needed to better understand the identities of onward migrant youths, including their non-national ones, the findings from this study have diverse implications. From a conceptual perspective, this article suggests that we need to rethink conventional categories to classify migrant youths and reifies the importance of thinking about identities as relational. From a policy perspective, two main conclusions can be drawn from the findings. First, the article demonstrates the importance of reception policies that enhance the socio-economic opportunities available not only to youths but also to their families so that young migrants can develop a localised sense of belonging. Secondly, these findings clearly demonstrated that holding diverse identities can enhance youths and their families' ability to access diverse spaces for support. Hence, multiple identities do not necessarily hinder young people's integration in the new context but rather become assets to nurture.

4.9 References

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CHAPTER 5

“I returned to being an immigrant”:

Onward Latin American migrants and Brexit

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Following the Confirmation of Status Examination held on the 26th of October 2022, amendments have been made to the chapter to include the feedback from the examiners Professor Michael Keith and Dr. Mariña Fernández-Reino. These changes are reflected in the chapter included in this thesis but not in the published version.

“I returned to being an immigrant”:

Onward Latin American migrants and Brexit

Abstract

We explore the experiences of Onward Latin American Migrants (OLAs) in London—individuals born in Latin America who live in London and hold EU passports—with the EU Settlement Scheme (EUSS), a programme developed by the British Government to register EU nationals as part of the Brexit process. Drawing from qualitative fieldwork, we focus on how OLAs’ prior experience of being subject to immigration control in Southern Europe and higher likelihood of having non-EU family members shape their experiences with the EUSS. Prior experience of being subject to immigration control, including periods of irregularity, made OLAs anxious about maintaining lawful residence, favouring their uptake of the EUSS in an effort to re-secure their legal status and keep their rights. However, many of OLAs’ non-EU family members could not apply successfully to the scheme given difficulties in meeting the eligibility criteria, a pattern that was exacerbated by the COVID pandemic. For many OLAs, the EUSS ultimately signified a loss of rights and secured status which took them long to achieve and a return to a position of uncertainty. In addition to making visible the EUSS experiences of OLAs, we call for additional research that considers the heterogeneity of the EU population in the UK in order to fully understand the Brexit and post-Brexit experiences of individuals and families.

Key words: Brexit, EUSS, Latin Americans, London, Onward migrants

5.1 Introduction

Brexit—the UK withdrawal from the EU—turned EU nationals in the UK into subjects of immigration control⁹. EU nationals planning to move to the UK no longer have a right to freedom of movement—namely the right to reside, equal treatment, and social protection in the UK. EU nationals and their non-EU family members residing in the country had to apply to the EU Settlement Scheme (EUSS) to preserve lawful residence.

Research addressing how EU nationals in the UK make sense of their newly acquired immigration status and the restrictions imposed by it has emerged, along with concerns over the “cracks” in the EUSS (e.g., Botterill et al., 2020; Radziwinowiczówna et al., 2020; Bueltmann, 2020). Even though the UK government presented the EUSS as a success (Home Office, 2020a), scholars and civil society organisations worry about those who failed to secure their rights under the scheme (e.g., Sumption and Fernández-Reino, 2020; Lagrue et al. 2020). Concerns intensified with the COVID-19 outbreak, as the pandemic made it more difficult for some to obtain the documents needed to apply to the EUSS (Lazarowicz & Peszkowska, 2020).

Studies on the EUSS have not fully addressed the heterogeneity of the EU population in the UK. One particular experience for which there is less research is that of “onward EU nationals”—namely, persons who moved to Europe, acquired EU nationality via naturalisation and then onward migrated to the UK (Ahrens et al., 2016). Contrary to most EU nationals in the UK, these individuals have experienced being the subject of immigration control before, including periods of irregularity, and are more likely to have non-EU family members. On the one hand, this could mean that they are more prepared to navigate the EUSS. On the other, it could return them to a position of vulnerability and uncertainty they never expected to be at again.

⁹ While we refer to those applying to the EUSS as EU citizens, in practice the EUSS included citizens of EU countries, Switzerland, Norway, Iceland and Liechtenstein.

This article provides insights on these possibilities by focusing on Onward Latin Americans (OLAs) in London, namely individuals born in Latin America who live in London and hold EU passports. This group has been growing since the late 2000s when Spain experienced a major economic meltdown (Mas Giralt, 2017). Until then, the Spanish economy was growing, and the country opened the door to immigration from Latin America in order to meet the demand for labour (McIlwaine & Bunge, 2016). After the collapse of the Spanish economy in 2008, many Latin Americans with new EU passports found their way to the UK (McIlwaine & Bunge, 2016).

Drawing from qualitative fieldwork conducted between July 2020 and May 2021, we explore how OLAs in London navigated and made sense of the EUSS in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic. This article advances our understanding of how migrants experience having their recently acquired rights questioned. From a policy perspective, it contributes to the understanding of the extent to which the EUSS was effective in securing the rights of onward EU migrants and their non-EU family members in the context of the pandemic.

In what follows, we first describe the EUSS, the emerging literature on the scheme, and key features of OLAs' migration to London. After describing the methodology, we present the findings. Apart from confirming existing concerns about the "cracks" in the EUSS and the anxieties it created for the EU population in the UK, particularly for low-income groups with limited digital skills and English fluency, this article shows that having prior experience of being subject to immigration control made OLAs anxious about maintaining lawful residence, favouring their uptake of the EUSS. However, some of OLAs' non-EU family members were not able to apply successfully to the EUSS due to misinformation and the difficulty of meeting the EUSS eligibility criteria, which became particularly difficult during the pandemic. For several OLAs who took part in the research, the EUSS ultimately signified a loss of rights and secured status which took them long to achieve and a return to a position of uncertainty.

Apart from contributing to making visible the EUSS experiences of OLAs in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, we conclude by calling for research that takes into account the diversity of the EU population in the UK if the Brexit and post-Brexit experiences of individuals and families are to be fully understood.

5.2. The EU Settlement Scheme and onward EU migrants

5.2.1 The EUSS: Imposing control

One of the key objectives of the UK Government as part of the Brexit process was to end freedom of movement in the country—namely EU nationals’ right to reside, equal treatment, and social protection in the UK (Yeo et al., 2019). The new rules allow EU nationals living in the UK to stay but additional immigration from the EU would be subject to strict controls, similar to those imposed on non-EU nationals (Yeo et al., 2019). In order to achieve this, the UK government needed to distinguish between EU nationals residing in the country before freedom of movement ended on the 1st of January 2020 and those arriving afterwards. This was the purpose of the EUSS, which opened fully in March 2019 and closed in June 2021.

With just a few exceptions, the rules required all EU nationals and their non-EU family members residing in the UK to apply to the EUSS in order to retain lawful residence (Sumption & Fernández-Reino, 2020). For most people, the application involved using a smartphone app to provide details such as name, address, and a scan of the passport or ID document. For those without a biometric passport or national ID the process was more cumbersome (Radziwinowiczówna, 2020).

Successful applicants were granted “settled status” unless they had lived in the UK less than five years, in which case they received “pre-settled status”. Both statuses allow EU nationals to retain the right to live and work in the UK (Botterill et al. 2020). The status is verifiable online only (no residency card).

Many EU nationals had been exposed to bordering practices and discrimination well before Brexit. In particular, the evidence suggests that Central and Eastern Europeans experienced discrimination and have had their rights to welfare support and legal protection questioned (Fox et al., 2012; Fox et al., 2015; Rzepnikowska, 2019; Dagilyte & Greenfields, 2015; Guma, 2020)—a trend common also in other European countries (Parker & Catalán, 2014). For example, Burell and Schweyher (2019) found that, before Brexit, Polish nationals in low-income jobs with limited English fluency struggled to prove their residency when opening bank accounts and had their right to welfare benefits and healthcare questioned often. Focusing on homeless EU nationals, Morgan (2021) draws the attention to the changes in the immigration rules in 2020, which made rough sleepers a group for “administrative removal” despite their EU right to freedom of movement.

However, the Brexit process, including the introduction of the EUSS, curtailed the rights of EU nationals further (Botterill et al., 2020). The new restrictions on family migration provide a clear example of this. EU nationals with pre-settled or settled status in the UK who started new relationships in 2021 need to meet additional criteria in order to bring their new partners to the UK. This includes paying the visa fee, NHS health surcharge, biometric information fee and settlement, in addition to showing proof of income of at least £18,600 a year. The evidence suggests that less than half of EU nationals working in the UK earned £18,600 or more in 2015 (Vargas-Silva, 2016). Before Brexit, EU nationals were able to bring EU family members to live with them in the UK without any restrictions. They could also bring their non-EU family members more easily than UK citizens as their family rights were conditioned by the European freedom of movement, granting family reunification rights to a broader range of family members (Kilkey 2017). Now a substantial share of them is unlikely to be able to afford this.

This evidence points to two important issues. First, while the EUSS constitutes a rupture with the past, as it effectively ends EU nationals' freedom of movement in the country, it also formalised the bordering practices that some groups were already experiencing before the Brexit referendum. Secondly, qualifying applicants were not equally positioned to deal with the EUSS, as discussed in the next section.

5.2.2 Emerging concerns with the EUSS

The EUSS received 6.3 million applications as of the 31st of October 2021, of which 5.9 million were concluded (Home Office, 2021). Of these, 52% resulted in settled status and 42% in pre-settled status. Only 3% of applications were unsuccessful, 2% withdrawn, and 2% invalid. Given the high number of successful applications, the UK Government presented the EUSS as a success (Home Office, 2020a). Yet this rhetoric has been questioned.

One key concern around the EUSS involves the lack of accurate data on the number of EU nationals in the UK and on other groups that should apply such as their non-EU family members. It is therefore impossible to assess whether the EUSS registered all qualifying individuals (Sumption & Fernández-Reino, 2020; Lagrue et al., 2020). Furthermore, research indicates that individuals with disabilities, limited English proficiency, lack of digital skills and the elderly are among the groups more likely to have failed in applying to the EUSS (Sumption & Fernández-Reino, 2020; Bulat, 2020). These findings confirm concerns raised prior to the introduction of the EUSS predicting that Europeans with higher economic, educational, social, and English fluency would be better prepared to deal with the consequences of Brexit (Lulle et al., 2018; D'Angelo & Kofman, 2018).

Worries over the EUSS intensified following the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic as the related restrictions made it more difficult for some to obtain the documents needed to apply to the EUSS (Lazarowicz & Peszkowska, 2020; Bulat, 2020). It is also unclear to what

extent individuals with pre-settled status understand that they will need to apply for settled status after completing five years of continuous residence to retain lawful residence (Jabłonowski, 2020).

Apart from examining the “cracks” in the EUSS, researchers have investigated the extent to which EU nationals have been able to exercise their rights following Brexit and how they make sense of their newly acquired immigration status. Bueltmann (2020) found that in 2019 some employers were already asking EU nationals to provide evidence of immigration status despite regulations prohibiting it, suggesting that with Brexit EU nationals have encountered difficulties exercising their right to work.

Botterill et al. (2020) show that Polish nationals met the act of applying for the EUSS with ambivalent and reluctant compliance. While validating their presence in the UK, the EUSS questioned their belonging, as it reminded them that they no longer have an automatic right to reside in the country. Radziwinowiczówna et al. (2020), in their study on Polish migrants, found that the impending end of the freedom of movement made Poles feel anxious and uncertain about the possibility of bringing family members to the UK. While these insights are important, the EUSS experiences of onward EU migrants, such as OLAs, have been less studied.

5.2.3 OLAs’ EUSS experiences: Conceptual relevance

Latin Americans in the UK with EU nationality are a diverse population. Some Latin Americans living in the UK acquired EU nationality by descent as the region was a major destination for European emigrants up until the 1990s (McIlwaine & Bunge, 2016). However, the majority of Latin Americans with EU passports arrived in the UK after naturalising in other EU countries.

In the early 2000s, Latin Americans began migrating in large numbers to Southern European countries, particularly Spain, attracted by a booming economy, cultural similarities, and the relative ease to which they could naturalise (Pellegrino, 2004). There was a particularly large flow of Colombians and Ecuadorians going to Spain (Ramos et al., 2018). After Spain suffered a major economic meltdown in the late 2000s Latin Americans who were able to naturalise began onward migrating to other EU destinations with London being an attractive one for many (McIlwaine & Bunge, 2016).

There are no official statistics on the size of the OLAs population in the UK. However, we can use analysis of the UK Labour Force Survey (ONS, 2020) to provide related estimates. Using this survey, we estimate that for the last quarter of 2020 there were 450,000 people residing in the UK who were born in Central and South America. From these, at least 60,000 have EU nationality from another EU country. Close to 60% of those 60,000 live in London and about the same share reported arriving since 2011. Hence, we are exploring a population that has mainly arrived in the UK during the last decade and that is concentrated in London.

Estimates suggest that in 2013 half of onward Latin American migrants in London were employed in the cleaning and domestic sectors due to, among other reasons, limited English fluency, lack of recognition of their educational qualifications, and discrimination (McIlwaine & Bunge, 2016). In many ways, OLAs' position before Brexit resembled that of other EU migrants in low-income sectors who had been subject to bordering practices. As such, we expect OLAs to have encountered many of the challenges faced by other EU nationals in navigating the EUSS.

However, OLAs can provide a unique perspective on the EUSS because, contrary to most EU nationals, individuals in this group have recently acquired EU passports and have experience navigating an immigration system. This familiarity may shape OLAs' experience of the EUSS in particular ways. In a survey conducted after Brexit but prior to the introduction

of the EUSS, McCarthy (2019) found that OLAs were more likely than “native” Spanish nationals to apply for permanent residence in the UK. According to McCarthy, having only recently acquired EU passports, OLAs were less confident about their EU rights in the context of Brexit. OLAs may perceive Brexit and the EUSS as “downward mobility” in the hierarchy of legal statuses that took them long to climb (i.e., from being irregular to becoming citizens of an EU country). Hence, by focusing on OLAs we can explore how migrants make sense of having their recently acquired rights and legal status questioned.

OLAs provide a unique perspective on the EUSS and Brexit also because they are more likely to have direct family members who are non-EU nationals. These family members include: (1) onward migrants living in the UK who did not naturalise in other European countries; (2) migrants who moved directly from Latin America to the UK; or (3) individuals living outside the UK. The number of non-EU family members that would qualify for the EUSS based on one of these three categories is unknown. Migration laws produce and have repercussions on mixed status families (Bonjour & de Hart, 2021). Many non-EU family members did qualify for the EUSS. Therefore, in principle, the EUSS provides a path of inclusion for many of them. However, they constitute one of the categories identified by experts as more likely to fall through the “cracks” of the EUSS (Sumption & Fernández-Reino, 2020).

5.3 Methodology

To explore how OLAs in London navigated and made sense of the EUSS in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, this article draws from qualitative fieldwork conducted between July 2020 and May 2021 for two interlinked research projects conducted as part of the first author’s doctoral studies:

- 1) A public engagement research project exploring the Brexit and COVID-19 experiences of London’s Latin American community conducted with Latin American House (LAH), a London-based NGO providing services to Latin Americans.
- 2) Additional fieldwork on the experiences of Colombian families who onward migrated from Spain to London after the 2008 crisis using Spanish passports.

We deployed the pan-ethnic category “Latin American” as this is the label commonly used by charities supporting and advocating for the rights of this group in London. However, this does not mean that all participants identified with this category.

Table 3. Sources of information informing Chapter 5

Source	Number of participants	Period
Semi-structured interviews and informal conversations with NGO staff helping OLAs	39	July-Aug 2020 Oct-Nov 2020 Jan-Feb 2021
	6 OLAs	
Focus groups with Latin American migrants (3-6 participants each).	3 non-EU family members 6 who acquired EU passport via descent	Feb-April 2021
Semi-structured interviews with OLAs	9	Feb-May 2021
Semi-structured interviews with OLAs’ non-EU family members	6	Feb-May 2021
Life history interviews with onward Colombians	51	Aug 2020-April 2021

Table 3 reports the different sources of information that inform this paper. First, this article relies on semi-structured interviews and informal conversations with 39 community workers from five London-based NGOs supporting Latin American migrants in London

through a variety of services, ranging from support with welfare benefits applications and immigration status regulations to the delivery of information and cultural activities. Interviewees included the staff members of the NGO with whom we carried out the public engagement project. These interviews aimed to understand how Brexit and COVID-19 affected Latin Americans in London and the support community workers provide to this community.

Our analysis is also based on focus groups and individual semi-structured interviews conducted with Latin Americans living in London with regular status in the context of the public engagement research project. Of those who participated either in the focus groups or in the individual semi-structured interviews, 6 acquired EU nationality by descent and 15 through naturalisation in Southern Europe. The former group included Mexicans, Argentinians, and Venezuelans in their late 20s and 30s (4 males in professional occupations, 2 females in low-income jobs) with less than five years of residence. The latter group included middle-aged Colombians, Ecuadorians, Dominicans, and Peruvians (2 males and 13 females) working in low-income sectors, particularly in the cleaning industry, whose length of residence in the UK varied from 2 to more than 5 years. Of those who participated either in the focus groups or in the individual semi-structured interviews, 9 were non-EU family members of Latin Americans with EU passports (8 females, 1 male), all of whom were spouses, with the exception of one woman who was the mother of an EU national.

Data collection was carried out with a staff member of LAH interested in taking an active role in the public engagement project. Due to the lockdowns, from January to mid-April 2021 focus groups took place online. Participants were recruited through an online form circulated on social media by LAH. Next, we organised online heterogeneous focus groups due to the difficulty in recruiting participants online and of coordinating focus groups in light of participants' availability. The focus groups included 3-6 participants and lasted 60-90 minutes.

When we could not coordinate online focus groups, we opted for online individual semi-structured interviews lasting 25-35 minutes.

Conducting online group and individual interviews was advantageous as we could also interview three women and one man stranded abroad because of COVID-19 mobility restrictions. However, participants employed in low-income economic sectors were underrepresented among online interviewees. As such, with the relaxation of lockdown measures in April, we began conducting individual interviews within the premises of LAH with individuals coming to receive in-person advice on matters such as welfare benefits and the EUSS. The fact that those going to the LAH for advice tend to be onward migrant women explains why the majority of our respondents were Latin American women who acquired EU nationality through naturalisation in Southern Europe.

Finally, we draw from life history interviews with 51 Colombians (33 women and 18 males) who onward migrated from Spain to London after 2008. All of them were between 35-60 years old. The vast majority had Spanish passports and worked as cleaners, waiters, or carers. Life history interviews focused specifically on participants' migration stories. Brexit emerged as a key theme in nearly all life histories since all the interviewees either acquired EU passports while living in Spain or were non-EU family members of EU nationals. Participants were accessed through the community workers interviewed and snowballing sampling. Several interviews took place online to accommodate interviewees' health concerns, time constraints, and to deal with the mobility restrictions resulting from the COVID-19 pandemic.

All interviews and recordings were subject to informed consent. Interviews were carried out in Spanish, with the exception of those with community workers who were native English speakers. Transcription of the interviews was done in the same language as the interviews. Only the Spanish quotes included in this article were translated to English by the second author, who is a native Spanish speaker. We used thematic analysis to identify in the interview

transcripts how OLAs learnt about the EUSS and felt about registering in the scheme; how they applied to the EUSS in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic; and how they made sense of their new immigration status. The thematic framework was developed in English, but Spanish was retained for in-vivo codes. In the discussion of the findings, all the names and identity markers were altered to preserve anonymity.

5.4 OLAs navigating the EU Settlement Scheme

5.4.1 Misinformation was common, particularly among OLAs' non-EU family members

With the introduction of the EUSS, OLAs reverted to being subjects of immigration control. Misinformation about the implications of this change, the EUSS process and application requirements was common among OLAs. Community workers expressed particular concerns over whether those with limited English fluency and working in low-income jobs were aware of their changing status or the process for remaining lawful residents. Our interviews suggest that lack of information about the EUSS was indeed common among OLAs working in these sectors. Yet, the vast majority of our interviewees with EU passports had already applied to the EUSS. Interviewees learnt about their changing status and the need to register to the EUSS through various channels, such as the news, friends, their employers, or community organisations.

