

Young adult Indian immigrants' experiences of Adverse Childhood Experiences

Rekha Kangokar Rama Rao

Department of Psychology

School of Human and Community Development

University of Witwatersrand



Student Number: 2438283

Supervisor: Prof. Maria Marchetti-Mercer

**A research report submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of Master of Arts in
Community-Based Counselling Psychology in the Faculty of Humanities, University of
the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, October 2024.**

Declaration

I, Rekha Kangokar Rama Rao, know and accept that plagiarism (i.e., to use another's work and to pretend that it is one's own) is wrong. Consequently, I declare that:

- The following report/proposal/assignment is my own, unaided work.
- I have correctly acknowledged all direct quotations and properly paraphrased ideas/content. In addition, I have provided a complete, alphabetised reference list, as required by the APA method of referencing.
- I have not allowed and will not allow anyone to copy my work with the intention of passing it off as his or her own work.
- I understand that the University of the Witwatersrand may take disciplinary action against me if there is a belief that this is not my own unaided work, or that I failed to appropriately acknowledge the source of the ideas or words in my writing.

Signed: *R. Kangokar*

Date: 1st October 2024

(N.B. Reports/proposal/assignment which do not include this cover page, with the declaration, will not be accepted)

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the Almighty Lord Vishnu for granting an opportunity to embark on this journey, guiding and providing me with the strength to carry it through. As I reflect on this journey, walking with Him on my side has been the biggest reward.

To my supervisor, Prof. Maria Marchetti-Mercer, thank you for your continuous guidance and support throughout this process. It would not have been rewarding, enjoyable, informative and good quality without your kindness, support and meticulous feedback.

To every person who has participated in this study, thank you for playing this vital role in this study, and for your generosity and sharing your experience with me.

To my MACC group, thank you for all your support, encouragement, and being with me on our journey of completing our Masters. Thank you for the countless memories, laughs and shared experiences.

To my children, Reyansh Kangokar Singh and Dakshata Kangokar Singh, you are special, it will take more than words to express my love and appreciation for all that you have endured and done, to support me in this journey. To my husband, Manish Kumar, thank you for always showing up with patience and standing by my side. I love you.

A special thanks to Janaki Radhakrishnan, Jogini Packery and Sweta Sorab, the special ladies in my life. Thank you for your unrelenting support, love, patience, motivation, and care, for encouraging me when I felt discouraged, and for creating space and comfort where I felt supported and motivated to finish this thesis. I cannot express how deep my appreciation and gratefulness is for you all.

Abstract

South Africa has been receiving migrants from all over the world and is known to host the largest Indian population outside of India. Indians have been migrating to various parts of the world, including South Africa. When entering this country, the main member of the family is migrating with the family including their adolescent child(ren). The migrant adolescent faces various challenges from adapting to the new environment to adjusting to the new culture they are exposed to. With an inherent need to belong in a new country, the question is raised regarding how is this navigated and experienced in the realm of family and school. Some argue that family structure plays a vital role in managing the adverse experiences arising from external situations.

This study aims to contribute to the body of knowledge by using the theory of family systems and adverse childhood experiences (ACEs) to explore the young Indian immigrants' experiences of ACEs in South Africa. The participants consisted of young Indian immigrants who immigrated as an adolescent, and the data obtained was analysed using thematic analysis. The findings of this study reveal that migrant adolescents found it challenging to acculturate initially; they also experienced discrimination, marginalisation and general lack of inclusion in the education system. Their relationships with their families were also affected as their parents also struggled with issues of acculturation. The findings contribute to understanding the long-term impact of migration on adolescent development and highlight the resilience and adaptability fostered through challenging early experiences. Lastly, the study reveals that as young adults they felt that the migration experience in their youth had taught them adaptive strategies to navigate their lives.

Keywords: Indian, South African migration, adverse childhood experiences, family system

Contents

<i>Declaration.....</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>Abstract.....</i>	<i>4</i>
<i>Chapter 1: Introduction</i>	<i>7</i>
Rationale.....	9
Structure.....	12
<i>Chapter 2: Literature Review.....</i>	<i>14</i>
Migration of People around the World.....	15
Definition of Migration	16
Migration Outcomes	16
Transnationalism.....	19
Reasons for Migration	21
Migration of People to South Africa.....	26
Migration of People from India.....	28
Recent Trends of Indian Immigration to South Africa	29
Indian Family System.....	31
Adolescence	33
Important Issues for Adolescents.....	36
Challenges Facing Migrant Adolescents	38
Theoretical Frameworks	42
Family Systems Theory	42
Adverse Childhood Experiences	46
Conclusion.....	50
<i>Chapter 3: Methodology</i>	<i>51</i>
Research Aims	51
Research Questions	51
Research Design.....	51
Qualitative Approach	52
Sample and Sampling Procedure.....	54
Data Collection Tools	56
Background Information of the Participants.....	60
Data Analysis	67
Ethical Considerations.....	70
Qualitative Trustworthiness	71

Researcher Reflexivity	73
Conclusion.....	78
Chapter 4: Findings	80
The Challenges Related to Adaptation to a New Country	80
The Challenges Inherent to a New Educational System	85
The Impact of the Migration on Different Interpersonal Relationships	91
The Impact of the Migration on One's Emotional Well-being	95
Conclusion.....	99
Chapter 5: Discussion	100
Adolescent Adaptation Context.....	102
Familial Dynamics	111
Contextual Psychosocial Impact	116
Conclusion.....	119
Chapter 6: Conclusion.....	121
Limitations	122
Recommendations	124
References	126
Appendices	159
Appendix A: Semi- Structured Interview.....	159
Appendix B: Participant Information Sheet.....	160
Appendix C: Informed Consent.....	162
Appendix D: Ethics Certificate.....	163

Chapter 1: Introduction

Throughout history, migration has been driven by the quest for better living conditions, economic opportunities, and escape from political unrest. The International Organization for Migration's 2022 World Migration Report estimated there to be around 281 million international migrants globally in 2020, about 3.6 percent of the world population. Over the past five decades, the number of migrants has tripled, rising from 84 million in 1970 to 281 million in 2020. By the end of 2022, nearly 117 million people had migrated due to displacement (McAuliffe & Triandafyllidou, 2021). Migration, often from low- and middle-income countries, is driven mainly in order to pursue better opportunities and livelihoods. In 2021, migrants remitted \$647 billion, significantly contributing to their home countries' economies. Northern America received 58.7 million migrants, while Africa hosted 25.4 million, with 8.1 percent of Africa's workforce being migrants. Southern Africa primarily experiences regional migration due to economic opportunities and political instability. By mid-2021, South Africa had 2.9 million migrants due to industrial and mining growth, with arrivals from Portugal, Germany, India, Ethiopia, Malawi, and Nigeria (McAuliffe & Triandafyllidou, 2021).

In the early 21st century, globalisation and the pursuit of improved economic conditions led to a significant exodus of Indian immigrants, particularly recent graduates, primarily men, seeking better opportunities to support their families in India (Khadria, 2008). In these cases, one parent often migrates while the other remains behind to care for the children, though sometimes entire families relocate, leaving extended families behind. Migration is influenced by diverse motivations; with modern advances in international travel and communication migrant families are enabled to maintain ties with their homeland, a phenomenon known as transnationalism (Vertovec, 2001; Zentgraf & Chinchilla, 2012). Technological progress also allows migrants to gather more information about their

destination before relocating and to stay connected with family members who remain in their country of origin (Dekker & Engbersen, 2014).

McAuliffe and Triandafyllidou (2021) have noted that migration patterns are not uniform globally, with variations in frequency and proportions across regions. South Africa exemplifies this, being a major destination for Indian migrants seeking better working or living conditions (Rugunanan, 2017; Vaughn et al., 2017). South Africa has attracted various nationals based on better living conditions or intra-company transfers, where Indian nationals are in significant numbers (Naicker et al., 2017). This migration is seemingly occurring to improve the family's living conditions and quality of life (Chowdhory & Banerjee, 2022; Rajan et al., 2013). In an intra-company transfer, the employee tends to migrate with their nuclear family, which often includes the spouse and child(ren) and in some cases the parent of the employee (Chadda & Deb, 2013; Dasgupta & Lal, 2007; Deviga & Varghese, 2020; Patel, 2005). Since this study is on the migration experiences of adolescents, the focus has been on the adolescent population who migrated with their families from India to South Africa.

Migration tends to bring various challenges associated with acculturation, where a migrant tries to integrate into the host country's culture and norms (Berry, 2005; Sluzki, 1979). Despite the extensive research on migration, there is a notable gap in understanding the experiences of children who migrate with their parent(s), highlighting the need for more focused studies on this aspect of migration (Rugunanan, 2017). Specifically, the adolescents who migrate with their parents may be of particular interest. As this development phase is a transition phase between childhood and adulthood (Erikson, 1963), it is vital to understand their experiences of growing up in host countries. During this phase, adolescents explore their identities, roles, and beliefs, learning to manage themselves (Erikson, 1963; Louw et al., 1998). They may often begin to develop a career path as they explore their identity (Porfeli &

Lee, 2012; Xu & Lee, 2019). Luyckx et al. (2005) have highlighted that adolescents can be critical of themselves, and there is a clear connection between their sense of identity and potential. In this phase, some of the critical issues for adolescents are mental well-being, identity and self-expression, friendships, education, and career planning (Coffey & Patton, 2016; Jagannathan et al., 2023; Lawson et al., 2023; Ormel et al., 2020).

Migrant adolescents are faced with different challenges, including complexities of adaptation to a new environment, which are multifaceted, including social, educational, economic, cultural and psychological (Darmanaki Farahani & Bradley, 2018; Fangen, 2010; Lee & Bukowski, 2012; Noack, 2021; Östberg & Modin, 2008; Sluzki, 1979).

With these challenges in mind, adolescents find it common to seek the support of their family for their emotions and physical well-being (Albert & Coimbra, 2017). However, day-to-day interactions with family and friends (at school) may influence the experiences of the migrant adolescent. The migrant adolescent may struggle to *fit* into the groups in their new schools. Adolescents may also have to deal with the change in family dynamics following the migration and the stress experienced by their parents. The dynamics of the family and the larger society is likely to influence the individual (Falicov, 1995). This highlights the importance of viewing society's influence and family dynamics on migrants using a systemic view acknowledging their individual experiences (Bowen, 1978).

This study aims to contribute to the body of knowledge by using family systems theory and ACEs to examine the experiences of young Indian immigrants in South Africa who immigrated during adolescence.

Rationale

The experiences of migrant children may vary, and they may face a number of challenges in a new country as they have to adapt to a new socio-cultural environment. If

they enter a new linguistic environment, they may face additional linguistic challenges as well as social challenges. However, children often acculturate more quickly than their parents, learning the language and social norms of the host country more rapidly than adults, often causing conflict in the child-parent relationship. The conflict may be exacerbated because parents are often invested in maintaining their culture and customs and like to keep these alive by practicing the rituals that are part of their home culture. This is especially true for an adolescent who is in the process of identity development through constructing their personal values, attributes, goals, ambitions, and own history. Some parents may also continue to express the parenting style they have been using in the country of origin. These parenting styles may differ from what is deemed acceptable in the host culture and create conflict in the family. The adolescent may identify as a minority as their practices are different to that of the peers, as cultural/ethnic practices are given importance in the family. Adolescents are constantly negotiating between their identity formation and the identity suggested by their parents. Parents may also emphasise good academic performance as the ‘only’ route to have a better future and put a lot of pressure on adolescents to perform academically.

Furthermore, parents may experience several additional psychological stresses as a result of migration which may impact their mental health and how they interact with their children. With the exposure to various situations around them, along with the possibility of family dysfunction, the children may be potentially vulnerable to parental maltreatment (Vaughn et al., 2017).

Consequently, all these factors may create several ACEs in the context of the family and have a negative impact on the psychological functioning of the migrant child. Migration research has predominantly focused on the experiences of adults, giving less attention to the voices of children. From a psychological perspective, it will therefore be useful to understand

how young adults, who migrated as adolescents, experienced the migration journey in the context of their family relationship, as well how this experience may impact their current social and psychological functioning.

Placing the significance of the migration focus with the context of adolescent development. Young adult immigrants' migration experiences are deeply intertwined with adolescent development, a critical period marked by identity formation, autonomy seeking, and emotional growth. Migration during adolescence amplifies these developmental challenges as young immigrants must navigate cultural dissonance, language barriers, and shifts in social structures while forming a coherent sense of self (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2015). The dual task of acculturation and developmental adaptation can lead to heightened stress but also foster resilience and adaptability.

Erikson's psychosocial stage of identity versus role confusion is particularly relevant in this context. Adolescents develop their identities through exploration and integration of cultural values, a process complicated by migration, where traditional cultural norms may conflict with the host society's values (Kagitcibasi, 2005). Moreover, family dynamics, central to adolescent development, are often disrupted by migration. Parental struggles with acculturation can alter familial roles, leading to increased responsibilities for adolescent immigrants, which can either empower or burden them (Olszewski-Kubilius et al., 2023).

This developmental lens highlights the significance of focusing on migration during adolescence as it shapes lifelong identity and social functioning. Addressing these experiences in research can inform culturally sensitive policies and interventions to support young immigrants.

Furthermore, while there has been research done on migrant Indian communities in first world nations, such as the United Kingdom (UK), Australia, Germany and the United States of America (USA) (Dale & Ahmed, 2011; Haran et al., 2020; Meijering & van Hoven, 2003; Xiang, 2001), little has been done in the South African context despite the migration pattern of Indians to South Africa in the past decade.

Structure

The structure of this thesis is as follows:

Chapter One: Introduction

This chapter introduces the reader to this study by providing an overview of the topic under investigation and the population group on whom this study was conducted. It further aims to highlight the need for research in migration and family and educator relationships from an adolescent perspective.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

This chapter provides a comprehensive overview of the literature surrounding migration in South Africa, Bowen's FST (1978), and ACEs (Felitti et al., 1998). The chapter aims to give a detailed account of theories around migration and the experiences of adolescents in their developmental phase. The chapter explores the Indian family system and the trend of Indian migration to South Africa. The literature review explores the migratory process and relevant literature surrounding the topic, using Berry's (2005) acculturation framework through which the role of family and community is explored. The literature surrounding ACEs and the complexities added to it due to migration is explored in this chapter.

Chapter Three: Methodology

This chapter provides an account of the methodological decisions and procedures followed to answer the research questions posed at the beginning of this study. This includes an outline of the research aims and research design that underpins the methods followed during the execution of this study. It describes the thematic analysis by Braun and Clarke (2006) used to make sense of the data collected. It further entails an outline of the processes followed to ensure that ethical and rigorous requirements were upheld.

Chapter Four: Findings

This chapter provides the main themes that emerged during the analysis of the data collected for this study as guided by Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis. It begins by providing the themes and relevant quotes from interviews surrounding the challenges experienced regarding adaptation to a new country and experiences of a new educational system. After that, it elaborates on the findings pertaining to the migrants' experiences of the impact migration had on their interpersonal relationships. This is followed by themes related to their emotional well-being, which was affected due to migration.

Chapter Five: Discussion

This chapter attempts to answer the research questions posed at the beginning of this research project by interpreting the results and comparing said results to the literature outlined in Chapter Two. The dominant themes are discussed according to the theoretical frameworks that Bowen (1978) and Felitti et al. (1998) describe.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

This chapter aims to conclude this study by summarising the relevant findings, acknowledging the shortcomings of this study, and providing a few recommendations for further research in this field.

Appendices

This section hosts the relevant documentation used in this study.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Migration is a phenomenon as ancient as humanity itself. Throughout history, humans have moved across the globe for new opportunities, driven by personal aspirations, familial obligations, or representing their countries in official positions, for example, diplomats (Koser, 2016). This literature review chapter aims to provide a comprehensive overview of the existing literature relevant to the research topic. It examines significant areas of importance within this study and reviews existing research that substantiates the provided perspectives. This chapter addresses the crucial issues underpinning this study by defining and correlating them with specific relevant problems and structural developments related to international migration, economic constraints, and social limitations.

The theoretical framework for this study incorporates the family systems theory (FST) and ACEs. The chapter reviews previous studies on migrants' experiences and perceptions, various aspects of migration, related problems, and transnationalism. It particularly focuses on the experiences of adolescents, examining their general experiences and upbringing in the host country with their families, along with the challenges they face as migrants. This is especially relevant to this study within the South African context, as it explores the choices and decisions families make for their adolescents upon moving to South Africa. Therefore, it is essential to understand the dynamics of family transition and the distribution of responsibilities and functions among family members during migration.

Migration of People around the World

The International Organization for Migration (IOM), in its World Migration Report (2022), highlighted that there are an estimated 281 million international migrants around the world in 2020, which is approximately 3.6 percent of the global population (McAuliffe & Triandafyllidou, 2021). In the past five decades, the number of international migrants has increased more than threefold, from 84 million in 1970 to 281 million in 2020, and by the end of 2022, nearly 117 million have had to migrate due to displacement (McAuliffe & Oucho, 2024; Omelaniuk, 2005). The World Bank has highlighted that migration can be a development challenge: nearly 2.3 percent of the world's population migrate and live outside their country of origin (McAuliffe & Oucho, 2024). Most of this population belongs to low- and middle-income countries (McAuliffe & Oucho, 2024). Most migrations are focused and linked to better opportunities and needs to improve one's livelihoods (McAuliffe & Oucho, 2024). Migrants have collectively remitted 647 billion US dollars to their country of origin, contributing significantly to the Gross domestic products of the country of origin (McAuliffe & Oucho, 2024).

In 2021, northern America received 58.7 million migrants, whereas there are 25.4 million migrants in Africa (McAuliffe & Triandafyllidou, 2021), out of which the International Labour Organisation (ILO) estimated that 8.1 percent of migrant workers are in Southern Africa (McAuliffe & Triandafyllidou, 2021). Southern Africa primarily experiences migration to and from neighbouring countries, where economic opportunities, political instability and environmental hazards are key drivers (Migration Data Portal, 2023). By the middle of 2021, South Africa had received an estimated 2.9 million migrants, both skilled and unskilled, due to industrial developments and growth in the mining sectors (Migration Data Portal, 2023). However, as per the migration profile report for South Africa, it has been noted that apart from Southern African countries, migrants have arrived from various other

countries such as Portugal, Germany, the UK, India, Ethiopia, Malawi and Nigeria, to name a few (Migration Profile Report for South Africa – A Country profile 2023, Statistics South Africa (Stats SA), 2024).

Definition of Migration

Migration is a complex phenomenon to define; it has multiple dimensions and is an intrinsic part of human history (Arango, 2000; McAuliffe & Oucho, 2024). The Oxford English Dictionary (n.d.) defines migration as the movement of people at any given time from one place to another, either within a country or internationally. Geographically, migration is the intention to live somewhere besides one's native land for extended periods. The IOM defines migration as the movement of a person either across an international border or within a state away from their usual place of residence (McAuliffe & Oucho, 2024). Lipton (1980) defines migration as a process of people moving from one place to another, crossing administrative boundaries like villages, towns, districts, or countries. Migration can involve immigration, which is the movement of people into a receiving region, or emigration, which is the movement of people out of a country during a specific period (Arango, 2000). Skeldon (2017) argues that migration is a complicated process, and its definition depends on the time and space when it occurs. Migration can be involuntary or voluntary (Tsegay, 2023). Involuntary migration occurs when people are displaced due to various reasons beyond their control, including, but not limited to, climatic change, political reasons, and security concerns, whereas voluntary migration could occur due to, among other reasons, employment opportunities, family reunification, and educational opportunities (Tsegay, 2023).

Migration Outcomes

The migration outcomes vary significantly based on the specific context and variables involved. Migration comes with various challenges and emotions still attached to the country

of origin (Sluzki, 1979). Sluzki's theory highlights the importance of maintaining connections with the culture while integrating into the new society, as the migrants navigate their identity. It could be related to comfort, social support, cultural support, mobility, and food. To understand how individuals and groups adapt to different cultural contexts, we turn to John Berry's theory on acculturation.

The concept of acculturation refers to a transactional process between two cultural groups concerning cultural and psychological change that occurs (Berry, 2005). According to Berry (1997), acculturation is the phenomenon where cultural and psychological changes occur as a result of the interaction between different cultures. Acculturation refers to the process of acquiring a second culture and the subsequent changes that take place in both cultures involved in the exchange. In this process, people engage in intercultural activities; at times, there can be conflict, with a possible need for negotiation to achieve the necessary objectives of the groups (Berry, 2006). Berry (2005) explains acculturation as a two-step process; in the first step an individual initially maintains its original culture, and in the second step, the individual participates in the larger society. Changes in behaviour are noticed, such as when the person is trying to assimilate into the new setting (Hui et al., 2015). Cultural and psychological changes may occur over time; some people adapt quicker than others to a new environment (Hui et al., 2015). Some examples of acculturation are learning the language, learning about food, participating in social activities, and dressing (Berry, 2005; Marchetti-Mercer & Roos, 2006).

Learning new norms can be challenging; the personal challenge is to be content with one's learnings, be satisfied to remain in the new country, and continue to work on one's sense of belonging (Berry & Hou, 2017; Marchetti-Mercer, 2006). Berry (2005) also highlights the necessity of the person to acknowledge that the acculturation is not limited to themselves alone but to the family that has migrated along with them. However, acculturation

may occur at a different pace for each family member; again, for some families it may vary (Hui et al., 2015), just as their goals for migrating to a new country and their motivation may differ (Tatarko et al., 2020).

Central to Berry's theory are four acculturation strategies: assimilation, separation, integration and marginalisation (Berry, 1997). Berry suggested that the assimilation involves individuals or groups assimilating the cultural norms of the dominant society while relinquishing their original traditions. Separation is the opposite of assimilation, as it involves people or groups preserving their native traditions and limiting their connection with the dominant culture. Berry explains that integration is a balanced state where individuals or groups maintain important elements of their original culture while actively engaging in the wider community. This approach, linked to biculturalism, promotes psychological well-being and social cohesion. Lastly, Berry refers to marginalisation as a state in which individuals or groups do not preserve their native culture and do not actively participate in the dominant culture. Berry's model highlights that the strategies may not be an individual's choice but are potential influences of the societal context related to the policies and norms of the dominant culture or groups.

Berry's theory offers us a comprehensive framework for examining the dynamics of cultural adaptations. It provides us insights into the processes of cultural changes and the strategies an individual employs to navigate multicultural situations by emphasising the interaction between the different elements. This idea significantly impacts immigration, transnationalism, diversity and intercultural relations either promoting integration or separation, highlighting the maintenance of balance between the original culture and adopting the dominant culture (Berry, 1997).

Transnationalism

Transnationalism is a conceptual framework in the social sciences that analyses the various connections and interactions that extend beyond the boundaries of a nation (Schiller et al., 1992). Further, in 1992, Schiller et al. defined transnationalism as the process by which immigrants establish social networks that connect their home country and their new country of residence. Further, Schiller et al. (1992) add to the definition the factor of transmigrants cultivating and sustaining many relationships extending beyond borders, including familial, economic, social, organisational, religious, and political connections. This process of establishing meaningful relationships is not fixed but rather constantly changing and developing, significantly contributing to the formation of individuals' multiple identities and sense of belonging (Tedeschi et al., 2022). It is driven by globalisation, advancements in communication technology, and the mobility of people and goods, resulting in complex networks that link individuals and organisations across nations (Baldassar, 2007; Marchetti-Mercer & Swartz, 2020). This definition highlights the proactive involvement of immigrants in establishing transnational social networks, questioning conventional ideas of assimilation, and emphasising their simultaneous or multiple affiliations, which is examined in this research.

Portes (2001) explores the economic and social dimensions of transnationalism. He argues that transnational activities, including remittances sent by migrants to their home countries, international trade, and investments, are crucial for the economies of both the countries that send and receive these activities. Portes (2001) asserts that transnationalism is a global phenomenon that substantially influences the economic and social structures of the cultures it encompasses. This perspective highlights the significant impact of transnational behaviours on local economies and social systems.

Further to the discussion of remittances, Levitt (1998) explored the cultural dimensions of transnationalism, introducing the concept of *social remittances*. These are the transmission of ideas, activities, human qualities, and social resources from communities in the receiving country to communities in the giving country. Levitt (1998) defines social remittances as cultural signals that cross international borders and influence the lives of individuals and communities. This concept highlights the reciprocal exchange of cultural contact in global settings. Transnationalism challenges traditional notions of nation-states and citizenship by recognising individuals' complex and fluid identities engaging in many social and cultural contexts (Baldassar & Raffaetà, 2016).

Baldassar (2007) highlights the enduring nature of family bonds even when individuals are physically apart. According to her, transnational families reside apart for a significant amount of time but can still retain strong connections across different countries. This connection emphasises the role of contemporary communication technology in facilitating family members to maintain relationships and meet caregiving obligations remotely.

Migrants frequently desire to maintain ties with their family in their country of origin, traditions, and former communities through communication (Marchetti-Mercer, 2023; Vertovec, 2001). The swift progress in technology, particularly with the introduction of the internet and social media platforms, has enabled quick connections with families living far away (Madianou, 2016; Marchetti-Mercer et al., 2023). The children who migrated with their parents have worked on establishing a feeling of belonging within their communities, as well as in the schools and other social groups they are involved with in the host country (Lima Becker & Oliveira, 2022). They immersed themselves in learning a new language, blending the knowledge from their own country with the knowledge they gained in the host country (Lima Becker & Oliveira, 2022). Home memories are often viewed as a documentary and

shared as stories, creating a transgenerational memory for the new generation and a healing memory for the migrating generation (Tali, 2022).

Reasons for Migration

Migration patterns are often influenced by migrants' methods of settling in a particular location, which are, in turn, influenced by established networks or selective immigrations set up by host countries (Duwicquet et al., 2014). Migrants' skill levels influence these methods in both circumstances; the globalisation of the economy, the spread of information available at one's disposal and developed infrastructure may be some of the reasons for migration (Audebert & Doraï, 2010). The migration may occur within the context of global economic liberalisation, growing interdependence among nations' new transportation infrastructure (as it increases the access to migrate internationally), rising income inequalities, and global demographic discrepancies (Audebert & Doraï, 2010). Migration may affect population dynamics in terms of social capital, civil society, and intermarriage rates, which are some factors that could be explored in the future (Brettell & Hollifield, 2014). However, in this literature review, I will explore some of the other factors, such as the economy, employment, education, and familial connections, that influence migration.

Economics of migration

Economic expansion is supported by migration, which often leads to better work opportunities (Bacigalupe & Lambe, 2011). Financial independence and freedom are the main driving forces behind migration, aiming to have an enhanced living standard (Jancewicz & Markowski, 2021). Push-pull factors play a vital role when one is considering migrating: challenges such as poverty, low productivity, and unemployment serve as push factors that prompt individuals to relocate from their current residence, while promising work opportunities, increased wages, and improved quality of life serve as incentives ('pull

factors') that draw individuals to relocate to new areas. This applies to the individual relocating as well as the entire family, with individuals migrating to provide a more promising future for their family (Berry et al., 2006). Migration may occur in phases, with one individual moving while the rest of the family remains in their home country (Rivas, 2011). The family's expectations and participation in migrating are crucial as they impact support, adaptation and the overall migration experience (Berry, 2005). However, cultural expectations vary, affecting migrants' adaptation, acceptance and integration into the new societal norms (Jancewicz & Markowski, 2021). The individual's expectations from the host country are also a contributing factor depending on what they will find there (Duwicquet et al., 2014).

This migratory process is commonly viewed as a transient adaptation for a short period of time to improve one's quality of life (De Leersnyder, 2017). However, the plan may change for various reasons, which include an extension of the work contract, better prospects in the workplace, assimilation into the host country, and challenges to moving the whole family again (Gonin, 2010). While living in the host country, the migrant family may adapt to a different way of living from the country of origin (Han et al., 2016). Hence, returning to the home country may seem challenging, as they have spent a significant time abroad and are now exposed to another cultural concept and context that has an impact on them. (King & Kuschminder, 2022). Migration to improve one's financial conditions may seem like a core reason, but it may not be the primary motivator (Rivas, 2011). Looking for a lucrative and conducive environment for the next generation is often the significant reason to move (Rivas, 2011).

Migration due to employment opportunities

Factors related to employment may motivate or influence the migration of a person; generalised job insecurity, a rise in unemployment, and better job opportunities in the

destination country could be some of the factors for migration (Duwicquet et al., 2014). Qualified migrants can select from various potential host countries, and their decision on where to go is influenced by the expected income and future work conditions in those countries (Ypi, 2016). Brain drain is particularly an issue; migrants are not always poor or unskilled or amongst the least educated (Audebert & Doraï, 2010). It refers to the emigration of highly skilled individuals or professionals from their home country to another, seeking better opportunities (Bhagwati, 1976; Portes, 1976). When a lack of local employment and/or when the employment conditions in the country of origin are scarce, the migrants have no choice but to move on and find an alternative (Duwicquet et al., 2014). According to Ypi (2016), some of the motivational factors for the migration of an employee are better employment opportunities (for example wage, prestige, self-actualisation). At the same time, the employer would expect the employee to be knowledgeable, skilled and have the appropriate attitude towards the organisation. The employee's expectations include having a better work environment, which would refer to the physical surroundings in which they can perform (Audebert & Doraï, 2010). Meanwhile, Ypi (2016) highlights that when there are limited options, the employee accepts the employment offer purely because they cannot reject it; their desperation to provide for the family leaves them vulnerable to accepting the offer, making them susceptible to exploitation as they may be experiencing financial constraints.

Migration due to educational opportunities

Increasingly students have crossed borders to engage in educational activities in a country different from their origin (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation - Institute of Statistics (UIS), n.d.). Students can be categorised as incoming internationally mobile students (if they are going to a different country) or outbound mobile students (if they leave their home country) (UIS, n.d.). In their 2023 report, UIS estimated that in 2021 6.4 million students migrated to study in a different country (UIS, 2023).

Migrant students are referred to as international students, who are non-citizens currently enrolled in higher education degree programmes. This concept does not differentiate between students with non-resident visas and those with permanent resident status. UIS (2023) has also noted that the migration of students is predominantly from middle to high-income countries. Statistically, in 2021, notable countries of origin for international students were China (16%), India (8%), Vietnam (2%), Germany (2%), Uzbekistan (2%), and France (2%) (UIS, 2023). In the same vein, for South Africa, the 2022 statistics highlighted that out of 40,667 international students, 13.0 percent came from Germany, 30.6 percent from Lesotho, 21.7 percent from Nigeria, and rest from other countries (Stats SA, 2022).

One type of interaction is education's direct and indirect effect on migration (Cheng et al., 2024). Education and migration have an intricate reciprocal connection that impacts migrants and non-migrants in the origin and destination countries (Fargues, 2017). Migration boosts educational diversity, enriching learning environments with varied perspectives and fostering global competencies among students (King & Raghuram, 2013). Education is widely acknowledged as a catalyst for migration as it fosters receptiveness to and possibilities for overseas employment (Fargues, 2017). As a result, the typical migrant tends to be more educated than the average individual who remains in the native population (Fargues, 2017).

Moreover, higher education institutions aim to enhance their reputation by educating international students to adjust to quick changes with high-quality pedagogy (Heleta & Chasi 2023; Silva et al., 2016). They enhance their reputation by educating international students through diverse and globally engaged campuses, attracting top talent worldwide (Kishun, 2007; Mello, 2013). This diversity enriches academic discourse, fosters cross-cultural collaboration, and prepares students for global careers (Heleta & Chasi, 2023; Mello, 2013). Additionally, international alumni networks bolster the institution's global presence, potentially leading to increased research opportunities, partnerships, and funding (Altbach &

Knight, 2007). For example, institutions like Harvard and Oxford have leveraged their international student bodies to cement their statuses as global leaders in education (Altbach & Knight, 2007), similarly in Africa the University of Witwatersrand highlighted its global alumni presence during the 100-year anniversary in 2022. Due to these factors, there has been a steady increase in the number of students pursuing higher education in different countries (Silva et al., 2016). The international students are motivated to migrate and most often continue their tertiary education (UIS, 2023) based on the perceived future benefits. Countries such as Singapore provide substantial financial subsidies from the government, which appeal to international students (Cheng et al., 2024). Further, such benefits and education assist developed countries facing a shortage of skilled labour, which have policies to facilitate the mobility of foreign employees to gain a competitive advantage in the international market (Silva et al., 2016). In a survey, Cowling (2023) reported that there were 40,712 international students in South Africa as of 2019. However, post the COVID-19 pandemic, Cowling (2023) reported that 40,667 international students are in South Africa. Smith and Khawaja (2011) have noted that the enrolment of the students is used to build the intellectual capital of the country. The migrant's educational attainments may also contribute to the host countries' economies, contributing to the innovation and workforce development (King & Raghuram, 2013).

In current world conditions, we are not to forget the population forced to migrate for other reasons, such as political instability as mentioned by Tsegay (2023) and climate change, for example the rise in sea levels have increasingly forced people from low-lying Pacific Island nations (e.g. Bangladesh), and drought in Syria and Sub-Saharan Africa (e.g. Sudan and Niger) (Black et al., 2011; Harris, 2015; Kelley et al., 2015; Martin et al., 2014;). In times like these, migrants (refugees) prioritise education to feel empowered and aspire for a brighter future in their country of destination (Shakya et al., 2010).

Migration for family reunification

Migration for family reunification occurs when a family member relocates to a given nation because other family members already live there (de Hart, 2009). Marriage migration is a subcategory of family reunification where one spouse moves to the other spouse's country. Family reunions are primarily concerned with internal emotional and social support within the family rather than outside it (de Hart, 2009). The decision of most countries allowing immediate family members to enter may be based on the rights of the individuals they are trying to reunite with, such as citizens, residents, or others who have been granted long-term entry into the country (di Belgiojoso & Terzera, 2019). According to di Belgiojoso and Terzera (2019), some significant considerations of family reunification are family structures loosely linked to geographical origins and highly associated with gender. Male migrants are more likely to achieve complete family reunification; however, if the couples are involved in traditional roles in the country of origin (e.g., the wife continues to live with her in-laws), the probability of reunification is slim (Baizán et al., 2014).

Family reunification is not just determined by the intentions and efforts of individuals who may be able to enter the host nation (Keita & Schewe, 2021). Family reunification has its challenges due to the regulations of the host country; in the case of a refugee, they may not have legal options for family reunification, as the first migrating individual is still in the process of obtaining their legal asylum documents (Keita & Schewe, 2021).

Migration of People to South Africa

Migration is an important phenomenon in contemporary South Africa (Stats SA, 2024). Stats SA (2024) indicates that in 2001, 32.9 percent of the migrants were from Mozambique, putting it at the top of the top ten sending counties to South Africa. However, by 2011, Zimbabwe was the top-sending country with 43.1 percent of the migrants. During

the same year, India featured as one of the top 10 sending countries at 2 percent (43,689 migrants) and in 2022, India continued to feature in the top 10 by sending 1.3 percent (31,437) of the total migrants received by South Africa (Stats SA 2024).

South Africa and India share a colonial past, in which the labourers were brought by ships to work as indentured labourers in South Africa from various parts of India. During colonial times, it is estimated that over a period of five decades, 200,000 Indians were brought as indentured labourers. It is a notable fact that South Africa hosts the most prominent Indian population outside India, and Durban holds the title of the largest Indian city outside India (Bryce, 2020).

History of Indians migrating to South Africa

The migration of Indians to South Africa began in the 19th century, initially as indentured labourers brought by the British to work on sugar plantations in Natal between 1860 and 1911. Many indentured workers remained after completing their contracts, and others arrived as merchants, creating a vibrant Indian community (Desai & Vahed, 2010). However, this population has faced systemic discrimination, particularly during South Africa's apartheid era (1948–1994).

Under apartheid, Indians, were classified as a distinct racial group, and subjected to segregation laws, denied political representation, and restricted in education, housing, and employment opportunities. Despite this, the Indian community preserved its cultural identity and resisted oppression through activism (Metcalf, 2022).

Post-apartheid South Africa's affirmative action policies aimed to redress historical injustices, but they have sometimes marginalised Indians, as the policies prioritise Black South Africans (Archary, 2022). This has led to perceptions of exclusion within the broader Indian community. Additionally, xenophobia and racism persist, often targeting immigrants

and minority groups, including Indians, and exacerbating their socio-economic challenges (Crush & Ramachandran, 2009). Understanding this historical and social context is essential to examine the migration and adaptation experiences of South Africa's Indian population.

Migration of People from India

In 2014, Duwicquet et al. noted that migration in the form of humanitarian and family-related relocation was on the rise, while employer- and government-driven labour migration was seemingly restricted. Family migrants and refugees were also considering geographical variations in job prospects and income levels. Labour market characteristics were not the sole factors influencing migrants' decision on where to settle. Factors such as access to public amenities (such as education, health, and democracy), migration costs (such as affordability of travel and settlement, cost of living, variability of exchange rates with respect to remittances), and the influence of migrant networks in reducing some of these costs played a part in determining the choice of migration destinations (Duwicquet et al., 2014).

India has the world's most significant diaspora, with 17.9 million migrants out of 281 million in 2020 (Fleck, 2023). The Indian nationals who reside outside India continuously for over 180 days are known as Non-Resident Indians (NRIs). Pagallu (2023) has reported that there are approximately 1,500,000 Persons of Indian Origin (PIOs) and 1,560,000 Overseas Citizens of India (OCI) in South Africa. The PIOs and OCIs are two registration categories for foreign nationals except for nationals of Pakistan, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, China, Iran, Bhutan, Sri Lanka and Nepal (PIOs) and Pakistan and Bangladesh for OCIs (Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India (MEA), n.d.). PIOs are defined as foreign citizens who have previously held an Indian passport. OCIs are foreign nationals who were eligible to

become citizens of India on 26 January 1950 or belonged to a territory that became part of India after 15 August 1947 (MEA, n.d.).

In 2010, two million Indians were settled across the African continent, and a significant concentration was found in South Africa (Modi, 2010; Naicker et al., 2017). South Africa ranks 7th in the number of Indian migrants it hosts (McAuliffe & Triandafyllidou, 2021). The population is dynamic; at any given time, there are approximately 60,000 Indian nationals in South Africa (S. Khurana, personal communication, January 06, 2023; Pagallu, 2023). As per the Migration Profile Report for South Africa – A Country Profile 2023 by Stats SA (2024), the Indian migrant population has been steadily increasing; in 2001, it was 14,509; in 2011, it was 64,761 and in 2022, it was 65,821. Meanwhile, the tourism report of Stats SA (2022) recorded 5,993 Indian tourists in South Africa who entered the country through O. R. Tambo International Airport in Johannesburg. The time spent by NRIs in South Africa is approximately six months to over 15 years (S. Khurana, personal communication, January 06, 2023). From this data, we can deduce that globally and in South Africa, there has been an increase in the number of Indian immigrants.

Recent Trends of Indian Immigration to South Africa

Rajan et al. (2013) have highlighted that a significant portion of India's population resides and works in foreign countries, and the trend of Indians opting for international employment has been steadily rising. Studies on Indian migration cover a wide range of topics, including profiling emigration, quantifying remittances, analysing social transformations resulting from emigration, and studying exchanges between sending and receiving countries facilitated by migrants (Rajan et al., 2013).

Like various other countries, including South Africa, India is plagued by unemployment. India's unemployment rate was nearly 8.7 percent between 2002 and 2005;

the rate then fluctuated between 8.5 percent and 8.1 percent until 2011. It would continue to decrease and reached 6.5 percent in 2019 (O'Neill, 2024). Nevertheless, the unemployed population consisted of high skilled and highly qualified people. In South Africa, the unemployment, employment, skills and economic growth exploration conducted by Stats SA (2014) for 1994 -2014 highlighted various aspects and inadequacies. Its survey highlighted that the skills development of South African youth was crucial. A better education system could develop skills; therefore, the exploratory report by Stats SA indicated that importance should be given to improving education, training and innovation. High unemployment, weak competition for goods and services, low savings rates and poor skills profiles characterised the low-growth, middle-income trap that plagued South Africa. It was emphasised that to mitigate the high unemployment rate, skills development should be treated with utmost urgency. During this period, the unemployment rate in South Africa had already crossed 30 percent (Stats SA, 2014). During the same period, it was highlighted that South African Indians were making their mark in higher management positions (Press Trust of India (PTI), 2014). This dichotomy of skills shortages and career growth between the two nations seems to have presented itself as an opportunity for Indians to begin migration to South Africa. Whereby, the highly skilled people from India began migrating due to employment opportunities, through intra-company transfers for short-term and long-term assignments.

Sahoo (2015) noted that the migration of professionally trained and educated emigrants, known as "brain-drain", to developed host countries occurred during the latter half of the 20th century. Highly skilled migration has contributed to a significant increase in remittances (Rajan et al., 2013). For example, the remittance by migrants from Tamil Nadu (a state in India) is approximately USD 62.91 Crores (R11 billion) (Rajan & Saxena, 2019). Many migrants have left their families in India but send money for family support and investments (Rajan et al., 2013). They constitute the bulk of expatriate Indians and are

deprived of citizenship privileges in their host nations (Rajan et al., 2013). Even though one may not qualify for citizenship in the host country, migration can occur voluntarily when a person or family decides to move to improve their quality of life (Chowdhory & Banerjee, 2022).

Indian Family System

The Indian family structure is a complex and varied institution that has evolved over generations (Sooryamoothy, 2012). It is characterised by its extensive variety of diverse components, plenty of cultural significance, and well-established traditions (Haralambos & Holborn, 2008). Despite the impact of industrialisation and globalisation, many traditional aspects of the Indian family structure significantly influence individuals' lives (Modi, 2010). Various facets of the Indian family system, including its structure, roles, values, and the effects of changing socio-economic conditions will be discussed next.

Structure of Indian families

Historically, the Indian family structure has often been defined by a patriarchal hierarchy and the presence of extended family groupings (Haralambos & Holborn, 2008). A multigenerational household is a living arrangement where multiple generations live together, combining resources and sharing responsibilities (Chadda & Deb, 2013). The patriarch, typically the oldest male, possesses significant authority and assumes the duty of making crucial decisions (Chadda & Deb, 2013; Deviga & Varghese, 2020). This system seemingly fosters unity and collective responsibility (Dasgupta & Lal, 2007; Patel, 2005).

Joint families are an extended family structure in which multiple nuclear families, connected through blood or marriage, live together and function as a cohesive unit (Patel, 2005). This system facilitates reciprocal assistance and offers a resilient support network, particularly during adversity (Deviga & Varghese, 2020). Wherein, the nuclear family

arrangement of parents and their children has risen in urban areas due to financial limitations, labour migration, and the influence of Western cultural standards (Dasgupta & Lal, 2007). Despite this alteration, the relationships among extended family members usually persist, marked by frequent interactions and reciprocal support (Patel, 2005).

Roles and responsibilities

Traditional Indian families strictly delineate responsibilities based on age and sex (Patel, 2005). Traditionally, men are commonly perceived as the primary earners and providers for the family. At the same time, women are typically assigned the role of managing the household and taking care of children and elderly family members (Chadda & Deb, 2013). This allocation of tasks reinforces the male-dominated structure of Indian society (Deviga & Varghese, 2020). Older people are highly esteemed within the family, as their wisdom and experience is treasured and respected (Dasgupta & Lal, 2007). They frequently play a pivotal role in guiding younger family members and upholding cultural and religious customs (Chadda & Deb, 2013).

Consequently, there is an anticipation that the younger family members will care for their older people throughout their old age (Patel, 2005). Children are taught to respect their elders and adhere to family values and traditions (Dasgupta & Lal, 2007). It is anticipated that younger family members will contribute to the family in various ways, either through supporting the completion of domestic tasks or assisting in the family enterprise (Chadda & Deb, 2013).

Challenges and Adaptations

Transitioning from traditional to modern family structures presents several challenges (Dasgupta & Lal, 2007). The breakdown of joint families can lead to a decline in the support system, forcing nuclear families to face economic and social difficulties independently

(Dasgupta & Lal, 2007). Furthermore, increasing everyday living costs and elevated stress levels in urban areas can strain familial relationships (Patel, 2005). However, several Indian families are adapting to these changes by finding innovative ways to maintain strong familial connections. Technology enables communication between geographically separated families, as video calls and social media platforms facilitate frequent interaction (Bacigalupe & Lambe, 2011; Marchetti-Mercer et al., 2021). Furthermore, a growing acknowledgement of diverse family structures and lifestyles demonstrates a more inclusive and flexible approach to understanding family dynamics (Chowdhory & Banerjee, 2022).

In recent decades, the Indian family system has seen significant changes due to urbanisation, economic development, and globalisation (Chowdhory & Banerjee, 2022). The migration of young adults to urban areas in search of better economic opportunities has led to the rise of nuclear families and a decline in the prevalence of extended families (Chadda & Deb, 2013; Chowdhory & Banerjee, 2022). Women's roles within the family are also experiencing transformations (Deviga & Varghese, 2020). Women are increasingly pursuing advanced education and professional occupations, which disrupt traditional gender norms but enhance the household's financial stability (Chowdhory & Banerjee, 2022). This transition has led to changes in the dynamics of households and the decision-making processes (Chowdhory & Banerjee, 2022).

Modern Indian adolescents frequently struggle to uphold conventional family principles and adopt individualism and modernity (Patel, 2005). For this research, it would be imperative to understand the development of adolescents, as they are the focus of this study.

Adolescence

Adolescence is the transitional phase of development and maturation between childhood and adulthood (Erikson, 1963). As a development phase, adolescence usually

begins around ages 11 to 13 and ends around 17 to 21 (Erikson, 1963). To account for the variation in age limits for adolescents, one may prefer to define the developmental phase of adolescence by considering specific physical and psychological characteristics and sociocultural norms rather than depending exclusively on chronological age (Erikson, 1963; Jones et al., 2014).

G. Stanley Hall (1844-1924) is credited with pioneering the field of adolescent psychology and is commonly referred to as the "father of the psychology of the adolescent" (Louw et al., 1998). Hall (1907) pioneered the examination of adolescence as a distinct phase between childhood and maturity. He defined the adolescent phase as a time of turbulence and tension, marked by fluctuating emotions and attitudes, such as energetic enthusiasm versus indifference and boredom, cheerfulness versus depression, idealistic altruism versus selfishness, vanity and boasting versus humility and shyness, sensitivity versus heartlessness, and gentleness versus cruelty. He also viewed adolescence as a period during which individuals could develop their distinctiveness. He described it as a rebirth that gives rise to more significant and complex characteristics. Hall's idea received widespread acclaim from theorists; meanwhile, Erik Erikson characterised adolescence as a phase during which adolescents undergo an identity crisis (Louw et al., 1998; Ross, 2006).

According to Erik Erikson, adolescence is when individuals create their identity and may experience conflict between their identity and role confusion (Upreti, 2017). It is a period during which an individual attempts to reconcile their authentic self with the persona they present to others (Aikins et al., 2005). During this developmental phase Erikson (1963) highlights that an adolescent explores various identities, roles and beliefs. Temporarily suspending commitments, this phase can be described as a state of moratorium, a transitional stage between childhood and maturity, and it is a period where the individual moves from the moral values learnt throughout infancy to the ethical principles that will be established in

adulthood. This period enables the adolescent to experiment and seek personal and social roles before making long-term commitments (Erikson, 1963).

In 1964, Albert Bandura argued that adolescence may not be universally characterised by storm and stress, as its manifestation varies depending on how individuals manage themselves (Louw et al., 1998). However, he believed that whenever conflict, anger or uncertainty arises throughout adolescence, it is typically linked to social factors within the family or community. Furthermore, he suggested that the storminess of adolescence is frequently a result of a self-fulfilling prophecy; self-fulfilling prophecy is the phenomenon where predictions or expectations can shape subsequent behaviour (Louw et al., 1998). Bee (1992) suggests that the desired outcome of this stage is the development of a unified sense of identity, purpose, and a clear understanding of one's suitable gender role in society.

During this phase, based on the parents' vocation or career, adolescents may often begin to think about developing their career path (Crocetti & Meeus, 2015; Murcia et al., 2020). Adolescents begin to investigate a job path they believe they can dedicate themselves to (Porfeli & Lee, 2012). Erikson suggested that successful preparation for the next life stage in adolescence signifies the completion of identity formation (Jones et al., 2014).

Understanding Murcia et al.'s (2020) identity status model is necessary to expand on Erikson's (1963) adolescent identity development perspectives. According to Murcia et al., (2020) adolescents' experiences can be divided into four distinct statuses based on their level of dedication and investigation (Xu & Lee, 2019): identity diffusion implies that commitment may or may not have been explored; foreclosure signifies that commitment has been made without exploration; moratorium describes when the adolescent is actively exploring without committing; and identity achievement occurs when exploration occurs, and commitment is based on that exploration (Meeus et al., 2010). The adolescent's personal experience appears

to be more critical, as there is a clear connection between their sense of identity and their potential (Luyckx et al., 2005).

Cultural issues when thinking about Erikson's work

Identity formation in adolescence—a cornerstone of Erikson's theory—may manifest differently in cultures where identity is shaped by communal expectations rather than individual exploration (Kroger, 2006). Furthermore, Erikson's later stages, such as generativity versus stagnation, assume a linear progression of life roles that may not reflect societies with different cultural or economic structures (Sugimura, Hihara & Hatano, 2020).

Recent scholarship emphasises incorporating cultural dimensions into Erikson's framework. For example, Arnett (2000) highlights “emerging adulthood” as a stage relevant primarily in affluent, industrialised societies. Similarly, cross-cultural studies underscore the need to contextualise psychosocial tasks within varying cultural practices and values. In integrating cultural insights, researchers expand Erikson's work to better reflect global diversity, enabling a nuanced understanding of development that respects cultural variation while maintaining its foundational principles.

Important Issues for Adolescents

During this phase, adolescents face numerous problems that significantly impact them (Blakemore, 2018; Coffey & Patton, 2016; Ormel et al., 2020). Mental well-being is an essential and paramount concern (Bernard et al., 2021; Coffey & Patton, 2016). Adolescents experience considerable stress because of demanding academic expectations, social relationships, and the transition into adulthood, often resulting in feelings of anxiety, depression, and other mental health challenges (Lawson et al., 2023; Ormel et al., 2020). Social media exacerbates these issues by facilitating cyberbullying and endorsing unrealistic

comparisons, leading to detrimental effects on self-esteem and body image (Azami & Taremian, 2021).

During adolescence, identity and self-expression are crucial (Coffey & Patton, 2016). This phase involves examining and affirming one's individuality, which can be difficult when confronted with societal expectations and standards (Blakemore, 2018). Creating nurturing conditions that foster self-exploration and acceptance is essential for healthy development (Farella Guzzo & Gobbi, 2023).

Adolescents emphasise education and career planning, as they are at a stage where they must make career decisions that will shape their future (Jagannathan et al., 2023). As adolescents place pressure on themselves to perform well academically, choosing a career could be daunting (Jagannathan et al., 2023; Jakobsen et al., 2022). Hence, access to good-quality education and guidance is crucial for them to effectively navigate these choices (Jakobsen et al., 2022).

An issue that adolescents grapple with is sexual and reproductive health (Saul, 2016). To make well-informed decisions regarding their sexual health, adolescents need accurate information and access to resources (Ohannessian & Vannucci, 2021). This encompasses comprehending consent, averting sexually transmitted illnesses, and responsibly handling reproductive health (Kangaude & Skelton, 2018).

Substance abuse is also a significant cause for concern for most adolescents (Wright & Jackson, 2023). The experimentation with drugs and alcohol can lead to addiction and long-lasting health issues (Coffey & Patton, 2016; Wright & Jackson, 2023). The influence of peers substantially impacts this behaviour, emphasising the importance of implementing effective preventative and intervention strategies (Coffey & Patton, 2016; Schultz et al., 2016).

As highlighted above, adolescence is a developmental phase in which individuals grapple with various aspects of life. When an adolescent is exposed to migration during this phase, it may add to current concerns that adolescents engage with as they adapt to a new environment (Sluzki, 1979).

Challenges Facing Migrant Adolescents

Migrant adolescents face unique challenges as they navigate the complexities of adapting to a new environment while going through a developmental process from childhood to adulthood (Noack, 2021; Sluzki, 1979). These challenges are multifaceted, encompassing social (Fangen, 2010), educational (Östberg & Modin, 2008), cultural (Darmanaki Farahani & Bradley, 2018), economic (Benner et al., 2016) and psychological (Lee & Bukowski, 2012) dimensions. Gaining a comprehensive understanding of these challenges is essential to this research study.

Social challenges

Social isolation – Migrating to a new place frequently entails leaving behind established social networks (Fangen, 2010). Migrant adolescents may encounter challenges establishing new friendships and assimilating into social groups because of cultural disparities and linguistic obstacles (James, 1997; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2015). Being socially isolated can lead to feelings of loneliness and alienation (Berry et al., 2006).

Bullying and discrimination – Migrant adolescents often experience bullying and discrimination based on their ethnicity, language or cultural practices (Bianchi et al., 2021). These circumstances can profoundly affect their self-esteem and mental well-being (Lee & Bukowski, 2012). Discrimination may also extend beyond the school environment and affect their social integration into the wider community, further complicating the situation (Noack, 2021).

Family dynamics – The migration process may alter family dynamics, leading to parents and children experiencing different levels of cultural assimilation (Berry et al., 2006). As noted earlier, Sluzki (1979) explored family dynamics and migration, and how the migration impacts family roles, relationships and communication. It highlights adaptation to stress, potential role reversals, and the need for maintaining cultural identity while integrating, emphasising resilience and support systems. Adolescents may adopt new cultural norms more rapidly than their parents, leading to frequent intergenerational conflicts (Benner et al., 2016; Chung et al., 2022). In addition, migrant adolescents may assume additional tasks within their families, such as serving as interpreters for their parents or assisting them in navigating the unfamiliar system, which can contribute to their stress levels (Lee & Bukowski, 2012; Pierce, 2009).

Educational challenges

Language barriers – One of the most significant challenges for migrant adolescents entering a country with a different language is the language barrier (Pierce, 2009). Learning a new language while fulfilling academic responsibilities might be daunting (Agirdag, 2014). This may lead to decreased academic performance and challenges in comprehending and completing schoolwork, impacting their overall educational achievements (Östberg & Modin, 2008).