However, there remained substantial confusion for OLAs' non-EU family members—one of the groups identified by scholars to be at risk of not registering to the EUSS (Sumption & Fernández-Reino, 2020). One of the Latin American immigration advisors interviewed referred to this group as the “*lado oculto*” (hidden side) of the EUSS. While conducting life history interviews with onward Colombian migrants we came across non-EU spouses who did not know they had to register with the EUSS. They felt safe because they already had their family permits, while their EU partners thought that the EUSS was only for EU nationals.

According to the immigration advisors interviewed, this confusion is partly due to the fact that publicity about the EUSS was centred on EU nationals. This suggests that if in principle the EUSS included a path of inclusion for some non-EU family members in practice it may not have been the case for many of them.

5.4.2 OLAs prioritise maintaining lawful residence based on previous experiences

In the study by Botterill et al. (2020), Polish nationals were either ambivalent or reluctant about applying to the EUSS as the scheme was perceived as questioning their belonging to the UK. The situation for OLAs is different. Like other EU nationals in low-income jobs, many OLAs have been exposed to bordering practices before Brexit despite the rights granted by their EU passport (Turcatti, 2021; Mas Giralt, 2017). However, contrary to most EU nationals, many OLAs had to “earn” their right to reside legally in Europe. This led to a strong emphasis on maintaining their lawful residence. As a EUSS advisor at a Latin American NGO explained:

A lot of people, especially my clients, are quite organised and conscientious or, like, panicky. For example, I had clients who did it [the EUSS] already ages ago... but the same people contacted me [closer to the 31st of December 2020, the day before the end of freedom of movement] and said: “I need to do my status” ... And I was like: “you’ve got your status! You’re fine”.

For many OLAs, earning the right to live in and move around Europe involved experiences of irregularity. Several OLAs arrived in Spain without residency permits in the early 2000s, but the country conducted several large amnesties for the undocumented

population, with Ecuadorians and Colombians migrants being two of the groups that benefited the most (Ramos et al., 2018). We found that the anxiety about maintaining lawful residence in the UK was stronger among interviewees who had experienced being irregular in Spain. Stephanie, an onward Colombian mother, powerfully captures these dynamics:

My children and I have Spanish nationality. It opened us doors, because after the [financial] crash in Spain we could come here [London]. But the [Spanish] passport... we had to comply with many requirements, because it is not that they choose you randomly and they give you the [Spanish] passport. We had to work to do all of those things. We had to live through things... we had to acquire first a residency card and only then we could go for the passport [...] Knowing that I was given the [settled] status is of great support now... as I said, you need to earn it, you need to do it because you can't live in a country without documents. We need to make an effort to have our documents, a lot of effort.

(Translation)

In the study by Botterill et al. (2020), Poles were unwilling to apply to the EUSS because the “simple” act of doing so involved the emotional effort of having to prove oneself, which was perceived as unfair. For OLAs taking part in this research, the fear of reverting to a status of irregularity and uncertainty made them eager to make the effort of proving their right to stay in the UK. From a policy perspective, these findings suggest that having experience with being the subject of immigration control favoured the uptake of the EUSS.

From a conceptual perspective, our findings show that when having their recently acquired legal status questioned, migrants experience a heightened sense of insecurity which

drives them to find alternative ways to re-secure their status and rights in the country. Yet, as we explain below, doing so through the EUSS was not an easy task.

5.4.3. The EUSS was simple for some and complex for others

The UK Government described the EUSS application as simple and straightforward (Home Office, 2020b). For young Latin Americans who had command over English and were digitally savvy, “*applying for residence seemed quite simple*”. However, the language and digital divide constituted an obstacle for several OLAs and their non-EU family members in low-income jobs taking part in this study. As explained by Lucrecia, an Ecuadorian woman in her late forties:

English is a big obstacle because... well, I speak Spanish [...] it's a bit difficult to find information in Spanish [...] the process [to apply to EUSS] [...] you can do it online, you can download the application. But not knowing about technology makes you lose welfare benefits, makes you lose study opportunities, including the opportunity to get your settled status. (Translation)

This is why several interviewees approached Latin American NGOs, which, during the lockdowns, continued to provide their services via phone, including support with EUSS applications.

EU nationals needed to prove they have been in the UK before the 31st of December 2020. However, the burden of proof was higher for non-EU family members (Sumption & Fernández-Reino, 2020). The documentation required for this group includes evidence of the relationship to an EU national. This was not an easy task for OLAs' non-EU family members.

In some cases, gender dynamics played a role in limiting access to key documentation for women. Community workers discussed cases of women whose ex-husbands would not let them access proof of relationship such as marriage certificates.

For OLAs' non-EU family members, applying to the EUSS became even more difficult with the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic. As part of the EUSS application, non-EU family members in the UK without biometric cards needed to provide their biometric information, including their fingerprints. This could only be done via in-person appointment at the Home Office's immigration centres, which however remained closed for most part of 2020 due to national lockdowns.

The pandemic complicated the application process for OLAs' non-EU family members living abroad too. Certain non-EU family members living abroad (e.g. spouses, civil partners, children, dependent children over 21 and dependent parents and grandparents) qualified for the EUSS as long as their relationship to EU/EEA nationals existed by the 31st of December 2020. Due to the pandemic, there were cases of couples who could not get married before that date and did not have documents to prove their civil partnership. Furthermore, embassies closed for several months in 2020 and therefore were not issuing family permits, which non-EU family members abroad needed to travel to the UK and then to apply to the EUSS. Community workers also dealt with cases where non-EU family members did receive the family permit, which however expired before they were able to travel to the UK, due to flight cancellations.

The difficulties for non-EU family members to prove their links to their EU family expanded beyond issues related to the pandemic. Lucia, a Venezuelan spouse of an EU national we interviewed, explained how her daughter, being over 21, had to prove to be economically dependent on her stepfather, an EU national, in order to qualify for the EUSS and move to the UK. However, her attempts failed:

We [Lucia and her husband] got married in Peru in 2018. We then came to the UK the following January. From January to May, I was the one sending money to my daughter [who remained in Peru]. The money was his [of the EU husband], but I was sending her money under my name. They told me that there was no evidence that he sent money to my daughter. My advisor told me to do the application again and send the evidence they were asking me. I did it, and they denied it once again. They said I didn't have evidence. In the end, we stopped trying.

(Translation)

Given the challenges that OLAs and their non-EU family members faced when applying to the EUSS, community workers highlighted an implicit hierarchy of (un)desired applicants. As an immigration advisor, put it:

All the publicity is around the idea that it is super easy to get settled or pre-settled status. If you are a young, bilingual European, good with technology... if you have the EU passport.... Then yes, it is quite simple. But if you don't... if you are a family member you can't apply, for example, with a tourist visa. You need to get a family permit, or a residency card. Both take a long time and the information available to deal with these cases is... very bad. Basically, the Home Office gives you the impression that there are people that they want, and people that they don't want. The [non-EU] family members seem to be the type of people that they don't want. But no one speaks openly about this.

These findings confirm the concerns of scholars and community organisations with regards to the ways in which the outbreak of the pandemic, the digital divide, language barriers, complicated the process of applying for the EUSS (Bulat, 2020; Sumption & Fernández-Reino, 2020). The findings also show that applying to the EUSS was easier for OLAs compared to their non-EU family members. This suggests that some non-EU family members in the UK and abroad may have missed the opportunity for inclusion opened by the EUSS not simply because of misinformation and the fact that publicity about the scheme centred on EU/EEA nationals, as discussed in Section 4.1, but also because of the difficulty of meeting the EUSS eligibility criteria, particularly in the context of the pandemic. The fact that non-EU family members, particularly women, constitute *de facto* undesired applicants suggests that the EUSS embodies what scholars already identified as a process in which the design of migration laws perpetuate gender inequalities. Scholars have also suggested that there is a reluctance from the UK Government to see migration as a family process (D'Angelo & Kofman, 2018).

5.5 OLAs making sense of a new status

5.5.1 EUSS anxiety: the challenge of proving it and keeping it

The introduction of the EUSS was meant to reassure EU nationals living in the UK that their rights would be preserved (Yeo et al., 2019). The fact that almost all the EUSS applications were successful should have reassured them (Home Office, 2021). Yet, in examining how OLAs perceived their newly acquired immigration status, we discover that several experienced anxiety and uncertainty for different reasons and in different forms.

Firstly, several OLAs felt anxious about proving their status. Even though the EUSS effectively closed on the 30th of June 2021, employers, landlords, and governmental agencies (e.g. welfare support) were already asking EU nationals to prove their immigration status in 2020. The fact that one's status is verifiable only online was cause of anxiety for low-income

OLAs and non-EU family members, a feeling that has also been reported for other EU nationals (Bulat, 2020). However, for OLAs this feeling was also influenced by their previous experience of irregularity in Spain. The acquisition of the *Tarjeta de Identificación de Extranjero* following regularisation in Spain and later on of the Spanish passport meant that OLAs could show a physical ID to the authorities. For OLAs, the physical document constituted a shield from deportation and a key to social protection. Given this, not holding a physical document to demonstrate their EUSS status made them feel vulnerable.

Secondly, many of those holding pre-settled status worried about not qualifying for settled status as a result of the pandemic. While pre-settled status holders who have been out of the country for up to a year due to the pandemic qualify for settled status since May 2021, at the time of the research individuals with pre-settled status out of the country for more than six months per year were not eligible for settled status. This caused anxiety among our interviewees. For example, while doing online focus groups, we came across two young women working in the cleaning sector in London who were stranded in Argentina and unable to come back to the UK because they could not afford the high fees for the hotel quarantine introduced by the UK Government at the beginning of 2021. As of July 2021, these fees amounted to £1,750 with additional adults charged at £650. This amount of money was impossible to cover for many OLAs working in low-income sectors.

We also interviewed low-income parents working in the cleaning sectors who feared future family separation for similar reasons, as in the case of Doris, an onward Ecuadorian mother:

We are a bit worried because our sons are in Spain. We want our children to come here because we are working here. My daughter in Spain is not working anymore and my son is 17. So, we want them to

come here. But we don't have savings. So, we are a bit worried because, for the economic situation now [referring to the unemployment following COVID-19] [...]. Imagine this: it's me and my husband working, my two children come, and that will create lots of expenses. We need to find a flat, pay for their food, pay for the rent, for the bills, hoping that my daughter will find a job and help. [...] My children already have pre-settled status, but they need to be here before the six months expire. They must come, but it will cost us a lot. (Translation)

Finally, even though several OLAs with settled status considered themselves “fine”, they perceived the EUSS status as unsecured. Among low-income interviewees, there were particular concerns such as the possibility of being charged the NHS surcharge that newcomers have to pay and that, as of July 2021, was up to £624 per year. Fernanda, an onward Ecuadorian mother, explains:

Every day they [the Home Office] come up with something else, every time these [referring to migration status] are things that they change or that they can change, because all of this is in their hands. They decide what they want to do and what not. It's like “una inseguridad” (an insecurity). I feel like after this [Brexit] they can tell us, well, you have to pay for your health. And this is their right because it's their country. (Translation)

This is why many OLAs with settled status were interested in acquiring British citizenship. Some of the onward Colombian parents who partook in the life history interview

already had gathered information about eligibility criteria and costs. Interviewees with limited economic resources to cover the application costs spoke of investing in their children's application. Applying for UK citizenship is indeed costly with a main fee of £1,330 (as of July 2021), plus biometric enrolment fee and Life in the UK Test fee, among other requirements. As Romina, an onward Peruvian mother married to an onward Colombian man, put it:

They [her children] are going to live here and their life is going to be much easier and secure if they become British. (Translation)

The fact that OLAs perceived the pre-settled and the settled status as insecure is a common pattern among EU nationals. Several studies show that with Brexit and the introduction of the EUSS a new status has been placed upon EU nationals without their consent, making them weary of the possibility that their position could be questioned again in the future, which is why several considered applying for British citizenship (Botterill et al., 2020; McCarthy, 2019; Buelmann, 2020). Our findings add to the literature as they show that part of the reasons why the new status was considered insecure was due to OLAs and their non-EU family members being unequally positioned not only to apply for the status, as shown in the previous section, but also to deal with the conditions to keep and prove their status due to pre-existing inequalities exacerbated by the pandemic. This suggests that even though the introduction of the EUSS was meant to reassure OLAs, in practice the scheme created new anxieties

5.5.2 Gaining status, gaining and losing rights

Our interviewees also reflected on what their status meant in terms of their rights and privileges. There was an overall sense of loss among OLAs. In Fernanda's words, an

Ecuadorian mother: “*he vuelto a ser inmigrante*” (I returned to being an immigrant). While other groups of EU nationals also shared the experience of “migrantness” as a result of Brexit, and even before the referendum, for OLAs this was a *formal return* to “migrantness”. This can be appreciated by examining what it took Fernanda to become a Spanish national, an experience common among the OLAs we interviewed. Fernanda arrived in Spain with a tourist visa in the late 1990s. She spent years being irregular, fearing deportation, and her road to Spanish nationality was a long one:

Thanks to the regularisation [introduced by the Spanish government in the early 2000s], we [Fernanda and her husband] got a temporary residency permit. The following year we had to renew it to get the permit for two years. In total, we had to stay five years to get permanent residence. Once we had the permanent residency, I could work, I could travel, I could do whatever, I could return to my country. [...] Then, I applied for the [Spanish] nationality. Since Ecuador was a Spanish colony, we could access it only with two years of permanent residence in Spain, for other people it's 10 years. But the process was long, it was always long. I think it took us more than two years and a half to apply [...] But once you have documents it's like saying: I am Spanish! I am legal! (Translation)

OLAs' interpretations of their newly acquired status depended also on whether they were granted pre-settled or settled status. Some OLAs with pre-settled status perceived that they were not a priority of the UK Government. This is exemplified by Miguel, an onward Colombian father working in the cleaning industry:

What will happen now with Brexit? Well, according to what I understood, the people who ... It seems that those who have been here for five years or more will have priority. Since we [Miguel, his wife, and son] have been here for little time, we won't have priority.

(Translation)

At the time of the interview, Miguel's work hours were reduced due to the COVID-19 pandemic and he was in the process of figuring out whether he was entitled to welfare assistance with the support of a Latin American NGO. By now, Miguel probably did find out that welfare access remains conditional on having worked in the UK for at least three months and having earned a certain salary. These were the conditions that EU nationals have had to satisfy since 2014 following policy changes reducing access to social protection (Dywer et al., 2018). As a result, those who hurried to enter the UK before the end of freedom of movement during the pandemic and could not find employment were not entitled to welfare support. Antonio, an Argentinian man in his thirties who arrived in March 2020, highlighted how gaining pre-settled status did not necessarily mean gaining rights:

How Brexit will impact us... it's still unsure. However, what I already saw is the difficulty to understand what it's your condition here. I am a pre-settled. But what am I? What am I entitled to in terms of benefits? Can I feel that I am a part of the UK or, in the end, I remain a visitor?

(Translation)

While, overall, OLAs tended to associate the gaining of status with the loss of rights,

some of the non-EU family members who previously did not have a right to public funds highlighted how having been granted pre-settled or settled status meant they could apply for welfare support. However, enhancing the rights of the non-EU family members who registered to the EUSS came at the expense of future family reunification. Stephanie, an Argentinian woman in her thirties with Italian nationality, explained how the end of freedom of movement meant her younger brother will not be able to join her in London:

I have Italian nationality, and thanks to it I came go to London [...]. I thought about moving to the UK alone and later at some point, maybe, have my brother, who also has Italian nationality, with me in London, have him close. However, this is an opportunity that I don't have anymore. (Translation)

These findings show once again that the EUSS created new anxieties and uncertainty among OLAs. They also demonstrate that, while the EUSS allowed OLAs to retain their residence and included a path to inclusion for the non-EU family members who managed to register, for OLAs the EUSS ultimately signified a loss of rights which took them long to achieve, with repercussions for their access to social protection and family life. OLAs' concerns are not unique but resemble those of EU nationals without prior experience of being formally subject to immigration control (Bulat, 2020; Radziwinowiczówna et al., 2020). However, what is unique is that for OLAs this loss of rights represented a *return* to a position of vulnerability and uncertainty they never expected to be at again and which took long to escape.

5.6 Conclusion

In this article, we examined the EUSS experiences of OLAs—namely, individuals born in Latin America who live in the UK and hold EU passports—in order to (1) evaluate the extent to which the scheme was effective in securing the rights of onward EU migrants and their non-EU family members in the context of the pandemic and (2) advance the understanding of how migrants experience having their recently acquired rights questioned.

Drawing from several sources of qualitative fieldwork, we found that misinformation about the EUSS was common among OLAs and their non-EU family members who took part in this research. Furthermore, many of our interviewees (both OLAs and their non-EU family members) experienced challenges applying to the EUSS, and they were unequally positioned to provide evidence of their new immigration status and comply with the conditions to keep it due to pre-existing inequalities exacerbated by the pandemic. The findings presented in this article are not generalisable to the whole OLA population of London for two main reasons: first, this study was qualitative in nature and, secondly, a disproportionate number of our interlocutors were employed in the cleaning sector of the economy. However, these findings have important conceptual and policy implications.

First, from a policy perspective, these findings confirm existing concerns about the “cracks” in the EUSS and the anxieties the scheme created for the EU population in the UK (Bulat, 2020; Sumption & Fernández-Reino, 2020). We also find that the OLAs who took part in this study and had higher economic, educational, and English fluency were better prepared to deal with the consequences of Brexit. Indeed, while OLAs in professional positions encountered less difficulties in applying for the EUSS, this was not the case for the vast majority of our interviewees, who work in low-pay jobs and have limited English fluency.

While these findings mirror findings for the wider EU population in the UK (Lulle et al., 2018; D'Angelo & Kofman, 2018), this article expands the literature on the EUSS by

highlighting the importance of two characteristics of OLAs that distinguished their EUSS experience from that of other EU nationals. First, because of their previous experience of being subject to immigration control, including experiences of irregularity, the OLAs who took part in this study prioritised maintaining their legal status, favouring their uptake of the EUSS. This stands in contrast with studies on the EUSS experiences of EU nationals without similar previous experience who were ambivalent or reluctant to apply to the EUSS (e.g., Botterill et al., 2020).

The higher likelihood of having direct non-EU family members is a second characteristic that distinguishes OLAs' EUSS experience from those of the general EU population. While these findings cannot be generalised to the whole population, this qualitative research suggests that OLAs' non-EU family members may not have been able to take advantage of the opportunity for inclusion opened by the EUSS because of misinformation, the fact that publicity about the scheme centred on EU nationals, and, particularly, the difficulty of meeting the EUSS eligibility criteria in the context of the pandemic. The fact that non-EU family members, particularly women, often constitute *de facto* undesired applicants is an example of the ways in which the design of migration laws may negatively affect families and perpetuate gender inequalities.

For the OLAs who took part in this study, the EUSS ultimately signified a loss of rights which took them long to achieve. OLAs' concerns resemble those of the general EU population in the UK, who also have been effectively turned into migrants by the EUSS (Bulat, 2020; Radziwinowiczówna et al., 2020). However, what is unique is that for OLAs legal uncertainty is not a new experience. The overall EU population in the UK felt that Brexit and the EUSS questioned their belonging in the country (Burnett, 2017; Genova & Zontini, 2020; Botterill & Hancock, 2019; Guma & Jones, 2019). The findings presented, while not generalisable to the whole population, suggest that, for some OLAs, Brexit and the EUSS more concretely

represented not only a formalisation of the discrimination and bordering practices they were experiencing before the EUSS, but also a return to a position of legal vulnerability and uncertainty they never expected to be at again. The EUSS indeed evoked memories of irregularity, of being fearful of deportation when unable to demonstrate one's right to reside, and of having limited rights.