Educational gaps – Migrants often come from a wide range of academic backgrounds, and their schooling may be interrupted because of the migration process (Agirdag, 2014). Differences in curricula, educational standards, and teaching methodologies can challenge adolescents to keep pace with their peers (Gibson & Ogbu, 1991). This may lead to feelings of frustration and inadequacy (Agirdag, 2014)

Lack of institutional support – Educational institutions may not always be equipped to provide the necessary resources to assist migratory students (Gibson & Ogbu, 1991). Possible challenges could include a lack of bilingual educators, insufficient cultural sensitivity training for staff members, or inadequate resources for extra academic help (Agirdag, 2014). This may hinder the capacity of these students to fully engage and excel in their educational journey.

Cultural challenges

Cultural adjustment – Assimilating into a different culture necessitates acquiring a family's social norms, values, and behaviours (Berry et al., 2006). Migrant adolescents face the challenge of balancing their family's cultural norms and values with those of the host country (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2015). This can lead to internal conflicts and stress as individuals navigate between two worlds.

Maintaining one's heritage – Migrant adolescents face the challenge of adapting to a new culture while maintaining their cultural background (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2015). Family members may put them under pressure to uphold traditions and practices, leading to conflicts with the evolving cultural environment outside the family (Lee & Bukowski, 2012). Maintaining the balance can be challenging and lead to feelings of regret or conflicting loyalty (Berry et al., 2006).

Cultural misunderstandings – Cultural misinterpretations can occur in various settings, such as educational institutions, social interactions, and community gatherings (Arar, 2017). These misconceptions may lead to miscommunication, stereotyping, and conflict (Lee & Bukowski, 2012). It would, therefore, be essential for the host country to foster an inclusive environment that values diversity and promotes intercultural understanding (Berry et al., 2006).

Economic challenges

Financial hardship – Adolescents might be significantly impacted by the economic difficulties experienced in their homes (Noack, 2021). They might have to seek part-time employment to support their families financially, which can interfere with their academic journeys and social relationships (Nunn et al., 2014; Östberg & Modin, 2008). As Nunn et al. (2014) noted, financial instability may also limit access to resources such as extracurricular activities, tutoring, and mental health services.

Housing instability – Economic difficulties often result in housing instability, as migrant families live in overcrowded or substandard living conditions (Chung et al., 2022). Frequent relocations can disrupt adolescents' educational and social ties, resulting in heightened stress and instability (Darmanaki Farahani & Bradley, 2018; Fangen, 2010; Lee & Bukowski, 2012).

Psychological challenges

Identity and belonging – Migrant adolescents may have challenges developing their identity and building a sense of belonging (Darmanaki Farahani & Bradley, 2018). Relocating to a new country requires leaving behind familiar surroundings, acquaintances, and cultural norms (Sluzki, 1979). This can lead to feelings of alienation and confusion as individuals strive to integrate their cultural background with the foreign traditions and behaviours of the new society (Anbesse et al., 2009; Berry et al., 2006). Adolescents are in a pivotal phase of forming their self-perception, and the disruption caused by migration might complicate this process, leading to an identity crisis (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2015).

Mental health challenges – Migration may elicit worry and hopelessness due to the demands and stress involved (Berry, 1997). The uncertainty of a foreign environment, language barrier, and the pressure to conform can be overwhelming (Cleary et al., 2018).

Concurrently, adolescents may be exposed to adverse experiences or traumatic events such as violence, combat or persecution in high crime and/or war-stricken countries (Arar, 2017).

Arar continues to highlight that the migration journey may be complex and uncertain. These experiences may lead to the development of mental health challenges that require professional support during this phase of life.

Furthermore, given the comprehensive overview of the developmental stage of adolescence, the challenges faced by migrant adolescents may be multifaceted, without explaining the experiences of the adolescents. It may therefore be taking the experiences of an adolescent for granted based on the theory of development. To fully grasp the challenges faced by a migrant adolescent, it is essential to analyse their broader context. This requires applying a theoretical framework that focuses on family systems and considers migration through the lens of adverse childhood experiences. As such, Bowen's (1978) FST and Felitti et al.'s (1998) ACEs approach were used, which will be discussed next.

Theoretical Frameworks

Family Systems Theory

Family systems theory (FST) is a useful framework for understanding the individual's functioning in a specific context. FST views a family as a unit and a network of interlocked relationships (Kerr & Bowen, 1988). The members of the family interact and influence each other's behaviours. FST focuses on the behaviour exchange that takes place between family members. This interconnection leads to a system being viewed as a whole rather than as a collection of different individual elements (Gubrium & Holstein, 2006). A change in an individual may affect the family or influence a change in another member; for example, a member may prioritise their work over the home, as they may find the home chores menial or not fulfilling (Mahoney & Knudson-Martin, 2009), which would then be experienced as an

additional chore by other members of the family. This theory seeks to identify such behaviour; however, emphasis is placed on identifying and interrupting the pattern.

FST notes that family plays a vital role in an individual's emotional and physical well-being, as most individuals are in contact with their family of origin for their whole life (Albert & Coimbra, 2017). During crises, families come together to help each other and they are there during celebrations; they influence day-to-day lives (Nel, 2011). The theory proposes that families have values, beliefs, and rules that shape the individual (Lester, 2011). Family dynamics are crucial in relationships, as they influence who is drawn together and what drives people apart. FST examines conflicts and intergenerational transmission (Comella, 2011). Bowen's (1978) FST constitutes eight interlocking constructs – differentiation of self, triangulation, nuclear family emotional system, family projection process, multigenerational transmission process, emotional cutoff, sibling position and societal emotional process – which shape the understanding of family dynamics.

The concept of differentiation of self is fundamental to Bowen's theory. It refers to an individual's ability to keep their identity while preserving emotional connections to their family (Józefczyk, 2023). Increased levels of differentiation allow individuals to function with enhanced autonomy, reducing their need for approval or reliance on the emotional reactions of others. In contrast, a lack of differentiation frequently results in fusion, a state in which individual boundaries become blurred, leading to increased anxiety and disordered actions (Kerr & Bowen, 1988).

Triangulation is another core concept. Bowen (1978) describes it as a three-person relationship system where two individuals in conflict with one another involve a third person to alleviate tension and establish stability. Although it temporarily relieves stress, this process can perpetuate the underlying problems and develop long-lasting relational patterns within

the family (Bowen, 1978). Triangulation could thus be referred to as a response to anxiety in the system (Heiden Rootes et al., 2010).

The nuclear family, the emotional system concept, pertains to four fundamental patterns of connection that dictate the specific regions in which problems occur within a family (Bowen, 1978). The patterns included in this context involve marital disagreement, dysfunction displayed by one spouse, impairment experienced by one or more children, and emotional detachment (Miller, 2023). This concept has the potential to explain the variations in psychological and physical health experienced by individuals within a family unit (Cepukiene & Celiauskaite, 2022).

The family projection process is when parents project their emotional concerns onto their children (Bowen, 1978). Bowen highlights that it can result in young individuals experiencing similar or intensified emotional difficulties.

Bowen also explores multigenerational transmission processes, which describe how patterns of behaviour, emotional responses, and relational strategies are passed down through generations. He explains that the concept underscores the importance of understanding family history and the long-term impact of unresolved issues from previous generations on current family functioning.

Emotional cutoff refers to individuals efficiently managing unresolved emotional issues with family members by deliberately reducing or completely severing emotional ties with them (Bowen, 1978). Consequently, this often leads to isolation rather than the effective resolution of the issues (Miller, 2023).

The next concept is sibling position. Here, Bowen suggests that the individual's personality and behaviour is significantly affected by their position in the family (for example, oldest child, youngest child).

Lastly, the concept of societal emotional process expands upon the family systems model to encompass society, suggesting that the same principles that control family systems also apply to societal systems (Bowen, 1978). Societal forces can influence family functioning; conversely, societal forces can be influenced by family functioning (Baker, 2017). Falicov (1995) emphasises the intertwined nature of family and society, highlighting that broader sociocultural contexts and societal influences profoundly shape family dynamics and individual identities.

Family Systems Theory provides a valuable lens to understand the impact of migration on individuals and their family units. According to the theory, families operate as interconnected systems, where changes to one member affect the entire unit (Bowen, 1978). Migration introduces significant stressors, such as acculturation challenges, economic strain, and shifts in family roles, which can disrupt family equilibrium (Boss, 2016). For example, parental difficulties in adapting to a new culture may increase adolescents' responsibilities, creating role reversals and potential tension.

Furthermore, the theory emphasises the importance of familial support in navigating migration-related challenges. Cohesive family dynamics can serve as a protective factor, fostering resilience in the face of external stressors (Falicov, 2005). Conversely, family dysfunction, amplified by the migration process, may contribute to adverse outcomes such as mental health issues or social maladaptation. Migration, therefore, is a physical transition and a relational one, deeply embedded within the family's systemic framework.

The model of ACEs will be used in this research to understand the societal influences on an individual. ACEs can be understood as a combination of various unfavourable experiences during the developmental phase of life. The critical aspect of this study is how one manages the ACEs as an adolescent migrant with their family in context, as well as the impact of ACEs on their socio-psychological functioning.

Adverse Childhood Experiences

ACEs have been studied for the past two decades (Felitti et al., 1998). This refers to early traumatic experiences and household dysfunction, which includes caregiver substance abuse, caregiver incarceration and witnessing or exposure to domestic violence, mental health problems, physical and psychological abuse, and neglect and health-risk behaviours in adulthood (Felitti et al., 1998).

ACEs may significantly impact a child at different levels of development, including adolescence. As the count of ACEs increases, individuals' adversities also increase regarding behaviour, attendance, academic performance, and social-emotional functioning. It is noted that exposure to ACEs is a health concern for youth (Dube, 2018). Hughe et al. (2017) have indicated that individuals with a higher score of ACEs have more significant risks of health-harming behaviours, as well as both infectious and non-communicable diseases.

Holtzhausen and Campbell (2021) argue that ACEs can lead to antisocial behaviour in the future, and encountering an ACE early in life can be a risk factor for subsequent ACEs in later life. It is also noted that people who experience ACEs in their childhood or adolescence are at higher risk of experiencing physical or mental health problems compared to persons who have not experienced ACEs. Due to ACEs, one may experience other risk factors, disabilities, diseases and premature death (Gilbert et al., 2015).

Prolonged stress due to the inadequacy of protective factors can become 'toxic' as a result of parental maltreatment of children, family violence, mental health problems and substance use (Holtzhausen & Campbell, 2021). *Toxic stress* refers to a condition in which the body's stress response mechanisms are overly or continuously activated without supportive relationships (Shonkoff et al., 2012). Shonkoff et al. further explain that toxic stress results from exposure to adverse experiences that are intense, frequent, or prolonged

and occur without adequate adult support; it can also arise from ACEs, which can have profound and long-lasting effects on physical and mental health. Toxic stress has been attributed to challenges of everyday life and adult morbidity has been associated with it, e.g. damage caused to the immune and nervous systems along with the cardiovascular and metabolic systems due to toxic stress (Gilbert et al., 2015).

The prolonged stress that is toxic stress can impede one's learning and exacerbate other issues related to memory, emotional regulation, behaviour and executive functioning. An association between childhood adversity and mental health issues has been established (Mauder et al., 2019). Gilbert et al. (2015) further argue that in children who are exposed to toxic stress, their nervous system may be disrupted, affecting self-regulation of behaviour, emotional management, problem-solving capacity and planning, and potentially increasing the risk of unhealthy behaviour.

Finkelhor et al. (2013) believe that apart from the categories of ACEs, events such as natural disasters, community violence, severe illness or injury, poverty, homelessness, peer victimisation and systemic racism are also some of the challenges that children experience. Childhood adversity, such as abuse and neglect, has been associated with factors that contribute to the complexities in an individual's later life (Mauder et al., 2019). Stillerman (2018) emphasises that one must consider the effects of communal, structural and historical adversity when defining ACEs. Considering that children develop and learn from different resources, it is imperative to consider systemic factors' impact on children (Stillerman, 2018). The severity of the ACE has a more significant effect on the individual's mental health compared to the number of ACEs (Schilling et al., 2008). It is also noted that ACEs have an impact on mental health compared to other issues in an individual's life (Holtzhausen & Campbell, 2021).

An example is that in a patriarchal society, physical punishment may be normalised, which increases a child's experience/exposure to violence at home directly or indirectly (Ji & Finkelhor, 2015; Ozaki & Otis, 2017). Lansford et al. (2011) have highlighted that parental physical discipline (for example, physical punishment) affects not only the child but also the relationship between the parent and the child. There is evidence that maltreatment during childhood has resulted in adverse health outcomes, maladaptive behaviour, or mental health problems in young adult life and later.

With the awareness of ACEs and their impact and recognition of possible solutions, Murray et al. (2019) suggest that there is a potential to shift the trajectory of young people through supportive relationships promoting self-regulation skills and environmental structure. Tolerable stresses promote resilience in an individual, which in turn aids in building characteristics of well-being and success. Skills, resources and support are vital for this; however, when adversities are intense and extend for a long period, the coping strategies may not be sufficient. Hence, the adversity begins to manifest itself as a trauma. Addressing the complexities of adversity may contribute to developing a diagnostic program to assist in targeting the sources (Mauder et al., 2019).

Furthermore, due to the significant stress and trauma involved in migration, it could be considered as an ACE, impacting a child's mental and physical health. Children who migrate often face multiple stressors, such as separation from family, friends and pets, loss of familiar environments, and disruptions of routines (Fazel et al., 2012; Marchetti-Mercer, 2019). These factors could lead to feelings of insecurity, anxiety, and depression (Fazel et al., 2012).

The process of migrating can be highly distressing, particularly for individuals escaping from conflict or persecution. Being subjected to violence, hazardous travel circumstances, and uncertainty regarding the future might result in enduring psychological

trauma (Tsegay, 2023). Migrant children in host nations may face prejudice, language problems, and challenges in obtaining school and healthcare, which can intensify their stress and impede their development (Bronstein & Montgomery, 2011).

Moreover, the expectation of assimilating into a different culture while experiencing financial difficulties and unpredictable living conditions can place additional stress on family relationships and support networks, thereby increasing the adolescent's load. Research indicates that accumulating these stressors might result in enduring consequences, such as psychological disorders, scholastic obstacles, and challenges in social integration (Kirmayer et al., 2011). ACEs and migration are seemingly interconnected through the lens of stress, resilience and systemic influences of psychosocial development ACEs, such as abuse, neglect, and household dysfunction, create toxic stress during critical developmental periods, impacting emotional regulation, cognitive functioning, and interpersonal relationships (Felitti et al., 1998). Migration compounds this stress as it often entails loss, family separation, cultural dissonance, and exposure to discrimination (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2018).

Migration may act as a contextual amplifier of ACEs, introducing new adversities (e.g., xenophobia, socioeconomic instability) while potentially exacerbating pre-existing trauma (Wray et al., 2023). Conversely, the migration process can also offer protective factors, such as increased opportunities or strengthened family bonds through shared challenges (Walsh, 2015).

As previously indicated, addressing the impact of migration as an ACE requires comprehensive support systems, including trauma-informed care, educational assistance, and community integration programs, to help migrant children and their families navigate these challenges and build resilience. Stillerman (2018) noted that his ACEs study was done on white participants who were middle-aged, educated, and insured, highlighting

the necessity to understand the impact of ACEs on adolescents who migrate from Asia and are of Indian origin.

Conclusion

This chapter has comprehensively discussed the reasons behind the decision to migrate, focusing on transnationalism, and the migration outcomes. It further discusses migration of people to South Africa, focussing on the Indian migration, analysing the trends of Indian migration, specifically to South Africa. The Indian family system and its structure have been discussed. The impact migration can have on an individual and the family has been examined. As adolescents are the focus of this study, the literature on their challenges has been duly noted in this chapter using the available literature. This chapter has closely examined the literature available on the FST and ACEs, which are the theoretical framework for this study, emphasising migration and the possible impact of ACEs on migrant adolescents.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter provides an outline of the methods used during this research. It presents the research aims and the research questions posed at the start of the project. It further describes the research design and the qualitative approach used. It describes the sample and sampling procedure, the data collection tools, and the participants' background information. The process used by the researcher to analyse the data collected from the participants is also included. This study's ethical considerations and qualitative trustworthiness are described. This chapter ends with the researcher's reflections on her identity and investment in this study and how these aspects may have impacted or influenced the research project.

Research Aims

The research project aims to explore the experiences of an adolescent Indian person migrating to South Africa. Specifically, the research project wanted to explore the factors that may have played a key role in their experiences, perceptions, and understanding of the world. It also wanted to look at their relationship with their families and other people around them in the host country (South Africa).

Research Questions

1. How did young Indian migrants experience the migration process during their adolescence?
2. What were their experiences in the context of their family system?
3. How has the migration experience impacted their current psychosocial functioning?

Research Design

A research design is a comprehensive plan outlining the investigation process, from the initial research questions through the methods to interpretation, and reporting (Creswell &

Creswell, 2018). This study followed an exploratory design. The aim was to gain insight into the under-studied experiences, which are relatively new, and vaguely defined (Saunders et al., 2018). An exploratory design was thus deemed suitable for this research project as it highlights the experiences noted in the area of research that may need to be clarified and enable further development from a psychological perspective (Babbie, 2014). Therefore, the selected design may not provide a definitive solution or answer to the research questions but it can explore the research topic at several levels of depth (Ritchie & Ormston, 2014). Exploratory research is the foundation for more conclusive research, guiding decisions on research design, sample methodology, and data collection even in contexts with limited prior research (Marshall & Rossman, 2011; Robson, 2011).

Qualitative Approach

A qualitative research approach is concerned with developing concepts that assist in understanding and exploring social phenomena in a natural setting; it emphasises the participants' meanings, experiences, beliefs, and views (Mohajan, 2018). It is viewed as naturalistic, interpretive, and exploratory as it considers the viewpoints and experiences of participants from the start (Flick, 2006). This approach emphasises interpreting and understanding the meaning of events, the environments, and the context in which the research has been set (Mohajan, 2018; Ormston et al., 2014). It seeks to explore the depth of the phenomenon under investigation and extract a possible answer (Elliott et al., 2014).

Exploratory qualitative design assists in understanding the underlying values, concepts and conventions by adopting an open approach to encourage participants to take the lead and shape their narrative (Ormston et al., 2014). It may provide insight into the topic's complexities (Elliott et al., 2014). It is hoped that the findings from this type of study will shed light on the participants' phenomena being studied and so extend knowledge; by doing

so, the findings are placed in the relevant context, reflecting the subjective reality of the participants and their lived experiences.

As the main objective of this type of research is to explore participants' subjective experiences, Ormston et al. (2014) have highlighted that qualitative approaches account for the complexities of the depth of the information provided. Furthermore, qualitative research assists the researcher in determining how to proceed with the research depending on a range of factors: the researcher's beliefs about the social context, how knowledge is acquired, the purpose of this study and the characteristics of the participants (Creswell, 2014). The data collected can be in the form of narratives, word usage, observations by the researcher, and documents (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). This design allows the participants to reflect on their narratives and the meaning they have for them (Rugunanan, 2020). It helps examine the participants' experiences (Creswell & Poth, 2018). This design places the research in a critical reflexivity position that can lead to knowledge production (Hook, 2007). It is also a way of learning about social reality (Leavy, 2014). It can lead to the final generation of a report which incorporates the participants' voices, the researcher's reflexivity, researcher's interpretation and description of the problem, and the contribution of the literature in this study (Lune & Berg, 2017).

Furthermore, it is imperative to note that the findings are placed in a particular context, and the results are unique; hence, as per Hardwicke et al. (2022), a research finding may be reproduced only in such environment and context. However, a researcher's discretion is necessary in order to build on existing evidence through systematic review. This highlights a need for qualitative rigour (Thomas & Magilvy, 2011), which will be discussed later in the chapter.

Sample and Sampling Procedure

The sample collection from the sampling frame occurred in the following manner. A convenience sampling strategy (Babbie, 2014) was used for this research. Participants were selected as they responded to the advertisement on various social media platforms. Using these platforms for recruitment has been the most favoured method amongst the youth. The researcher used the social media platform to recruit participants as a convenience sampling source. Whilst using social media (Instagram and Facebook) as a convenient sampling source, a South African Depression and Anxiety Group (SADAG) volunteer reached out to participate in this study and expressed that they would be interested in this study and contribute to the knowledge base of Indian youth who migrated to South Africa during their adolescence. The researcher knew they would be an ideal candidate for this study and met all the prescribed sampling criteria. Furthermore, this participant shared the research poster on their personal social media account (as indicated by them), and a second research participant for the main study was referred to the researcher. Sampling continued to be a challenge until one participant showed interest, and then there was a snowball effect, and an appropriate number of participants was recruited for the project. Through this process, one participant brought in two more participants for the research, and a non-participant who did not match the criteria assisted in recruiting three participants. The remaining participants connected with the researcher after seeing the posters on the social media platform.

The process is thus an example of snowball sampling, which involves checking with the current participants to identify other people they may know who could fit the selection criteria (Ormston et al., 2014). Goodman (1961) described snowball sampling as a method used to estimate the number of potential reciprocal relationships within a specific community where participants may identify each other. It is a method involving a three-person circular relation in a population, where each person names another in a sequence, creating a mutual

acquaintance among all three individuals. Snowball sampling is a method where all or some participants are asked to provide information about potential participants who are not directly recruited by the researcher but connected to them by the initial participants (Emerson, 2015; Marcus et al., 2017). This strategy was chosen as it was time-effective.

The sample for this study consisted of eleven young adult Indian immigrants residing in various parts of South Africa living with their families, and who still have extended families residing in their country of origin (India). Most participants were born in India and were adolescents (between the ages of thirteen and seventeen) when they migrated to South Africa with their families. There were four males and seven females, all above the age of eighteen. The time the participants have lived in South Africa ranged from five years to twenty-four years. Of the eleven, three are employed, one is contemplating the choice between continuing education or starting an enterprise, and seven are furthering their education. The participants came from different geographical locations in South Africa.

The wide range of time between participants' migration experiences and their interviews reflects the dynamic and varied nature of migrant populations. Short-term economic opportunities such as contract-based work often influence migration, which may result in individuals or families residing in a host country for limited periods (Haas, Castles & Miller, 2020). This variability in length of stay is particularly relevant in regions where immigration policies or economic demands prioritise temporary labour over long-term settlement (OECD, 2018).

Capturing perspectives across this broad temporal range enriches the study, offering insights into how the migration experience is processed and interpreted over time. For some, the recent experience might highlight the immediate challenges of acculturation, while for others, a longer reflection may reveal evolving perspectives shaped by later life events. This

diversity enhances understanding of the migration process and underscores the heterogeneity of migrant experiences, both in duration and in lived outcomes.

Data Collection Tools

Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews were used to gather the data. The semi-structured interview generates responses for predetermined questions and specific topics (Lune & Berg, 2017). "It is defined as an interview to obtain descriptions of the life world of the interviewee to interpret the meaning of the described phenomena" (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2008, p.3) but also for some in-depth exploration and clarification of specific topics. This method of data collection is widely used in the humanities and social sciences (Brinkmann, 2014). Semi-structured interviewing can produce knowledge through dialogue by engaging in the narrative the participants provide; by doing so, the interviewer invariably contributes to the knowledge production (Brinkmann, 2014).

The data was collected using semi-structured interviews ranging from fifty minutes to one hour fifteen minutes. The time variations were directly proportional to the participant's engagement with the questions. Kvale (1996) notes that a semi-structured interview guides the process using open-ended questions, leaving room for the participant to deviate from the questions to engage with the information that could not have been anticipated but could be contextual. Therefore, this method of gathering data prioritises participants' knowledge and ensures a respectful approach to their language.

The semi-structured interview used questions (Appendix A) that explored the experiences of young Indian adults who migrated to South Africa during their adolescence with their families and their experiences of growing up in South Africa. The participants' experience of the impact of migration and the challenges they experienced in the host country

were analysed in the context of ACEs. The decision not to ask participants about ACEs beyond migration stems from methodological, ethical, and theoretical considerations. From a methodological perspective, focusing solely on migration-related ACEs allowed the study to maintain a clear and specific research scope, avoiding the risk of diluting the findings by introducing unrelated variables. Migration, as a complex and multifaceted phenomenon, can independently create or exacerbate adverse experiences (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2018). Exploring it in isolation ensured depth and relevance in understanding its unique impacts. Ethically, delving into broader ACEs unrelated to migration might risk retraumatizing participants by compelling them to revisit deeply personal and potentially distressing experiences (Larkin & Thompson, 2012).

Theoretically, migration often serves as both a context and a lens through which participants' experiences are framed. By narrowing the focus, the study aligned with frameworks highlighting the intersection of systemic, familial, and cultural factors specific to migration (Bucher-Maluschke, Gondim & Pedroso, 2017). This enabled a more nuanced analysis of how migration-related ACEs uniquely shape development and adaptation, rather than conflating them with unrelated adversities. Kvale (1996) highlights that an interview is an exchange of views between two people when discussing a theme in which both are interested; however, the researcher is interested in understanding the world from the participants' perspective to unveil the meaning in general from people's experiences. An interview is more interactive and engaging in collecting data from people than asking them to complete a survey or a questionnaire. It gathers descriptive data in the participant's own words, such that the researcher can develop insights into the participants' world and understand their world. Hence, interviewers require the skill of conducting them to yield rich and meaningful data. At the same time, the participants feel comfortable and safe sharing their complex or sensitive experiences with strangers (Kvale, 1996).

Data collection techniques

The researcher employed probing techniques and follow-up questions as necessary to elicit comprehensive responses. The responses were meticulously recorded and subsequently transcribed for analysis. Further, it is to be noted that at some stage a level of saturation was reached, which was confirmed with the last participant and did not seem to add significant new information or insights to the research questions. The purposive questioning in the semi-structured interviews goes beyond recollecting the events and reliving the experiences (Husband, 2020). The participants tend to reflect critically on their development; the researcher encourages critical reflection (Husband, 2020). Kallio et al. (2016) highlight that although the semi-structured interview is standard among qualitative research, it can contribute to the research through the trustworthiness and objectivity of this study itself, and the results are plausible. The data collection process took much longer than anticipated due to these factors.

Interview process

According to Creswell (2014), observation and interviews are part of data collection. Data is considered the raw material that is collected to study the topic. It contains records such as interview recordings, transcripts and observation notes.

The primary data-gathering method in this study included individual interviewing and general participant observation.

The participants were invited to participate in a face-to-face interview for this study. Two participants chose to participate in person; however, due to logistical issues and academic commitments, they had to transition to an online interview. The rest of the participants chose to be interviewed using an online platform for various reasons, such as their location, academic or employment commitments, and the availability of the participant

and the researcher. Archibald et al. (2019) highlight that online interviews are cost-effective and convenient compared to in-person interviews, mainly when the participants are spread over a large geographical area. Concerning the sample population, the researcher had to bear in mind that it would not have been economically feasible to reach the participant in the province where they lived or for them to come to Gauteng, where the interviews were scheduled. Out of the eleven, eight participants lived in Gauteng, whereas the rest of the participants lived in KwaZulu Natal. Participants chose to meet online, which was ideal (Salvador et al., 2020); however, load-shedding posed a challenge, and often the interviews would be rescheduled, as the participants could not come online. Other times, the internet service provider's bandwidth would be a challenge as the network would be interrupted (Boloka et al., 2021); at times, the researcher was informed that internet speed was affected by loadshedding. Online interviews were therefore economical and feasible, but not without abovementioned challenges.

Before the interview, the participants were briefed about the project and provided with the information participation sheet (Appendix B) and assured that their participation was entirely voluntary and that they could terminate the process should they feel discomfort during or after the interview. Participants were provided with consent forms (Appendix C), which amongst others sought consent for video recording and a discussion about the research study and interview questions. The video recording ensured the participants understood and were comfortable with the process. They were informed that their identities would remain confidential, a pseudonym would be assigned to each, and the recordings would be transcribed. The consent forms were then emailed to the participants prior to the interviews, and they were encouraged to sign and send them back; the documents were password-protected individually.

The interviews were scheduled with participants who met the criteria. During the interview, the participants engaged with the questions and seldomly deviated from the topic; special attention was placed on clarifying questions to understand and avoid assumptions, such that the participants would have more room to express their opinions, thoughts and beliefs.

The interviews were recorded using the Zoom platform and saved in a folder on the researcher's laptop. The laptop and the folder are password-protected to ensure only the researcher can access these recordings. The recordings were transcribed accurately and kept in a password-protected folder on the researcher's laptop. Pseudonyms were assigned to each participant according to gender. Transcription was done verbatim to ensure that transcripts were as accurate as possible.

Background Information of the Participants

Participant 1 - Ahana

Ahana was a 25-year-old female completing her Bachelor's degree in humanities at the time of the research study, and she lived with her parents. Her extended family continues to live in India. She is originally from India but has briefly stayed in Ghana before migrating to Gauteng in South Africa. She was 13 when she arrived. She mentioned that she had a say in the migration process when her parents decided to move to South Africa. Initially, she was excited about the move as she thought she would have a similar experience to living in Ghana. However, she reported that the excitement was short-lived; she felt living in Ghana was better than in South Africa, as people were more accommodating. Being an only child, she initially struggled to express her difficulties to her parents. She felt lonely in South Africa, as most of her childhood friends were in India or Ghana. She reported that her experiences in South Africa have been unpleasant. She described that her reason for staying

in South Africa is due to her parents, who are currently supportive. Her home language is Bengali, and she was educated in English.

Participant 2 - Akila

Akila was a 22-year-old female who had started studying for her Bachelor's degree in Engineering at the time of the research study and was living with her parents and a sibling. She is originally from India. She was 14 when she arrived in Gauteng in South Africa. She stated that her parents' job prospects necessitated their relocation. Given that living with extended family in India or boarding was not feasible, she had no choice except to relocate. She stated that her family adheres to stringent regulations, and she receives assistance from her sibling, especially when struggling emotionally. She reported that she can talk more frankly about her experiences to her sibling than to her parents. She travels to India yearly and actively seeks opportunities to reunite with her friends. Her home language is Hindi, and she received an education in English in India.

Participant 3 - Dev

Dev was a 19-year-old male who had started studying for his Bachelor's degree in Computer Programming; however, he was thinking of changing the university at the time of the research study and living with his parents. His native language is Bengali, although the family alternates between conversing in Bengali and English. At 13, he migrated to Gauteng in South Africa with his family. He stated that his father's intra-company move sent the family to South Africa. He was compelled to move. While relocating, he maintained a strong emotional bond with his grandparents, who reside in India. He stated that he found it challenging to navigate friendships. He said he would occupy his time participating in online video games when he returned from school.

Participant 4 - Kumar

Kumar was a 25-year-old male who had graduated in business analysis; he was considering starting a business of his own at the time of the research study and was living with his parents. He was 13 years old when he moved to South Africa. His native language is Hindi. He stated that his father's workplace transferred him to South Africa to expand the business, and the family moved to Gauteng in South Africa. He did not have a say in the moving process. The father had made the sole decision to settle in South Africa. It was a surprise for the family and scary for the children. Kumar recounts the conversation with his sibling about the move, especially the education system and the worries around settling in the new place; they saw the move as an adventure. He noted that the father had put in efforts to ease the family by bringing them on a vacation to experience the environment. Initially, at a surface level, they felt comfortable living in South Africa; however, it got challenging as they extended their stay.

Participant 5 - Nala

Nala was a 26-year-old female who had completed a Bachelor of Arts and contemplated studying for a Master's during the research study. She and her family predominantly speak English at home, and she reported that her parents converse in English, although they are all from India. She noted that she is fluent in Hindi, but it is not either of the parents' mother tongue. She was 14 when she moved to Gauteng in South Africa with her family. Before moving to South Africa, the family had lived in Dubai, which was a different experience; she recollected that there was a tendency to compare the living conditions in both countries. Dubai felt more like home as there was a large Indian community that they could access. However, such opportunities seemed limited for the first six months of their stay in South Africa. She reported that her father's job opportunity brought them to South Africa, and the family followed him. He had his work friends and could socialise, but her mother felt

lonely as she did not have a network here. During that time, Nala thought she had a peer network, but her school experience was challenging. She had memories of returning from school and crying every day, as she did not understand how the social groups functioned; she felt that the culture was different in South Africa.

Participant 6 - Parul

Parul was a 34-year-old female who had completed her Bachelor's degree and was employed at the time of the research study. She was 16 when she moved to KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa with her family, including her paternal grandmother. The move was initiated due to her father's job opportunity. She recollected that the family was briefed on the security and crime in South Africa. It was frightening for her and the family; they would not leave the house in the evenings. She reported that she was weary of the South African schooling system and the culture; there were mixed responses from the father's colleagues regarding safety; she was apprehensive, wondering if she would be able to adjust to the new place, and at the same time, excited about the opportunity of living in a foreign country. Hindi is her home language, and she was worried about her English language skills. She reported that her concerns about adjustment also included socialising with peers, making friends, and generally fitting in with friends and at school. As reported by her, her father supported their move with him, however, he gave the option to stay back, and they could prioritise their needs and choose to move if they wished. She recollected that the move here was a culture shock, as people's business hours and routines were different. Developing a circle of friends or friendships was challenging at school.

Participant 7 - Raksha

Raksha was a 36-year-old female who had completed her Master's degree in Administration and worked at a management level during the research study. She was 13

when she arrived with her family in KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa. Her father was transferred from India. She reported that the family did not have a say in the decision to move or not. However, they were accustomed to moving internally within India, and she had moved to Malta as a three-year-old; this was her second international move. She reported being apprehensive about it and did not like the idea. She had to leave her pet and grandparents behind, which she did not like. She noted that adjusting to a new environment as a teenager was difficult. She reported that as much as she was anxious, worried and concerned about her studies and social life, she wondered about the place; she would begin to imagine how exciting the new place could be for her and the family. Having moved to South Africa, the family was concerned about their safety, and during the early days, they had stayed indoors and would not venture outside; they were scared. Their freedom to move around was removed, contributing to their culture shock. In India, most people walk, and the shops are open until late evening.

Participant 8 - Sulochana

Sulochana was a 20-year-old female studying for her Bachelor of Commerce degree at the time of the research study. She was 13 when she arrived in Gauteng in South Africa with her family, due to her father's job transfer. Although she had little say in the decision, she informed her friends about the move. Sulochana missed her friends deeply, finding the transition harder than expected due to limited communication and fearing she would lose her connections. Her mother worried about finding familiar groceries and managing expenses, adding to their concerns. The family faced isolation due to their Punjabi language and inadequate transport services, which restricted their social life. Sulochana struggled to make new friends and missed the spontaneity of visits common in India. The move impacted her confidence, and frequent trips back to India disrupted her studies, making it hard to adapt to different educational systems. She felt pressured to excel academically despite facing bias

and a lack of support from school staff, affecting her self-esteem and balance between social and academic life.

Participant 9 - Saurav

During the research study, Saurav was 22 years old and contemplated continuing his education in India. He was 17 when he arrived in Gauteng in South Africa with his family. His father's job required relocation to multiple geographical locations, and Saurav relocated as a dependant for one last time and South Africa would be the last destination. Saurav reported that, as an Indian citizen, he was born in Egypt but has lived in India sporadically. He mentioned that he was not happy before coming to South Africa; however, the move to South Africa was concerning due to the crime reports in the media. After arrival, he felt it was isolating, and he had to always be alert; there was an innate sense of fear. The family witnessed an armed robbery during their first months, which was a frightening experience. Despite this, he was excited to live among a larger Indian diaspora outside India. Socially, living in South Africa has been positive as they quickly made connections and engaged with communities. Although his mother initially disliked the move, she eventually found South Africa to be beautiful and friendly. One challenge was the early closure of shops leading them to stay indoors in the evenings. As a 17-year-old, he found it difficult to develop new friendships but chose to explore them at 18. He felt pressured to excel academically due to stereotypes about Indian children but received understanding support from his parents.

Participant 10 - Sneha

Sneha was 37 years old and worked in the IT sector, assisting her spouse in their business during the research study. She was 13 when she arrived with her parents in KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa. Her father had found a job in South Africa, so the family immigrated. She reported that her father was briefed on the country's history and perception.

One of their most significant concerns were to survive, especially food habits. Additionally, the lack of public transport added to their challenges to move around. In the same vein, language posed a challenge as the family was predominantly Hindi speaking. As Sneha had previously lived in the Philippines, English was not a barrier for her, but her concerns revolved around social and educational activities. She described that her mother would look after the household and the finances, as her father had to stay closer to the office due to logistical issues. However, when the company closed its operations, the family had an option to either stay or move, and they chose to stay and take a chance by building a business. Meanwhile, at school, she reported that it was challenging for her to understand the South African accent and for her educators and peers to understand her accent. She reported feeling like an outcast as she tended to stay alone and was not involved in sports activities. She would not report any incidents at school or her difficulties to anyone, including parents and teachers. She had briefly moved to India but returned to South Africa with her husband and chose to live here. Meanwhile, her parents have moved back to India.

Participant 11 - Nitin

Nitin was a 19-year-old male who had started a Bachelor of Engineering degree at the time of the research study. He was 14 when he arrived with his family in Gauteng in South Africa. His father was transferred to South Africa, and they had to move. Nitin reported that he feared the move as he was in Grade 9, and it was an important year as it would decide his future subjects. He spoke about the stigma he had about South Africa; that it would be a dangerous place and a jungle, and that it was difficult for him to fathom living in a place like that. He reported that engaging in developing friendships was challenging for him. He would explore the scope to find a group and, when he did not like it, explore for another. However, at home, he reported it was different; his mother was feeling lonely and frustrated as she had to manage everything, and it was difficult to find a domestic worker; along with it, she had

yet to find friends, whereas his father had support from his colleagues at work. Before moving to South Africa, Nitin had lived in Dubai, where there was a sense of belonging as there were other families with whom they had bonded. Following a different educational system was challenging; however, once he understood how to work around it, he did well; it was an innate pressure to do well academically. He mentioned that being self-sufficient and self-reliant was essential to him, as it was difficult to rely on friends or others who were not family.

Data Analysis

The data was analysed using thematic analysis, as outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006). Thematic analysis is the process of identifying, analysing and reporting the themes within the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The researcher followed Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-step process, which is outlined below:

Familiarising oneself with the data

During this phase, the data (transcripts) is read and re-read as data, making notes of points of interest exploring the data. In other words, this involves immersing oneself in the data, noting what is familiar and what is not familiar, through which a deeper comprehension of the content is achieved.

Coding the data

Here, working systematically, the codes are generated as a code that captures the analytically interesting aspects concerning the relevant data. Codes are worked comprehensively.

Generating initial themes

The codes are then reviewed to identify the potential themes using thematic maps and tables; the relationship between them is thought about as the themes are generated, and their

distinctiveness and being a part of the larger objectives are ascertained. All the relevant data to each theme is gathered using the codes.

Reviewing and developing themes

Identifying the character or the nature of the potential themes starts here using a thematic map. The themes are continuously reviewed to identify whether they concern the extracted codes and the data.

Refining, defining and naming themes

At this stage, the details of each theme and the narratives within the analysis are refined. The number of themes is determined and organised around the central concept, including any sub-themes that highlight key aspects of the main theme. Each theme is then clearly defined and given a specific name.

Producing the report

Working with the data extracts and themes, the researcher presents the themes in the decided order. The themes are worked comprehensively with compelling examples of the data to illustrate each theme. The analysis of the examples is then related to the research question and the literature, concluding the themes to produce the final report.

As all the interviews were conducted online, Braun et al. (2017) noted that online qualitative data collection methods can be replicated and complemented by in-person interviews. Braun and Clarke (2021) have indicated that the quality of data is vital; therefore, interactively collecting the data (e.g. interviews) and immersing oneself in the process of transcribing allows the researcher to build familiarity with the data. The researcher conducted the online interviews using the Zoom platform. Further, the researcher transcribed the interviews to understand the information before generating the codes using the data. Each

interview transcript was coded separately and extensively to identify the prominent themes and meanings in the data set (Braun & Clarke, 2021).

To begin with the coding process, Microsoft Excel application was used to generate the codes, emerging patterns or codes that shared similar meanings and combined to form a code. These codes were then grouped further to relate to the participants' themes and address the research questions. To build the thematic map, the MindNode – Mind Map application was used to outline and visualise themes, such that they are organised, categorised, and prioritised to get a clear picture of the themes. The themes were reviewed to ensure they were closely related to the participants' shared experiences, and coherent. Further, the relevant themes were noted across the interviews by comparing them with each other to be relevant to the participants. As the themes were identified and clarity was gained, they were tabulated in Microsoft Excel, grouping the codes and associating the participants' responses with their themes and sub-themes. A comprehensive list was completed for each participant, where the codes and themes were grouped as per their relevance. The most prevalent themes were identified across the dataset; a note was also made for the codes identified in limited interviews but not across the dataset. Braun and Clarke (2006) highlight that too many themes and sub-themes suggest a fragmented and underdeveloped analysis. In the same vein, they suggest that analysis without contradictions may be questioned and indicative of a lack of in-depth explanation. Throughout coding and identifying themes, the researcher returned to the data extracts and the transcripts to ascertain that the information and context were still relevant to the codes and themes in which they were grouped.

This study acknowledges that participants' narratives are influenced by memory's inherent imperfections, as recollection is often reconstructed in the present and shaped by current emotions and perspectives (Merrill & Fivush, 2016). Memory is selective and interpretive, which means that participants may emphasise certain aspects of their migration

experiences while minimising or forgetting others. Additionally, the research context introduces demand characteristics, where participants might unconsciously align their responses with the perceived expectations of the researcher (Orne, 2017). In this case, the study's design may have unintentionally emphasised recalling and narrating negative experiences due to its focus on challenges linked to migration. Reflexivity was essential to mitigate these biases, ensuring findings reflect participants' authentic voices rather than reinforcing a negative framework.

Ethical Considerations

The University of Witwatersrand's Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC-Non-Medical) granted ethical permission (Appendix D). Before the data collection, a participation information sheet was sent to the participants, which had information explaining the nature of the research and the purpose, the identification of the researcher, the supervisor information, and the rights and responsibilities of the participants. The participants could connect with the researcher using the contact details provided to arrange an interview (Appendix B: Participant Information Letter; Appendix C: Informed Consent). The participant information letter highlighted to potential participants that their participation was voluntary and they could withdraw at any time; also, it made it clear that there were no direct or indirect benefits linked to participating in the research project. However, by participating, they would contribute to the understanding of the experiences of adolescents and the impact of their experiences thereon in the young adults' lives. They were asked permission to video record the interview in the case of the online interviews. They were also informed that interviews would be recorded for transcription and analysis purposes only, and if and when necessary, quotes would be used to back up the findings. The researcher assured the participants that their identities would be kept confidential and protected in the research report. Pseudonyms were used to identify the participants. The researcher was conscious of the potential risk that the

topic may elicit discomfort and sensitivity to specific questions, but this study was categorised as low risk. After the interview, the researcher would debrief the participants and asked if the participants experienced any discomfort. As the topic is related to childhood experiences, it may be distressing for some to speak about it; in an event like that, arrangements were made such that the participant could access support services to engage in counselling sessions; they were then referred to SADAG and some participants had their own psychologists to reach out to for support. This aspect was clarified at the end of the interview. In every stage of the research project, the ethics were considered and followed diligently; from approval of the proposal to completion of interviews and information storage, followed by data analysis and reporting of the findings.

Qualitative Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness strengthens the value of a qualitative study (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest that the essential trustworthiness criteria include credibility, transferability, dependability, confirmability, and authenticity. Polit and Beck (2008) define these five terms:

- ***Credibility*** - refers to the confidence in the researcher's interpretation and representation of the data provided by the participants. This relies heavily on how effective the researcher immerses herself in the field and gains a deep understanding of the topic under study. Immersion requires the researcher to read extensively on the topic and understand the value, impact and gap in the literature.
- ***Transferability*** - refers to applying the findings in other scenarios apart from the ones tested. This aspect calls for the researcher to be involved in providing rich, detailed descriptions that allow readers to judge if the findings apply to a different context. While the aim is not always to generalise the broader population, the detailed context will enable others to determine if parallels can be drawn with other settings.

- ***Dependability*** - refers to the consistency of the data and the fact that this study can be repeated in similar conditions. It also reflects the stability and consistency of this study over time. Dependability is increased through methods such as conducting an external audit of the research process, keeping a decision trail, and applying consistent processes throughout the research. For this study, it is to be highlighted that the study can be repeated under similar conditions due to the frequent migration and continued stay of the population in the host country.
- ***Confirmability*** - refers to the fact that the data is representative of the participants' views and the researcher's bias and viewpoints are not there; instead, it is the ability of the researcher to demonstrate the neutrality they hold towards the data. Here, the level of objectivity involved in interpreting and presenting data is maintained as it ensures that the findings genuinely reflect the participants' perspectives and not the researcher's personal biases. Clear, precise, and sufficient information about the methods used in the research is given to substantiate the cogency of the findings.
- ***Authenticity*** - refers to the researcher faithfully expressing the feelings and emotions of the participants. This process required a high degree of reflexive thinking, and the researcher had to continually examine her assumptions and biases and how these might impact the interpretation of the data. By scrupulously representing the participants' perspectives and experiences, the researcher can produce meaningful, impactful insights that resonate with a broader audience, fostering a greater understanding of complex social phenomena.

Darawsheh (2014) argues that monitoring the researcher's subjectivity to generate a credible finding can be challenging, and therefore, a strategy must be in place to establish the criteria for rigour. Dodgson (2019) suggests that a reflexivity journal will guide the

researcher in examining their behaviours, experiences, feelings and thoughts towards the participants and this study, along with participants' experiences.

Amankwaa (2016) suggests that to maintain the trustworthiness of a study, every detail of the process must be noted. Also, a protocol must be put in place during the initial stages of the research within the research document to establish the trustworthiness of the qualitative research (Amankwaa, 2016).

Researcher Reflexivity

The researcher's worldview may impact qualitative research (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Creswell and Creswell (2018) suggest that the worldviews are the researcher's philosophical perspectives of the world and the nature of this study. An individual may develop a worldview based on their past research experiences, discipline orientations, and guidance from the research community (advisors, mentors and supervisors) (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Reflexivity is the researcher's awareness of her values, background and previous experiences that may affect the process (Cope, 2014). Therefore, reflexivity on the role of the researcher and her self-reflections are included in the qualitative research to increase the rigour of the approach (Jootun et al., 2009). It is an invaluable tool that promotes the researcher's role and the understanding of the phenomenon being studied (Jootun et al., 2009).

Reflexivity pertains to the mutual independence among all accounts of social settings, including descriptions, analyses, criticism, and the social settings that prompt them (Cohen et al., 2018). Yin (2016) defines reflexivity as a dynamic interplay between the researcher and the participant and their influence on each other. The participants' presence and action may evoke the researcher's thinking and observations, and vice versa. Therefore, my reflexivity played a role in this project as the topic is seemingly similar to my experiences. Although I

did not migrate during my adolescence, my two children were born in South Africa. I noticed at a very young age they have had to adapt themselves between a culture and norm which is at home and outside, for example, the school environment and the socialising environment. Growing up as an Indian Hindu, they have had exposure to celebrating Christmas at school and at friends' homes; my children questioned the non-celebration of Christmas. We, however, celebrate Diwali at home, which was not celebrated at school or at friends' homes. This difference in celebrations had to be explained incrementally. This also meant that the researcher could be affected; hence, they also needed a support system. The researcher used her supportive resources for debriefing. Hence, this topic is subjective and could be influenced by researcher bias. Therefore, to minimise the possible assumptions and biases, it is important to remain reflexive as the process of collecting data from the participants and working on it can be emotion laden. Reflexivity entails a conscious understanding of one's identity and the interconnection between oneself and the research context (Schippers et al., 2015).

Berger (2013) highlights the researcher's benefits and challenges of reflexivity, which can be discussed under: "1. Reflexivity when the researcher shares the experience of study participants; 2. Reflexivity is when the researcher moves from the position of an outsider to the position of an insider during the study; 3. Reflexivity when the researcher has no personal familiarity or experience with what is being studied" (p.221). With this in perspective, reflexivity assists in finding the spaces that may have potential for change.

During this research project, as a researcher, I had to reach out to the Consulate General of India office in Johannesburg and try find participants. Despite efforts, there was still limited success, possibly because, as a co-national, potential participants may have perceived me as an insider. This could have led to concerns that their vulnerabilities might be exposed to the community; however, this remains an assumption. Carling et al. (2014) have

highlighted that being a co-national does not automatically make the researcher an insider; participants do not see the researchers as an insider because they share an ethnicity or nationality, and the increased consensus amongst the migration researchers confirms it. The participants, however, did not see me as an insider but were showing interest in the possible outcome of the research study. They were curious and said that they felt heard during the interviews, as they could share their experiences objectively.

Tewolde (2023) highlights the importance of a co-national migrant researcher's subjectivities as an aide in producing co-constructed qualitative knowledge. In the same vein, Luttrell (2000) has suggested that the objective of reflexivity is to understand if there is compatibility and not strive to get a consensus. However, self-reflexivity guides the researcher in maintaining integrity and subjectivity within the process (Malaurent & Avison, 2017). In the self-reflexive journal, as a researcher, one reflects on their inherent influences and how research is conducted, as well as the study's outcome, which is shaped by the process (Malaurent & Avison, 2017). Here, Schultze (2000) highlights that the immersion and experience of the researcher and participants are essential; as much as the researcher's presence makes a difference in the room, so does their (researcher) prior understanding of the project; similarly, the description of the participants' lives as observed and understood by the researcher in response to their (participant) interest project is discussed in the write-up. The researcher's focus should be increasing self-knowledge, monitoring personal experiences and biases, and aiming to work in a balanced approach with the research (Berger, 2015).

During the early stages of the project, such as the proposal writing, I was made cognisant of the topic being close to home. I am a parent and have two children. Although both were born in South Africa, they are not citizens, but only permanent residents; hence, they are considered foreign nationals by educational institutions. From their school experiences (which they have shared) it seems like being an Indian national automatically

stereotypes them to be good at some subjects (e.g. Mathematics and Science) even though they have never been schooled in India. Similarly, as an older student, I have different experiences with the academic institutions of South Africa, which will be highlighted in further reflections. The study was designed with an awareness of the potential for participants to have experienced migration as a difficult or even traumatic process, and efforts were made to minimise any bias that could have affected the research. From an ethical standpoint, the researcher approached the topic with sensitivity, ensuring that data collection methods were inclusive and allowed for diverse experiences to emerge. This was achieved by framing questions in an open-ended manner, avoiding leading questions that might impose a positive or negative connotation on participants' migration narratives (Creswell & Poth, 2018). The researcher also remained reflexively aware of their position, acknowledging any personal beliefs or assumptions that could influence data interpretation. Strategies such as peer debriefing and iterative data analysis were employed to ensure that findings accurately represented the participants' perspectives rather than the researcher's preconceptions (Berger, 2015).

During the interviews, as the participants unveiled their experiences and I adhered to the interview questions, participants seldomly deviated from the questions; however, they produced rich information that could be highlighted in the research. Some participants would stay with the questions, which did not produce new data as data saturation had been reached. During this time, I realised that occasional probing and directions were futile.

Additionally, the study sought to capture a wide range of experiences, emphasising both challenges and adaptive strategies. By including prompts that allowed participants to express difficulties without judgment, the researcher respected participants' autonomy in sharing their stories. Such a balanced approach demonstrates a commitment to ethical integrity and rigorous methodology, ensuring that the study honoured the complexity of

migration experiences. It is essential to highlight that I as a researcher was not aware of the range of experiences that would be revealed.

As the participants shared their experiences, I found it challenging not to be subjective, as I have had similar experiences. For example, participants highlighted that their classmates picked on them for being an Indian national and presumably better at Mathematics; this aspect was also experienced by my children. Additionally, living in a new country away from family can be arduous. When the choice has been made by the head of the family to migrate, it is challenging to express the difficulties experienced in educational institutions, for one could be labelled as *lazy*. I resonated with that feeling, as one is expected to be grateful to have a comfortable life. Noting the participants' narratives, I made the conscious decision not to succumb to the overwhelming emotional content, as some experiences have been very similar to that of mine, but rather focused on their experiences.

Berger (2013) highlights that shared demographics may foster rapport, making participants feel understood and more willing to share personal experiences. This can result in richer, more detailed data, particularly when sensitive topics are discussed. However, this similarity may also introduce biases. The researcher may unconsciously interpret responses through their own experiences, limiting objectivity in analysis (Packer-Muti, 2016). For instance, assumptions about cultural norms based on shared nationality may lead to overlooking divergent perspectives within the participant group. There have been instances, where the participants assumed that I already understand certain contextual nuances (e.g. life in Durban as an Indian- which I have never experienced), resulting in incomplete explanations of critical experiences. In such conditions, I had to probe and maintain authenticity and explain that I did not have a similar experience.

Migrating to the new country, I have had to reflect on my possible choices and make sense of them and the psychological impact on me and eventually on my family, whilst in the

same breath, understanding my children's experiences. For example, before migrating to South Africa, I could drive and did not face much of a challenge with transportation from one place to another; I presupposed that the participants' parents would have similar skills and was surprised to discover that not having reliable transportation could be a hassle. It is these experiences that I have had to be conscious of and not stereotype or generalise but remain objective during the interview process.

Another factor is that the participants are of Indian origin as I am. As I am a co-national, the participants may have found me to be more relatable, which may have influenced them to be more open. Nevertheless, due to my spouse's prominent reputation in the community, I questioned whether any of the participants had made a connection and consequently displayed a lack of openness during the interview. Some male participants were seemingly reserved even after probing, compared to the female participants, who were open and shared their experiences. During this process, I have wondered if my children may go through these experiences even though they were born and raised in South Africa. At the same time, I also wonder if the influences and challenges they have or face may differ from that of the research participants. These aspects may have influenced the research project; nevertheless, being aware of them throughout the research process was essential. The objective of this research to examine the experiences of the participants who arrived in South Africa as adolescents is achieved.