All in all, this article calls for the need to be careful about assuming that the experiences of EU nationals born in Europe is representative of all EU nationals. This assumption excludes groups such as onward EU migrants from the discussion and limits our understanding of Brexit and the impact that the EUSS had and will continue to have on individuals and families. Now that the EUSS is effectively closed, taking into account the heterogeneity of the EU population in the UK will be crucial to understand and assess how individuals and families will navigate and cope with the post-EUSS scenario.

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CHAPTER 6

Conclusion

Conclusion

This doctoral research investigated the *onward migration-family nexus* in the context of Colombian onward migration from Spain to London following the 2008 financial crisis. The four substantive chapters respectively examined: (1) how family ties and relational factors drive and shape the direction and ways in which onward migration unfolds; (2) how families organise and meet their social reproductive needs in the onward migration process; (3) the experiences and identities of youths who onward migrated with their parents or on their own; and (4) how onward migrant families navigated and experienced the EUSS. In this conclusion, I will highlight the thesis's main contributions, implications, limitations, and scope for further research.

6.1 Contributions

First, this thesis refines the conceptualisation of onward migration. Scholars have recently begun criticising the fact that onward migration is often treated as a linear, relatively straightforward movement from a first destination country to a second one (e.g., Bermudez & Oso, 2019; Schapendonk, 2021). In line with this latest work, this thesis demonstrated that some Colombian families achieved onward migration through and after diverse forms of international im/mobility which were shaped by familial and relational factors, such as family obligations, gendered caring responsibilities, family members' legal status as well as loving and conflictual relationships with significant others. Ultimately, this thesis proposes a conceptualisation of onward migration as an open-ended, relational process that may entail and be achieved through multiple international im/mobilities.

Furthermore, this dissertation puts forward an understanding of onward migration not only as a social reproductive strategy but also as a form of mobility that can have several implications for how social reproductive work and gender roles are arranged within families. While existing literature does not explicitly adopt a social reproductive lens, it does indicate how onward migration can be a family affair as families onward migrate to enhance their livelihoods, quality of life, and opportunities (Weine et al., 2022; Morad and Sacchetto, 2020; McCarthy, 2020; Morad et al., 2021). This thesis expands this literature by shedding light on how families strategize to address and overcome the challenges implicit in the onward migration process—an aspect that has received little attention to date. This thesis demonstrated that onward migrant families renegotiate their social reproductive arrangements and gender roles over time to address the socio-economic challenges and opportunities its members encounter in the onward destination.

Thirdly, this thesis contributes to the understanding of the implications that onward migration has on how young people make sense of their identities. Despite few exceptions (e.g., Mohme, 2014; Kelly 2017), the perspectives of children and young people have been virtually neglected in the study of onward migration. This thesis shows that onward migrant youths' identifications can be diverse and shaped by their trajectories prior to onward migrating and their formative experiences in the previous country of residence. Following onward migration, young people find themselves in a new relational environment which may offer opportunities to claim identities they had limited access to in the previous country of residence and which are deployed strategically, as well as opportunities to form new identities drawing from multiple frames and scales of references.

This thesis also advances the understanding of how the EU population in the UK experienced the Brexit process by focusing on how onward migrant families navigated the EUSS. Studies on the EUSS and more generally on Brexit have been criticised for not fully

addressing the heterogeneity of the EU population in the UK (Benson et al., 2022). One particular experience for which there is less research is that of migrants who moved to Europe, acquired EU nationality via naturalisation, and then onward migrated to the UK. The thesis showed that onward migrants holding EU passports with prior experience of being subject to immigration control were eager to register for the EUSS but that their non-EU family members encountered several challenges to register. For onward migrants and their families, the EUSS represented a formalisation of the discrimination and bordering practices they were experiencing before the EUSS and a return to a position of legal vulnerability and uncertainty.

Finally, this thesis contributes to the literature on the experiences of the Latin American community of London. In this doctoral research, I focused on Colombian onward migration not only because this represented an ideal case study to explore the onward migration-family nexus but also to continue collaborating with Latin American charities to bring visibility to the Latin American population of London—a large, fast-growing group that is struggling to gain institutional recognition (Lopez Zarzosa, 2021). I hope that this doctoral journey and the PER project carried out with LAH contributed to current community efforts to generate visibility and understanding of the lived experiences of Latin American migrants in London.

6.2 Implications

I shall now highlight what I consider to be some of the main broader implications of this doctoral research. From a theoretical perspective, this thesis reifies the need to move beyond “methodological individualism” (Kofman, 2000) in Migration Studies. Since the early 2000s, the scholarship exploring the intersection of migration and family life has been growing, as demonstrated by the expansion of Transnational Family Studies. This dissertation showed that adopting a family lens has the potential to enhance the understanding of onward migration, how it unfolds, the factors that shape its direction, and the consequences it has for onward

migrants holding diverse positionalities and identities. As such, this thesis supports existing calls for bringing migrants' family worlds from the margins to the centre of migration scholarship (Bryceson, 2019; Montero-Sieburth et al., 2021).

Yet, the centring of migrants' family worlds requires careful consideration and critical engagement with the ways in which children and young people are conceptualised. This dissertation reified the importance of conceptualising the family as a site where children and young people exercise their agency and where they can play a key role (Heidbrink, 2014; Mas Giralt, 2016; Rosen, et al., 2017; Rosen et al., 2021). There is a clear need to move beyond the understanding of young people as passive objects in the process of migration. A critical conceptualisation of children and young people as agents *in their own right* needs to be embedded more systematically in existing migration scholarship. At the same time, there is the need to move beyond conventional categories classifying children and youths as either immobile (e.g., left behind), as migrating only once (e.g., during childhood or adolescence), or as remaining in their parents' first country of destination (van Geel and Mazzucato, 2018). These categories are inadequate to understand the lived experiences of young people such as onward migrant youths whose lives are marked by multiple forms of mobilities.

This study has implications for research and policy on Brexit too. This thesis supports recent calls to move beyond "methodological nationalism" underpinning the research on Brexit, which has tended to focus on the experiences of "native" EU nationals (Benson, et al., 2022; Bhambra, 2017; Virdee & McGeever, 2018). By focusing on how onward migrants with EU passports and their non-EU family members navigated and made sense of the EUSS, this thesis shows the need to be careful about assuming that the experiences of EU nationals born in Europe is representative of all EU nationals. This assumption limits our understanding of Brexit and the impact that the EUSS had and will continue to have on individuals and families. Now that the EUSS is effectively closed, considering the heterogeneity of the EU population

in the UK will be crucial to understand and assess how individuals and families will navigate and cope with the post-EUSS scenario.

Finally, this thesis reflects the need for reception policies that enhance the support and socio-economic opportunities available to onward Latin American migrant parents as well as onward migrant youths of Latin American descent in London. This thesis highlighted the key role played by Latin American NGOs and cultural organisations to enhance integration outcomes for both parents and young people, to ensure family reunification, as well as to navigate new crises, including Brexit and the pandemic (Turcatti, 2021; Mas Giralt & Granada, 2014; Lopez Zarzosa, 2021). While important, the services provided by these organisations cannot replace policies aimed at promoting Latin American families' integration outcomes, such as better work rights, easier access to social protection, immigration policies protecting the right to family reunification in the post-Brexit context, or more opportunities to access to language and education courses to improve the career prospects of both Latin American parents and their children.

6.3 Limitations

I identified four main limitations to this doctoral research. First, this thesis includes predominantly the experiences of onward Colombian families where parents work low-income, precarious jobs, often in the cleaning industry, in the hospitality or caring sectors. This represents a main limitation for two main reasons. First, it limits *multivocality*—that is, the process of including a variety of voices and perspectives (Tracy, 2013). I attribute the failure to include the experiences of parents working in other sectors to the pandemic. As highlighted in the introduction of the thesis, to access onward Colombian migrants during COVID-19 lockdowns and social distancing measures I relied on the help of Latin American NGOs and cultural organisations who tend to support Latin American migrants in low-paid jobs.

Secondly, this thesis's focus on the experiences of onward Colombian families where parents work in low-income, precarious jobs is problematic because it risks reproducing the stereotype of Latin American migrants in London as "just cleaners".

A second main limitation of this doctoral research concerns the fact that the thesis includes only the voices of parents and their children. This contradicts the conceptualisation of family adopted in the thesis. In the introduction to this dissertation, I explained how this thesis draws from Critical Family Studies conceptualising families as emerging from a set of practices that are enacted daily (Morgan, 1996; Morgan, 2011a; Morgan, 2011b). In principle, families are therefore not limited to the nuclear form (i.e., parents and children) but can include other individuals, both blood or legally related (e.g., grandparents, other relatives) or "transnational voluntary kin" (Vivas-Romero, 2017)—that is, intimate relationships not based on legal or biological bonds which may alleviate migrants' reproductive needs by replacing, overlapping, or complementing traditional family support. The fact that I focused on the voices of parents and children does not mean that onward migrant families were understood or are indeed nuclear, but it does result in an incomplete picture of what onward migration means for migrants' family life.

Thirdly, the fact that a considerable amount of fieldwork was carried out online represents a further drawback as it limited my ability to fully embed myself in the everyday spaces that onward migrant families inhabit, to identify "mute evidence" (Fontana & Frey, 2000) that would have sparked unexpected conversations, or to observe some of the daily practices onward migrant families engage with. While some in-person fieldwork was conducted when government advice allowed for it, this thesis heavily draws from interviews, several of which were conducted online. In other words, this dissertation predominantly relies on *what people say they do* since COVID-19 provided little opportunity to observe *what people actually do*. This methodological shortcoming bears implications, for example, for the findings

concerning onward migrant families' organisation of social reproductive work or for how onward migrant youths deploy their identities strategically in everyday life. The investigation of these processes would have benefitted from more in-person participant observation in the fields and spaces onward migrant families inhabit every day.

Finally, a fourth main weakness of this dissertation relates to the lack of attention to how onward migrant youths of Colombian and Latin American descent experienced the EUSS and make sense of Brexit more broadly. The thesis does focus on how onward Latin American migrants and their non-EU family members perceived and navigated the EUSS, but it does not explore how onward migrant youths experienced this transition. This would have enriched the understanding of the impact that Brexit is having on onward migrant families in addition to adding depth to the analysis of the implications that onward migration has had on the identities of onward migrant youths of Latin American descent in London.

6.4 Ways forward

In terms of directions for further research, I identified four main areas. First, it would be useful to understand the mobility patterns of onward Latin American migrant families during *and* in the aftermath of both the COVID-19 pandemic and the cost-of-living crisis affecting the UK since late 2021 driven and exacerbated by a range of issues, including depleted gas supplies in Europe, disruptions to global supply chains, and the Russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 (Hourston, 2022).. This thesis proposed a conceptualisation of onward migration as an open-ended relational process shaped both by familiar and relational factors as well as driven by macro-structural forces, such as major crises. As such, in principle, individuals and families may onward migrate multiple times through their life course. During fieldwork, I came across some onward Colombian parents who mentioned they were considering new destinations or return migration to Spain as a potential way of coping with the impact of the pandemic, which

negatively affected the livelihoods of onward Latin American families (Lopez Zarzosa, 2021). Investigating onward Latin American families' post-2020 mobility patterns might contribute not only to the literature on Latin American mobilities in the European context, but also can enrich the understanding of onward migration and how it relates to the lived experiences of multiple crises.

Secondly, further research could explore the transnational practices of onward migrant families by adopting multi-sited ethnographic methods. Marcus (1995) used the term “multi-sited ethnography” to refer to ethnographies which take place in “multiple sites of observation and participation” (p. 95). Multi-sited research enables researchers to “trace migrants’ transnational ties across borders and to account for the practices and perspectives of migrants and non-migrants on both sides” (Fauser, 2018, p. 395). As such, a multi-sited approach would allow researchers to gain a deeper understanding on how onward migration shaped the lives of *both* onward migrants and of their left-behind family members who may be living in more than two countries (e.g., the country of origin of onward migrants, the first country of destination of onward migration, as well as in the onward destination). Recently, Ahrens and King (2023) coined the term “multi-sited transnationalism’ with the specific aim of broadening the analysis of migrant transnationalism beyond its common bipolar framing – restricted to the origin country and one destination country” (p. 4). Ahrens and King (2023) argue that the study of onward migration calls for “a broadened multi-sited (and multi-directional) conceptualisation of transnational mobilities, ties and practices” (p. 4). By adopting multi-sited methodologies, further research could shed important insights on onward migrant families’ lived experiences of multi-sited transnationalism.

A third research area that requires further investigation concerns onward migrant youths’ experiences of providing and receiving care. In various instances, the findings presented in this thesis mentioned the roles that onward migrant youths play in their families

and how they contribute to meeting their families' social reproductive needs. These experiences deserve careful investigation as they can enhance the understanding of the onward migration-family nexus and of the challenges and forms of inequalities that onward migrant youths of Latin American descent in London face so that youths can be better supported by their families, parents, schools, and charities led by and for Latin Americans. More fundamentally, focusing on both the care giving and care receiving of onward migrant youths can contribute to challenge the tendency in Migration Studies to construct children and young people uniquely as care recipients and to view their care giving practices as non-normative (Rosen et al., 2017; Rosen et al., 2021; Heidbrink, 2014).

Fourthly, examining the long-term implications of the EUSS and Brexit for onward migrant families, including onward Latin American families, constitutes an important direction for future research efforts. This thesis focused on how onward Latin Americans and their families experienced the EUSS as it happened and in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic. The EUSS is now effectively closed, and more research is needed to understand the long-term implications of the EUSS and of the end of freedom of movement on aspects such as identity formation for members of onward migrant families, family separation and reunification, as well as onward migrant families' plans and feelings concerning naturalization and becoming British nationals.

Importantly, new studies shall not be confined to the experiences of onward Latin American families in low-income, precarious socio-economic standings. In future research on Latin American onward migration to the UK, including a variety of voices and perspectives will be key to deconstruct, challenge, and overcome the growing stereotype of Latin American migrants in London as "just cleaners". This would also allow to make visible not only the experiences of disfranchisement and inequality that (onward) Latin American migrants face but also the important economic, social, and cultural contributions they bring to the UK.

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APPENDIX

A. Permission from collaborators



05/07/2022

To whom it may concern:

One of the chapters that Domiziana Turcatti will present as part of her dissertation contains material that was published as a joint paper with myself in the journal of Ethnic and Racial Studies (<https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2022.2058884>).

I can confirm that:

- Domiziana Turcatti conducted all the interviews and fieldwork for the paper. She also wrote the first draft of the paper, including the selection of quotes. She also submitted the paper to the journal, took the lead responding to the reviews and is the contact author.
- My role consisted of two things. First, I was the Principal Investigator in the project that financed the research (<https://sites.google.com/view/perseedfund2020/enhancing-the-impact-of-migration-research-with-latin-americans-in-london>). Second, I provided feedback on the material, but very much along the lines of the traditional mentor/mentee relationship, with Domiziana being the lead contributor.

Best regards,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Carlos Vargas-Silva'.

Carlos Vargas-Silva

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B. Letters of introduction

B1. Letter of introduction to Latin American organisations in London

School of Anthropology and Museum
Ethnography
Centre on Migration, Policy, and Society
University of Oxford



Dear [leader of the organisation]

My name is Domiziana Turcatti and I am pursuing a DPhil in Migration Studies at the University of Oxford under the supervision of Dr Carlos Vargas-Silva for which I am conducting qualitative research on the experiences of the families of Colombian migrants who have migrated from Spain to London after the 2008 crisis. I am planning on conducting interviews with adult Colombian migrants who have migrated from Spain to London and their children living in London. The objective of this study is to understand how the migration from Spain to London has impacted their families.

This letter seeks the support of [name of the organisation] to help me reach out to adult Colombian migrants who have migrated from Spain to London in the past years to interview. Participants will be provided with an information sheet explaining the research and its objectives. Prior to the interview, I will provide participants with consent forms explaining their right to withdraw at any moment and to not answer questions they would rather not in addition to their right to confidentiality and anonymity. The interview will be conducted in the language that the participants feel the most comfortable in (English or Spanish).

This letter seeks also your permission to participate in the activities organised by your organisation in addition to interviewing the staff members of your organisation. This will help me to become more sensitive to the context, to best prepare myself for conducting interviews, so that I will ask sensitive and sensible questions. Before participating in any workshops with

adults, I will introduce myself and the research I am doing and ask for the oral consent of the participants. Before interviewing any member of your organisation, I will also provide them with consent forms explaining their right to withdraw, anonymity, and confidentiality.

Your support not only would allow me to conduct this research, but it would also help me to gain a deeper understanding of the issues investigated. At the end of the research, if you wish, I will share the thesis and any other writings emerging from the research. I would also be happy to present the research findings to the staff of your organisation.

Please find attached the ethical approval of the University of Oxford to conduct this research. In case you have questions, please do not hesitate to contact me at domiziana.turcatti@compas.ox.ac.uk. You may also want to contact my supervisor Dr Carlos Vargas-Silva at carlos.vargas-silva@compas.ox.ac.uk.

Thank you for your attention,

Domiziana Turcatti

_____	_____	_____
Name of the Researcher	Signature of the Researcher	Date
_____	_____	_____
Name of the leader	Signature of the leader	Date

B2. Proposal for a two-session course on social policy in the context of the pandemic for Latin American students

School of Anthropology and Museum
Ethnography
Centre on Migration, Policy, and Society
University of Oxford



“Social policy in the context of coronavirus”

Proposal for a mini-course on social policy to gather students’ reflections and feelings about covid-19 and its impact on their lives

By

Domiziana Turcatti

For the Latin American EAL students
of [name of British-Colombian teacher]
[name of school]

Objective: This mini course on social policy has two overarching goals:

- 1) To introduce students to social policy;
- 2) To understand how Latin American students feel and have been impacted by the pandemic from their own perspectives thorough an educational activity.

Rationale: This mini course is organised as part of the doctoral research conducted by Domiziana Turcatti on the experiences of the families of Colombian migrants who migrated from Spain to London. As part of her doctoral research, she is also collaborating with the London-based charity Latin American House to explore the impact of Brexit and the pandemic on the Latin American population of London from which a report will derive (more info: <https://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/2021/enhancing-the-impact-of-migration-research-with-latin-americans-in-london/>). This mini course is designed to further understand how Latin American youths have been affected by the pandemic. After reflecting with [name of British-

Colombian teacher] on the two focus groups conducted with her EAL students in the fall of 2020, we thought that stimulating students to share their perspectives may be best achieved through an engaging educational activity, rather than asking them questions directly. Furthermore, by offering an educational activity, students may benefit from this too, rather than just answering questions for research purposes.

Targeted students: This mini-course would take place during the online lesson time of [name of British-Colombian teacher] with her Latin American students in Year 11 who (1) want to participate; (2) have the consent of their parents to participate in these activities which form part of a research. Parental consent is gathered by [name of British-Colombian teacher] in a written form. Consent is fundamental so that the opinions and experiences of students can be included in the research findings. This activity will not discriminate between students who have come directly from a Latin American country and those who have come from Spain, to give all students the chance to learn about social policy and share their perspectives and experiences, provided they are willing to do so.

Format: This mini-course could take place online over 2 sessions. In terms of roles, I will be delivering the lessons (e.g., explaining key concepts in social policy), while [name of the Colombian-British teacher] will help facilitate the sessions. Below, a tentative agenda for each session is presented:

Session 1	Introduction to social policy in the context of the coronavirus pandemic
Introduction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Overview of the mini course - Overview of the research with Latin American House and how the mini course relates to it - Explain how their opinions and experiences discussed in the course will be used for research purposes
Introduction to social policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Definitions and examples of social policy - Description of the steps involved in creating social policy
Group activity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Task: We need to create a social policy that will help young people and their families who have arrived in the UK to cope with the pandemic. The first step is to formulate hypotheses regarding how families and

young people who have just arrived to the UK have been affected by the pandemic.