Conclusion

In this chapter, an outline of the methodology used was provided. The chapter started by addressing the research design, discussing the framework of this study and its qualitative nature, and its significance. That was followed by the participants' description and the method used to gather data by identifying the participants, and the means to collect the data. The data collection procedures were explained in detail, as well as the instruments used to

collect the data. The data analysis process was followed by the ethical considerations, which are outlined clearly. Lastly, a reflexivity section was included, highlighting the significance of being aware of the researcher's involvement in the research project subjectively and emotionally and the factors that may influence the research project. In the following chapter the findings will be presented.

Chapter 4: Findings

This chapter presents the research study's findings derived from the data analysis conducted using the framework outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006). The themes and sub-themes that emerged from the data were carefully determined based on repeating patterns and supported by excerpts from the semi-structured interviews with the participants. This was done to demonstrate the reliability and transparency of the research process (Berger, 2013). Four main themes were identified along with their subthemes: 1. The challenges related to the adaptation to a new country; subthemes – Sense of exclusion and marginalisation; Issues related to cultural adaptation; Feelings of nostalgia and homesickness; Looking for a sense of identity and belonging through academic achievements; Financial adjustments, 2. The challenges inherent to a new educational system; subthemes – Language barrier; Access to quality education; Academic stress and pressure; Educational support and resources; Bullying and discrimination, 3. The impact of the migration on different interpersonal relationships; subthemes – impact on familial relationships; Difficulty in creating new social relationships, 4. The impact of the migration on one's emotional well-being; subthemes – Social isolation and loneliness; Sense of anxiety and uncertainty; Sense of loss and grief; Adaptive responses; Personal growth and resilience. These themes will be discussed with the relevant sub-themes in detail below.

The Challenges Related to Adaptation to a New Country

This theme reflects the participants' experiences related to their adjustment to the host country, South Africa and the specific obstacles they faced. It recounts their first encounters with the country and the adaptations they needed to make. Despite most participants receiving financial and emotional support from their families in the host country, they still

maintained an emotional connection to their country of origin. More specifically the following sub-themes were identified.

Sense of exclusion and marginalisation

Most participants expressed feeling excluded and marginalised by their South African peers or teachers of South Africa.

Raksha noted that it was difficult for her to engage with her peers, unlike in India: *“I also felt like the Indian girls in my school didn’t really take a liking to me, I don’t know why, they used to gossip behind.”*

Sneha highlighted how she isolated herself: *“Every lunch break or recess, I would find myself a quiet corner where there was absolutely no one who would question me and who I have to socialise with, because I literally have nothing to socialise with them about.”*

Akila mentioned that she did not take pride in her identity, as she was trying hard to find her space and fit into the system, seemingly leaving her isolated: *“I just didn’t have a lot of pride in my own identity going in. And, of course, that’s like a big block, so I just didn’t really consider myself fitting in.”*

Parul spoke about her experiences of feeling excluded and demotivated to try to fit into a group. Her experiences were different from those of the rest of the participants. She felt marginalised from the beginning as she noticed there were prior group dynamics: *“Like I could see that it was some kind of groups where I wouldn’t really fit in because these girls had grown up together and I didn’t really want to fit into that because I knew that I would still be like an outsider.”*

Dev described his experiences with teachers, stating that he reported his relationship with his teachers was not easy: *“At breaks, I wasn’t hanging out with people right, so I had some time to actually go out and help the teachers with their technical issues. That they are*

all like, struggle to open Microsoft Word... like...stuff like that... so I did have a very good relationship with teachers. I think it's fine, still the same. It was external factors that led to the relationship deteriorating with them."

Issues related to cultural adaptation

Each participant experienced challenges related to the new culture.

Kumar expressed this as follows: *"It was a bit of a culture shock."*

Raksha experienced the change especially related to access to shops and independence to move around. It was an inconvenience to the family until they had adapted themselves:

"It's a big culture shock. Because even as kids in India, we are so used to just walking around, I mean, we just go down to the shop, and we just buy biscuits, or buy an ice lolly or whatever that is."

Nala expressed that she was open to adjusting and learning in South Africa, which was an aspect she was keen on: *"I think, culturally adjusting to this new environment was what I was fixated on."*

Feelings of nostalgia and homesickness

Most participants said they missed their home country and observed that their mothers were particularly homesick.

Akila described that while the family was initially excited to relocate to South Africa, the excitement soon died down: *"But we were all about the beauty and opportunities we would get. Soon, we got tired of how quiet it was. We come from a very crowded place."* Her mother felt homesick and missed the help (in the form of multiple domestic workers) she used to get back in India: *"My mom was probably a bit more in shock because she had so much help before in India."*

This experience is closely related to Parul's description of her grandmother's experience of isolation: *"They felt a lot isolated, my grandmother, she was begging my dad to go back to India because she didn't really feel comfortable."* Parul's grandmother was not comfortable or content living in South Africa and craved to return to India, where she had her network of friends and family who supported her.

Looking for a sense of identity and belonging through academic achievements

For many participants, academic success was perceived as an important route through which they could feel like they belonged in the new country. It was how they had learnt to belong and identify themselves in society, family or at school back in India.

For example, Dev describes his identity as attached to academics like other participants in this study. He took pride in his learning and application of the same: *"It was a big morale, like one thing I was good at was studying... yeah.. I was.. like average... huh... then what am I good at? I don't even...do sports or anything so... otherwise personally... just not fitting in was a general thing, it wasn't because of me.. because I did not fit it with private school."*

Akila expressed that she felt questioned by her mother about her identity, choices of friends or subjects, which angered her: *"My mom used to make decisive statements about my identity and things that mattered in my life, so those were like instances where my anger sort of came out. She would make...."*

Nala expressed that her identity was attached to marks and the university that she may choose to go to later, referring to the pride one takes in going to the top universities worldwide: *"If you want your child to go to a good university, but there are so many kids who didn't do it, and they ended up getting far better grades and just ended up in different places like there's no guarantee that you do rigorous, and if you do rigorous curriculum and*

you get bad grades then how are you going to get into a top institution you know you're not because what was the point in doing this curriculum”.

Financial adjustments

Most participants expressed that although their fathers had chosen to relocate to South Africa based on the job opportunity, their mothers would generally take care of the house's finances. Some participants mentioned that the employer/company paid for some necessities such as school fees and vehicles.

Sneha explained that some of the family costs were related to groceries and visa applications, and that the family had to visit neighbouring countries to renew their South African visas: *“No, I think the only exception was the groceries and the visa application procedure, which was quite hectic, going to another country altogether just to apply for a Visa that’s quite a thing.”* Sneha also described that the company paid for the visa application, which had a minimal effect on the family's expenses, and that was comforting: *“But I think it helped you know, that we didn’t have to bear those costs. The company that my father was going to be working for in South Africa they bore all the costs. So that certainly helped. I’m sure that was one of the blessings for my parents as well, that that cost was covered.”*

Raksha explained her family's concerns over the expenses, how they increased and the stresses brought in by the expenditure until the company took over and paid for the school: *“And we used to convert and be like this place is expensive. And you know that was also another... and then like when I started school as well, the uniform was X amount, and then there was the bag that you had to buy, books that you had to buy and all of those things added up. Luckily, I mean with my dad... Actually, the first time we came, my dad’s company wasn’t covering for it, we had to pay for it out of pocket, only I think after... yeah in the*

second year, my dad's company started paying for it. Before that we had to settle our own expenses."

The Challenges Inherent to a New Educational System

Language barrier

Some participants noted that the language barrier had been a big challenge, for example, Parul highlighted: *"But I think language was a big barrier initially, like I couldn't understand the accent correctly, what the teachers were saying in class. I was finding it a bit hard to kind of follow."*

Ahana further expressed her beliefs on the significant impact the language barrier had on her experiences of the new education system: *"I think many other Indian immigrants experienced a problem with like language barrier and the understanding of like the different accents and even though I didn't have. like I was like... somewhat used to different... foreign accent because of I stayed in Ghana.. it... like my adjustment to other people in Ghana was so...innate.. like ingrained within me that I was like very just could not adapt to the South African system and things and accents and I found it very difficult to adjust and people would also like not understand me, also make fun of the way I would say something is different to them yeah it would clash a lot."*

Akila expressed how when she was new in South Africa, she was conscious and judgemental about her accent: *"There were just one or two other Indians in my grade, and so I was a little bit conscious of my accent definitely and my culture, because of everything that I had seen online. I just didn't have a lot of pride in it, I felt like an outsider. And it wasn't just something that I thought on my own, right? It was just a reflection of everything that I had seen online and among friends and households."*

Parul expressed that it was also challenging to get used to the South African accent, and her accent was different: *“Just super difficult to get used to how people talked, especially because I did have a strong Indian accent.”*

Access to quality education

Most participants were concerned about their transition and adapting to the new education system, their anxiety revolved around learning languages and the change in the educational method.

Nitin expressed that school was challenging in the beginning: *“The first week was hard in school. The first week in school was difficult because everyone has this stigma that when you come from India, you don’t know how to speak English, because they think that everything is done in Hindi, which is partially true but not really.”*

Kumar recounts his challenges with academics specifically with choosing subjects *“I wasn’t interested in History, Geography, Design, and IT stuff so I just picked up Biology, and that was one thing that I realised was that Biology here was a lot harder than in India, it is a lot more practical based. Like literally I think 50 percent in grade 12 was your practical examination where you have to perform experiments and stuff.”* Kumar continues to describe his experiences as overwhelming: *“It became kind of overwhelming and basically, I told you I stopped doing sports and obviously there was the stress of the academics.”*

Parul’s experience was similar to Kumar regarding the subjects: *“Especially like English as a language subject that we had to study, that was quite difficult because the level of... you know, maybe reading Shakespeare, reading all these plays, we wouldn’t have done it, it wasn’t part of our course work, like in India it wasn’t at that level. So, I found that quite challenging as in how I would be able to cope.”* Parul continues to note that she had insight into her challenges: *“And that was like very early on that I picked up that this was going to*

be a big challenge for me, like I will have to work really hard to overcome this and it wasn't just the case for like the English subject but it was the case for other subjects as well because it kind of fed into it."

Raksha's experience was different, she chose subjects based on the length of her stay in South Africa; as an international student, her choices were different compared to the local students: *"So, yeah because I was an international student, they allowed me to do that. Now suddenly I was ranked three so that actually created most of the problems with those Indian girls that were talking behind my back. Now suddenly everybody was like, who's this girl, why is she coming... now they got competitive as well."*

Sneha's described her challenges as follows: *"So, at the end of the school year here in December, he told us to go with my mom and live in Jaipur, which is close to a lot of where our relatives live in Jaipur and starts doing tuitions, because South Africa is behind by a couple of years, especially Maths and Sciences, so if we have to attend schooling in India, we have to bridge the gap. So, my mom with the help of the relatives in Jaipur, we found a nice coaching institute which was run by one of our extended relatives and they managed to find a house next door that we could rent. And our coaching classes would literally start at 6 o'clock in the morning and run through till 8 o'clock in the night because there was so much to cover. And more so for my brother, because I was going to be in grade 11. So, I don't have to do Hindi and Social Sciences, I don't have to learn the Geography of India, because by that time you have already... in grade 11 you choose subjects in India."*

Nitin was eager to study in South Africa, as it seemed conducive for him: *"Once you migrate, you see there's so much more to the world than just staying in India and yes, some people... like for me, it was good for me because I liked the system here, I liked the education here."*

Sneha reflected on the quality of education after having gone through the process: *“I personally do like education to a certain extent and I... the teaching style in South Africa or at least that school I went to was brilliant, it’s a lot more interactive, and I guess I entered the stage where there was Physics and there was Chemistry and there’s Biology, so it’s a lot more... they take a very practical approach to teaching as well.”*

Academic stress and pressure

Most participants experienced academic stress and pressure as expressed by Nala who did not know how to use the resources available to her: *“I started slipping up in school because I was so afraid, and I just didn’t know how to speak up at the right time and get the help I needed.”*

Conversely, Akila had other challenges where she felt a need to prove a point to people around by doing well at school: *“So, I have this journey, and most of it, I’m surprised, but, most of it was me doubting my intelligence, like am I smart or am I not? And I had all of my energy on my academics just to prove a point.”*

Dev expressed that different learning styles were stressful and challenging: *“It was hard to get used to learning unguided, actually taking out the notes and saying.. oh.. I have to infer all these from these notes... actually notes is another thing you we didn’t use textbooks much... in South Africa.. we don’t use textbooks much, we use notes.. I am not used to that”.*

For Raksha, she recounts her thoughts regarding the process of emigration meant anticipatory loss of friends from her previous school in India and creating a new network for herself in South Africa, along with other factors of education concerning subjects and a new language: *“Then I am going to lose all my friends, what if you have to learn new things like new subjects that I haven’t learnt in India, and then how am I going to cope with that? How am I going to cope with new languages?”*

Educational support and resources

As described earlier there appeared to be a strong desire to do well academically, and therefore there was a need to access available educational support.

Nitin expressed it as follows: *“I can talk about myself. I sure, for one, was anxious the first I went because I had no clue what was going on. I remember going to the office, they were like, “this is your grade controller, you ask them for help if you need.”*

Nala mentioned that her relationship with teachers was good: *“Them I have always been um...close with teachers.. teachers have been second parental figures, so we had two teachers who were kind of like parents to us, like our friend group we would always hang out in his or his husband’s classroom because he was always there for us and he was always, in fact, it wasn’t even a counsellor but he felt like a counsellor.”*

Dev enjoyed a good relationship with his teachers: *“My relationship with my teachers was a lot better than my peers yeah... it was like.. we had a tech support club at school... I was the one technically... helping all the teachers, doing...like breaks and whatever. At breaks, I wasn’t hanging out with people right, so I had some time to actually go out and help the teachers with their technical issues. That they are all like, struggle to open Microsoft Word... like....stuff like that... so I did have very good relationship with teachers.”*

However, Sulochana experienced it very differently and did not have a good relationship with her educators: *“The educators that I didn’t have a good relationship with would always have that like negative tone or like just a negative atmosphere with me when I was in the room and like it impacted a lot of my studies as well.”*

Bullying and discrimination

Nearly all participants experienced some form of discrimination linked to hairstyles, clothing or food habits. Most of them reported that they were bullied at least in one instance,

wherein four female participants reported that their peers selectively bullied them, and one participant reported that he was bullied by a teacher.

Raksha describes her experience of being bullied as weird: *“They were just talking behind my back and the biggest one was that one day when we were just sitting in class and I was sitting in the front bench and they were sitting like behind me and suddenly they were just like laughing, and I was like, what are you guys laughing about, please share the joke. And then they just like continued laughing, and I was like well, are you talking about me, it just felt weird.”*

Whereas Nala experienced it differently: *“There was another group like I said that was a bit closed off and judgemental and there was there was stuff that would happen I was made fun of a bit I was...you know... people used to say things to me it was kind of like a mild poking fun at I wouldn't say I was like mild bullying, it felt that way... when I was in it.”*

Sneha described how she would withdraw unto herself when this happened: *“I mean children do make fun of each other and that kind of thing, so I didn't take it too seriously. When they did made fun, I just fell silent and move on to whatever you were supposed to be doing in the class, or something like that, so....”*

Akila describes that at the school she was at, her peers were not unaware of her (Indian) surname; which was notorious in the South African context due to political reasons which had caused an uproar she expressed that she seemingly “dodged” feeling miserable, escaped possible effects of being known by the name and feels good about it: *“You know my surname is (surname) and I didn't know I was... and luckily, I escaped most of that bullying I guess that I would have faced in a local school, because most people didn't even know about that so.”* She continued expressing that support and insight received by her teachers with respect to bullying, due to her surname: *“The (surname) group, there was an incident at the*

airport... My teacher pointed it out to me. She also said I was very lucky because if I were in a local school, I would have gotten some bullying for it, which I guess I didn't get, so yeah, I am good on that."

On the other hand, Nitin described a negative experience with a specific teacher: *"My teachers loved me apart from one teacher who I think was a bit, I don't want to say the word racist, but she kind of was. So, there was this one teacher who used to just pick on us Indians, so we had, like in Maths group, not Maths group, sorry... my friends who I sat with and then there would be others. And if we were late or talking, she would pick on us more than others, but that's just yeah."*

The Impact of the Migration on Different Interpersonal Relationships

This theme describes the impact of the migration on participants' different interpersonal relationships.

Impact on familial relationships

Participants experienced various difficulties in the context of their families growing up in South Africa. For example, Akila expressed that she perceived her relationship with her father differently after arriving in South Africa: *"Because it just showed me that he knew I was struggling, you know he saw that I was struggling and just that acknowledgment that I wasn't a bad kid, I was just going through something. That is what it meant. Because you know, he didn't really change his behaviour a lot after that, but it just gave me comfort."*

This sense of support and enhanced interpersonal relationship with parents was evident in Raksha's comment: *"My mental state, at least for the first year, was terrible, and my parents could sense it because I was kind of keeping to myself, I was crying."* She further described that her parents had a prior experience of relocating when her older sister was a teenager and they had anticipated a similar experience and reactions to relocation from

Raksha. She explained that *“My sister also went through it when we moved to Malta, because when we moved from India to Malta, she was a teenager”* further alluding to her parents showing their support: *“Exactly, so they kind of knew that probably there was something going on but I had all the support in the world, they always used to come to me, say you know what’s wrong, are you ok?”*

Adolescence was seemingly tense, there were differences between the children and the parents as described by Sulochana: *“My relationship with my parents did change when I was younger... I think before the age of 17, there was always a tense environment between my parents and I, and there was never anything on either of our faults, it was just like, I am trying to adjust to the situation I’ve been having... you know it should... it would take for other children, but then it also became. ... the fact that... because I was acting out, obviously there was a lot of arguments that we would have or lectures I would get.”*

Saurav shared that his parents' fear of living in South Africa affected him: *“So right when we moved into our house, my mother made sure to install grills as soon as possible and install all kinds of security alarms and everything, and that is one thing I have not noticed being implemented so heavily in any other place I have lived in, so that was something that I noticed. And because of my parents’ fear that was also built in me, so I had to take precautions. And another huge fear was that, there was always of me walking on the pavement just like casually, either day or night, because of just these stories of mugging and crimes.”*

Sulochana expressed how her mother found it difficult to support her: *“She handled the responsibility of being my mom and, on top of that, handling my anger and loneliness while dealing with her own problems. I at least got to go to school, even if I didn’t interact with people. She talked over the phone a lot, but yeah, that gap. She didn’t know how to help*

me because, obviously, this was so new to her. So, that drastically closed me off, even to my family.”

Difficulty in creating new social relationships

Participants expressed that it was initially difficult to make new relationships, but when these were established, it made their stay comfortable in South Africa.

Kumar highlights his mother’s insight into having a social group out of workplace acquaintances *“My mom felt like that needs to change, we should not just be hanging out with your work colleagues but other people as well and it was a bit hard in the beginning, because my father, even though he was here for like five or six years.”* He further notes that his mother put in effort in knowing people around: *“I don’t think we had any social interaction with the locals I would say almost the whole first year. And then my mom started hanging out with some of our neighbours, inviting them to our homes.”*

However, Parul highlights the difficulties of not knowing the language to communicate isolated her mother and grandmother which was a hurdle in making connections: *“My grandma and my mom, they didn’t speak English, so it was hard for them to communicate with our neighbours and make that bond.”* However, meeting new people through her father’s workplace and her school alleviated that concern: *“But I think later on when we started meeting new people through my dad’s work network and through my school and like my friend’s parents and stuff, I think they got a little better because I think they started having their own social groups and they became comfortable.”* However, for herself, Parul expressed that forming a social relationship was a challenge: *“I did feel there was some kind of a groupism that used to go around in school and that is coming from the fact that these girls have kind of grown up together”* and she felt that she may not fit in; *“So I wouldn’t be able to match up to that bond or be that person in their inner circle.”* Initially,

she found it difficult to find a common ground to connect: *“so I think that was one of the major differences I felt was harder for me to connect with people because they wouldn’t really have that reference point or something I would be talking about.”* She further described that the school assisted her in finding the initial connection: *“So, they gave me a buddy who would be with me, taking me to classes, showing me around, introducing me to other classes and stuff. So, I think that made it a little more comfortable”* which later expanded her social circle. *“Yeah definitely and even on the weekends, the friends or social circles kept expanding as we met people.”*

Nitin’s experiences were somewhat different, and he recalls a sense of isolation initially followed by a sense of community after building a new social connection: *“But once you go out, you don’t really have that (familial support). So, basically it happens that they (friends) start helping you, so basically, they become, let’s... not really your new family, but your new family. So, if you need help, you go to them, if they need help, they come to you.”*

Sulochana expressed views similar to Nitin's: *“Then just finding a community to grow in as well. We didn’t know that there was like a whole bunch of Indian families like the area we were living in. So, we were kind of, we felt isolated at that time.”* Further, she explains: *“When I was at that age of that, oh, you know, like it’s a quite jarringly different environment like you had to adapt to some extent and all of that. But when I was like 13, 14, it was more the issue of, ok, how do I make new friends and how do I start trying to get along with other people because I couldn’t make easier social connections than that because my self-confidence in India was by like having these friends for so long. Moving to South Africa, it obviously went down quite a lot.”*

Saurav was excited about his newfound friendships and connection with the community at large: *“I firmly believe that your relations with people make your living experience enjoyable or not enjoyable, and because we have had a lot of people to relate*

within South Africa as I a Bengali person and we had a community named BASA which is the Bengali Association, it never felt out of place and, right... so we have built a lot of connections, we have made a lot of friendships and visited a lot of beautiful cities like Cape Town and lots of mountains, so right, yeah we have enjoyed the South African experience.”

The Impact of the Migration on One’s Emotional Well-being

This theme encompasses the participants' experiences of the impact of the migration on their emotional well-being.

Social isolation and loneliness

In contrast to living in a busy place like India, most participants described South Africa as quiet, isolating and lonely, which affected them. For example, Akila had built an expectation based on her previous relocation experience; however, she felt let down: *“I had so many thoughts stuck on going to school because I thought I would meet friends, I would make friends, that all my loneliness would go. But when that didn’t happen, I think I got a little bit angry. So, the only person that I relied on... like my expectation from my mom grew.”* Again, she struggled to make friends and often found herself to be isolated and lonely: *“I didn’t make a lot of friends, and I just kept to myself.”*

However, Dev describes a different experience, he was seemingly isolated and struggled to trust people: *“Yeah I didn't realise at the time was like I'm fine being alone. I was not fine being alone... no one is fine being alone... turns out... and you can be alone in bed as long as you know that there are people you can depend on, but they are not... which I didn't have people to depend on... so I did not have people to depend on for example... to do anything...”*

Akila felt angry that she experienced loneliness due to lack of friendship: *“I think it was just my loneliness that became... I wasn’t angry about shifting, I wasn’t angry about...”*

Sense of anxiety and uncertainty

In light of the previous theme, participants expressed their doubts and anxiety related to the relocation. For example, Akila notes that during her move, she was older in her class, and it created anxiety: *“As soon as it did start, I realised I was really anxious because of how old I was and realised I was going to have to be with a completely different crowd... I didn’t really make an effort to reach out, I felt closed off.”* She recounts her classroom experiences: *“But I still felt like, very stupid, I was very anxious, and I would say stupid stuff because I was overly conscious of myself, and I was focusing too much on myself and the way I was behaving and what I was saying, the way I sounded, my voice, to really focus on what was around me.”*

Whereas Nitin recollects his experience of anxiety: *“I remember my mom saying this, she said, “Don’t tell anyone that you’re writing exams to go out of your school, because if your teachers know that, and then you don’t get in, then they’ll basically just hate you for their entire lives.”*

Ahana explicitly explained her experiences as how they made her feel anxious and a tendency to think about her future: *“I think like the most prominent effect that migration to South Africa’s had is the constant insecurity that I will never fit in or belong and the fear that I have now like changing places like or like every time I have to encounter... something new and new whether that’s a new workplace, a new environment for new coursework if there is anxiety that’s like very familiar, it is at least it’s familiar, but it’s still it’s not great feeling well.”*

Raksha recalled the challenges around losing friendships and investing in similar aspects in a different country, suggesting the experience of anticipatory anxiety prior to migration: *“So I think that’s why there was always that mixed feeling because it was like that*

excitement, yes, I am going to explore all these new things, but it's also like that nervousness, what if it's not like how I imagined it to be? What if... now I have all these friends and now I want to start over, I'm sure... I like making new friends, but what if people are not as friendly? It's that unknown side where, yes It could be amazing, but at the same time it could be really bad. And then I am going to lose all my friends."

Sense of loss and grief

The majority of participants alluded to an experience of loss, and in some cases specifically to grief as a result of the migration. The participants talked about the loss of connection with friends and family members, and, in general, the environmental experiences. Two participants expressed their experiences of grief; one participant lost a pet, and another participant lost an extended family member.

Akila was saddened that her friends could be in contact with her, and she believed that they were her friends: *"I was just lonely and then some of my friends that I thought were my close friends, then they couldn't keep in touch with me, that also made me angry."*

Wherein Ahana spoke about her mother's experience of loss in terms of friendships and career and experiencing loneliness: *"She moved to South Africa she'd had lost all of that she was also like it felt lonely as well."*

Rachana grieved the loss of her pet dog: *"when she passed away, that's when like I got really bad, I was crying at school and I was crying all around, I was just crying. Like for three days I didn't eat, because I was really close to my dog."*

Adaptive responses

Participants described their positive experiences which contributed to their ways of living and building resilience. They built a support system for themselves through self and family. The desire to be resilient and show support to the family. They were highlighting the

positives of the migration process. For example, Sneha vehemently expresses that she feels she is a person due to her well-rounded exposure: *“I would say South Africa definitely made me fundamentally a very holistic person, it actually played a key role in my personality, my drive, my friendships, definitely social relationships as South Africa opened me up more in my later years, definitely in my last few years and months in South Africa, definitely opened me up more.”*

Raksha reflected on her flexibility especially with jobs: *“I think it’s probably the change, the adaptivity, so where... you know, adapting to changes quite quickly, I think that’s what it’s helped me with because even now when... and I constantly change my job, I think that’s what’s happening now.”*

Sneha expressed that she is grateful for her exposure as she experienced two different worlds: *“I am traditional, yet I would say I have a modern outlook because I can see the advantages and disadvantages of both worlds.”*

Personal growth and resilience

As participants expressed their experiences, positive and negative, it was apparent that they indicated that the overall experiences led to their personal growth and building resilience.

Akila recounted that her experience was turbulent in South Africa, while she initially felt lost and lonely, currently, she sees herself as a resilient person: *“Oh it turned my world upside down literally and metaphorically, not only did I switch... yeah, I kind of lost that sense of community that I had in India, and I longed for... lack of loneliness for sure. But at the same time, I think I am a very tough person. I think I grew a lot because of that experience.”*

Similarly, Parul highlighted that she has become quite adaptable to and can accommodate changes: *“I think it gives you a bit of that quality of adaptability that wherever you are, you will be able to adjust.”*

Raksha seemingly had a similar experience to that of Parul: *“I think it’s probably the change, the adaptivity, so where... you know, adapting to changes quite quickly, I think that’s what it’s helped me with.”*

Conclusion

This chapter highlights the main themes that emerged from analysing the participants’ interviews. These themes have revealed the influence of expectations from the migration process and their experiences in the schools, communities and interpersonal relationships with peers and family. In the next chapter these findings will be discussed against the background of the existing literature described in Chapter Two.

Chapter 5: Discussion

The findings of this research study yield valuable information relevant to the research questions posed at the start of the project. While there are studies on the experiences of Indian spouses' migration to South Africa (Rugunanan, 2017), there are limited studies on the experiences of children who accompany their parents from India. This research study attempted to contribute to the field by exploring the experiences of young Indian adults who migrated to South Africa as adolescents and the roles their environment played, including families, friends, and academic institutions.

The following research questions were posed at the beginning of the project.

1. How did young Indian migrants experience the migration process during their adolescence?
2. What were their experiences in the context of their family system?
3. How has the migration experience impacted their current psychosocial functioning?

Generally, the data analysis reveals that the participants' prime reason for migrating involved the transfer of their fathers to South Africa, often on a short-term work contract for six months to three years. However, most of them extended their stay for over five years. Ten out of the eleven participants originated from various parts of North India. It is home to a wide range of ethnic groups and languages. Cultural diversity, social structure, family and community structure, educational background, and understanding of mental well-being were noted through the participants' descriptions of their lives in the findings. Even though the participants are Indian by nationality, they were inherently unique in their culture, social and historical characteristics. Adapting to the new environment as a migrating adolescent was a challenging yet transformative experience. The findings highlight that the initial phase brought about feelings of isolation and homesickness as migrant youths navigated a new

culture, language and social norms. Although migration brought in both benefits and challenges, the most significant challenges were associated with their experiences at home and in the school where they studied, and some changed schools when the experiences became too difficult from an emotional perspective. The adverse experiences seemed to create a general sense of isolation and loneliness due to a sense of exclusion from their peer groups. As a result, they tended to maintain or form relational ties with people whom they felt welcomed them (e.g. in other parts of the school environment through migrant adolescents and educators). They established a social environment routine involving people with similar cultural and national identities. These spaces involved working with teachers, the local Indian diaspora, their parents' work colleagues and children, and families with similar backgrounds. The findings highlight that specific spaces were experienced as conducive to learning, such as schools and communities where they felt welcomed. However, a general sense of exclusion, isolation and loneliness was noted, highlighting the impact of the loss of connections and friendships previously cherished.

The findings further highlight that the migration process also brings challenges regarding the relationship with one's parents. Migrant parents, while providing support, were also undergoing their own adaptation and experiencing stress, which impacted their ability to support their children sufficiently. Adolescents may feel pressured to succeed and assimilate quickly to alleviate their parents' burdens. Consequently, the findings noted generational conflicts regarding cultural integration, which occur at different paces and in various ways.

Adapting to the new education system, culture, and language can be daunting for migrant youth. Considering the excessive pressure in educational settings, either intrinsic or extrinsic, the findings highlight that participants sought a sense of connection with their immediate family as it was a space where they felt a sense of security, connection and belonging in most cases. Some participants, on the other hand, felt that their parents were

unsupportive, possibly for the reasons noted above. Nevertheless, there seemed to be an inherent academic pressure experienced by the migrant adolescents and, at times, by the family. Support from one's family of origin is a crucial anchor, helping adolescents navigate cultural adjustments and language barriers in the new environment. Although financial constraints were experienced in some cases, this was not always the case.

Further, the findings reveal that adolescent migrants experienced significant challenges associated with mental health during the migration process, which included adjusting to a new cultural environment, managing language barriers, experiencing social isolation and managing changes in family dynamics. This process can be stressful and navigating different cultural identities can be a source of internal conflict. While adapting to the new ways of living, bullying experiences were identified, especially in the school context. The findings specifically highlight a general sense of anxiety especially post-relocation. Overall, the findings suggest that ultimately these experiences during youth built adaptability, global awareness and a robust skill set over time, preparing them for diverse opportunities in adulthood. The support from family, peers, educators, and community resources played a crucial role in this process.

The next part of this discussion will use the literature surrounding migration and ACEs discussed earlier and Bowen's FST (1978) to highlight the relational adaptations of migrant youths and their current psychosocial functioning.

Adolescent Adaptation Context

The literature on migration has highlighted the inflow of migrants in South Africa associated with employment and educational opportunities (Cowling, 2023; King & Raghuram, 2013; Rajan et al., 2013). The findings of this study strongly highlight the **challenges related to the adaptation of** adolescents in the migration process. The

participants described their challenges in their various experiences in home, school, and community environments. Considering their developmental stage, the participants' experiences reflect the literature, particularly that of Erikson (1963), where adolescents try to find their identity during this developmental phase. As migrant adolescents, the participants attempted to find their identity in the host country and navigate the various difficulties associated with migration. The participants' most significant challenges were at school, followed by home where they felt that they were questioned and doubted for their capabilities, which reduced their self-esteem. In such experiences, especially at home, they were reacting to the demands placed by their parents; however, their emotions were neglected, which led to emotional distress.

Further to such responses, the participants placed significant academic pressure on themselves to perform better and be acknowledged and accepted by their parents through their academic performance. Kerr and Bowen (1988) identified such responses by children in a family as fusion, where a family member is responding to the demands of another without being able to think it through or discuss it. Erikson (1963), in his work on adolescents, notes that during this phase, they are going through *identity vs role confusion*; in the works of Louw et al. (1998) and Ross (2006), where an adolescent is learning about self and the world around them and, at times, giving into their self-fulfilling prophecies. Such frequent experiences are seemingly perceived to be due to inadequate support, leading to prolonged stress arising from ACEs such as parental maltreatment, including emotional abuse and neglect (Holtzhausen & Campbell, 2021; Shonkoff et al., 2012).

Moving to another country such as South Africa for better opportunities often leaves the migrant family (often consisting of parents and children) longing for their home back in their country of origin (Rugunanan, 2020). This experience is evident in this study and contributes to the adverse experiences reported. The experiences of the participants point to a

sense of exclusion and marginalisation. They often found the South African environment challenging: *“It’s a big culture shock”* (Raksha). As Berry et al. (2006) have described, a migrant is faced with different cultural norms that are different from their own. Arar (2017) and Lee and Bukowski (2012) echo similar sentiments that cultural misinterpretations may lead to misconceptions and miscommunication, further leading to conflicts. Such conflicts may enhance the sense of exclusion and marginalisation. Exclusion and marginalisation profoundly impact migrant groups, leaving those affected in significant isolation. Peer victimisation (Finkelhor et al., 2013) was evident, and participants experienced emotional distress in the school environment. It was not just about being left out but about being unseen, unheard, and undervalued. Participants described such experiences, which were noted in the findings. It has been indicated by the participants that they felt targeted and hence felt excluded. Participants described that it was evident that the local peers chose to isolate themselves from the participants which created tensions in the friendships. Such ongoing stress can give rise to ACEs, where the adolescents feel overwhelmed, leading to behaviours where they may withdraw themselves or experience academic challenges (Gilbert et al., 2015). Bowen (1978) highlights the struggle of adolescents to maintain their sense of self while attempting to remain emotionally connected to others. The pressure of acculturation further complicates the process of developing a differential self (Berry et al., 2006). As indicated by Rugunanan (2020), men often accept the work offer, and the women focus on the transition and integration into the new country. Participants reported that they had to navigate different expectations from people around them, such as family, peers and educators, along with the residential move, which affected them emotionally.

Whilst considering the assimilation context, the most predominant experiences reported in this study were the heightened **feelings of nostalgia and homesickness** for their country of origin. Nostalgia and homesickness are intertwined, creating a complex blend of

yearning. The participants often felt isolated and homesick, recalling experiences from their country of origin that they missed. For example, they were accustomed to crowded places, especially in the evenings. They recollected their experiences of visiting neighbours or going to *small* shops. This was in contrast to the quietness in the evenings of South Africa.

Socialising was a challenge, especially in the evenings, and this was often related to a lack of resources, such as the lack of access to public transport or skills (e.g., driving).

These feelings of nostalgia have a considerable influence on the feelings of homesickness. Homesickness is a deep, emotional, and intense craving for familiar comforts where a sense of belonging can only be found in one's home (Marchetti-Mercer, 2006), as homesickness alludes to yearnings of familiar surroundings and comfort of established routines. Bowen's (1978) concept of *differentiation of self* in the literature is relevant here, as migrant adolescents try to develop their own identity in a new country while still carrying the values of the country of origin. Participants alluded to the fact that they had experienced *underhanded* verbal abuse by their parents. In the works of Felitti et al. (1998) on ACEs, verbal abuse in the form of humiliation, insults and putting a person down qualifies as emotional abuse. Hence, for a migrant adolescent with ACEs, migration heightens feelings of nostalgia and homesickness as they are already at a higher risk of emotional and psychological challenges. In agreement with these findings, the challenges associated with assimilating in a new place are highlighted numerous times in the literature (Baldassar, 2007; Berry et al., 2006; Gonin, 2010; Portes, 2001; Sluzki, 1979).

Exploration of the new country brings transnationalism's economic and social dimension, as Portes (2001) suggested. From an economic point of view, financial independence could be a motivating factor in migrating; however, it brings about **financial adjustments** due to unpredictable difficulties and living conditions (Kirmayer et al., 2011). The findings indicate that although employers initiated the migration process, families were

responsible for covering schooling expenses until the employers assumed that responsibility. Migrating adolescents experiencing financial adjustments face compound stress when viewed through Bowen's (1978) FST and ACEs. Financial stress disrupts family dynamics, often heightening the anxiety of family members and causing conflict within the family unit. Participants alluded to the financial concerns, however, did not go into details about the nature of financial difficulties.

The literature supports that financial instability could hinder access to resources (Nunn et al., 2014; Östberg & Modin, 2008). Although the employers of the relocated fathers bore the cost of the visa applications it was an arduous process for the families to obtain their visas. This could add to the stress and disruptions for an adolescent as they experience difficulties at home, as highlighted by Nunn et al. (2014) and Östberg and Modin (2008), heightening a deep sense of insecurity and vulnerability as they are engaged in financial stresses of the family.

More specifically, the findings added to the adolescents **looking for a sense of identity and belonging through their academic achievements**; they felt that when they did well or excelled in their academics, they were seen and heard by their educators and family: *"I started slipping up in school because I was so afraid, and I just didn't know how to speak up at the right time and get the help I needed"* (Nala). Bowen's (1978) theory confirms parental involvement in a child's education significantly predicts academic success. When a child is given support and encouragement, it contributes to better academic achievements. However, understanding the intricate relationship between identity and academic achievements is vital, as when misplaced or misidentified it may affect their engagement, motivation and perception of their capabilities in academic spaces. The migrant adolescents perceived that academic performance was used as a measuring scale to gauge their abilities, alleviating some of the negative effects of migration. Where participants felt unsupported and

demeaned by a parent, this was often related to academic performance, leading to feelings of resentment. Theoretically, two factors were highlighted, firstly, that certain communication patterns in the family can facilitate a better understanding of the child's needs if communication is open and effective; and secondly, the cultural and socio-economic contexts within which the family functions may play a role (Bowen, 1978). It was noted in the findings that in the first few years of migration as adolescents, participants had to balance the cultural expectations of their family with that of the host country, which led to internal conflict, affecting their motivations and ability to focus on their academic work. They further noted that teaching methods and syllabi differed from the country of origin and this was often challenging. Findings suggest that parents often were ignorant of this challenge. It confirms Agirdag's (2014) and Gibson and Ogbu's (1991) arguments that educational gaps in different curricula add to the adolescent's frustration and inadequacy. However, a lack of support from family and educational institutions may aggravate the situation (Agirdag, 2014; Sluzki, 1979). In line with Erikson's (1963) theory, adolescents are trying to make meaning of their experiences; and this is closely related to their academic performance.

Furthermore, as migrant adolescents are trying to navigate their life in a new country, the educational challenges seemingly contribute to their anxiousness and frustrations. The challenges linked to the **language barrier** was identified by all participants as an obstacle to integration in line with other research highlighting the importance of speaking and understanding the host country's language for a migrant adolescent (Agirdag, 2014; Lima Becker & Oliveira, 2022; Marchetti-Mercer & Roos, 2006; Östberg & Modin, 2008; Pierce, 2009). Furthermore, the findings indicated that the adolescents were conscious of their accents as they felt that their South African peers and educators found their accents challenging to understand. The literature on the differentiation of self has highlighted that language barriers can inhibit adolescents' ability to express themselves fully at school and

home (Bowen, 1978; Józefczyk, 2023). In this study, the language barrier manifested in reluctance to participate in class discussions and challenges in making friends. However, it also created a communication gap between the adolescent and the parents at home, particularly when the adolescents tended to be more comfortable in the new language. Research has shown that when migrant youths learn the language of the host country more quickly than their parents, they may become interpreters between their family and the outside world, and the adolescent may become triangulated into adult issues (Berry, 2005; Bowen, 1978), such as dealing with school authorities or other institutions.

Being understood also means that one could take pride in who one is; however, the findings highlight that the participants' experiences were different, precisely due to their accents; further exacerbated by facts observed on social media that a person would be ridiculed for their Indian accents and culture. The participants recounted being *teased* for their accents, especially during their initial school years, which in turn confirmed their observations on the internet. The adolescents tended to isolate themselves based on how they perceived the environment around them. The experiences were overwhelming as there was an innate pressure to conform (Cleary et al., 2018; Lima Becker & Oliveira, 2022). Additionally, the language barrier triggered past *traumas*, particularly for the migrant adolescents who had previously relocated and lived in other foreign countries. It revived past fears and insecurities as they were either punished for speaking up or struggled to communicate during past migration experiences.

In addition to these experiences, the participants were also exposed to the additional challenges regarding **access to quality education**, as it is multifaceted and influenced by language barriers, cultural differences, economic constraints and social dynamics. Despite hoping to *fit* into the system and being *anxious* about the new learning environment, migrant adolescents frequently struggled with the new education system that has different teaching

methods, social norms and expectations. This led to stress, making it difficult for them to integrate and succeed in the new environment. The literature confirms that while new educational opportunities may be enticing for a migrant, the migration process can be overbearing for some (Berry et al., 2006; Sluzki, 1979; Tsegay, 2023). The findings suggest the importance of academics in the lives of Indian migrant youth as this may be associated with career success in the future. Shakya et al. (2010) acknowledge the importance of education in migrants' lives as it paves the way for a brighter future and empowers the person, which is why quality education is prioritised. The findings support this as participants' self-esteem and confidence increased (Lee & Bukowski, 2012) when the school supported them. The participants reflected on their choice of subjects at school, which was based on the perceived length of stay decided by the parents; often, the participants felt that they would not stay in South Africa for longer than two years. Learning in the new environment was conducive to most participants' circumstances as importance was given to academic performance; also, they had to seek external support (e.g. tutors, extra lessons at school). A school accommodating students' needs was experienced as supportive. Furthermore, the family played a crucial role in the education process; their act of encouraging and supporting the completion of advanced education led to finding better employment opportunities which further led to enhanced financial stability for the household and disrupted the traditional gender norms; this change motivated the family members to pursue their goals (Chowdhory & Banerjee, 2022; Deviga & Varghese, 2020; Lester, 2011; Mahoney & Knudson-Martin, 2009).

Most participants experienced **academic stress and pressure**; more often, it was self-imposed, as discussed earlier. However, it was noted that they also experienced it through their parents, impacting their overall well-being in a new country. Bowen (1978) acknowledges that parents may project their aspirations onto their children, especially if they

view academic success as a means of upward mobility as a response to their own unmet ambitions. This corroborates the findings; the participants' academics were affected, and they wondered about their access to support. Doing well in one's studies was seen as a way of being accepted by the family. Parents may feel anxious about their child's ability to succeed academically in a new environment, and this anxiety may be transmitted to the adolescent, amplifying their stress and feelings of inadequacy (Bowen, 1978; Sluzki, 1979). The adolescents may also assume the elders' roles and responsibilities, such as translating for parents or managing household tasks, which can detract from their academic focus (Bowen, 1978; Lee & Bukowski, 2012; Pierce, 2009; Sluzki, 1979).

Given that the migrant youth may have limited information about how the education system in the host country functions, they may seek **educational support and resources** to cater for their needs. Although the participants were uncertain about *access to quality education* (prior to migration), which was coupled with academic stress and pressure, findings in this study suggest that they tried to access educational support and resources where possible. Resources included school support, where educators could provide additional support, *buddy* systems to help a new student, and school counsellors to offer emotional guidance. When these support systems were present, the migrant adolescents experienced a sense of support within the school. Participants could relate to their teachers better than to their peers in some cases, and they were comfortable with it.

Finding a supportive relationship in the host country may be helpful by learning the norms of the new country through intercultural activities. As much as the family is investing in the learning process, this may not be limited to the acculturation of the family, but at an individual basis where the supportive relationship facilitates the acculturation (Berry & Hou, 2017). Whereby changes in behaviour are noted on an individual basis, as one may adapt quickly in comparison to the other, e.g. learning about their own beliefs, working on one's

self-esteem, and learning about the larger new society (Aikins et al., 2005; Farella Guzzo & Gobbi, 2023; Jakobsen et al., 2022; Maunder et al., 2019). Such educational support may enhance migrant students' positive experiences by fostering a safe and conducive learning environment. However, in some instances, participants had negative experiences that affected them. For example, they did not always experience their educators as supportive, impacting their overall experience. In such situations, they felt intimidated by the educators because of their perceived *negative tone*, where they used words or expressions to criticise the participants, which affected their academic performance. This highlights that not all migrant students have positive educational experiences; the atmosphere can exacerbate their challenges due to cultural adaptations and language barriers (Gibson & Ogbu, 1991; Berry, 1997; Sluzki, 1979; Stillerman, 2018).

In addition to these negative experiences, participants also faced **bullying and discrimination** by their peers during their academic careers in South Africa. Literature highlights that experiencing bullying at school during adolescence may impact social integration into the community (Bianchi et al., 2021; Lee & Bukowski, 2012; Noack, 2021). The findings in this study suggest that, in many instances, migrant adolescents felt mocked or targeted for their cultural identity or accent. Finkelhor et al. (2013) have highlighted that ACEs are not limited to the categories noted earlier and that peer victimisation and systemic racism are some of the challenges experienced by children. Such challenges hinder the process of developing new friendships, and the individual may feel socially isolated, leading to experiences such as loneliness and alienation (Berry et al., 2006; Felitti et al., 1998; James, 1997; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2015).

Familial Dynamics

The experiences of adolescents are strongly shaped by their familial contexts. They were further influenced by relational dynamics, consistent with Bowen's (1978) FST and the

concept of ACEs as outlined by Felitti et al. (1998). The literature suggests that the participants' adverse experiences in South Africa, along with their family challenges, highlight the presence of ACEs in migrating families. The findings suggest that migration did impact **different interpersonal relationships**, especially **familial ones**, which led participants to feel neglected and alone in a country where the family was meant to be their primary support system. Participants alluded to feelings of helplessness, which they experienced vicariously through their mothers, which was frustrating. This feeling led to a lack of support and guidance in managing emotions; participants sometimes disengaged themselves from the family. When an individual feels emotionally cut off, the issues tend to remain unresolved due to the deliberate severance or limited emotional ties between the members of the family (Bowen, 1978; Miller, 2023). Falicov (2007) has suggested that isolation can stem from migration, leading to negative psychological consequences. Within the family unit, one may experience psychological discomfort (Cepukiene & Celiauskaite, 2022). This study's findings confirm this, as some participants indicated adverse experiences due to the lack of familial support associated with migration. As migrant adolescents, the participants experienced anxiety, isolation, and stress. They struggled to balance their family's expectations as they were learning about the host country's culture, leading to identity confusion and internal conflict. The literature confirms that the familial dynamics and differentiation of self may impact adolescent identity, and the stresses of migration make it difficult to achieve or maintain differentiation (Berry, 2005; Berry & Hou, 2017; Kerr & Bowen, 1988).

ACEs often originate in the home and impact a person at different stages of development, and these experiences are not limited to family dysfunction, mental health problems or traumatic experiences (Felitti et al., 1998; Holtzhausen & Campbell, 2021; Shonkoff et al., 2012). The findings indicate that parental fears were often passed on to

adolescents, which fits Bowen's transgenerational transmission theory. For example, parental fears were imposed on adolescents concerning safety and security, especially in South Africa. Before migration, their parents advised the adolescents not to reveal information about their relocation (migration), particularly at school, as parents feared that the school might interfere with their academic report and it may affect the school admission in South Africa. The migration process impacts all members of the family unit, and parents tend to protect their children in a new environment as they try to acculturate (Berry, 2005; Berry & Hou, 2017; Hui et al., 2015). This study's findings suggest that parents struggle to find a way to manage themselves while *looking out* for their children, as noted by the participants. Participants noted that their parents were trying to manage the adolescents' emotions at home while managing their emotions; they were experiencing *isolation and loneliness*. Initially, parents tended to seek support from extended families living in India more than from the community in South Africa. In the literature, it is highlighted that Indian family structures are based on the hierarchy, and they tend to seek support from an extended family where multiple generations are present in the same household (Chadda & Deb, 2013; Deviga & Varghese, 2020; Haralambos & Holborn, 2008). However, some studies have suggested that most often families tend to seek support from their family members rather than seeking community support; as they are adapting to the new environment, their participation in the migration process is crucial as it can affect the overall experience (Berry, 2005; de Hart, 2009). As di Belgiojoso and Terzera (2019) and Baizán et al. (2014) have shown, women often tend to be the emotional support of the family; however, Keita and Schewe's (2021) study shows that mothers also need support, which they access through friends and family. The findings suggest that the mothers of the participants tended to use their networks to seek the necessary support by communicating with family and friends in their home country through the use of information communication technologies. The literature confirms that the progress in

communication technology facilitates the maintenance of relationships and familial bonds through the internet and social media platforms. Thereby migrant families are connected to the family in their country of origin although international borders part them (Baldassar, 2007; Madianou, 2016; Marchetti-Mercer & Swartz, 2020; Marchetti-Mercer et al., 2021; Marchetti-Mercer et al., 2023; Vertovec, 2001).

Some participants experienced isolation as they did not have networks similar to those of their mothers/parents. This study's findings highlight the tense home environment the migrant adolescent witnessed as the family adapted to the migration process. This may have led to an emotional cut-off. During the migration process, the parents are expected to be supportive as they are usually the *go-to* people for children (Berry et al., 2006; Schiller et al., 1992; Sluzki, 1979). However, on arrival in the host country, children may feel that they are neglected because the parents are not supportive due to their own acculturation stress leading to possible caregiver neglect; this is one of the ACEs identified by Felitti et al. (1998). Further to this, children who are emotionally cut-off tend to distance themselves from their parents as a coping mechanism to reduce emotional discomfort and manage unresolved emotional issues (Bowen, 1978; Miller, 2023).

Where a family had a prior migratory experience, it seemingly alleviated some of the tension, and they tended to be more supportive; nevertheless, depending on the age of the children during the migration process, the result is a strong propensity for an adolescent to experience psychological distress (Anbesse et al., 2009; Arango, 2000; Bernard et al., 2021; Berry, 2022). Fazel et al. (2012) confirm that migration can distress an adolescent, as it is associated with disruptions and can lead to psychological consequences such as anxiety and depression.

This study reveals **challenges around creating new social relationships** as migrant adolescents tried to find a balance and form an identity in the host country. Migrant

adolescents face several challenges in creating new social relationships, challenges such as language barriers, cultural differences, isolation, and loneliness. They may feel disconnected from peers, having to learn new social norms, fear being misunderstood, or experience feelings of exclusion, isolation, and loneliness. The findings suggest these challenges.

Additionally, academic pressure and adherence to cultural traditions may limit migrant adolescents from engaging in social activities, further adding to the challenges of creating social bonds. The findings reflect these experiences as participants described their experiences post-migration: *“I don't think we had any social interaction with the locals, I would say almost the whole first year”* (Kumar). Literature highlights the importance of social relationships for adolescents, as they are undergoing considerable stressors, and mental well-being is essential to transition into adulthood (Coffey & Patton, 2016; Lawson et al., 2023; Ormel et al., 2020).

As highlighted before, language barriers may adversely affect the development of new social connections (Bronstein & Montgomery, 2011). The findings highlight that the families tended to stay isolated as it was challenging to communicate and establish a bond with neighbours. Often, the families developed connections with colleagues' families; however, it was a challenge for the adolescent to form new bonds. The adolescents have left behind their extended families, friends, and familiar environments; there is an inherent sense of anxiety and insecurity, especially around social connections in different environments (e.g. school, workplace, neighbourhood) (Fangen, 2010; Noack, 2021; Sluzki, 1979). Establishing new friendships and engaging in social groups was difficult due to the challenges mentioned was confirmed by the works of James (1997) and Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco (2015). Emotionally, participants felt isolated and neglected, which may be seen as a form of ACEs (Berry et al., 2006; Felitti et al., 1998).

Contextual Psychosocial Impact

Felitti et al. (1998) indicate that traumatic events in childhood, including neglect, various forms of trauma, and household dysfunction, can pose significant risks. These risks include prolonged stress caused by exposure to family pressures, mental health issues, and parental maltreatment (Gilbert et al., 2015; Holtzhausen & Campbell, 2021; Shonkoff et al., 2012).

Furthermore, the literature has highlighted that prolonged stress for an adolescent is not limited to exposure at home but can also be experienced through peer victimisation, systemic racism, and communal and historical adversity (Finkelhor et al., 2013; Gilbert et al., 2015; Maunder et al., 2019; Stillerman, 2018). To better understand the findings of this study, it is essential to focus on the role of the migration process and the associated costs, examining how these factors affect current psychosocial functioning and whether migration can be considered an ACE.

The findings indicate that there was an overall experience of **social isolation and loneliness**. Participants longed for friendships; they wanted to meet new people and develop friendships. However, as previously discussed, they found establishing bonds with their peers at school challenging. Meanwhile, some had developed friendships with their parents' colleagues' children, but these did not fulfil their needs. They felt it was difficult to strengthen the bond as they feared their *secrets* would be exposed. Some doubted such friendships. As the families were trying to adapt to the new country, the adolescents were also trying to navigate their path; however, it was seemingly challenging as the migrating process itself (Berry et al., 2006; Fangen, 2010; James, 1997; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2015).

Feeling alone and lonely in a new environment, especially when trying to find oneself, can be an arduous experience. Falicov (2007) discusses the psychological impact of

isolation experienced during the migration. The findings suggest that in many instances participants chose to be alone, as it felt more comfortable to do so; however, as an adult (at the time of interviews), it feels disconcerting to have experienced it. As the participants described their isolation and loneliness, they seemingly missed their country of origin, where they had friends. The evident social isolation and loneliness were a more significant part of their initial migration experience, leaving them alienated (Berry et al., 2006). The pressure to adapt to a new environment, coupled with isolation, seems to increase anxiety and stress levels. These experiences seemingly allude to feelings of being neglected. In the ACEs questionnaire of Felitti et al. (1998), one of the questions ask about families *looking out* for each other or *feeling close* and *supported*. The above discussion highlights that in many instances participants rather experienced a sense of loneliness and isolation.