- Students take 3-4 minutes to think about how families and young people who have just arrived to the UK have been affected by the pandemic.
- Students write down their answers
- Everyone gets the chance to answer the question

Introduction to research (interactive lesson)	- How do we find out if hypotheses are true or not? Brief overview of research methods
	- Homework: talk to your friends and family about how they have been impacted by the covid pandemic. Write down a bullet point list with your findings to present next class.

Conclusion	Students will be asked to say one word that captures how they felt about the session.
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Session 2 Building social policy

Introduction	- Reminding students of why we are doing this mini course and its research purpose
	- Round of greetings and brief recap of what we did last session

Presenting research findings	- Each student gets to share what they found about how their friends and families have been impacted by the covid pandemic
-------------------------------------	--

Group discussion (part 1)	- Task: Based on our findings, we will think together about the social policies we could create to improve the lives of young people and families who recently arrived in the UK
	- Each student takes 3-4 minutes to think and write their solutions in the chat.
	- Each students gets the chance to explain their proposed solutions which will be written on the online board

Group discussion (Part 2)	- Once all the suggestions are on the board, we will try to rank them from the most urgent to the least urgent.
	- Each student takes 3 minutes to choose the 1-2 most important solutions/policies among the ones written on the board.

- Each student is then asked to explain the reasons behind their choice.

Conclusion

Name one thing you have learnt today

Third session (optional)

Potentially, if the previous sessions went well and students enjoyed them and found them useful, we could have a third session where we discuss the resources that are needed to actually make the 2-3 policies that were ranked as top priority (e.g. define resources, how much money we need and were we take it, what staff) and think of ways to evaluate that solutions are effective. We could then think of producing a final product (e.g. a collective document where each student writes a reflection on the sessions).

C. Leaflets

C1. Leaflet to access onward Colombian adults in London

Researcher: Domiziana Turcatti,
domiziana.turcatti@compas.ox.ac.uk **Supervisor:** Dr Carlos
Vargas-Silva, carlos.vargas-silva@compas.ox.ac.uk

School of Anthropology and Museum Ethnography
Centre on Migration, Policy, and Society
University of Oxford



Ethics Approval Reference: SAME_C1A_20_039

RESEARCH

**The experiences of Colombian migrants who have migrated from
Spain to London and their families**



My name is **Domiziana Turcatti** and I am currently pursuing a DPhil in Migration Studies at the University of Oxford. As part of my doctoral studies, **I am conducting qualitative research on the experiences of the families of Colombian migrants who have migrated from Spain to London after the 2008 crisis.** The objective is to understand how the migration from Spain to London has impacted the families of Colombian.

VOLUNTEERS NEEDED FOR INTERVIEWS!

I am looking for **healthy volunteers, who are older than 18, Colombian, who have migrated from Spain to London in the recent years.** You would be invited to participate in an interview with me where I will ask you to share with me your experience of moving from Spain to London and how this has impacted your family. The interview would take about 60-90 minutes of your time. Your support will help not me to gain a deeper understanding of the issues investigated. There is no obligation to take part nor compensation for participating. However, if you wish, I will share with you the findings of the research! If you are interested and would like more information, please contact me: **Domiziana Turcatti** at domiziana.turcatti@compas.ox.ac.uk.

C2: Leaflet to access participants for the PER Project



LATIN AMERICAN AND LIVE IN LONDON?

We are looking for participants for a study by COMPAS, part of the University of Oxford, looking at the effect of Brexit and COVID-19 on Latin American communities in London.



If you are interested in participating in one of our digital focus groups, please contact info@casalatina.org.uk or domiziana.turcatti@wolfson.ox.ac.uk

www.casalatina.org.uk

C3. Call for interviewees included by LAH in their newsletters for the PER Project

The call was available in English, Spanish and Portuguese and included in LAH's monthly newsletters from February 2021 until April 2021. By clicking on the "I want to be involved!" button, individuals would be redirected to an expression of interest form, presented in Appendix D4.

NEWS

Participate in a study with the University of Oxford!



Latin American House is collaborating with the [University of Oxford's Centre on Migration, Policy, and Society \(COMPAS\)](#) on a study analysing the impact of COVID-19 and Brexit on London's Latin American community.

We will be talking to people from across the community through a series of focus groups in 2021. If you are interested in taking part, click on the button below and we will be in touch soon!

I want to be involved!

C4. Expression of interest form for adult interviewees for the PER project

Latin American House & COMPAS: Expression of Interest

 domiziana.turcatti@gmail.com (non condiviso) 

[Cambia account](#)

***Campo obbligatorio**

Data Protection / Protección de Datos

At Latin American House (LAH) we respect any personal data you share with us, or that we get from other organisations, and we keep it safe. We aim to be clear when we collect your data, and we will not do anything with it that you would not reasonably expect.



You can contact us at any time to request access to information that LAH holds on you, correct it, delete it and/or restrict further processing of it. For legal reasons we may have to retain some records.

You can find LAH's full Data Protection Policy here:
<https://bit.ly/2Jpr8ZE>

En la Casa Latinoamericana (LAH), respetamos cualquier dato personal que comparta con nosotros o que obtengamos de otras organizaciones, y lo mantenemos seguro. Nuestro objetivo es ser claro cuando recopilamos sus datos y no haremos nada con ellos que usted no esperaría razonablemente.


Puede contactarnos en cualquier momento para solicitar acceso a la información que LAH tiene sobre usted, corregirla, eliminarla y / o restringir su procesamiento posterior. Por razones legales, es posible que tengamos que conservar algunos registros.

Pueden encontrar la política de protección de datos completa de la Casa Latinoamericana (en inglés) aquí:
<https://bit.ly/2Jpr8ZE>

Before continuing, you need to confirm you agree with our  [Richiedi accesso in modifica](#)
/ Antes de continuar, debe confirmar que está de acuerdo con  [Richiedi accesso in modifica](#)
Protección de Datos

I have read and accept Latin American House's Data Protection Policy / Sí, he leído y acepto la Política de Protección de Datos de la Casa Latinoamericana

Latin American House & COMPAS: Expression of Interest

 domiziana.turcatti@gmail.com (non condiviso)
[Cambia account](#)



*Campo obbligatorio

Register Your Interest // Registro de interés

Latin American House is collaborating with COMPAS, a research centre of the University of Oxford, to identify the impact of COVID-19 and Brexit on the Latin American community in London. We are organising group discussions to listen to the opinions and experiences of Latin American migrants in London during Brexit and the pandemic. The objective of this project is to better understand how to support the community to cope with the effects of the pandemic and Brexit.

Latin American House está colaborando con COMPAS, un centro de investigación de la Universidad de Oxford, para identificar el impacto de COVID-19 y Brexit en la comunidad latinoamericana de Londres. Estamos organizando discusiones en grupo para oír las opiniones y experiencias de los migrantes latinoamericanos en Londres durante el Brexit y la pandemia. El objetivo de este proyecto es comprender mejor cómo ayudar a la comunidad a enfrentar los efectos de la pandemia y el Brexit.

Would you be interested in being contacted to participate in one of these group discussions? // ¿Quieres ser contactado para participar en una de estas discusiones en grupo? *

Yes // Si

No

Latin American House & COMPAS: Expression of Interest



domiziana.turcatti@gmail.com (non condiviso)

[Cambia account](#)



*Campo obbligatorio

Personal Details // Datos Personales

This research is about the Latin American population of London. Please confirm * you live in London, or have lived in London during the COVID-19 pandemic // El enfoque de esta búsqueda es la población Latinoamericana de Londres. Por favor comprueba que vives en Londres, o que has vivido en Londres durante la pandemia de COVID-19

- Yes, I live in London or have lived in London during the pandemic
- No, I do not live in London and have not lived in London during the pandemic

How many years have you lived in the UK? // ¿Cuántos años has vivido en el Reino * Unido?

La tua risposta

What country were you living in before moving to the UK? // ¿En qué país vivías * antes de mudarte al Reino Unido?

La tua risposta

First Name // Nombre(s) *

La tua risposta

Last Name // Apellido(s) *

La tua risposta

Date of Birth // Fecha de nacimiento *

Data

dd/mm/yyyy

Phone number // Número de teléfono *

La tua risposta

Email *

La tua risposta

How would you prefer to be contacted? // ¿Cómo prefieres que te contactemos? *

Email

Phone // Teléfono

D. Information sheets

D1. Info sheet for experts

Researcher: Domiziana Turcatti,
domiziana.turcatti@compas.ox.ac.uk

Supervisor: Dr Carlos Vargas-Silva, carlos.vargas-silva@compas.ox.ac.uk

School of Anthropology and Museum Ethnography
Centre on Migration, Policy, and Society
University of Oxford



Ethics Approval Reference: SAME_C1A_20_039

The experiences of Colombian migrants who have migrated from Spain to London and their families

EXPERTS INFORMATION SHEET

1. *Why is this research being conducted?*

My name is Domiziana Turcatti, and I am doing a DPhil in Migration Studies at the University of Oxford under the supervision of Dr Carlos Vargas-Silva. As part of my doctoral studies, I am conducting qualitative research on the experiences of the families of Colombian migrants who have migrated from Spain to London after the 2008 crisis. The objective is to understand how the migration from Spain to London has impacted their families hoping to raise awareness of some of the issues that Colombian families face.

2. *Why have I been invited to take part?*

You have been invited to take part in this study in quality of your experience of working with the families of Colombians who have migrated from Spain to London. Your observations and expertise will help me gain a better understanding of the experiences of these families and the context in which they live in.

3. *Do I have to take part?*

No. You can ask questions about the research before deciding whether or not to take part. If you do agree to take part, you may withdraw yourself from the study, without giving reason, and without negative consequences at any stage. In case you would like to withdraw, you may do so by October 2022, which is when I will conclude the data collection process and begin the

analysis. Once you decide to withdraw, all the information you have provided will be cancelled. Until then, your answers will be kept confidential and stored in a folder on my laptop secured by a password to which no one expect myself, and my supervisor will have access. Instead of your real name, I will use a pseudo name in the notes I will take.

4. *What will happen to me if I take part in the research?*

If you decide to take part in the research, you will be invited to take part in an interview with me at a time and place convenient to you which should last 30-45 minutes. This could be in the premises of the organisation where you work, in a public space, or online. When we meet, I will re-explain the study to you. You will have the opportunity to ask me any question. If you are still happy to take part, I will ask you to sign a consent form or provide oral consent. With your consent, I would like to audio record you so that I can have an accurate record of your thoughts. However, you may stop the audio recorder at any time during the interview.

5. *Are there any potential risks in taking part?*

The major risk involved in taking part in the interview concerns breaching confidentiality. To reduce this risk, I will use a pseudo name, instead of your real name, when writing my notes and the interview transcript. Your answers will be stored in a folder in my laptop protected by a password and no one else, apart from my supervisor, will have access to your answers.

6. *Are there any benefits in taking part?*

There will be no direct or personal benefit to you from taking part in this research. However, I will share the research findings with you once the research is completed if you wish.

7. *What happens to the data provided?*

The information you provide during the study is the **research data**. Any research data from which you can be identified is known as **personal data**. This includes, for example, your name, your date of birth, the audio-recordings. **Personal data** will be stored in a folder on my laptop secured by a password and in a drawer in my room secured by a lock. Personal data will be destroyed after completion of my DPhil research (expected in October 2022).

Other research data (including consent forms) will be stored for at least 3 years after publication or public release of the work of the research in a folder on my laptop secured by a password. Only me and my supervisor will have access to the research data. Responsible members of the University of Oxford may be given access to data for monitoring and/or audit of the research.

I would like your permission to use direct quotes from you in any research outputs. Please note that when using direct quotes from you, your real name will not feature, but I will use a pseudo name. I also would like your permission to use anonymised data in future studies. All personal information that could identify you will be removed or changed before information is shared with other researchers or results are made public.

8. *Will the research be published?*

The research will be written up as a student's thesis. On successful submission of the thesis, it will be deposited both in print and online in the University archives to facilitate its use in future research. If so, the thesis will be openly accessible. The University of Oxford is committed to the dissemination of its research for the benefit of society and the economy and, in support of this commitment, has established an online archive of research materials. This archive includes digital copies of student theses successfully submitted as part of a University of Oxford degree programme. Holding the archive online gives easy access for researchers to the full text of freely available theses, thereby increasing the likely impact and use of that research. The research may also be published in the form of academic articles, and non-academic blog posts in websites and academic publications.

9. *Who has reviewed this study?*

This study has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee (Reference number to be added).

10. *Who do I contact if I have a concern about the study or I wish to complain?*

If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, please contact me, Domiziana Turcatti at domiziana.turcatti@compas.ox.ac.uk. Alternatively, you may contact my supervisor, Dr Carlos Vargas-Silva at carlos.vargas-silva@compas.ox.ac.uk or 01865 274711. We will do our best to answer your query. We will acknowledge your concern within 10 working days and give you an indication of how it will be dealt with. If you remain unhappy or wish to make a formal complaint, please contact the Chair of the Research Ethics Committee at the University of Oxford who will seek to resolve the matter as soon as possible. Contact: Chair, hod@anthro.ox.ac.uk. Address: School of Anthropology and Museum Ethnography, 51/53 Banbury Road, Oxford, OX2 6PE

11. *Data Protection*

The University of Oxford is the data controller with respect to your personal data, and as such will determine how your personal data is used in the study. The University will process your personal data for the purpose of the research outlined above. Research is a task that is performed in the public interest. Further information about your rights with respect to your personal data is available from <http://www.admin.ox.ac.uk/councilsec/compliance/gdpr/individualrights/>.

12. *Further Information and Contact Details*

If you would like to discuss the research with someone beforehand (or if you have questions afterwards), please contact: Domiziana Turcatti, School of Anthropology and Museum Ethnography, Centre on Migration, Policy, and Society, University of Oxford Email: domiziana.turcatti@compas.ox.ac.uk Address: COMPAS, 58 Banbury Rd, Park Town, Oxford OX2 6QS

D2. Infor sheet for adults (18+ years old)

Researcher: Domiziana Turcatti,
domiziana.turcatti@compas.ox.ac.uk

Supervisor: Dr Carlos Vargas-Silva, carlos.vargas-silva@compas.ox.ac.uk

School of Anthropology and Museum Ethnography
Centre on Migration, Policy, and Society
University of Oxford



Ethics Approval Reference: SAME_C1A_20_039

The experiences of Colombian migrants who have migrated from Spain to London and their families

ADULTS INFORMATION SHEET

1. Why is this research being conducted?

My name is Domiziana Turcatti and I am doing a DPhil in Migration Studies at the University of Oxford under the supervision of Dr Carlos Vargas-Silva. As part of my doctoral studies, I am conducting qualitative research on the experiences of the families of Colombian migrants who have migrated from Spain to London after the 2008 crisis. The objective is to understand how the migration from Spain to London has impacted their families hoping to raise awareness and contribute to solve some of the issues that Colombian families might face.

2. Why have I been invited to take part?

You have been invited to take part in this study either because (a) you are Colombian, you are 18 years old or older, and you have moved from Spain to London in recent years or (b) because you are a family member of a Colombian person who has moved from Spain to London, you currently live in London and you are 18 years old or older. If you are a Colombian migrant who has moved from Spain to London in the past years, your experiences of migration from Spain to London will help me gain a deeper understanding of this kind of migration and how this migration has impacted the families of Colombian migrants. If you are a family member of a Colombian person who has migrated from Spain to London and you currently live in London, your thoughts and experiences may also help me better understand how this kind of migration has impacted your family.

3. Do I have to take part?

No. You can ask questions about the research before deciding whether or not to take part. If you do agree to take part, you may withdraw yourself from the study, without giving a reason,

and without negative consequences at any stage. In case you would like to withdraw, you may do so by October 2022, which is when I will conclude the data collection process and begin the analysis. Once you decide to withdraw, all the information you have provided will be cancelled. Until then, your answers will be kept confidential and stored in a folder on my laptop secured by a password to which no one expect me, and my supervisor will have access. Instead of your real name, I will use a pseudo name in the notes I will take.

4. *What will happen to me if I take part in the research?*

If you decide to take part in the research, you will be invited to share your migration stories and to share your thoughts on how migration has impacted your family. You will be invited to one interview lasting 45-90 minutes. During the interview I will ask you to share your migration experiences and how they have impacted your family. You will also be asked about your perspective on Brexit and the pandemic.

The interview will take place at a time and place convenient to you. This could be in the premises of a charity where you go, in a public space, or in your house if you wish. We could also conduct the interviews online. Before starting the interview, I will re-explain the study and its objective. You will also have the opportunity to ask me any question. If you are still happy to take part, I will ask you to sign a consent form or provide consent orally. With your consent, I would like to audio record you so that I can have an accurate record of your thoughts. However, you may stop the audio recorder at any time during the interview.

5. *Are there any potential risks in taking part?*

One of the risks in taking part in the interview concerns breaching confidentiality. To reduce this risk, I will use a pseudo name, instead of your real name, when writing my notes and the interview transcript. Your answers will be stored in a folder in my laptop protected by a password and no one else, apart from my supervisor, will have access to your answers. I will also not share with any person that you know what you have told me during the interview. A second major risks in taking part in the interviews concerns feelings of distress. As I will ask you about your experiences of migration and your family, it may be that in sharing with me your experiences and thoughts you may feel distress. This is completely understandable. If this is the case, I won't ask you further questions on the topic that may cause you distress. You are also not expected to answer questions that may make you uncomfortable unless you want to. You can also stop the interview at any time without giving any explanations.

6. *Are there any benefits in taking part?*

There will be no direct or personal benefit to you from taking part in this research. However, if you may, I will share with you the research findings once the research is finished.

7. *What happens to the data provided?*

The information you provide during the study is the **research data**. Any research data from which you can be identified is known as **personal data**. This includes, for example, your name,

your date of birth, the audio-recordings. **Personal data** will be stored in a folder on my laptop secured by a password and in a drawer in my room secured by a lock. Personal data will be destroyed after completion of my DPhil research (expected in October 2022). **Other research data** (including consent forms) will be stored for at least 3 years after publication or public release of the work of the research in a folder on my laptop secured by a password. Only me and my supervisor will have access to the research data. Responsible members of the University of Oxford may be given access to data for monitoring and/or audit of the research. I would like your permission to use direct quotes from you in any research outputs. Please note that when using direct quotes from you, your real name will not feature, but I will use a pseudo name. I also would like your permission to use anonymised data in future studies. All personal information that could identify you will be removed or changed before information is shared with other researchers or results are made public.

8. *Will the research be published?*

The research will be written up as a student's thesis. On successful submission of the thesis, it will be deposited both in print and online in the University archives to facilitate its use in future research. If so, the thesis will be openly accessible. The University of Oxford is committed to the dissemination of its research for the benefit of society and the economy and, in support of this commitment, has established an online archive of research materials. This archive includes digital copies of student theses successfully submitted as part of a University of Oxford postgraduate degree programme. Holding the archive online gives easy access for researchers to the full text of freely available theses, thereby increasing the likely impact and use of that research. The research may also be published in the form of academic articles, and non-academic blog posts in websites and academic publications.

9. *Who has reviewed this study?*

This study has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee (Reference number to be added).