As such, the participants had to follow their parents into the host country; they were uncertain about what to anticipate, and the findings indicated that participants experienced a **sense of anxiety and uncertainty**. Based on the literature, the migration process is inherently stressful, which includes cultural adjustments, family separation, language barriers, discrimination and navigating unfamiliar social systems. To cope with anxiety within the family system, triangulations may develop where the adolescents respond to the anxiety in the system in an attempt to alleviate the tensions which are results of conflict between two people in the family. This situation can lead adolescents to attempt to reduce conflicts, but these efforts often unintentionally increase anxiety and uncertainty (Bowen, 1978; Fazel et al., 2012; Heiden Rootes et al., 2010). The findings suggest that participants tended to withhold information to smooth their migration process. Children did not divulge the migration information related to relocation (parent's employment opportunities) to educators or extended families at home. Here, the parents were seemingly projecting their anxieties related to acculturation onto their children, increasing the adolescents' sense of stress. The

findings highlight the anxiety experienced by the participants in their new schools; they felt *less than* their peers, making them conscious about their speech and behaviour. The uncertainty and anxiety revolved around *fitting in* with the peers and social groups. Participants further indicated that such experiences recurred every time they had to relocate or take up a new task.

Literature highlights that for adolescents self-explorations and feeling accepted are essential, which is provided by a nurturing environment; however, an uncertain environment may give rise to conflicts or anger, where the adolescent anticipates neglect and feels unaccepted (Erikson, 1963; Farella Guzzo & Gobbi, 2023; Louw et al., 1998). The findings suggest that participants anticipated stressful adversities. They felt nervous about the new country and whether their needs would be met. These feelings of **anticipatory loss and grief** were often exacerbated by social media and the easy availability of information communication technologies which creates the assumption that people are always connected to their friends and family. However, Azami and Taremian (2021) argue that this is not necessarily true, as social media can actually lead to disconnection and unrealistic comparisons, negatively impacting individuals. The findings confirm that participants anticipated being in touch with their friends in their country of origin (Marchetti-Mercer, 2023); however, this did not always happen. Adolescents face several challenges that significantly affect them, including their mental well-being; their relationships are paramount (Blakemore, 2018; Coffey & Patton, 2016; Ormel et al., 2020). In some instances, leaving a beloved pet behind was experienced as a loss, which is challenging for migrant children (Marchetti-Mercer, 2019).

However, despite their adverse circumstances, the findings indicated that the participants in adulthood, eventually associated the migration process with **personal growth and resilience**. As the adolescents face the challenges of balancing their culture from their

home country and the host country, the family system may assist in promoting integration by alleviating confusion and reducing stress by engaging in school and community engagements (Berry et al., 2006; Lee & Bukowski, 2012; Sluzki, 1979; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2015). The findings corroborate with the literature, where the adolescents have navigated their route. Despite the loss of community and heightened loneliness, participants eventually learnt to navigate the host country. On reflecting on their experience as adults, participants mainly see migration as a positive experience. Participants highlighted that their **adaptive responses** to the environments changed their perspective.

Even though participants reflected on their *flexibility* as adults due to their migration experience as adolescents and the ability to navigate different cultures, they reportedly experience discomfort when they think about *change or adapting* to new situations. Reflecting on their adolescent experiences brought back some negative memories of events during the migration process, especially in school.

Conclusion

The findings in this study show that the migration experiences faced by Indian adolescents living in South Africa impacted them in various ways. There were challenges related to adaptation, where they experienced exclusion and marginalisation, discrimination by peers on the virtue of their language, and a sense of not belonging, and shame in their own cultural identity was present. This lack of pride was seemingly due to not fitting in with the host country's norms.

During adolescence, individuals face various challenges related to identity, a sense of belonging, and cultural norms. Adolescents in the migration process must balance their familiar cultural practices with the host country's norms. Participants in this study sought

support primarily for their academic needs, often neglecting their emotional well-being due to ongoing experiences of discrimination, which made seeking emotional support difficult.

The experiences of adolescents dealing with migration, academic stress, and ACEs reveal the complex interplay between family dynamics and individual development. The findings highlight how adverse experiences in adapting to a new country impacted them within the context of their family systems in response to the second research question. While the family is often seen as a source of support and safety, the migration process significantly affected the families as a whole. Participants faced both internal and external challenges, struggling to make new social connections.

The importance of family support, communication, and the ability to navigate life challenges is emphasised in this study, as migrant adolescents have unique needs. The findings indicate that the migration experience affected their psychosocial functioning (the third research question) in adult life. Many commented on the fact that their sense of resilience and coping skills were increased as a result of the migration process. Various factors, including family, peers, and educators, played a role in shaping the adolescents' resilience and coping strategies. This support helped them mitigate the negative effects of migration and promoted healthy psychosocial development.

Overall, the participants' reflections on their migration experiences in their youth highlight the ambivalent feelings towards the migration process.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This study aimed to contribute to the body of knowledge surrounding the experience of migration and ACEs in young adults who migrated in their youth. This was done by exploring the experiences of a group of young adult Indians who migrated during their adolescence to South Africa from India. It specifically sought to examine how ACEs might have impacted their psychosocial functioning as well as the role of their family relationships in the process using Bowen's (1978) FST and Felitti et al. (1998) ACEs study as theoretical frameworks. This study highlights the significant role of adaptation, relational dynamics and the impact of the psychosocial context on migrant adolescents migration experiences growing up in South Africa.

The findings aligned with the literature describing the experiences of migration during childhood development and the complexities it carries with it in various spheres of the individual as well as the experiences concerning ACEs (Kirmayer et al., 2011; Stillerman, 2018) and thereby on the family system (Bowen, 1978). Attention was drawn to the experiences of migrant adolescents' adaptability as their families adapted to the new environment, specifically relating to their experiences of the education system, where the adolescent migrants experienced marginalisation, discrimination and a general lack of inclusion. Coinciding with the literature, this study found that these experiences often lead to feelings of anxiety and lack of self-esteem, difficulties due to the language barrier, isolation, loneliness, neglect, and fear instilled by parents regarding living in South Africa. Migrant adolescents found it challenging to acculturate in the first few years as they were still navigating and building their identities trying to *fit* into society. The context has a significant influence, which exacerbates their anxiety. As such, these young people were torn between two cultures, leaving them confused and adding to the complexities of the migration experience. These challenges also affected their relationship with their family (specifically

their parents). However, they continued to attempt to navigate their choices and identities through home, school and social activities.

Further, this study revealed that the migration process in itself was difficult. Corresponding to the literature on migration studies and ACEs, this study found that as migrant adolescents, individuals experienced difficulties which were influenced by language barriers and cultural differences. It concurs with the literature that migrant adolescents' mental and physical health were affected during the process of migration (Bronstein & Montgomery, 2011; Tsegay, 2023). Migration has significant challenges, such as losing a familiar environment, separation from extended family and friends, and disruptions to one's routine. Despite such challenges, the findings reveal that through the years of living in South Africa, the young adults learnt and developed adaptive strategies to navigate their lives; however, they continued to experience an inherent anxiety and uncertainty about life in South Africa.

Limitations

Recognising the limitations of this study is essential in finding areas where future research can focus.

The first limitation is the number of participants included in this study; eleven participants comprise a small sample. This may have provided a limited perspective into the experience of migrant adolescents in South Africa. This study was limited to a specific cultural group and may not reflect the experiences of migrant adolescents overall. Even though data saturation was reached, the possibility of more nuanced information regarding their experiences may have enriched this study further.

Secondly, although all the participants arrived in South Africa during their adolescence, their experience of South Africa differed based on the historical time when they arrived in South Africa, as some arrived during the early 2000s and some arrived around 2013.

Thirdly, although the data gathered was relatively in-depth, the interviews were conducted online, and the in-person interviews could have brought in more data whereby the non-verbal cues such as body language and nuanced facial expressions could be seen and validated with the verbal information. The data gathered highlighted that the participants belonged to middle-class families who already had an employment contract with reputable local or multinational companies but had experienced financial constraints; it would have been beneficial to collect data from families who did not fall into this socio-economic category, as this might have impacted their migratory experience. It would have been insightful to include other demographics and obtain a better understanding holistically.

Fourthly, understanding the migrant adolescents' experiences from their families' perspectives may have yielded more results, especially by interviewing the mothers, who were inevitably the parent who stayed home for a significant period during the day with the adolescents.

Lastly, the positionality of the researcher may have impacted the data collected, such as having a spouse who is a prominent figure in the community, as participants may have been reluctant to share too much personal information. Further, the power imbalance between myself as the researcher and the participants may have affected the data gathered. The age difference, social practices, and overall socio-economic position may have limited the participants' sense of comfort and trust during the interviews, limiting them when speaking and sharing their experiences.

Recommendations

Although there are limitations, this study has started to focus on some of the gaps in psychological research in the area of the experiences of individuals who migrated during their youth. Furthermore, it has highlighted the need for additional psychological studies on this subject in South Africa.

While there is a significant amount of material on the views of researchers towards adolescent migrant populations, there are few studies examining the psychological perspectives and experiences of migrants in the South African context. Therefore, additional studies should explore the experiences and views of adolescent migrants (from other countries of origin) from their standpoint to enhance our comprehensive understanding of migration in South Africa.

Much of the family relationship literature focuses on adult migrants, whereas there is limited literature on adolescent migrants in South Africa, as previously mentioned. More research exploring the ACEs related to migration during adolescence may be useful going forward.

This study also revealed that bullying and discrimination increased adolescent migrants' negative perceptions about schooling in the host country and were likely to affect their self-esteem. Adolescents have little control over the decision to emigrate; hence, they may be compelled to adapt and maintain a balance between their home and school environments, which could pose daunting challenges. Seeking support was challenging for these transnational families in South Africa. Research on non-affluent transnational families' help-seeking behaviour and psychosocial functioning would be needed.

From a cultural and traditional standpoint, future research would benefit from exploring migration and family dynamics through a decolonized lens. This approach would

involve examining indigenous knowledge systems to challenge Eurocentric narratives and emphasize the diverse cultural traditions and lived experiences of migrants. It would highlight how colonial legacies continue to shape family structures and migration patterns. Additionally, it calls for an understanding of the family unit and migration process as shaped by individuals' traditional and cultural value systems, while also considering their constraints (if any) and their perceptions of psychological research. This may assist in developing a further understanding of the realities of adolescent migrants with their transnational families in South Africa and further facilitate culturally competent training in family therapy.

References

- Agirdag, O. (2014). The long-term effects of bilingualism on children of immigration: Student bilingualism and future earnings. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 17(4), 449. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2013.816264>
- Aikins, J. W., Bierman, K. L., & Parker, J. G. (2005). Navigating the transition to junior high school: The influence of pre-transition friendship and self-system characteristics. *Social Development (Oxford, England)*, 14(1), 42-60. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9507.2005.00290.x>
- Albert, I., & Coimbra, S. B. (2017). Family cultures in the context of migration and ageing. *Integrative Psychological & Behavioral Science*, 51(2), 205-222. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12124-017-9381-y>
- Altbach, P. G., & Knight, J. (2007). The internationalization of higher education: Motivations and realities. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 11(3-4), 290-305. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1028315307303542>
- Amankwaa, L. (2016). Creating protocols for trustworthiness in qualitative research. *Journal of Cultural Diversity*, 23(3), 121-127.
- Anbesse, B., Hanlon, C., Alem, A., Packer, S., & Whitley, R. (2009). Migration and mental health: A study of low-income Ethiopian women working in middle eastern countries. *International Journal of Social Psychiatry*, 55(6), 557-568. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0020764008096704>
- Arango, J. (2000). Explaining migration: A critical view. *International Social Science Journal*, 52(165), 283-296. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2451.00259>

- Arar, K. (2017). Academic spheres, students' identity formation, and social activism among Palestinian Arab students in Israeli campuses. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, 10(4), 366-380. <https://doi.org/10.1037/dhe0000051>
- Archary, K. K. (2022). The indian diaspora, cultural heritage and cultural transformation in the colony of natal (1895–1960) during the period of indenture. *Hervormde Teologiese Studies*, 78(3), 1-9. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v78i3.7712>
- Archibald, M. M., Ambagtsheer, R. C., Casey, M. G., & Lawless, M. (2019). Using zoom videoconferencing for qualitative data collection: Perceptions and experiences of researchers and participants. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 18, 160940691987459. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1609406919874596>
- Arnett, J. J. (2000). Emerging adulthood: A theory of development from the late teens through the twenties. *The American Psychologist*, 55(5), 469-480. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.55.5.469>
- Audebert, C., & Doraï, M. K. (2010). International migration in the era of globalisation: Recent issues and new concerns for research. In Cédric Audebert, & Mohamed Kamel Doraï (Eds.), *Migration in a globalised world* (p. 7). Amsterdam University Press.
- Azami, M. S., & Taremian, F. (2021). Risk factors associated with cyberbullying, cybervictimization, and cyberbullying-victimization in Iran's high school students. *Iranian Journal of Psychiatry*, 16(3), 343-352. <https://doi.org/10.18502/ijps.v16i3.6261>
- Babbie, E. R. (2014). *The practice of social research* (14th ed.). Cengage Learning.

- Bacigalupe, G., & Lambe, S. (2011). Virtualizing intimacy: Information communication technologies and transnational families in therapy. *Family Process*, 50(1), 12-26.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1545-5300.2010.01343.x>
- Baizán, P., Beauchemin, C., & González-Ferrer, A. (2014). An origin and destination perspective on family reunification: The case of Senegalese couples. *European Journal of Population*, 30(1), 65-87. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10680-013-9305-6>
- Baker, K. G. (2017). Emotional process in society: A review and expansion of the concept. *Family Systems: A Journal of Natural Systems Thinking in Psychiatry & the Sciences*, 13(1), 9-34.
- Baldassar, L. (2007). Transnational families and the provision of moral and emotional support: The relationship between truth and distance. *Identities* 14(4), 385–409.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10702890701578423>
- Baldassar, L., & Raffaetà, R. (2016). It's complicated, isn't it: Citizenship and ethnic identity in a mobile world. *Ethnicities*, 18(5), 735-760.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796816684148>
- Bee, H. L. (1992). *The developing child*. London: HarperCollins.
- Benner, A. D., Boyle, A. E., & Sadler, S. (2016). Parental involvement and adolescents' educational success: The roles of prior achievement and socioeconomic status. *Journal of youth and adolescence*, 45(6), 1053–1064.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-016-043-4>

- Berger, R. (2013). Now I see it, now I don't: Researcher's position and reflexivity in qualitative research. *Qualitative Research : QR*, 15(2), 219-234.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794112468475>
- Bernard, D. L., Calhoun, C. D., Banks, D. E., Halliday, C. A., Hughes-Halbert, C., & Danielson, C. K. (2021). Making the "C-ACE" for a culturally-informed adverse childhood experiences framework to understand the pervasive mental health impact of racism on black youth. *Journal of Child & Adolescent Trauma*, 14(2), 233-247.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s40653-020-00319-9>
- Berry, J. W. (1997). Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation. *Applied Psychology*, 46(1), 5-34. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1464-0597.1997.tb01087.x>
- Berry, J. W. (2005). Acculturation: Living successfully in two cultures. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 29(6), 697-712. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2005.07.013>
- Berry, J. W. (2006). Mutual attitudes among immigrants and ethnocultural groups in Canada. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 30(6), 719-734.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2006.06.004>
- Berry, J. W. (2022). Family and youth development: Some concepts and findings linked to the ecocultural and acculturation models. *Societies (Basel, Switzerland)*, 12(6), 181. <https://doi.org/10.3390/soc12060181>
- Berry, J. W., Phinney, J. S., Sam, D. L., & Vedder, P. (2006). Immigrant youth: Acculturation, identity, and adaptation. *Applied Psychology*, 55(3), 303-332. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1464-0597.2006.00256.x>

- Berry, J. W., & Hou, F. (2017). Acculturation, discrimination and wellbeing among second generation of immigrants in Canada. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 61, 29-39. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2017.08.003>
- Bhagwati, J. (1976). The brain drain. *International Social Science Journal*, 28(4), 691-729.
- Bianchi, D., Cavicchiolo, E., Manganelli, S., Lucidi, F., Girelli, L., Cozzolino, M., Galli, F., & Alivernini, F. (2021). Bullying and victimization in native and immigrant very-low-income adolescents in Italy: Disentangling the roles of peer acceptance and friendship. *Child & Youth Care Forum*, 50(6), 1013-1036.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10566-021-09612-6>
- Black, R., Bennett, S. R. G., Thomas, S. M., & Beddington, J. R. (2011). Climate change: Migration as adaptation. *Nature(London)*, 478(7370), 447.
<https://doi.org/10.1038/478477a>
- Blakemore, S-J. (2018). Avoiding Social Risk in Adolescence. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 27(2), 116-122. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0963721417738144>
- Boloka, M. J., Jiyane, G. V., & Mojapelo, S. M. (2021). Information needs of users of E'skia Mphahlele public library in the City of Tshwane municipality, South Africa. *South African Journal of Library and Information Science*, 87(1), 1-8.
<https://doi.org/10.7553/87-1-1802>
- Boss, P. (2016). The context and process of theory development: The story of ambiguous loss. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, 8(3), 269-286. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jftr.12152>
- Bowen, Murray, (1978). Family Therapy in Clinical Practice. New York, NY: Jacob Aronson.

- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative research in psychology*, 3(2), 77-101.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2021). Thematic analysis. In E. Lyons, A. Coyle & C. Walton (Eds.), *Analysing qualitative data in psychology* (3rd ed.). Sage.
- Braun, V., V. Clarke, and D. Gray, (Eds.) (2017). Collecting qualitative data: A practical guide to textual, media and virtual techniques. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brettell, C. B., & Hollifield, J. F. (2014). *Migration theory: Talking across disciplines* (3rd ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315814933>
- Brinkmann, S. (2014). Unstructured and Semi-Structured Interviewing, In P. Leavy, The Oxford handbook of qualitative research (pp. 277-299). Oxford Library of Psychology
- Bronstein, I., & Montgomery, P. (2011). Psychological distress in refugee children: A systematic review. *Clinical Child and Family Psychology Review*, 14(1), 44-56. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10567-010-0081-0>
- Bryce, J. (2020). *Impressions of South Africa*. BoD—Books on Demand.
- Bucher-Maluschke, J., Gondim, M. d. F., & Pedroso, J. D. S. (2017). The effects of migration on family relationships: Case studies. *International Journal of Migration, Health and Social Care*, 13(2), 198-206. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJMHSC-05-2015-0016>
- Carling, J., Erdal, M. B., & Ezzati, R. (2014). Beyond the insider–outsider divide in migration research. *Migration Studies*, 2(1), 36-54. <https://doi.org/10.1093/migration/mnt022>
- Cepukiene, V., & Celiauskaite, S. (2022). The relationship between nuclear family emotional system and adult health: Mediating and moderating role of general self-

efficacy. *Journal of Family Studies*, 28(2), 678-694.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/13229400.2020.1750451>

Chadda, R. K., & Deb, K. S. (2013). Indian family systems, collectivistic society and psychotherapy. *Indian Journal of Psychiatry*, 55(Suppl 2), S299-S309.

<https://doi.org/10.4103/0019-5545.105555>

Cheng, Y., Yang, P., Lee, J., Waters, J., & Yeoh, B. S. A. (2024). Migration governance and higher education during a pandemic: policy (mis)alignments and international postgraduate students' experiences in Singapore and the UK. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 50(5), 1138–1156. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2023.2279731>

Chowdhory, N., & Banerjee, P. (Eds.). (2022). *Gender, Identity and Migration in India*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Chung, R. C., Bemak, F., & Sánchez, R. O. (2022). Latinx adolescent migrant challenges in reuniting with family members. *International Review of Psychiatry (Abingdon, England)*, 34(6), 622-631. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09540261.2022.2072192>

Cleary, S. D., Snead, R., Dietz-Chavez, D., Rivera, I., & Edberg, M. C. (2018). Immigrant trauma and mental health outcomes among Latino youth. *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health*, 20(5), 1053-1059. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10903-017-0673-6>

Coffey, C., & Patton, G. C. (2016). Cannabis use in adolescence and young adulthood: A review of findings from the Victorian adolescent health cohort study. *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry*, 61(6), 318-327. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0706743716645289>

Cohen, L., Manion, L., & Morrison, K. (2018). *Research methods in education* (8th ed.). Routledge.

- Comella, P. A. (2011). Observing emotional functioning in human relationship systems: Lessons from Murray Bowen's Writings. In O. C. Bregman, & C. M. White, *Bringing systems thinking to life - Expanding the horizons for Bowen Family Systems Theory* (pp. 3-30). New York: Routledge.
- Cope, D. G. (2014). Methods and meanings: Credibility and trustworthiness of qualitative research. *Oncology Nursing Forum*, 41(1), 89-91. <https://doi.org/10.1188/14.onf.89-91>
- Cowling, N. (2023). Number of foreign students in South Africa 2008-2019. <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1262521/number-of-foreign-students-in-south-africa/>
- Creswell, J. W. (2014). Research design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed methods approaches (4th ed.) Sage.
- Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, J. D. (2018). *Research Design - Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed methods approaches* (5th ed.). USA: SAGE.
- Creswell, J. W. And Poth, C. N. (2018). Qualitative inquiry & Research Design (4th ed.). SAGE.
- Crush, J., & Ramachandran, S. (2009). *Xenophobia, international migration and human development*. St. Louis: Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis.
- Crocetti, E., & Meeus, M. (2015). The identity statuses: Strengths of a person-centered approach. In K. C. Mclean & M. Syled (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of identity development* (pp. 97-114). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

- Dale, A., & Ahmed, S. (2011). Marriage and employment patterns amongst UK-raised Indian, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi women. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 34(6), 902-924.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2011.564058>.
- Darawsheh, W. (2014). Reflexivity in research: Promoting rigour, reliability and validity in qualitative research. *International Journal of Therapy and Rehabilitation*, 21(12), 560-568. <https://doi.org/10.12968/ijtr.2014.21.12.560>.
- Darmanaki Farahani, L., & Bradley, G. L. (2018). The role of psychosocial resources in the adjustment of migrant adolescents. *Journal of Pacific Rim Psychology*, 12.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/prp.2017.21>
- Dasgupta, S., & Lal, M. (2007). The Indian family in transition: Reading literary and cultural texts. Sage.
- de Hart, B. (2009). Love thy neighbour: Family reunification and the rights of insiders. *European Journal of Migration and Law*, 11(3), 235-252.
<https://doi.org/10.1163/138836409X12469435402774>
- De Leersnyder, J. (2017). Emotional acculturation: A first review. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, 17, 67-73. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2017.06.007>
- Dekker, R., & Engbersen, G. (2014). How social media transform migrant networks and facilitate migration. *Global Networks (Oxford)*, 14(4), 401-418.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/glob.12040>
- Desai, A., & Vahed, G. (2010). *Inside Indian indenture: A South African story 1860–1914*. HSRC Press.

- Deviga, D., & Varghese, M. A. (2020). Explicating the nuances of family responsibility with reference to Manju Kapur's home. *Shanlax International Journal of English*, 8(3), 45-48. <https://doi.org/10.34293/enligh.v8i3.3179>
- di Belgiojoso, E. B., & Terzera, L. (2019). Family reunification – who, when, and how? family trajectories among migrants in Italy. *Demographic Research*, 38, 737-772. <https://doi.org/10.4054/DemRes.2018.38.28>
- Dodgson, J. E. (2019). Reflexivity in qualitative research. *Journal of Human Lactation*, 35(2), 220-222. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0890334419830990>
- Dube, S. R. (2018). Continuing conversations about adverse childhood experiences (ACEs) screening: A public health perspective. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 85, 80-184. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chaibu.2018.03.007>.
- Duwicquet, V., Mouhoud, E. M., & Oudinet, J. (2014). International migration by 2030: Impact of immigration policies scenarios on growth and employment. *Foresight (Cambridge)*, 16(2), 142-164. <https://doi.org/10.1108/FS-06-2012-0045>
- Elliott, J., Gale, C. R., Parsons, S., Kuh, D., & The HALCyon Study Team. (2014). Neighbourhood cohesion and mental wellbeing among older adults: A mixed methods approach. *Social Science & Medicine* (1982), 107, 44-51. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2014.02.027>
- Emerson, R. W. (2015). Convenience sampling, random sampling, and snowball sampling: How does sampling affect the validity of research? *Journal of Visual Impairment & Blindness*, 109(2), 164-168. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0145482X1510900215>
- Erikson, E. H. (Ed.). (1963). *Youth: Change and challenge*. Basic books.