10. *Who do I contact if I have a concern about the study or I wish to complain?*

If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, please contact me, Domiziana Turcatti at domiziana.turcatti@compas.ox.ac.uk. Alternatively, you may contact my supervisor, Dr Carlos Vargas-Silva at carlos.vargas-silva@compas.ox.ac.uk or 01865 274711. We will do our best to answer your query. We will acknowledge your concern within 10 working days and give you an indication of how it will be dealt with. If you remain unhappy or wish to make a formal complaint, please contact the Chair of the Research Ethics Committee at the University of Oxford who will seek to resolve the matter as soon as possible. Contact: Chair, hod@anthro.ox.ac.uk. Address: School of Anthropology and Museum Ethnography, 51/53 Banbury Road, Oxford, OX2 6PE

11. *Data Protection*

The University of Oxford is the data controller with respect to your personal data, and as such will determine how your personal data is used in the study. The University will process your

personal data for the purpose of the research outlined above. Research is a task that is performed in the public interest. Further information about your rights with respect to your personal data is available from

<http://www.admin.ox.ac.uk/councilsec/compliance/gdpr/individualrights/>.

12. Further Information and Contact Details

If you would like to discuss the research with someone beforehand (or if you have questions afterwards), please contact:

Domiziana Turcatti
School of Anthropology and Museum Ethnography
Centre on Migration, Policy, and Society
University of Oxford

Email: domiziana.turcatti@compas.ox.ac.uk

Address: COMPAS, 58 Banbury Rd, Park Town, Oxford OX2 6QS

D3. Info sheet for parents/guardians of 13-17 years old

Researcher: Domiziana Turcatti,
domiziana.turcatti@compas.ox.ac.uk

Supervisor: Dr Carlos Vargas-Silva, carlos.vargas-silva@compas.ox.ac.uk

School of Anthropology and Museum Ethnography
Centre on Migration, Policy, and Society
University of Oxford



Ethics Approval Reference: SAME_C1A_20_039

The experiences of Colombian families who have migrated from Spain to London

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARENT/GUARDIAN

My name is Domiziana Turcatti and I am doing PhD at the university of Oxford investigating the experiences of Colombian migrants who have migrated from Spain to London and their family members, both adults and adolescents, under the supervision of Dr. Carlos Vargas-Silva. We would like your child to take part, but before you decide, it is important that you understand why the study is being done and what it will involve.

1. *Why is this research being conducted?*

This research projects focuses on the families of Colombian migrants who have migrated from Spain to London in recent years. The objective of this project is to understand how the migration from Spain to London has impacted their families. The research also addresses how Brexit and COVID-19 is impacting their families. By conducting this research, I hope to raise awareness and contribute to solve some of the issues that Colombian families and more generally Latin American families face. More information about the project can be obtained by contacting me, Domiziana Turcatti, or my supervisor Dr. Carlos Vargas-Silva. The contact details are provided above and at the end of this information sheet.

2. *Why has my child been invited to take part?*

Your child has been invited to take part either because (1) they are a young person aged 13-17 living in London with at least one parent who is Colombian who has migrated from Spain to London in recent years; or (2) because they are a young person in Year 10 or 11 whose parents are Latin American and attend [name of the school] and they have as their English as Additional Language teacher [name of the British-Colombian teacher].

3. *Does my child have to take part?*

No. You can ask questions about the research before deciding whether or not you would like your child to take part in the research. If you do agree to take part, you may decide to withdraw your child from the study, without giving a reason, and without negative consequences. In case you would like to withdraw your child from the study, you may do so by October 2022, which is when I will conclude the data collection process and begin the analysis. Once you decide to withdraw, all the information your child has shared with me will be cancelled. Until then, the answers of your child will be kept confidential and stored in a folder on my laptop secured by a password to which no one expect me, and my supervisor will have access. Instead of the real names of your child, I will use a pseudo name in the notes I will take.

4. *What will happen if my child takes part in the research?*

If you decide to have your child to take part in the research, the following will happen:

(1) if your child does not attend [name of the school], I will invite your child to take part in a short interview with me of 30-45 minutes. This will take place in your presence and in a public space convenient to you or online. During the interview, your child will be asked about their experience of moving to London, how they feel about the places in which they have lived, and what the migration to London has meant for their relationships with friends and family members.

(2) if your child attends [name of the school], your child will be invited to take part in a group discussion with other Latin American adolescents which will last for about 60 minutes under the supervision and with the facilitation of [name of the British-Colombian teacher] as approved by the school principal. During this group discussions, adolescents will be asked about their experience of migration, how it has impacted their families, and about covid.

Before involving your children in the group discussion/interview, I will record your child's assent, to make sure he/she wants to participate. With your consent, I would also like to audio record the group discussions/interviews with your child so that I can have an accurate record of your thoughts. However, your child may ask to stop the audio recorder at any time.

5. *What are the advantages / disadvantages of taking part?*

There are no real disadvantages of taking part. During the group discussion/interview, your child may feel like he/she don't want to answer some questions. That is perfectly fine. If this is the case, your child will not have to explain himself/herself. There are no real advantages of taking part in this project. If you wish, I will also share with you a summary of the research findings once the research is completed.

6. *What happens to the data provided?*

The information your child provides during the study is the **research data**. Any research data from which your child can be identified is known as **personal data**. This include, for example,

your child's names, date of birth, the audio-recordings. **Personal data** will be stored in a folder on my laptop secured by a password and in a drawer in my room secured by a lock. Personal data will be destroyed after completion of my DPhil research (expected in October 2022). **Other research data** (including consent forms) will be stored for at least 3 years after publication of the research in a folder on my laptop secured by a password. Only myself and my supervisor will have access to the research data. Responsible members of the University of Oxford may be given access to data for monitoring and/or audit of the research. I would like your permission to use direct quotes from your child in any research outputs. Please note that when using direct quotes from your child, their real names will not feature, but I will use pseudo name. I also would like your permission to use anonymised data in future studies. All personal information that could identify your child will be removed or changed before information is shared with other researchers or results are made public.

7. ***Will the research be published?***

The research will be written up as a student's thesis. On successful submission of the thesis, it will be deposited both in print and online in the University archives to facilitate its use in future research. If so, the thesis will be openly accessible. The University of Oxford is committed to the dissemination of its research for the benefit of society and the economy and, in support of this commitment, has established an online archive of research materials. This archive includes digital copies of student theses successfully submitted as part of a University of Oxford postgraduate degree programme. Holding the archive online gives easy access for researchers to the full text of freely available theses, thereby increasing the likely impact and use of that research. The research may also be published in the form of academic articles, and non-academic blog posts in websites and academic publications.

8. ***Who has reviewed this study?***

This study has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee (Reference number SAME_C1A_20_039)

9. ***Who is conducting this research?***

The research project is organised by Domiziana Turcatti, who is a doctoral student at Oxford University. I am also a tutor for various organisations, and I teach Sociology to adolescents and young adults. I have an enhanced DBS check clearance obtained in March 2020.

10. ***Who do I contact if I have a concern about the study or I wish to complain?***

If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, please contact me, Domiziana Turcatti at domiziana.turcatti@compas.ox.ac.uk. Alternatively, you may contact my supervisor, Dr Carlos Vargas-Silva at carlos.vargas-silva@compas.ox.ac.uk or 01865 274711. We will do our best to answer your query. We will acknowledge your concern within 10 working days and give you an indication of how it will be dealt with.

If you remain unhappy or wish to make a formal complaint, please contact the Chair of the Research Ethics Committee at the University of Oxford who will seek to resolve the matter as soon as possible. Contact: Chair, hod@anthro.ox.ac.uk, School of Anthropology and Museum Ethnography, 51/53 Banbury Road, Oxford, OX2 6PE

11. Data Protection

The University of Oxford is the data controller with respect to your child's personal data, and as such will determine how your personal data is used in the study. The University will process your children's personal data for the purpose of the research outlined above. Research is a task that is performed in the public interest. Further information about your rights with respect to your personal data is available from <http://www.admin.ox.ac.uk/councilsec/compliance/gdpr/individualrights/>.

12. What should I do next?

Please fill in the enclosed form and return it to a member of the staff of myself or [name of the teacher] if you would like your child to take part in this study. Please remember that you may withdraw your child at any time, without penalty and without giving a reason, by notifying the researcher.

If you would like to discuss the research with someone beforehand (or if you have questions afterwards), please contact me

Domiziana Turcatti
School of Anthropology and Museum Ethnography
Centre on Migration, Policy, and Society
University of Oxford

Email: domiziana.turcatti@compas.ox.ac.uk

Address: COMPAS, 58 Banbury Rd, Park Town, Oxford OX2 6QS

D4. Info sheet for adolescents (13-17 years old)

Researcher: Domiziana Turcatti,
domiziana.turcatti@compas.ox.ac.uk

Supervisor: Dr Carlos Vargas-Silva, carlos.vargas-silva@compas.ox.ac.uk

School of Anthropology and Museum Ethnography
Centre on Migration, Policy, and Society
University of Oxford



Ethics Approval Reference: SAME_C1A_20_039

**The experiences of Colombian migrants who have migrated from
Spain to London and their families
INFORMATION SHEET FOR ADOLESCENTS**

Hello! I am inviting you to join a research study. My name is Domiziana Turcatti and I am studying at the Department of Anthropology, University of Oxford under the supervision of Dr Carlos Vargas-Silva. Before you decide if you would like to join in, it's important to understand what the study is about, why we're doing it and what it would involve for you. Please read and think about this leaflet carefully. Please feel free to talk to your family, friends, or the researchers about it if you want. If anything isn't clear or you have more questions you can ask your parent/guardian to give us a call and we can discuss it with you and your parent/guardian.

1. *Why am I doing this research?*

This research aims to find out about your experience of living in London. I am interested in hearing about your everyday life with your family, in school and your friends, as well as your opinions and feelings about the places where you have lived. I will also ask you about the pandemic and how you experienced it. The objective is to understand the challenges families like yours and young people like you face so that I can contribute to solve them.

2. *Why did I invite you to share with me your story?*

I invited you to share with me your story because you are (1) either the son/daughter of Colombians who have moved from Spain to London in the past years and you are 13-18 years old or (2) you are young person in Year 10 or 11, your parents are Latin American, you attend [name of the school], and you have as your English as Additional Language teacher [name of the British-Colombian teacher].

3. ***Do you have to take part?***

No - It is up to you. I will ask you to sign a form where you state that you are happy to take part or to orally state that you are happy to take part in this project. You are free to stop taking part at any time during the research without giving a reason, by telling the researcher. If you decide to stop, we will delete the information we have already collected from you.

4. ***What will happen to you if you decide to share your story with me?***

What will happen if you decide to share your experience with me depends on whether you attend [name of the school] or not.

(1) If you don't attend [name of the school], I will invite you to a short interview with me of 30-45 minutes. This will take place in the presence of one of your parents and in a public space or online. During the interview, I will ask you to share your experience of moving to London, how you felt about the places in which you have lived, and what the migration to London has meant for your friendships and family. The interview will be audio recorded so that I can remember well what you say.

(2) If you attend [name of the school], I will invite you to take part in a group discussion with other Latin American adolescents which will last for about 60 minutes and during which your teacher [name of the British-Colombian teacher] will be present. During this group discussions, you will be asked about your experience of migration, how it has impacted your families, and about covid. The group discussion will be audio recorded so that I can remember well what you say.

Before taking part, I will ask you to confirm that you are happy to participate. Remember that you can ask me to stop the audio recorder at any time.

5. ***What happens to the results of the study?***

The answers you will give me are the research data. Any research data from which you can be identified is known as personal data. This include, for example, your name, their date of birth, the audio-recordings. I will store your personal data in a folder on my laptop secured by a password and in a drawer in my room secured by a lock. Personal data will be destroyed after I finish the research. Other research data (including consent forms) will be stored for at least 3 years after I finish the research and the research is published. The research will be written up as part of a student's work. We also aim to publish our findings in scientific journals, but this may be two to three years from the end of the study.

6. ***What are the advantages / disadvantages of taking part?***

There are no real disadvantages of taking part. While speaking to me, you may feel like you don't want to answer some questions. That is perfectly fine. If this is the case, you don't have to explain yourself. There are no real advantages of taking part in this project.

7. *Will anyone else know that you are doing this?*

We will keep your information private. This means we will only tell those who have a need or right to know, such as the research team and your parent/guardian. We will only share information that has your name and address removed.

8. *What if you don't want to take part in the research anymore?*

Just tell your parent/guardian and the people carrying out the research that you don't want to take part. You don't have to give any reason, and no one will be annoyed with you. It is YOUR choice.

9. *Who is organising and funding the research?*

The research is organised by myself (Domiziana Turcatti), and I am doctoral student at Oxford University.

10. *Who has reviewed this study?*

Before any research involving people can start, it has to be checked by a Research Ethics Committee to make sure that it is OK for the research to go ahead. This study has been approved by the University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee.

11. *What if there is a problem or something goes wrong?*

Please tell me if you are worried about any part of this study, by contacting me at domiziana.turcatti@compas.ox.ac.uk. You may also talk to your parent/guardian who will let the researcher know. If you are still unhappy or wish to make a complaint, either you or your parent/guardian can contact the chair of the Research Ethics Committee at the University of Oxford at hod@anthro.ox.ac.uk, School of Anthropology and Museum Ethnography, 51/53 Banbury Road, Oxford, OX2 6PE

12. *Data Protection*

The University of Oxford is the data controller with respect to your personal data and, as such, will determine how your personal data is used in the study. The University will process your personal data for the purpose of the research outlined above. Research is a task that we perform in the public interest. Further information about your rights with respect to your personal data is available from <https://compliance.web.ox.ac.uk/individual-rights>

13. *Contact details*

If you would like to discuss the research with someone beforehand (or if you have questions afterwards), please contact:

Domiziana Turcatti
School of Anthropology and Museum Ethnography
Centre on Migration, Policy, and Society
University of Oxford
Email: domiziana.turcatti@compas.ox.ac.uk
Address: COMPAS, 58 Banbury Rd, Park Town, Oxford OX2 6QS

Thank you for reading this!
Please ask any questions if you need to.

Latin American House and COMPAS Collaboration
“Enhancing the impact of migration research with Latin Americans in London”
Information Sheet



Information about the research

What is the objective of these group discussions?

Latin American House is collaborating with Carlos Vargas-Silva and Domiziana Turcatti, researchers from COMPAS, a research centre of the University of Oxford, to identify the impact of COVID-19 and Brexit on the Latin American community by listening to the opinions and experiences of Latin American migrants in London. The objective of this project is to better understand how to support the community to cope with the effects of the pandemic and Brexit. You can find a short description of our collaboration here: <https://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/2021/enhancing-the-impact-of-migration-research-with-latin-americans-in-london/>

Why were you invited to take part in this discussion group?

You have been invited to participate in a group discussion because you are Latin American, and you live in London. You have been invited to share your opinions and experiences regarding how your life and family have been affected by the pandemic and Brexit. The group discussion will be audio-recorded and will last 60 minutes.

Are you obliged to participate?

No. Before deciding whether to participate or not in this discussion group, you can ask questions about the research. If you agree to participate, you can abandon the study whenever you want, without giving explanation and without any consequences. If you want to abandon the study, you can do so by June 2021, which is when we will begin analysing the data. If you abandon the study, the information you shared during these focus groups will not be used and will be destroyed.

Are there any risks?

One of the risks of participating in this discussion group is that confidentiality and anonymity can be violated. To avoid this, we will store your information safely in a folder in the researchers' laptops secured by a password. We will not share with third parties the information you will provide. We will ask all the people participating in the discussion to do the same.

Are there benefits?

No, there are no benefits in taking part in this discussion group.

What will happen with the information you will share?

The information and data you will share will be stored safely in a folder on the researchers' computers secured by a password. Your personal data, such as your name or any other information for which you may be identified, will not appear in any publication and will be destroyed at the end of the study. The anonymised research data, such as your opinions regarding the pandemic, will be stored for three more years after the end of the study. Members of the University of Oxford have access to the research data in order to monitor the investigation and check that it has been conducted in an accordance with ethical standards. We ask your consent to use your anonymised citations to include in any research outputs that will be published at the end of the study. We also ask your consent to use the anonymised research data for future studies. All the information that can identify you will be destroyed before the research findings will be published.

Will the findings be published?

The research findings will be published in the form of academic articles, reports, articles in magazines, and in the doctoral thesis of Domiziana Turcatti, one of the researchers. The thesis will be included in the archives of the University of Oxford and will be accessible to others. The university of Oxford is determined to disseminate research findings for the betterment of society. The archives of the University of Oxford include as well digital copies of students' theses. Your name and personal data will not be included in any publication.

Who approves the study is ethical?

This study was approved by the Central University Research Ethics Committee of the University of Oxford. LAH also approved this study.

Who do I have to contact if I have questions about the research or if I want to complain?

If you have questions, you can contact Domiziana Turcatti at domiziana.turcatti@compas.ox.ac.uk or Dr Carlos Vargas-Silva at carlos.vargas-silva@compas.ox.ac.uk or 01865 274711. We will respond within ten working days. You can also contact the director of LAH, Carlos Huascar Tapia Montes: director@casalatina.org.uk. If you want to make a formal complaint, you will need to contact the Chair of the Research Ethics Committee at the University of Oxford who will address the complaint as soon as possible. Email: hod@anthro.ox.ac.uk Address: School of Anthropology and Museum Ethnography, 51/53 Banbury Road, Oxford, OX2 6PE

Data protection

The University of Oxford process your data and determine how your data will be used in this study. The University will use the data only for the purposes explained above. You can find more info about your rights and data protection here: <http://www.admin.ox.ac.uk/councilsec/compliance/gdpr/individualrights/>.

LAH Data Protection

At Latin American House (LAH) we respect any personal data you share with us, or that we get from other organisations, and we keep it safe. We aim to be clear when we collect your data, and we will not do anything with it that you would not reasonably expect. You can contact us at any time to request access to information that LAH holds on you, correct it, delete it and/or restrict further processing of it. For legal reasons we may have to retain some records. You can find LAH's full Data Protection Policy here: <https://bit.ly/2Jpr8ZF>

E. Consent forms

E1. Consent form for experts

**School of Anthropology and Museum Ethnography
Centre on Migration, Policy, and Society
University of Oxford**

Researcher: Domiziana Turcatti,
domiziana.turcatti@compas.ox.ac.uk

Supervisor: Dr Carlos Vargas-Silva, carlos.vargas-silva@compas.ox.ac.uk



Ethics Approval Reference: SAME_C1A_20_039

The experiences of Colombian migrants who have migrated from Spain to London and their families

EXPERT CONSENT FORM

As part of my doctoral studies, I am conducting qualitative research on the experiences of the families of Colombian migrants who have migrated from Spain to London after the 2008 crisis. The objective is to understand how the migration from Spain to London has impacted their families by drawing from their experiences as well as the perspectives of experts who support these families on a daily basis in London.

*Please
initial
each box*

- | | | |
|---|--|----------------------|
| 1 | I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily. | <input type="text"/> |
| 2 | I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time (preferably by October 2022), without giving any reason, and without any adverse consequences or penalty. | <input type="text"/> |
| 3 | I understand that research data collected during the study may be looked at by authorised people outside the research team. I give permission for these individuals to access my data. | <input type="text"/> |

- | | | |
|----|--|---|
| 4 | I understand that this project has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee. | <input style="width: 60px; height: 25px;" type="checkbox"/> |
| 5 | I understand who will have access to personal data provided, how the data will be stored and what will happen to the data at the end of the project. | <input style="width: 60px; height: 25px;" type="checkbox"/> |
| 6 | I understand how this research will be written up and published. | <input style="width: 60px; height: 25px;" type="checkbox"/> |
| 7 | I understand how to raise a concern or make a complaint. | <input style="width: 60px; height: 25px;" type="checkbox"/> |
| 8 | I consent to being audio recorded | <input style="width: 60px; height: 25px;" type="checkbox"/> |
| 9 | I understand how audio recordings will be used in research outputs | <input style="width: 60px; height: 25px;" type="checkbox"/> |
| 10 | I agree to the use of pseudonymised quotes in research outputs | <input style="width: 60px; height: 25px;" type="checkbox"/> |
| 11 | I agree to take part in the study | <input style="width: 60px; height: 25px;" type="checkbox"/> |

	<u>dd / mm / yyyy</u>	
Name of Participant	Date	Signature

	<u>dd / mm / yyyy</u>	
Name of person taking consent	Date	Signature

If you would like to receive an email summarising the research findings , please fill in your address:

E2. Consent form for adults

**School of Anthropology and Museum Ethnography
Centre on Migration, Policy, and Society
University of Oxford**

Researcher: Domiziana Turcatti,
domiziana.turcatti@compas.ox.ac.uk

Supervisor: Dr Carlos Vargas-Silva, carlos.vargas-silva@compas.ox.ac.uk



Ethics Approval Reference: SAME_C1A_20_039

**The experiences of Colombian migrants who have migrated from
Spain to London and their families**

Consent form for Colombian migrants and their family members (adults)

As part of my doctoral studies, I am conducting qualitative research on the experiences of the families of Colombian migrants who have migrated from Spain to London after the 2008 crisis. The objective is to understand how the migration from Spain to London has impacted their families by drawing from the perspectives of community workers who support these families on a daily basis in London and Spain, Colombian migrants and their family members living in London.

- Please
initial each
box*
- | | | |
|---|--|--------------------------|
| 1 | I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2 | I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason, and without any adverse consequences or penalty. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3 | I understand that research data collected during the study may be looked at by authorised people outside the research team. I give permission for these individuals to access my data. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4 | I understand that this project has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee. | <input type="checkbox"/> |

- | | | |
|----|--|---|
| 5 | I understand who will have access to the personal data provided, how the data will be stored and what will happen to the data at the end of the project. | <input style="width: 60px; height: 25px;" type="checkbox"/> |
| 6 | I understand how this research will be written up and published. | <input style="width: 60px; height: 25px;" type="checkbox"/> |
| 7 | I understand how to raise a concern or make a complaint. | <input style="width: 60px; height: 25px;" type="checkbox"/> |
| 8 | I consent to being audio recorded | <input style="width: 60px; height: 25px;" type="checkbox"/> |
| 9 | I understand how audio recordings will be used in research outputs | <input style="width: 60px; height: 25px;" type="checkbox"/> |
| 10 | I agree to the use of pseudonymised quotes in research outputs | <input style="width: 60px; height: 25px;" type="checkbox"/> |
| 11 | I agree to take part in the study | <input style="width: 60px; height: 25px;" type="checkbox"/> |

Name of Participant	<u>dd / mm / vvvv</u> Date	Signature
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Name of person taking consent	<u>dd / mm / vvvv</u> Date	Signature
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If you would like to receive an email summarising the research findings , please fill in your address:

E3. Opt in form guardians/parents of youths 13-17 years old

**School of Anthropology and Museum Ethnography
Centre on Migration, Policy, and Society
University of Oxford**

Researcher: Domiziana Turcatti,
domiziana.turcatti@compas.ox.ac.uk

Supervisor: Dr Carlos Vargas-Silva, carlos.vargas-silva@compas.ox.ac.uk



Ethics Approval Reference: SAME_C1A_20_039

**The experiences of Colombian migrants who have migrated from
Spain to London and their families**

Parent/Guardian Consent Form

- This study is run by Domiziana Turcatti, a doctoral candidate from the University of Oxford is. This research projects focuses on the families of Colombian migrants who have migrated from Spain to London in recent years. The objective of this project is to understand how the migration from Spain to London has impacted their families. The research also addresses how Brexit and COVID-19 is impacting their families. For this research, the children of Colombian migrants and Latin American students at [name of the school] are being interviewed.
- If you are happy for your child to take part, please fill in the form below and return it to a member of Domiziana Turcatti. If your child attends [name of the school], return it to [name of the British Colombian teacher] as soon as possible.
- To find out more about the study, please read the attached information sheet. If you have any questions, you can also e-mail the researcher, Domiziana Turcatti, at domiziana.turcatti@compas.ox.ac.uk

Name of child: _____

I have read and understood the details of the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions and discuss the study with others. I have received satisfactory answers to my questions. I understand that the project has received ethics clearance through the University of

Oxford's ethical approval process for research involving human participants, and I understand who will have access to the data, how it will be stored and what will happen to the data at the end of the study. I understand that participation is voluntary and that my child and I are free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason and without my child's education being affected in any way. I understand how to raise a concern or make a complaint.

I agree for my child to be audio recorded

Yes

No

I understand how audio recordings will be used in research outputs

Yes

No

I give permission for my child to take part in the above study.

Name of parent/guardian: _____

Signature: _____ **Date:** _____

Name of researcher: _____

Signature: _____ **Date:** _____

If you would like to receive an email summarising the research findings , please fill in your address:

E4. Assent form youths 13-15 years old

**School of Anthropology and Museum Ethnography
Centre on Migration, Policy, and Society
University of Oxford**

Researcher: Domiziana Turcatti,
domiziana.turcatti@compas.ox.ac.uk

Supervisor: Dr Carlos Vargas-Silva, carlos.vargas-silva@compas.ox.ac.uk



Ethics Approval Reference: SAME_C1A_20_039

**The experiences of Colombian migrants who have migrated from
Spain to London and their families**

Assent form for adolescents under 16

Child/Young Person (or if unable, parent/researcher/teacher on their behalf) to circle all they agree with:

- Has somebody else explained this project to you?
Yes/No
- Do you understand what this project is about?
Yes/No
- Have you asked all the questions you want?
Yes/No
- Have you had your questions answered in a way you understand?
Yes/No
- Do you understand it's OK to stop taking part at any time?
Yes/No
- Are you happy to take part?
Yes/No
- Are you happy for your voice to be recorded?
Yes/No

If any answers are “no” or you don’t want to take part, that’s OK! No one will be cross with you.

If you do want to take part, please write your name below

Your name _____
Date _____

The researcher who explained this project to you needs to sign too:

Print Name _____
Sign _____
Date _____

Thank you!

E5. Consent form competent youths 16-17

The experiences of Colombian migrants who have migrated from Spain to London and their families

Consent form for competent youth (16-18 years old)

As part of my doctoral studies, I am conducting qualitative research on the experiences of the families of Colombian migrants who have migrated from Spain to London after the 2008 crisis. The objective is to understand how the migration from Spain to London has impacted their families by drawing from the perspectives of community workers who support these families on a daily basis in London and Spain, Colombian migrants, and their family members living in London (both adults and adolescents).

*Please
initial
each
box*

- | | | |
|---|--|--------------------------|
| 1 | I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2 | I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason, and without any adverse consequences or penalty. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3 | I understand that research data collected during the study may be looked at by authorised people outside the research team. I give permission for these individuals to access my data. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4 | I understand that this project has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5 | I understand who will have access to personal data provided, how the data will be stored and what will happen to the data at the end of the project. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6 | I understand how this research will be written up and published. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 7 | I understand how to raise a concern or make a complaint. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 8 | I consent to being audio recorded | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 9 | I understand how audio recordings will be used in research outputs | <input type="checkbox"/> |

10 I agree to the use of pseudonymised quotes in research outputs

11 I agree to take part in the study

Name of Participant

dd / mm / yyyy
Date

Signature

Name of person taking consent

dd / mm / yyyy
Date

Signature

E6. Script to ask oral consent of adults in private groups

This is the oral information giving and consent seeking process to follow to gain permission to carry out participant observation in the meetings of the parent group when new members joined the parent group.

Stage 1: Script to follow at the beginning of the meeting

- **Introduction:** Hello, my name is Domiziana. I'm doing some research and I wondered if you'd be interested in being involved. I'm currently doing a DPhil in Migration Studies at the University of Oxford in the Department of Anthropology. Can I tell you more about the study? [Await confirmation].
- **Project details and aims:** In my study, I want to investigate the experiences of Colombian migrants who have migrated from Spain to London in the past years and of their families. I am interested in understanding how this migration has affected their families from the perspectives of different family members.
- **Participant observation:** As part of the research, I would like to participate in the activities provided by [name of the group]. While participating in these workshops, I will make observations and interact with you as well. The [name of the group] has agreed to support me with this. However, I would like to check if you are happy with me participating in these workshops.
- **Data sharing/access/confidentiality:** In the notes I will take during the workshops, your name will not feature. The notes I will take will contribute to the research and the writing of my dissertation and any other reports. Only my supervisor and I will have access to these notes.
- **Data storage:** I will store the notes I will take during these workshops safely and confidentially. I will keep them in a secure folder on my laptop and a locked drawer in my room. After the research is finished, I will anonymise the research data and keep it for future studies and publications.
- **Anonymity/pseudonyms/identifiable data:** In any publications a fake name will be used.
- **Rights:** You don't have to agree to allow me to participate in these workshops. You can ask me any questions you want before or throughout; you can also withdraw at any stage without giving a reason. If you wish to withdraw you may communicate this to me before October 2022, which is when I will start to do the analysis of the data and write my dissertation.
- **Publication plans:** The project will be published in a dissertation in the Oxford Research Archives and may be published also in academic journals and academic websites.
- **Complaints/concerns procedure:** If you have any complaints or concerns please feel free to contact me in the first instance. You can reach me at domiziana.turcatti@compas.ox.ac.uk
- **Ethics review details:** This research project has been reviewed and approved by an Oxford University ethics committee. If, after contacting me with any concern, you're

still unhappy and wish to make a formal complaint, please contact the Chair of the School of Anthropology and Museum Ethnography Departmental Research Ethics Committee at hod@anthro.ox.ac.uk I can also give you their postal address and this project's ethics reference number.

- **Data Protection statement:** The University of Oxford is responsible overall for ensuring the safe and proper use of any personal information you provide, solely for research purposes. Further information about your rights to information you provide is available from the University's data protection web site [if research participants ask for more information, this is available here <https://compliance.web.ox.ac.uk/individual-rights>]
- **Questions/concerns?** Do you have any questions?

Stage 2: After new members have had sufficient time to think about whether they would like to have me participate in the meeting

- Do you give your permission for me to participate in the meeting and take notes?
- Are you happy to take part?

Thank you!

E7. Consent form for Latin American adults of PER project

Latin American House and COMPAS Collaboration
“Enhancing the impact of migration research with Latin Americans in London”
Consent form



Latin American House is collaborating with Carlos Vargas-Silva and Domiziana Turcatti, researchers from COMPAS, a research centre of the University of Oxford, to identify the impact of COVID-19 and Brexit on the Latin American community by listening to the opinions and experiences of Latin American migrants in London. The objective of this project is to better understand how to support the community to cope with the effects of the pandemic and Brexit. You can find a short description of our collaboration here: <https://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/2021/enhancing-the-impact-of-migration-research-with-latin-americans-in-london/>

*Please
initial
each box*

- | | | |
|---|--|--------------------------|
| 1 | I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2 | I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason, and without any adverse consequences or penalty. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3 | I understand that research data collected during the study may be looked at by authorised people outside the research team. I give permission for these individuals to access my data. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4 | I understand that this project has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5 | I understand who will have access to personal data provided, how the data will be stored and what will happen to the data at the end of the project. | <input type="checkbox"/> |

- | | | |
|----|--|---|
| 6 | I understand how this research will be written up and published. | <input style="width: 60px; height: 25px;" type="checkbox"/> |
| 7 | I understand how to raise a concern or make a complaint. | <input style="width: 60px; height: 25px;" type="checkbox"/> |
| 8 | I consent to being audio recorded | <input style="width: 60px; height: 25px;" type="checkbox"/> |
| 9 | I agree to the use of pseudonymised quotes in research outputs | <input style="width: 60px; height: 25px;" type="checkbox"/> |
| 10 | I agree to take part in the study | <input style="width: 60px; height: 25px;" type="checkbox"/> |

Name of Participant	<u>dd / mm / yyyy</u> Date	Signature
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Name of person taking consent	<u>dd / mm / yyyy</u> Date	Signature
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F. Interview guides

F1. Expert interview guide

Opening questions

1. Would you like to introduce yourself?
2. What can you tell me about [name of organisation you are involved]?
 - a. What are its goals?
 - b. What kind of projects does it do ?
 - c. Who are the people that it supports?
3. What is your role?

Questions about onward migration

4. As you know, this research explores the everyday experiences of Colombian migrants who have moved from Spain to London in the past years. Are there any among the people you work with?
5. From what you know, why did they move from Spain to London?
6. How did they come to London? Did they come on their own, with their partners? What about their children?
7. What is the profile of the Colombian migrants who have moved from Spain to London that you have worked with in terms of gender, socio-economic background etc?
8. What would you say are the major challenges that Colombian migrants who have moved from Spain to London face?
9. Based on your experience, how does this migration have affected/is affecting their families?

Role of the expert in the organisation

10. Why do Colombian migrants who have moved from Spain to London come to [name of the organisation]?
11. What does [organisation] do for Colombian migrants who have moved from Spain to London?
12. And what does [organisation] do for their families?
13. From your experiences, what other support do Colombian migrants who have moved from Spain to London and their families rely on?

14. What does the future look like for the individuals and families you work with, including Colombian families who came from Spain?

Concluding questions

15. Anything that I have missed and you would like to add?
16. Can I contact you in case I have further questions or things that are not clear?

F2. Life history interview guide

Opening question

1. Would you like to introduce yourself?
2. As you know, I am interested in understanding your migration story... Tell me how you ended up in London

Questions about leaving Colombia

3. When did you first leave Colombia, why, and with whom?
4. What did your family say when you left Colombia?
5. How did you feel about leaving Colombia?

Questions about Spain

6. When did you move to Spain and why?
7. How was life in Spain for you?
8. Did you form a family in Spain? Did any other family member come to Spain? Why? Why not?
9. How was life in Spain for your family?

Questions about moving to London

10. Why did you decide to move to London?
11. How did you feel about moving to London?
12. Did your family move to London too? How did they experience the move to London?
13. How has life in London been for you (and your family)?

Questions about migration and family

14. How would you describe the relationship you have with your family now?
15. How would you describe the ways in which your family relationships have changed since you moved to London from Spain (if it has)?
16. How would you describe the impact that migration has on families?

Questions about future, Brexit, and the pandemic

17. How is Brexit impacting you and your family?
18. How has the pandemic impacted you and your family?

19. Are you planning on staying in London? Why? Why not?

Concluding questions

20. Are there any questions I didn't ask you that you think I should or is there anything else you would like to add?

21. When I finish writing up these notes do I have your permission to call you and set another meeting for the second interview?

F3. Interview guide onward migrant youths

Opening questions

1. Would you like to introduce yourself?
2. I know you have lived in many places, would you like to tell me where you lived?
 - a. What are the places that you like the most? Why
 - b. What are the places that you like the least? Why?

Questions about London

3. Why did you move to London?
4. How do you feel about living in London?
 - a. What do you like about London? Why?
 - b. Is there anything that you don't like about London? What is it? Why?
5. Do you live here with your family?
 - a. If yes, how is life in London for you and your family?
 - b. If not, where are do they live? Why are they not in London?

Questions about Spain

6. How was life in Spain for you?
 - a. What do you like about Spain? Why?
 - b. Is there anything you don't like about Spain? What is it? Why?
7. Do you have friends or family that live there?
 - a. If yes, do you visit them? Do you talk to them?
 - b. If not, where do your friends and family live?

Questions about Colombia

8. How do you feel about Colombia?
 - a. What do you like about Colombia? Why?
 - b. What do you do when you go there? Where do you stay?
9. Do you have family or friends there?
 - a. If yes, do you visit them? Do you talk to them?
 - b. If not, where do your friends and family live?

Questions about identity and future

10. You have lived and visited many places. If I asked you “how do you identify” what would you say?
11. Where would you like to live in the future and why?

Concluding questions

12. Is there something that you would like to add before we conclude?

F4. Focus group guide onward Latin American students

1. Would you like to introduce yourself?
2. How was for you to move to London?
3. How do you think migrating to London affects families?
4. How do you identify? How does migration impact young people's identities?
5. Do you have any final thoughts to share? Any questions to ask?

F5. Focus group/interview guide - PER project

1. Would you like to introduce yourself and share why you wanted to participate in this group discussion/interview?
2. How did the pandemic and Brexit impact you, your friends, and your family?
3. What changes would you like to see in the future that could benefit the Latin American community during Brexit and the pandemic?
4. Are you aware of the 2021 Census? How will you identify yourself?

F6. Guide two-session course on social policy in the context of the pandemic for Latin American students

Session 1 Introduction to social policy in the context of the coronavirus pandemic	
Introduction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Overview of the mini course - Overview of the research with Latin American House and how the mini course relates to it - Explain how their opinions and experiences discussed in the course will be used for research purposes
Introduction to social policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Definitions and examples of social policy - Description of the steps involved in creating social policy
Group activity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Task: We need to create a social policy that will help young people and their families who have arrived in the UK to cope with the pandemic. The first step is to formulate hypotheses regarding how families and young people who have just arrived to the UK have been affected by the pandemic. - Students take 3-4 minutes to think about how families and young people who have just arrived to the UK have been affected by the pandemic. - Students write down their answers - Everyone gets the chance to answer the question
Introduction to research (interactive lesson)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How do we find out if hypotheses are true or not? Brief overview of research methods - Homework: talk to your friends and family about how they have been impacted by the covid pandemic. Write down a bullet point list with your findings to present next class.
Conclusion	Students will be asked to say one word that captures how they felt about the session.
Session 2 Building social policy	
Introduction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reminding students of why we are doing this mini course and its research purpose <p>Round of greetings and brief recap of what we did last session</p>

Presenting research findings - Each student gets to share what they found about how their friends and families have been impacted by the covid pandemic

Group discussion (part 1) - Task: Based on our findings, we will think together about the social policies we could create to improve the lives of young people and families who recently arrived in the UK

- Each student takes 3-4 minutes to think and write their solutions in the chat.
- Each students gets the chance to explain their proposed solutions which will be written on the online board

Group discussion (Part 2) - Once all the suggestions are on the board, we will try to rank them from the most urgent to the least urgent.

- Each student takes 3 minutes to choose the 1-2 most important solutions/policies among the ones written on the board.
- Each student is then asked to explain the reasons behind their choice.

Conclusion - Name one thing you have learnt today

G. Participants and fieldwork activities

G1. Experts log

The table below provides information about the interviews and informal conversations held with experts. The names have been replaced by an identifier (E stands for Expert). Experts included 1) community workers and volunteers from London-based Latin American NGOs; 2) researchers/advocates who have worked with research and/or advocacy groups advocating for the rights and visibility of Latin Americans in London; 3) organisers of a Latin American parent group. The names of the organisations which the experts belonged to at the time of the research have been removed to preserve the anonymity of the interviewees and replaced by an identifier.

E#	Org.	Role	Fieldwork activities
E #1	NGO #1	Project coordinator on health	- Semi-structured interview on 3 July 2020 (online)
E #2	NGO #1	Advisor on Brexit and labour rights	- Semi-structured interview on 6 July 2020 (online) - Follow up semi-structured interview on 18 January 2021 (online) - Informal conversations whenever I would visit the NGO in person
E #3	NGO #1	Volunteer	- Semi-structured interview on 7 July 2020 (online)
E #4	NGO #1	Advisor on welfare benefits and social housing	- Semi-structured interview on 7 July 2020 (online) - Follow up semi-structured interview on 14 Jan 2021 (online) - Informal conversations whenever I would visit the NGO in person
E #5	NGO #1	Advisor on welfare benefits and social housing	- Semi-structured interview on 10 July 2020 (online) - Follow up semi-structured interview on 20 Jan 2021 (online) - Informal conversations whenever I would visit the NGO in person
E #6	NGO #1	Advisor on labour rights	- Semi-structured interview on 17 July 2020 (online) - Follow up semi-structured interview on 25 Jan 2021 (online) - Informal conversations whenever I would visit at the NGO in person
E #7	NGO #1	Project coordinator on health	- Semi-structured interview on 13 July 2020 - Follow up semi structured interview on 23 Feb 2021 (online) - Informal conversations whenever I would visit the NGO in person
E #8	NGO #1	Psychologist	- Semi-structured interview on 16 July 2020 (online)
E #9	NGO #1	Volunteer	- Semi-structured interview on 17 July 2020 (online)

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Follow up semi-structured interview on 21 Jan 2021 (online) - Informal conversations whenever I would visit the NGO in person
E #10	NGO #2	Immigration advisor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Semi-structured interview on 27 July 2020 (online)
E #11	Parent group	Founder and organiser of the group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Semi-structured interview on 23 July 2020 (online) - I would regularly see her during the online meetings of the parent group
E #12	Research and advocacy group #1	Researcher on young people's education	Informal conversation on 23 July 2020 (online)
E #13	Research and advocacy group #1	Researcher on young people's education	Informal conversation on 23 July 2020 (online)
E #14	Research and advocacy group #2	Advocate	Informal conversation on 16 July 2020 (online)
E #15	NGO #2	Brexit advisor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Semi-structured interview on 29 July 2020 (online) - Follow up semi-structured interview on 26 Jan 2021 (online)
E #16	Parent group	Organiser and English and Additional Languages teacher	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Semi-structured interview on 28 July 2020 (online) - Follow up semi-structured interview on 18 Jan 2021 (online) - I would regularly see her during the online meetings of the parent group - All the focus groups with Latin American youths were co-organised with her
E #17	Parent group	Organiser	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Informal conversation on 14 July 2020 (online) - Semi-structured interview on 3 Aug 2020 (online) - I would regularly see her during the online meetings of the parent group
E #18	NGO #1	Volunteer	- Semi-structured interview on 30 July 2020 (online)
E #19	NGO #1	Receptionist	- Semi-structured interview on 30 July 2020 (online)
E #20	NGO #1	Director	Informal conversations whenever I would visit the NGO in person
E #21	Parent group	Organiser	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Semi-structured interview on 18 Aug 2020 (online) - I would regularly see her during the online meetings of the parent group
E #22	Parent group	Organiser	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Semi-structured interview on 18 Aug 2020 (online) - I would regularly see her during the online meetings of the parent group
E #23	NGO #3	Project coordinator on families and education	- Informal conversation about her role and work at the NGO on 30 Sept 2020 (in person, at the NGO, London)
E #24	NGO #2	Project coordinator on families and education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Semi-structured interview on 7 Aug 2020 (online) - Follow up semi-structured interview on 14 Jan 2021 (online)

E #25	Research and advocacy group #3	Researcher and advocate	- Semi-structured interview on 2 Sept 2020 (in person, London)
E #26	NGO #4	Psychologist	- Informal, unstructured conversation on 9 Sept 2020 (online)
E #27	Research and advocacy group #2	Advocate and volunteer	- Semi-structured interview on 15 Sept 2020 (online)
E #28	NGO #3	Volunteer	- Semi-structured interview on 12 Oct Aug 2020 (online)
E #29	NGO #1	Volunteer	- Semi-structured interview on 30 Oct 2020 (online)
E #30	NGO #3	Volunteer	- Semi-structured interview on 23 Nov 2020 (online)
E #31	NGO #2	Staff member, receptionist	- Regular informal conversations throughout the year (online and at the NGO)
E #32	NGO #2	Director	- Informal conversation on the 9 th of July about research collaboration (online) - Regular informal conversations online and when I would visit the NGO
E #33	NGO #2	Advisor on welfare benefits and labor rights	- Semi-structured interview on 7 Jan 2021 (online) - Informal conversations whenever I would visit the NGO in person
E #34	NGO #2	Project coordinator on culture	- Semi-structured interview on 13 Jan 2021 (online)
E #35	NGO #2	Communication officer	- Informal conversation on 14 Jan 2021 (online)
E #36	NGO #2	Coordinator English teachers	- Semi-structured interview on 29 Jan 2021 (online)
E #37	NGO #2	Trustee	- Semi-structured interview on 8 Feb 2021 (online)
E #38	NGO #2	Project coordinator children education	- Semi-structured interview on 9 Feb 2021 (online)
E #39	NGO #5	Director	- Informal conversation about her work on 23 Feb 2020 (online) Regular conversations through the year as I was invited to webinars and to deliver a presentation on fake news for the community

G2. Participant observation log

The table below provides information about the workshops, webinars, and events organised by Latin American NGOs, the parent group, and advocacy groups which I attended to conduct (participant) observations. The names of the organisations have been removed and replaced by an identifier. All the webinars and events attended were open to the public and anyone could attend with the exception of the weekly gatherings of the parent group which were not open to the public.

<i>#</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Organisation</i>	<i>What</i>	<i>Research objectives</i>	<i>Location</i>
1	23 July 2020	Research and advocacy group #2	Protest against the forced closure of a community space where Latin American businesses operate	Observations / Access to experts	London
2	25 July 2020	Parent group	Weekly group gathering	Presenting myself, the research I am doing to gain access and consent to conduct participant observation during their meetings	Online
3	1 Aug 2020	Parent group	Webinar on Brexit and work rights during covid	Participant observation	Online
4	4 Aug 2020	NGO #2	Webinar on Brexit and the EUSS	Observations	Online
5	13 Aug 2020	NGO #6	Webinar on Brexit and the EUSS	Observations	Online
6	20 Aug 2020	NGO #1	Field visit	Participant observation Build rapport with experts	London
7	21 Aug 2020	NGO #3	Webinar on housing rights	Observations	Online
8	4 Sept 2020	NGO #1	Visit the NGO	Build rapport with experts Discuss co-organisation of educational webinar with experts	London
9	9 Sept 2020	NGO #1	Visit the NGO	Build rapport with experts Discuss co-organisation of educational webinar with experts	London
10	15 Sept 2020	NGO #1	Visit the NGO	Build rapport with experts	London
11	16 Sept 2020	NGO #1	Visit the NGO	Participant observation Interviews with onward Colombian parents	London
12	18 Sept 2020	NGO #1	Webinar on social support and emotional health	Delivering a webinar on social support and emotional health	Online
13	22 Sept 2020	NGO #3	Webinar on housing rights	Observations	Online
14	23 Sept 2020	NGO #1	Visit the NGO	Interviews with onward Colombian parents	London

15	25 Sept 2020	NGO #1	Webinar on resilience	Observations	Online
16	26 Sept 2020	NGO #3	Webinar on how to enrol children in secondary school	Observations	Online
17	26 Sept 2020	Parent group	Weekly group gathering (with focus on how to support education of children during lockdown)	Participant observation	Online
18	30 Sept 2020	NGO #3	Visit the NGO	Interview with expert	London
19	1 Oct	School where one of the organisers (E#16) of the parent group teaches	Open day of the school (in Spanish)	Observations	Online
20	6 Oct 2020	NGO #3	Webinar on how to place children in secondary school	Observations	Online
21	10 Oct	Parent group	Weekly group meetings	Participant observation	Online
22	14 Oct 2020	NGO #1	Visit the NGO	Interview onward Colombian parents	London
23	29 Oct 2020	NGO #6	Webinar on labour rights during covid	Observations	Online
24	7 Nov 2020	Parent group	Weekly group meetings (focus on housing and labour rights as well as our role in the climate justice movement)	Participant observation	Online
25	13 Nov.2020	NGO #6	Launch of a new English language course	Observation	Online
26	21 Nov 2020	Parent group	Weekly group meetings with focus on mental health	Participant observation	Online
27	28 Nov 2020	NGO #3	Webinar on how the British education system works	Observation	Online
28	05 Dec 2020	Parent group	Group meeting focused on how to fund university studies	Participant observation	Online
29	12 Dec 2020	NGO #2	Webinar on welfare benefits during covid	Observations	Online
30	19 Dec 2020	Parent group	Weekly group meeting (Christmas party)	Participant observation	Online
31	16 Jan 2021	Parent group	Meeting with the organisers of the parent group to discuss agenda of the group for the new year	Participant observation	Online
32	20 Jan 2021	NGO #2	Webinar on welfare benefits	Observations	Online
33	22 Jan 2021	NGO #1	Webinar on labour rights	Observations	Online
34	28 Jan 2021	NGO #2	Webinar on Brexit and welfare benefits	Observations	Online
35	30 Jan 2021	Parent group	Weekly group meeting (focus on how families cope with lockdowns)	Participant observation	Online
36	3 Feb 2021	NGO #1	Webinar on fake news and domestic violence	Co-delivered the webinar (I presented on fake news)	Online
37	6 Feb 2021	Parent group	Gathering to discuss mental health during covid	Participant observation	Online

38	13 Feb 2021	Parent group	Weekly group gathering (with focus on how to make healthy choices and changes in everyday life)	Participant observation	Online
39	16 Feb 2021	Parent group	Webinar on vaccine hesitancy	Observations	Online
40	18 Feb 2021	NGO #5	Recording video on fake news for one of the NGO's projects	Delivered a presentation on fake news	Online
41	19 Feb 2021	NGO #5	Webinar on gender inclusive language	Observations	Online
42	27 Feb 2021	Research and advocacy group #4	Webinar on covid vaccine	Observations	Online
43	27 Feb 2021	Parent group	Weekly group meeting: changes upcoming for when children return to school	Participant observation	Online
44	27 Feb 2021	Parent group	Gathering to discuss mental health during covid	Participant observation	Online
45	1 March 2021	NGO #5	Meeting with volunteers to discuss launch of new project for youths	Participant observation	Online
46	6 March 2021	NGO #5	Webinar on gender fluidity	Observations	Online
47	11 March 2021	NGO #1	Webinar on welfare benefits	Observations	Online
48	13 March 2021	Parent group	Weekly group gathering (focus on physical health)	Participant observation	Online
49	15 March 2021	NGO #5	Webinar on how to create a CV targeted at youths	Observations	Online
50	16 March 2021	NGO #5	Meeting with volunteers to discuss launch of new project for youths	Participant observation	Online
51	17 March 2021	NGO #1	Webinar about census	Observations	Online
52	17 March 2021	NGO #2	Webinar about No Recourse to Public Funds	Observations	Online
53	17 March 2021	Research and advocacy group #4	Webinar on census	Observations	Online
54	27 March 2021	Parent group	Weekly group gathering (focus on how to get Children involved in art projects)	Participant observation	Online
55	10 April 2021	Parent group	Weekly group gathering (focus on how to improve employability)	Participant observation	Online
56	13 April 2021	NGO #2	Visit the NGO	Interviews for PER project Participant observation	London
57	19 April 2021	NGO #2	Visit the NGO	Interviews for PER project Participant observation	London
58	20 April 2021	NGO #2	Webinar on welfare benefits	Observations	Online

59	21. April	Research and advocacy group #2	Webinar on study and career prospects for youths	Delivering a presentation on university life and how to access university	Online
60	26 April 2021	NGO #2	Visit the NGO	Interviews for PER project Participant observation	London
61	4 May 2021	NGO #2	Visit the NGO	Interviews for PER project Participant observation	London

G3: Onward Colombian mothers log

The table below provides information about the onward Colombian mothers who participated in the research. Their names have been replaced by an identifier (M stands for Mother). The table specifies whether they have been in the UK for more or less than 5 years—which is relevant for the EUSS—and provides key info about their families, what kind of fieldwork activities they participated in and whether their family members were involved in the research too.

M #	Age	Years in London	Family – Key info	Job in London	Fieldwork activities	Family members who participated in the research
M #1	40-45	Less than 5	Living in London with husband and two children (8 and 16 years old). Her relatives are all in her home country.	Cleaner	Interview 30 July 2020 (online) Follow up interview 5 August 2020 (online) I would regularly meet her in the activities of the parent group	None
M #2	50-55	Less than 5	Living in London with husband and grandson. She has two daughters who are now in their twenties. One lives in Spain, the other one in Colombia. Rest of the family in Colombia.	Cleaner	Interview 5 August 2020 (online)	none
M #3	40-45	Less than 5	Living in London with husband and two children (below 12). Oldest son +18 is in the US. Family in the US and in Colombia	Cleaner	Interview 2 August 2020 (online) Follow up interview 15 August 2020 (online)	None
M #4	40-45	Less than 5	Living in London with husband and her 12-year-old child. Her oldest child (18+) moved to the US. Her sister lives in Spain and the rest of the family is in Colombia	cleaner	Interview 17 Aug 2020 (online)	None
M #5	55-60	More than 5	Living in London alone. She is divorced. She has two children who are now adults and live in Colombia.	Cleaner	Interview 21 Sept 2020 (online)	None
M #6	35-40	Less than 5	She is divorced and her husband lives in Colombia. She has three adolescent children who have moved from Colombia to London during the pandemic.	Cleaner	Interview 14 October 2020 (in person, London)	none

M #7	40-45	More than 5	Living in London with her husband and her adolescent son. Rest of the family in Colombia.	Nurse	Interview 20 October 2020	none
M #8	35-40	Less than 5	Living in London with husband and her teenage daughter. Rest of the family in Colombia.	Cook	Interview with her, her husband Pier and her daughter on 3 Aug 2020 (in person) Day together with her family at the park on 9 Aug 2020 (in person) Day together at the park with her family on 22 Aug 2020 (in person) I would regularly see her at the online meetings of the parent group Maintaining in contact throughout the year	Her husband (F#6) Her daughter YG1#1
M #9	40-45	More than 5	Living in London with husband, and her two daughters (one is an adolescent, and the other one is in primary school). In London, live her brother-in-law with his family. Rest of her family is in Colombia.	Kindergarten teacher and babysitter	Interview with her and her husband on 18 Aug 2020 (in person) Interview with her daughter while she was present on 5 Sept 2020 (in person) Follow up call with her and her daughter on 20 Jan 2021 Regularly in contact through the year	Her husband F#8 Her daughter YG3 #3
M #10	40-45	Less than 5	Living in London with husband and two sons. Her family is in Colombia, her husband's family is in Spain, since he is Spanish	Cleaner	Interview 19 Aug 2020 (in person) Interview with youngest son with her present 8 Sept 2020 (in person) Lunch at her house on 1 Oct 2020 with oldest son present (in person) Follow up interview on 18 Jan 2021 (online) Regularly met her at the online sessions of the parent group Regularly in contact with her through the year	Her son YG3 #5 Her son YG3 #4

M #11	35-40	More than 5	Living in London with husband and her three children. Rest of family on her side in Colombia.	Shop assistant	Interview with her and husband on 9 sept 2020 (in person)	Her husband F#9
M #12	35-40	More than 5	Living in London with her adolescent son, recently separated from her husband	Cleaner and childcare	Interview 9 Sept 2020 (in person) Present during interview with her son 21 Sept 2020 (in person)	Her son YG3 #6
M #13	55-60	More than 5	Living in London alone. She has two daughters in their late 20s, early 30s who live in Spain	Cleaner	Interview 16 Sept 2020 (in person)	None
M #14	55-60	More than 5	Living in London alone, divorced. She has two children who are now adults. One lives in Colombia and the other lives in Italy.	Carer	Interview 19 Sept 2020 (in person)	None
M #15	35-40	More than 5	Living in London with daughter and husband. In London she has also two brothers and her mother. The other brother is in Madrid. Her husband's family is mostly in Colombia	Cleaner	Interview 4 Sept 2020 (in person) Met at the church events and mass on 5 Aug 2020 and 12 Aug 2020 (in person)	None
M #16	40-45	Less than 5	Living in London alone. Youngest son (now married) in Colombia Oldest son remained in Valencia	Cleaner	Interview 24 Sept 2020 (in person)	None
M #17	40-45	More than 5	Living in London with husband and her adolescent daughter. She has brothers in Spain but rest of the family in Colombia.	Cleaner	Interview with her and her husband, with her daughter present on 4 October 2020 (in person)	Her husband F#11
M #18	40-45	More than 5	Living in London with her two adolescent daughters. Her ex-husband lives in Spain. Rest of the family in Colombia	Cleaner and carer	Interview on 21 Jan 2021 (online) Present during interview with her daughter on 21 Jan 2021 (online)	Her daughter YG3 #7
M #19	55-60	More than 5	Living in London. She is a widow. She has three children who are now in their 20s. Two children live in London with her and the other child is in Germany. Her sister lives in Spain.	Not working due to health reasons, used to work as cleaner	Interview 31 Jan 2021 (online)	Interview her son YG1 #3
M #20	40-45	More than 5	Living in London with her husband and two daughters in primary school.	Information missing	Introductory call with her husband on 16 Feb 2021 (online) Interview with her and her husband 5 March 2021 (online)	Her husband F#14
M #21	55-60	More than 5	Living in London with youngest son, separated from husband who also lives in London with oldest son	Cleaner	Interview 5 Feb 2021 (online) Interview with her son with her present 10 Feb 2021 (online)	Her son YG3 #8

M #22	45-50	Less than 5	Living in London with her husband and a new-born. In London there are also her relatives	Not working	Interview with her and her husband on 6 Feb 2021 (online)	Her husband F#12
M #23	55-60	More than 5	Living in London with her husband. Two adult children in Colombia, one adult child in Spain.	Child carer	Interview with her and husband on 8 Feb 2021 (online)	Her husband F#13
M #24	50-55	Less than 5	Living in London with her youngest daughter who is now in her twenties. She has two adult children who live in Spain.	Cleaner	Interview with her and her daughter on 9 Feb 2021 (online)	Her daughter YG1 #4
M #25	55-60	More than 5	Living in London with husband and a teenage daughter. Rest of the family in Colombia.	Cleaner	Interview on 9 Feb 2021 (online)	None
M #26	45-50	More than 5	Living in London with daughter who was born in Spain and now is 19. Oldest son also in London with his partner.	Cleaner and child carer	Interview on 10 Feb 2021 (online)	None
M #27	30-35	More than 5	Living in London with new-born, her husband, and her mother.	Cleaner and carer	Interview on 17 Feb 2021 (online)	Her mother M#29 Her husband F#15
M #28	50-55	More than 5	Living in London with her husband. They don't have children	Cleaner	Interview 17 Feb 2021 (online)	None
M #29	55-60	Less than 5	Living in London with daughter, her daughter's husband and her granddaughter	Cleaner	Interview 22 Feb 2021 (online)	Her daughter M #27 Her daughter's husband F#15
M #30	40-45	More than 5	Living in London with her two adolescent children. Her ex-husband is in Spain. Her mother and relatives in Colombia	Packaging worker	Interview on 24 Feb 2021 (online) Present during interview with her daughter 3 March 2021	Her son YG3 #11 Her daughter YG3 #12
M #31	40-45	More than 5	Living in London with her husband and two children adolescents. Some family members in Spain, rest of the family in Colombia	Cleaner	Interview with her and her husband on 13 March 2021 (online)	Her husband F#16 Her son YG3 #9
M #32	50-55	More than 5	Living in London with husband, her son (who is in his 20s) and her adolescent daughter)	Cleaner	Interview on 2 April 2021 (online) Present during interview with daughter 9 April 2021 (online)	Her husband F#17 Her daughter YG3 #10
M #33	40-45	More than 5	Living in London with her husband and four children. She is Peruvian	Cleaner	Interview with her and her husband on 17 April 2021 (online)	Her husband F#18

G4: Onward Colombian fathers log

The table below provides information about the onward Colombian fathers who participated in the research. Their names have been replaced by an identifier (F stands for Father). The table specifies whether they have been in the UK for more or less than 5 years—which is relevant for the EUSS and Brexit—and provides key info about their families, what kind of fieldwork activities they participated in and whether their family members were involved in the research too.

F #	Age	Years in London	Family ties	Job	Fieldwork	Family members interviewed or met?
F #1	40-45	More than 5	He lives in London with two sons and wife, but recently separated, so living in a different house. relatives (e.g. cousins) in Spain, rest of the family in Colombia, a few relatives in US	Cleaner	Interview and spending afternoon together on 2 Aug 2020 (in person)	None
F #2	55-60	More than 5	Living in London with his wife and his two sons who are now 18+. One son lives somewhere else with his partner and child. Armando has two siblings in Spain and parents in Colombia.	Owner of a cleaning business	Interview 18 Sept 2020 (in person)	None
F #3	55-60	More than 5	Living in London alone. Two adult children in Colombia. Rest of the family in Colombia	Cleaner	Interview 23 Sept 2020 (in person)	None
F #4	40-45	Less than 5	Living in London with wife, and 15-year-old daughter. Two daughters (18 and 21 remained in Spain). In London he has some family members (uncles). In Spain, there's his mother and one/two sisters	Cleaner	Interview 24 Sept 2020 (in person) Catch up call on 28 Sept 2020 (online)	None
F #5	35-40	More than 5	Living in London with Dominican wife and son of 1 year old. Mother and brother in Spain, father in Spain but they don't talk. His wife's family also in Spain	Cook	Interview 12 Oct 2020 (in person)	None
F #6	40-45	Less than 5	Living in London with wife and his teenage daughter. Rest of the family in Colombia.	Cook	Interview with him and his wife and his daughter on 3 Aug 2020 (in person)	His wife M#8 His daughter YG1#1

					Day together with his family at the park on 9 Aug 2020 (in person) Day together at the park with his family on 22 Aug 2020 and family friends (in person)	
F #7	45-50	More than 5	Living in London with teenage daughter. Separated from his ex-wife who stayed in Spain. He has relatives in Spain and Colombia	Waiter	Interview 7 Aug 2020 (online) Interview with his daughter and him present on 22 Aug 2020 (In person) (rest of the day spent with him, his daughter and family friends)	His daughter YG3 #2
F #8	55-60	More than 5	Living in London with wife, and two daughters (one is an adolescent, and the other one is in primary school). In London, he has a brother who lives with his family. Rest of the family in Colombia.	Cleaner	Interview with him and his wife Sara on 18 Aug 2020 (in person)	His wife M#9 His daughter YG3 #3
F #9	45-50	More than 5	Living in London with wife and his three children (one adolescent, two in kindergarten). Most of his relatives in Spain.	Cleaner	Interview with him and his wife on 9 Sept (in person)	His wife M#11
F #10	45-50	More than 5	Living in London with his wife and his two daughters who are now in their early 20s. Rest of the family in Colombia	Cook	Interview on 30 Sept 2020 (in person)	His daughter YG1 #2
F #11	45-50	More than 5	Living in London with his wife and their adolescent daughter. In Spain he has three brothers, but all the other relatives in Colombia.	Cleaner	Interview with him, his wife, and daughter present on 4 Oct 2020 (in person)	His wife M#17
F #12	45-50	Less than 5	Living in London with his wife and a new-born. In London there are also the relatives of his wife. Rest of the family in Colombia	Cleaner	Interview with him and his wife on 6 Feb 2021 (online)	His wife M#22
F #13	65-70	More than 5	Living in London with his wife Two adult children in Colombia, one adult child in Spain.	Cleaner	Interview with him and his wife on 8 Feb 2021 (Online)	His wife M#23
F #14	40-45	More than 5	Living in London with his wife and two daughters in primary school. His brother lives in Spain with his family and rest of the family in Colombia	Cleaner	Introductory call with him and his wife on 16 Feb 2021 (online) Call 19 Feb 2021 to talk about the religious parent group he organises	His wife M#20

					Interview with him and his wife 5 March 2021 (online)	
F #15	40-45	More than 5	Living in London with new-born, his husband and the mother of his wife	Missing info	Interview on 24 Feb 2021 (online)	His wife M#27 His mother-in-law M#29
F #16	40-45	More than 5	Living in London with his wife and two children adolescents. Some family members in Spain, rest of the family in Colombia	Owner of cleaning company	Interview with him and his wife on 13 March 2021 (online)	His wife M#31 His son YG3 #9
F #17	50	More than 5	Living in London with his wife and two children (one adolescent, the other 25 years old)	Skilled occupation	Interview on 14 April 2021 (online)	His wife M#32 His daughter YG3 #10
F #18	40-45	More than 5	Living in London with his wife and four children. He had family members in Germany and in Colombia	Cleaner	Interview with him and his wife on 17 April 2021 (online)	His wife M#33

G5: Onward migrant youths log

The table below provides information about the young people of Colombian descent who participated in the research. It does not include the youths who participated in the focus groups co-organised and facilitated by one of the organisers of the parent group and EAL language teacher (E #16). (see Appendix G6). The names have been replaced by an identifier based on their trajectory: 1) Youth Group 1 (YG1) includes youths born in Colombia who migrated to Spain as children or adolescents and then onward migrated to London as children or adolescents; 2) Youth Group 2 (YG2) includes youths born in Colombia who migrated to Spain as children or adolescents and then onward migrated to London as young adults (after their 18th birthday); 3) Youth Group 3 (YG3) includes youths born in Spain who migrated to London as children or adolescents. The table provides information about their education, whether they work, and what kind of research activities they participated in, and whether their family members were involved in the research too.

#	Age range	Gender	Education	Job	Living in London with...	Fieldwork	Relatives
Youth Group 1 (YG1): Born in Colombia, migrated to Spain as children/adolescents, onward migrated to London as children/adolescents							
YG1 #1	20-25	F	Undergraduate	Shop assistant	Her mother and her brother. Now she has a new-born. Her father is in Spain, but no relationship with him, her grandparents in Colombia	Interview on 18 Sept 2020 (in person)	None
YG1 #2	20-25	F	Undergraduate	Working in a language school	Her parents and her older sister and her niece	Interview on 8 Aug 2020 (in person) Day together in London with a friend of hers 9 Aug 2020 (in person)	Her father F#10
YG1 #3	20-25	M	Exploring his university options	Waiter	His mother and his older brother. His oldest brother lives in Germany. No significant family ties in Spain and Colombia	Interview on 2 Feb 2021 (online) Interview on 5 Feb 2021 (online)	His mother M#19

YG1 #4	20-25	F	none	Cleaner	Her mother. Her two siblings who are now adult live in Spain.	Interview with her and her mother on 9 Feb 2021 (online)	Her mother M#24
YG1 #5	20-25	F	Undergraduate	Working in a job centre	Her parents and siblings	Interview on 23 March 2021 (online)	None
Youth Group 2 (YG2): Born in Colombia, migrated to Spain as children/adolescents, onward migrated to London in their twenties							
YG2 #1	25-28	F	She holds a master's degree from Spain	Working in a language school	Her parents and siblings live in Spain. Her relatives in Colombia. No family members in London	Interview on 5 Aug 2020 (in person)	None
YG2 #2	25-28	F	Undergraduate	Childcare and cleaner	Her partner, her mother, and her mother's partner. Her partner's family lives in London. Rest of the family in Colombia.	Interview on 23 Oct 2020 (online)	None
YG2 #3	25-28	F	Undergraduate	Nursing and childcare	Her mother and her sister and her partner. Rest of the family in Colombia	Interview 27 Oct 2020 (online)	None
YG2 #4	25-28	F	Info missing	Info missing	Her mother, stepsisters, and step father are in Spain. Rest of the relatives in Colombia and Venezuela	Interview 18 March 2021 (online)	None
YG2 #5	25-28	F	None	Cleaner	Living in London with her husband and his family and soon due to have a baby. Her parents are in Spain, rest of her family in Colombia	Interview 7 Feb 2021 (online)	None
YG2 #6	20-25	F	Enrolled in a master	Waitress	Living in London on her own. Her parents between Spain and Colombia	Regular conversations throughout the year as she volunteers for one of the NGOs where I interviewed experts Participated in the focus group for the PER project on 8 March 2021 (online)	None
Youth Group 3 (YG3): Born in Spain, migrated to London as children/adolescents							
YG3 #1	16-17	F	secondary school	n.a.	Her parents. Rest of the family in Colombia	She was present during the interview with her mother and her father on 3 Aug 2020 (in person)	Her mother M#8 Her father (F#6)

						Day together at the park with her, her parents, and their family friends on 22 Aug 2020 (in person)	
YG3 #2	16-17	F	secondary school	n.a.	With her father. Her mother lives in Spain. Rest of the family mostly in Spain	Interview with her with her dad present on 22 Aug 2020 (rest of the day spent with her, her father, and their family friends)	Her father F#7
YG3 #3	14-15	F	secondary school	n.a.	Her parents and her younger sister and her aunty, uncle, and cousins	Present during the interview with her parents on 18 Aug 2020 (in person) Interview with her with mother present on 5 Sept 2020 (in person)	Her mother M#9 Her father F#8
YG3 #4	18-19	M	n.a.	House mover	Living with his parents and his brother. His father's family is Spanish and lives in Spain. His mother's family lives in Colombia.	Informal conversation the day I had lunch with his mother at his house 1 Oct 2020 (in person)	His brother YG3 #5 His mother M #10
YG3 #5	15-17	M	secondary school	n.a.	Living with his parents and his brother. His father's family is Spanish and lives in Spain. His mother's family lives in Colombia.	Interview with him with his mother present on 8 Sept 2020 (in person) Participated in the focus groups (see next table)	His brother YG3 #4 His mother M #10
YG3 #6	13-14	M	secondary school	n.a.	His mother. His father is in London but his parents separated. Relatives in Colombia	Interview with him, with his mother present on 21 Sept 2020 (in person)	His mother M#12
YG3 #7	13-14	F	secondary school	n.a.	Living in London with her mother and her older sister. Her father in Spain. Rest of the family in Colombia	Interview with him, with her mother present on 21 Jan 2021 (online)	Her mother M#18
YG3 #8	16-17	M	secondary school	n.a.	Living with his mother, while his older brother lives with his father (also in London).	Interview with him, with his mother present 10 Feb 2021 (online)	His mother M #21
YG3 #9	18-19	M	secondary school	n.a.	Living in London with his parents and his younger sister Some family members in Spain, rest of the family in Colombia	Interview 16 March 2021 (online)	His mother M#31 His father F #16

YG3 #10	16-17	F	secondary school	n.a.	Living in London with her parents and her older brother	Interview 9 April 2021 with her mother present (online)	Her mother M#32 Her father F#17
YG3 #11	18-19	M	secondary school	n.a.	Living in London with his mother and his sister. Father in Spain. Rest of the family in Colombia	Interview 2 March 2021 (online)	His mother M#30 His sister YG3 #12
YG3 #12	14-15	F	secondary school	n.a.	Living in London with his mother and his sister. Father in Spain. Rest of the family in Colombia	Interview 3 March 2021 with her mother present (online)	Her mother M#30 His brother YG3 #11

G6. Latin American students log

The table below provides information about the Latin American students who participated in the online focus groups co-organised and facilitated by one of the organisers of the parent group and EAL language teacher (E #16). Two focus groups exploring how young people experienced onward migration to London were held respectively with students in Year 10 (29 Sept 2020) and Year 11 (7 Oct 2020). Students in Year 11 also participated in the two-session course on social policy in the context of the pandemic held on 5 Feb 2021 and 12 Feb 2021, where students were introduced to social policy, and which was used to understand their experiences during the pandemic. In the table below, their names have been removed and replaced by an identifier (FGY stands for Focus Group Youths). The table below specifies which focus groups youths participated in, their country of birth, their parents' country of birth, the countries they have lived in, and whether they participated in other research activities.

<i>Number</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Year group and age</i>	<i>Country of birth</i>	<i>Parents' country of birth</i>	<i>Countries they lived in other than UK</i>	<i>Focus group</i>	<i>Participated in other fieldwork activities?</i>
FGY #1	F	10 (14-16Yyo)	Ecuador	Ecuador	Ecuador, Spain	29 Sept 2020	No
FGY #2	F	10 (14-16Yyo)	Spain	Colombia	Spain	29 Sept 2020	No
FGY #3	M	10 (14-16Yyo)	Spain	Spain	Spain	29 Sept 2020	No
FGY #4	M	10 (14-16Yyo)	Dominican Republic	Dominican Republic	Dominican Republic, Spain	29 Sept 2020	No
FGY #5	M	10 (14-16Yyo)	Spain	Venezuela and Ecuador	Spain	29 Sept 2020	No
FGY #6	F	10 (14-16Yyo)	Spain	Ecuador	Spain	29 Sept 2020	No
FGY #7	M	10 (14-16Yyo)	Spain	Ecuador	Spain, Ecuador	29 Sept 2020	No
FGY #8	M	10 (14-16Yyo)	Colombia	Colombia	Info missing	29 Sept 2020	No
FGY #9	M	10 (14-16Yyo)	Colombia	Colombia	Spain, Colombia	29 Sept 2020	No
FGY #10	M	11 (15-17yo)	Spain	Colombia and Spain	Spain, Colombia	7 Oct 2020 5 Feb 2021 12 Feb 2021	Yes – See YG3 #5
FGY #11	M	11 (15-17yo)	Spain	Ecuador	Spain	7 Oct 2020 5 Feb 2021 12 Feb 2021	No
FGY #12	F	11 (15-17yo)	Ecuador	Ecuador	Ecuador, Spain	7 Oct 2020 5 Feb 2021	No

						12 Feb 2021	
FGY #13	M	11 (15-17yo)	Spain	Colombia	Spain, Italy	7 Oct 2020 5 Feb 2021 12 Feb 2021	No
FGY #14	F	11 (15-17yo)	Spain	Ecuador	Spain	7 Oct 2020 5 Feb 2021 12 Feb 2021	No
FGY #15	M	11 (15-17yo)	Info missing	Bolivia	Info missing	7 Oct 2020 5 Feb 2021 12 Feb 2021	No
FGY #16	M	11 (15-17yo)	Ecuador	Ecuador	Ecuador, Spain	7 Oct 2020 5 Feb 2021 12 Feb 2021	No
FGY #17	F	11 (15-17yo)	Spain	Spain and Colombia	Spain	7 Oct 2020 5 Feb 2021 12 Feb 2021	No
FGY #18	F	11 (15-17yo)	Spain	Ecuador	Spain, Ecuador	7 Oct 2020 5 Feb 2021 12 Feb 2021	No
FGY #19	F	11 (15-17yo)	Spain	Ecuador	Spain	7 Oct 2020 5 Feb 2021 12 Feb 2021	No
FGY #20	M	11 (15-17yo)	Spain	Dominican Republic and Ecuador	Spain	7 Oct 2020 5 Feb 2021 12 Feb 2021	No
FGY #21	M	11 (15-17yo)	Dominican Republic	Dominican Republic	Dominican Republic, Spain	7 Oct 2020 5 Feb 2021 12 Feb 2021	No
FGY #22	F	11 (15-17yo)	Colombia	Colombia	Colombia	5 Feb 2021 12 Feb 2021	No
FGY #23	F	11 (15-17yo)	Colombia	Colombia	Colombia	5 Feb 2021 12 Feb 2021	No
FGY #24	F	11 (15-17yo)	Ecuador	Ecuador	Colombia	5 Feb 2021	No

G7. PER project's participants log

The table below provides information about the additional interviewees accessed through the PER project carried out in collaboration with LAH, whose perspectives informed Chapter 5. The names have been removed and replaced by an identifier based on whether: 1) they acquired EU nationality by descent (EU.d); 2) acquired EU passports via naturalisation in an EU country and then onward migrated to London (EU.n); 3) they were non-EU family members of Latin Americans with EU passports (non-EU). The table specifies their age range, their country of birth, whether they onward migrated or migrated to London directly from their home country, whether they held skilled or low-income jobs, and whether they have been in the UK for more or less than 5 years (relevant for the EUSS).

#	Country of birth	Gender	Age	Migration	Years in London	Job	Participated in...
Interviewees with EU nationality by descent (EU.d)							
EU.d #1	Argentina	M	25-35	Directly from Argentina	Less than 5	Skilled job	Focus group 3 March 2021 (online)
EU.d #2	Venezuela	M	25-35	Info missing	Less than 5	Skilled job	Focus group 5 March 2021 (online)
EU.d #3	Argentina	F	25-35	Directly from Argentina	Less than 5	Low-income job	Focus group 5 March 2021 (online)
EU.d #4	Argentina	F	25-35	Directly from Argentina	Less than 5	Low-income job	Focus group 5 March 2021 (online)
EU.d #5	Mexico	M	25-35	Directly from Mexico	Less than 5	Skilled job	Focus group 7 April 2021 (online)
EU.d #6	Argentina	M	25-35	Directly from Mexico	Less than 5	Skilled job	Focus group 9 April 2021 (online)
Interviewees who acquired EU passports via naturalisation in an EU country (EU.n)							
EU.n #1	Argentina	F	35-35	Onward migration	Less than 5	Skilled job	Focus group 19 Feb 2021 (online)
EU.n #2	Colombia	F	35-50	Onward migration	More than 5	Low income	Focus group 24 Feb 2021 (online)
EU.n #3	Ecuador	M	25-35	Onward migration	Less than 5	Skilled job	Focus group 8 March 2021 (online)

EU.n #4	Dominican Republic	F	25-25	Onward migration	Less than 5	Low-income job	Focus group 6 April 2021 (online)
EU.n #5	Peru	F	50+	Onward migration	More than 5	Low-income job	Individual interview 13 April 2021 (LAH, in person)
EU.n #6	Ecuador	F	50+	Onward migration	More than 5	Low-income job	Individual interview 13 April 2021 (LAH in person)
EU.n #7	Ecuador	F	50+	Onward migration	More than 5	Retired	Focus group 17 April 2021 (online)
EU.n #8	Peru	F	50+	Onward migration	More than 5	Retired	Focus group 17 April 2021 (online)
EU.n #9	Colombia	F	50+	Onward migration	More than 5	Low-income job	Individual interview 19 April 2021 (LAH in person)
EU.n #10	Dominican Republic	F	35-50	Onward migration	More than 5	Low-income job	Individual interview 19 April 2021 (LAH in person)
EU.n #11	Ecuador	F	50+	Onward migration	More than 5	Low-income job	Individual interview 26 April 2021 (LAH in person)
EU.n #12	Ecuador	F	50+	Onward migration	More than 5	Low-income job	Individual interview 26 April 2021 (LAH in person)
EU.n #13	Colombia	M	50+	Onward migration	More than 5	Low-income job	Individual interview 4 May 2021 (LAH in person)
EU.n #14	Ecuador	F	35-50	Onward migration	More than 5	Low-income job	Individual interview 4 May 2021 (LAH in person)
EU.n #15	Ecuador	F	50+	Onward migration	More than 5	Low-income job	Individual interview 4 May 2021 (LAH in person)
Non-EU family members of Latin Americans with EU passports (non-EU)							
Non-EU #1	Colombia	F	50+	Onward Migration	More than 5	Low-income job	Focus group 24 Feb 2021 (online)
Non-EU #2	Brazil	F	25-35	Directly from Brazil	Less than 5	Info missing	Individual interview 15 March 2021 (online)
Non-EU #3	Honduras	F	25-35	Directly from Honduras	Less than 5	Low-income job	Individual interview 18 March 2021 (online)
Non-EU #4	Chile	F	50+	Onward migration	Less than 5	Low-income job	Individual interview 2 April 2021 (online)
Non-EU #5	Mexico	F	25-35	Directly from Mexico	Info missing	Skilled job	Focus group 7 April 2021 (online)
Non-EU #6	Mexico	M	35-50	Directly from Mexico	Less than 5	Skilled job	Focus group 9 April 2021 (online)
Non-EU #7	Ecuador	F	35-50	Directly from Ecuador	More than 5	Low-income job	Individual interview 13 April 2021 (LAH in person)

Non-EU #8	Venezuela	F	35-50	Directly from Venezuela	Less than 5	Low-income job	Individual interview 19 April 2021 (LAH in person)
Non-EU #9	Colombia	F	35-50	Onward migration	Less than 5	Low-income job	Individual interview 1 Feb 2021 (online)

THE ONWARD MIGRATION-FAMILY NEXUS

The lived experiences of London's onward Colombian migrants from Spain and their families

Domiziana Turcatti