- Falicov, C. J. (1995). Training to think culturally: A multidimensional comparative framework. *Family Process*, 34(4), 373-388.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1545-5300.1995.00373.x>
- Falicov, C. J. (2007). Working with transnational immigrants: Expanding meanings of family, community, and culture. *Family Process*, 46(2), 157-171.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1545-5300.2007.00201.x>
- Fangen, K. (2010). Social exclusion and inclusion of young immigrants: Presentation of an analytical framework. *Young (Stockholm, Sweden)*, 18(2), 133-156.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/110330881001800202>
- Farella Guzzo, M., & Gobbi, G. (2023). Parental death during adolescence: A review of the literature. *OMEGA - Journal of Death and Dying*, 87(4), 1207-1237.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/00302228211033661>
- Fargues, P. (2017). *International migration and education: a web of mutual causation*. Global Education Monitoring report. <https://hdl.handle.net/1814/47106> Cadmus, EUI Research Repository.
- Fazel, M., Reed, R. V., Panter-Brick, C., & Stein, A. (2012). Mental health of displaced and refugee children resettled in high-income countries: Risk and protective factors. *The Lancet (British Edition)*, 379(9812), 266-282.
[https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(11\)60051-2](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(11)60051-2)
- Felitti, V. J., Anda, R. F., Nordenberg, D., Williamson, D. F., Spitz, A. M., Edwards, V., Koss, M. P., & Marks, J. S. (1998). Relationship of childhood abuse and household dysfunction to many of the leading causes of death in adults: The adverse childhood

- experiences (ACE) study. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*, 14(4), 245-258.
[https://doi.org/10.1016/S0749-3797\(98\)00017-8](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0749-3797(98)00017-8)
- Finkelhor, D., Turner, H. A., Shattuck, A., & Hamby, S. L. (2013). Violence, crime, and abuse exposure in a national sample of children and youth: An update. *JAMA Pediatrics*, 167(7), 1-8. <https://doi.org/10.1001/jamapediatrics.2013.4>
- Fleck, A. (2023). India has the world's biggest diaspora.
<https://www.statista.com/chart/30803/top-countries-of-origin-for-international-migrants/>
- Flick, U. (2006). *An introduction to qualitative research* (3rd ed.). Sage Publications.
- Gibson, M. A., Ed., & Ogbu, J. U., Ed. (1991). *Minority status and schooling: A comparative study of immigrant and involuntary minorities*. Garland Publishing, Inc.
- Gilbert, L. K., Breiding, M. J., Merrick, M. T., Thompson, W. W., Ford, D. C., Dhingra, S. S., & Parks, S. E. (2015). Childhood adversity and adult chronic disease: An update from ten states and the district of Columbia, 2010. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*, 48(3), 345-349. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.amepre.2014.09.006>
- Gonin, P. (2010). International migration and territorial (re)construction: The place and role of migrants as 'frontier runners' in development. In Cédric Audebert, & Mohamed Kamel Dorai (Eds.), *Migration in A globalised world* (pp. 161). Amsterdam University Press.
- Goodman, L. A. (1961). Snowball sampling. *The Annals of Mathematical Statistics*, 32(1), 148-170. <https://doi.org/10.1214/aoms/1177705148>

- Gubrium, J. F., & Holstein, J. A. (2006). *Couples, Kids, and Family Life*. USA: Oxford University Press.
- Hall, G. S. (1907). *Youth; its education, regimen, and hygiene*. Appleton, 1925 [c1907].
- Han, L., Berry, J. W., & Zheng, Y. (2016). The relationship of acculturation strategies to resilience: The moderating impact of social support among Qiang ethnicity following the 2008 Chinese earthquake. *PloS One*, 11(10), e0164484-e0164484.
<https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0164484>
- Haralambos, M., & Holborn, M. (2008). *Sociology: Themes and perspectives* (7th ed.). Collins.
- Haran, J., Kurian, R. K., & Ojha, S. (2020). Migration of Indian professionals and professionalism. *BVIMSR's Journal of Management Research*, 12(2), 73-83.
- Hardwicke, T. E., Thibault, R. T., Kosie, J. E., Wallach, J. D., Kidwell, M. C., & Ioannidis, J. P. A. (2022). Estimating the prevalence of transparency and reproducibility-related research practices in psychology (2014–2017). *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 17(1), 239-251. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1745691620979806>
- Harris, L. (2015). Islands at risk? environments, economies and contemporary change by john connell (review). *The Contemporary Pacific*, 27(2), 593-596. <https://doi.org/10.1353/cp.2015.0047>
- Haas, H. d., Castles, S., & Miller, M. J. (2020). *The age of migration: International population movements in the modern world* (Sixth ed.). Red Globe Press
- Heiden Rootes, K. M., Jankowski, P. J., & Sandage, S. J. (2010). Bowen family systems theory and spirituality: Exploring the relationship between triangulation and religious questing. *Contemporary Family Therapy*, 32(2), 89-101.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10591-009-9101-y>

- Heleta, S., & Chasi, S. (2023). Rethinking and redefining internationalisation of higher education in South Africa using a decolonial lens. *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management*, 45(3), 261-275. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1360080X.2022.2146566>
- Holtzhausen, L., & Campbell, E. (2021). Adverse childhood experiences as a risk factor for anti-social behaviour among young adults in the Western Cape, South Africa. *Acta Criminologica (Criminological Society of Southern Africa)*, 34(1), 24-47. https://doi.org/10.10520/ejc-crim_v34_n1_a3
- Hook, D. (2007). Foucault, Psychology and the Analytics of power. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hughe, K., Bellis, M. A., Hardcastle, K. A., Sethi, D., Butchart, A., Mikton, C., Jones, L., Dunne, M. P. (2017). The effect of multiple adverse childhood experiences on health: a systematic review and meta-analysis. *Lancet Public Health*, 2(8), 356-366. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S2468-2667\(17\)30118-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/S2468-2667(17)30118-4).
- Hui, B. P. H., Chen, S. X., Leung, C. M., & Berry, J. W. (2015). Facilitating adaptation and intercultural contact: The role of integration and multicultural ideology in dominant and non-dominant groups. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 45, 70-84. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2015.01.002>
- Husband, G. (2020). Ethical data collection and recognizing the impact of semi-structured interviews on research respondents. *Education Sciences*, 10(8), 206. <https://doi.org/10.3390/educsci10080206>
- Jagannathan, N., Anjana, R. M., Mehreen, T. S., Yuvarani, K., Sathishkumar, D., Poongothai, S., Mohan, V., Latha, S., & Ranjani, H. (2023). Reliability and validity of the

- adolescence stress scale (ADOSS) for Indian adolescents. *Indian Journal of Psychological Medicine*, 45(3), 230-236. <https://doi.org/10.1177/02537176221127138>
- Jakobsen, A. L., Hansen, C. D., & Andersen, J. H. (2022). The association between perceived social support in adolescence and positive mental health outcomes in early adulthood: A prospective cohort study. *Scandinavian Journal of Public Health*, 50(3), 404-411. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1403494821993718>
- James D.C. (1997). Coping with a new society: The unique psychosocial problems of immigrant youth. *The Journal of School Health*, 67(3), 98-102. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1746-1561.1997.tb03422.x>
- Jancewicz, B., & Markowski, S. (2021). Economic turbulence and labour migrants' mobility intentions: Polish migrants in the United Kingdom, Ireland, the Netherlands and Germany 2009-2016. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 47(17), 3928-3947. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2019.1656059>
- Ji, K., & Finkelhor, D. (2015). A meta-analysis of child physical abuse prevalence in China. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 43, 61-72. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2014.11.011>
- Jones, R. M., Vaterlaus, J. M., Jackson, M. A., & Morrill, T. B. (2014). Friendship characteristics, psychosocial development, and adolescent identity formation: Young adult friendships and psychological development. *Personal Relationships*, 21(1), 51-67. <https://doi.org/10.1111/pere.12017>

Jootun, D., McGhee, G., & Marland, G. R. (2009). Reflexivity: promoting rigour in qualitative research. *Nursing Standard*, 23(23), 42-46.

<https://doi.org/10.7748/ns2009.02.23.23.42.c6800>

Józefczyk, A. (2023). Multigenerational transmission of differentiation of self – Toward a more in-depth understanding of Bowen's theory concept. *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy*, 49(3), 634-653. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jmft.12645>

Kagitcibasi, C. (2005). Autonomy and relatedness in cultural context: Implications for self and family. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 36(4), 403-422.

Kallio, H., Pietilä, A., Johnson, M., & Kangasniemi, M. (2016). Systematic methodological review: Developing a framework for a qualitative semi-structured interview guide. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 72(12), 2954-2965. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jan.13031>

Kangaude, G. D., & Skelton, A. (2018). (De)Criminalizing Adolescent Sex: A Rights-Based Assessment of Age of Consent Laws in Eastern and Southern Africa. *Sage Open*, 8(4). <https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244018806036>

Keita, S., & Schewe, P. (2021). Out of sight, out of mind? terror in the home country, family reunification options, and the well-being of refugees. *World Development*, 146, 105562. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2021.105562>

Kelley, C. P., Mohtadi, S., Cane, M. A., Seager, R., Kushnir, Y., & Columbia Univ., New York, NY (United States). (2015). Climate change in the fertile crescent and implications of the recent Syrian drought. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences - PNAS*, 112(11), 3241-3246. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1421533112>

Kerr, M. E., & Bowen, M. (1988). *Family evaluation*. New York: WW Norton & Company.

- Khadria, B. (2008). Shifting Paradigms of Globalisation: The Twenty-first Century Transition Towards Generics in Skilled Migration from India. *International Migration*, 39(5), 45-71. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2435.00171>.
- King, R., & Kuschminder, K. (2022). "Chapter 1: Introduction: definitions, typologies and theories of return migration". In *Handbook of Return Migration*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.4337/9781839100055.00008>
- King, R., & Raghuram, R. (2013). International student migration: Mapping the field and new research agendas. *Population Space and Place*, 19(2), 127-137. <https://doi.org/10.1002/psp/1746>
- Kirmayer, L. J., Narasiah, L., Munoz, M., Rashid, M., Ryder, A. G., Guzder, J., Hassan, G., Rousseau, C., Pottie, K., Canadian Collaboration for Immigrant and Refugee Health (CCIRH), & for the Canadian Collaboration for Immigrant and Refugee Health (CCIRH). (2011). Common mental health problems in immigrants and refugees: General approach in primary care. *Canadian Medical Association Journal (CMAJ)*, 183(12), E959-E967. <https://doi.org/10.1503/cmaj.090292>
- Kishun, R. (2007). The internationalisation of higher education in South Africa: Progress and challenges. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 11(3-4), 455-469. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1028315307304184>
- Koser, K. (2016). *International Migration: A very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kroger, J. (2006). *Identity development: Adolescence through adulthood*. Sage Publications

- Kvale, S. (1996). *Interviews: An introduction to qualitative research interviewing*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Kvale, S., & Brinkmann, S. (2008). *InterViews: Learning the craft of qualitative research interviewing*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Lansford, J. E., Criss, M. M., Laird, R. D., Shaw, D. S., Pettit, G. S., Bates, J. E., & Dodge, K. A. (2011). Reciprocal relations between parents' physical discipline and children's externalizing behavior during middle childhood and adolescence. *Development and psychopathology*, 23(1), 225-238.
- Larkin, M., & Thompson, A. R. (2012). Interpretative phenomenological analysis in mental health and psychotherapy research. In D. Harper & A. R. Thompson (Eds.), *Qualitative research methods in mental health and psychotherapy: A guide for students and practitioners* (pp. 99–116). Wiley.
- Lawson, K. M., Bleidorn, W., Hopwood, C. J., Cheng, R., & Robins, R. W. (2023). Trajectories of temperament from late childhood through adolescence and associations with anxiety and depression in young adulthood. *European Journal of Personality*, 37(6), 814-833. <https://doi.org/10.1177/08902070221124318>
- Leavy, P. (2014) Introduction, In P. Leavy, *The Oxford handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 1-13). Oxford Library of Psychology.
- Lee, E. J., & Bukowski, W. M. (2012). Co-development of internalizing and externalizing problem behaviors: Causal direction and common vulnerability. *Journal of Adolescence* (London, England.), 35(3), 713-729. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2011.10.008>

- Lester, C. B. (2011). Integrating Bowen Theory with academic research, teaching and service. In O. C. Bregman, & C. M. White, *Brining systems thinking to life - Expanding the horizons for Bowen Family Systems Theory* (pp. 261-272.). New York: Routledge.
- Levitt, P. (1998). Social remittances: Migration driven local-level forms of cultural diffusion. *The International Migration Review*, 32(4), 926.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/2547666>
- Lima Becker, M., & Oliveira, G. (2022). Breaking nation: Brazilian transnational children's construction of belonging in bilingual classrooms. *Childhood (Copenhagen, Denmark)*, 29(1), 39-57. <https://doi.org/10.1177/09075682211041840>
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic Enquiry*. Sage.
- Lipton, M. (1980). Migration from rural areas of poor countries: The impact on rural productivity and income distribution. *World Development*, 8(1), 1-24.
[https://doi.org/10.1016/0305-750X\(80\)90047-9](https://doi.org/10.1016/0305-750X(80)90047-9)
- Louw, D. A., Van Ede, D. M., Louw, A. E., & Botha, A. (1998). *Human development* (2nd ed.). Kagiso Tertiary.
- Lune, H. and Berg, B. L. (2017). *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences* (9th ed., Global Edition). Pearson.
- Luttrell, W. (2000). "good enough" methods for Ethnographic Research. *Harvard Educational Review*, 70(4) 499-523. <https://doi.org/10.17763/haer.70.4.5333230502744141>
- Luyckx, K., Goossens, L., Soenens, B., & Beyers, W. (2005). Unpacking commitment and exploration: Preliminary validation of an integrative model of late adolescent identity

- formation. *Journal of Adolescence (London, England.)*, 29(3), 361-378.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2005.03.008>
- Madianou, M. (2016). Ambient co-presence: Transnational family practices in polymedia environments. *Global Networks (Oxford)*, 16(2), 183-201.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/glob.12105>
- Mahoney, A. R., & Knudson-Martin, C. (2009). Gender equality in intimate relationships. In C. Knudson-Martin, & A. R. Mahoney, *Couples, Gender, and Power - Creating change in intimate relationships* (pp. 3-16). New York: Springer Publishing Company.
- Malaurent, J., & Avison, D. (2017). Reflexivity: A third essential 'R' to enhance interpretive field studies. *Information & Management*, 54(7), 920-933.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.im.2017.01.007>
- Marchetti-Mercer, M. C. (2006). New meanings of "home" in South Africa. *Acta Academica (Bloemfontein, South Africa)*, 38(2), 191-218. <https://doi.org/10.38140/aa.v38i2.1089>
- Marchetti-Mercer, M. C. (2019). The role of companion animals in the process of emigration: A Family Systems perspective. *Society and Animals*.
<https://doi.org/10.1163/15685306-12341608>
- Marchetti-Mercer, M. C. (2023). The Role of Information Communication Technologies (ICTs) in Strengthening Extended Family Connections with Migrants and Refugees (Chapter 14). In B. Gerrard, E. Selimos & S. Morrison (Eds). *School-Based Family Counseling with Refugees and Immigrants*. Routledge, pp. 225–242.
- Marchetti-Mercer, M. C., & Roos, J. L. (2006). Migration and exile - some implications for mental health in post-apartheid South Africa. *The South African Journal of*

Psychiatry, 12(3), 52-64. <https://doi.org/10.4102/sajpsychiatry.v12i3.67>

Marchetti-Mercer, M. C., & Swartz, L., (2020). Familiarity and separation in the use of communication technologies in South African migrant families. *Journal of Family Issues*. 41(10) 1859-1884. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X19894367>

Marchetti-Mercer, M. C., & Swartz, L., Baldassar, L. (2021). Is granny going back into the computer? Visits and the familial politics of seeing and being seen in South African transnational families. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*. 42(4), 423–439.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/07256868.2021.1939280>

Marchetti-Mercer, M. C., Swartz, L. & Baldassar, L., (2023) Setting the Scene. In M. C. Marchetti-Mercer, L. Swartz & L. Baldassar (Eds.), *Transnational families in Africa: Migrants and the role of information communication technologies* (pp. 3–34). WitsPress.

Marcus, B., Weigelt, O., Hergert, J., Gurt, J., & Gelléri, P. (2017). The use of snowball sampling for multi source organizational research: Some cause for concern. *Personnel Psychology*, 70(3), 635-673. <https://doi.org/10.1111/peps.12169>

Marshall, C. and Rossman, G. B. (2011) *Designing Qualitative Research*, 5th edition, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Martin, M., Billah, M., Siddiqui, T., Abrar, C., Black, R., & Kniveton, D. (2014). Climate-related migration in rural Bangladesh: A behavioural model. *Population and Environment*, 36(1), 85-110. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11111-014-0207-2>

Maunder, R. G., Wiesenfeld, L., Lawson, A., & Hunter, J. J. (2019). The relationship between childhood adversity and other aspects of clinical complexity in psychiatric

- outpatients. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 36(19-20), 9060-9076.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260519865968>
- McAuliffe, M. & Ouchou, L.A. (eds.) (2024). World Migration Report 2024. *International Organization for Migration (IOM)*, Geneva.
- McAuliffe, M. & Triandafyllidou, A. (eds.) (2021). World Migration Report 2022. *International Organization for Migration (IOM)*, Geneva.
- Meeus, W., Van De Schoot, R., Keijsers, L., Schwartz, S. J., & Branje, S. (2010). On the progression and stability of adolescent identity formation: A five-wave longitudinal study in early-to-middle and middle-to-late adolescence. *Child Development*, 81(5), 1565-1581. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2010.01492.x>
- Meijering, L., & van Hoven, B. (2003). Imagining difference: the experiences of 'transnational' Indian IT professionals in Germany. *Area*, 35(2), 174-182
- Mello, D. M. (2013). Internationalisation of higher education in South Africa. *Journal of Public Administration*, 48(3), 403-413.
- Merrill, N., & Fivush, R. (2016). Intergenerational narratives and identity across development. *Developmental Review*, 40, 72-92. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dr.2016.03.001>
- Metcalfe, J. (2022). Dominant narratives of whiteness in identity construction of mixed-race young adults in post-apartheid South Africa. *Social Sciences (Basel)*, 11(5), 205. <https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci11050205>
- Migration Data Portal. (2023, May 31). Migration data in the Southern African Development Community (SADC). <https://www.migrationdataportal.org/regional-data-overview/southern-africa>

Miller, E. A. (2023). The attachment versus differentiation debate: Bringing the conversation to parent–child relationships. *Family Process*, 62(2), 483-498.

<https://doi.org/10.1111/famp.12802>

Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India (n.d.). Person of Indian Origin (PIO) card and Overseas Citizen of India (OCI) card.

https://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/CountryQuickLink/703_PIO-OCI.pdf

Modi, R. (2010). Indian communities in Africa. *Africa Insight*, 40(1), 49-61.

Mohajan, H. K. (2018). Qualitative research methodology in social sciences and related subjects. *Journal of Economic Development, Environment and People*, 7(1), 23.

<https://doi.org/10.26458/jedep.v7i1.571>

Murcia, K., Pepper, C., & Williams, J. (2020). Youth STEM career choices : What's influencing secondary students' decision making. *Issues in Educational Research*, 30(2), 593-611.

Murray, D. W., Rosanbalm, K., Christopoulos, C., & Meyer, A. L. (2019). An applied contextual model for promoting self-regulation enactment across development: Implications for prevention, public health and future research. *The Journal of Primary Prevention*, 40, 367-403.

Naicker, A., Venter, C. S., MacIntyre, U. E., & Ellis, S. (2017). Prevalence of selected intermediate risk factors for non-communicable diseases in an apparently healthy Indian community in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. *Journal of Community Health*, 42(1), 122-128. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10900-016-0238-y>

- Nel, M. J. (2011). Bowen Theory and Zulu Understanding of Family. In O. C. Bregman, & C. M. White, *Bringing systems thinking to life- Expanding the horizons for Bowen Family Systems Theory* (pp. 335-346). New York: Routledge.
- Noack, P. (2021). Migrant youths: Typical aspects of development during the adolescent years, specific challenges of growing up somewhere else, and some things we need to understand better. *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development*, 2021(176), 245-254. <https://doi.org/10.1002/cad.20411>
- Nunn, C., McMichael, C., Gifford, S. M., & Correa-Velez, I. (2014). 'I came to this country for a better life': factors mediating employment trajectories among young people who migrated to Australia as refugees during adolescence. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 17(9), 1205-1220. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13676261.2014.901496>
- Ohannessian, C. M., & Vannucci, A. (2021). Social media use and externalizing behaviors during early adolescence. *Youth & Society*, 53(6), 871-893. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0044118X20901737>
- Olszewski-Kubilius, P., Subotnik, R. F., & Worrell, F. C. (2023). Sociocultural factors that affect the identification and development of talent in children and adolescents. *European Journal of Training and Development*, 47(3/4), 404-420. <https://doi.org/10.1108/EJTD-01-2022-0003>
- O'Neill, A. (2024). Unemployment rate in India 2023. <https://www.statista.com/statistics/271330/unemployment-rate-in-india/>
- Omelandiuk, I. (2005). World Migration 2005 – Costs and benefits of international migration. *International Organization for Migration (IOM), Geneva*.

- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). (2018). *International migration outlook 2018*. OECD Publishing.
- Ormel, J., Oerlemans, A. M., Raven, D., Oldehinkel, A. J., & Laceulle, O. M. (2020). Mental disorder during adolescence: Evidence of arrested personality development. *Clinical Psychological Science*, 8(3), 395-411. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2167702619896372>
- Ormston, R., Spencer, L., Barnard, M., & Snape, D. (2014). The foundations of qualitative research. *Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers*, 2(7), 52-55.
- Orne, M. T. (2017). On the social psychology of the psychological experiment: With particular reference to demand characteristics and their implications. In *Sociological methods* (pp. 279-299). Routledge.
- Östberg, V., & Modin, B. (2008). Status relations in school and their relevance for health in a life course perspective: Findings from the Aberdeen children of the 1950's cohort study. *Social Science & Medicine* (1982), 66(4), 835-848.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2007.10.018>
- Oxford Dictionary. (n.d.). Migration. In *oxfordreference.com*. Retrieved January 6, 2023, from <https://www.oxfordreference.com/display/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803100157299#:~:text=1%20The%20movement%20of%20people,Dictionary%20of%20Environment%20and%20Conservation%20»>
- Ozaki, R., & Otis, M. D. (2017). Gender equality, patriarchal cultural norms, and perpetration of intimate partner violence: Comparison of male university students in Asian and European cultural contexts. *Violence against women*, 23(9), 1076-1099.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801216654575>

- Packer-Muti, B. (2016). A review of Corbin and Strauss' basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory. *Qualitative Report*, <https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2009.2838>
- Pagallu, L. L. (2023). Top 10 countries with Indian population in 2023. Retrieved September 2, 2023, from <https://getgis.org/blog/top-10-countries-with-indian-population#:~:text=culture%20and%20society.-,1.,the%20country%27s%20rich%20cultural%20tapestry>
- Patel, T. (Ed.). (2005). *The family in India: Structure and practice*. Sage.
- Pierce, J.B. (2009). Redeeming our relevance. *American Libraries*, 40(11), 56.
- Polit, D. F., & Beck, C. T. (2008). *Nursing research: Generating and assessing evidence for nursing practice*. Philadelphia: Lippincott Williams and Wilkins.
- Porfeli, E. J., & Lee, B. (2012). Career development during childhood and adolescence. *New Directions for Youth Development*, 2012(134), 11-22. <https://doi.org/10.1002/yd.20011>
- Portes, A. (1976). Determinants of the brain drain. *International Migration Review*, 10(4), 489-508. <https://doi.org/10.1177/019791837601000402>
- Portes, A. (2001). Introduction: The debates and significance of immigrant transnationalism. *Global Networks (Oxford)*, 1(3), 181-194. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1471-0374.00012>
- Press Trust of India (PTI) (2014, April 13) South African Indians only group to grow in employment equity. The Times of India <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/nri/other-news/south-african-indians-only-group-to-grow-in-employment-equity/articleshow/33695502.cms>

- Rajan, S. I., & Saxena, P. (Eds.). (2019). *India's low-skilled migration to the Middle East: Policies, politics and challenges*. Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Rajan, S. I., Varghese, V. J., & Jayakumar, M. S. (2013). *Dreaming mobility and buying vulnerability: Overseas recruitment practices in India*. Routledge India
- Ritchie J., and Ormston R. (2014) *Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers* (Second ed.). SAGE.
- Rivas, A. (2011). Beyond the economics of migration: Bringing in family and gender: Beyond the economics of migration. *Sociological Forum (Randolph, N.J.)*, 26(4), 956-959.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1573-7861.2011.01293.x>
- Robson, C. (2011) *Real World Research*, 3rd edition, Chichester: Wiley.
- Ross, S. N. (2006). Albert Bandura. *The Praeger Handbook of Education and Psychology* 4(4), 49.
- Rugunanan, P. (2017). 'Fitting In': Social cohesion among skilled migrant Indian women and host diasporic communities in South Africa. *Alternation*, 24(1), 170-196.
<https://doi.org/10.29086/2519-5476/2017/v24n1a9>.
- Rugunanan, P. (2020). Migration, mobility and transnational families : The case of Indian women migrating to South Africa. *Gender Questions*, 8(1), 1-22.
<https://doi.org/10.25159/2412-8457/6515>
- Sahoo, A. K. (2015). Diaspora, transnationalism and development. In *India Migration Report 2014* (pp. 69-81). Routledge India.

Salvador, P. T. C. de O., Alves, K. Y. A., Rodrigues, C. C. F. M., & Oliveira, L. V. e. (2020).

Online data collection strategies used in qualitative research of the health field: A scoping review. *Revista Gaúcha De Enfermagem*, 41.

<https://doi.org/10.1590/1983-1447.2020.20190297>

Saunders, B., Sim, J., Kingstone, T., Baker, S., Waterfield, J., Bartlam, B., Burroughs, H., &

Jinks, C. (2018). Saturation in qualitative research: Exploring its conceptualization and operationalization. *Quality & Quantity*, 52(4), 1893–1907.

<https://doi.org/10.1007/s11135-017-0574-8>

Saul, R. (2016). Adolescence and clock time: Two modern concepts intertwined, revisited, reconsidered. *Global Studies of Childhood*, 6(2), 234-245.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/2043610616647643>

Schiller, N. G., Basch, L., & Blanc-Szanton, C. (1992). Towards a definition of

transnationalism. introductory remarks and research questions. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 645(1), ix-xiv.

<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-6632.1992.tb33482.x>

Schilling, E. A., Aseltine, R. H., & Gore, S. (2008). The impact of cumulative childhood

adversity on young adult mental health: Measures, models, and interpretations. *Social Science and Medicine*, 66(5), 1140-1151.

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2007.11.023>

Schippers, M. C., West, M. A., & Dawson, J. F. (2015). Team reflexivity and innovation: The moderating role of team context. *Journal of Management*, 41(3), 769-788.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0149206312441210>

- Schultz, K., Cattaneo, L. B., Sabina, C., Brunner, L., Jackson, S., & Serrata, J. V. (2016). Key roles of community connectedness in healing from trauma. *Psychology of Violence*, 6(1), 42-48. <https://doi.org/10.1037/vio0000025>
- Schultze, U. (2000). A Confessional account of an ethnography about knowledge work. *MIS Quarterly*, 24(1), 3–41. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3250978>
- Shakya, Y. B., Guruge, S., Hynie, M., Akbari, A., Malik, M., Htoo, S., Khogali, A., Mona, S. A., Murtaza, R., & Alley, S. (2010). Aspirations for higher education among newcomer refugee youth in Toronto: Expectations, challenges, and strategies. *Refuge (Toronto. English Edition)*, 27(2), 65-78.
- Shonkoff, J. P., Garner, A. S., Siegel, B. S., et al. (2012). The lifelong effects of early childhood adversity and toxic stress. *Pediatrics*, 129(1), 232-246. <https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2011-2663>
- Silva, K. L., de Sena, R. R., Tavares, T. S., Belga, S. M. M. F., & Maas, L. W. D. (2016). Migrant nurses in Brazil: Demographic characteristics, migration flow and relationship with the training process. *Revista Latino-Americana De Enfermagem*, 24, 2686-2686. <https://doi.org/10.1590/1518-8345.0390.2686>
- Skeldon, R. (2017). International Migration, Internal Migration, Mobility and Urbanization: Towards More Integrated Approaches. Retrieved June 5 2023, from <https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/events/pdf/expert/27/papers/II/paper-Skeldon- final.pdf>
- Sluzki C.E. (1979). Migration and family conflict. *Family Process*, 18, 379-390.

- Smith, R. A., & Khawaja, N. G. (2011). A review of the acculturation experiences of international students. *International Journal of intercultural relations*, 35(6), 699-713.
- Sooryamoothy, R. (2012). The Indian family: Needs for a revisit. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 43(1), 1-9. <https://doi.org/10.3138/jcfs.43.1.1>.
- Statistics South Africa (Stats SA) (2014). Employment, unemployment skills and economic growth: An exploration of household survey evidence on skills development and unemployment between 1994 and 2014.
https://www.statssa.gov.za/presentation/Stats%20SA%20presentation%20on%20skills%20and%20unemployment_16%20September.pdf
- Statistics South Africa (Stats SA) (2022). *Tourism, 2022* (Report No. 03-51-02 (2022)). Department of Statistics South Africa.
<https://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/Report-03-51-02/Report-03-51-022022.pdf>
- Statistics South Africa (Stats SA) (2024). *Migration profile report for South Africa: A country profile 2023*. (Report No. 03-09-17) Department of Statistics South Africa.
<https://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/03-09-17/03-09-172023.pdf>
- Stillerman, A. (2018). Childhood adversity and lifelong health: From research to action. *The Journal of Family Practice*, 67(11), 690-699.
- Suárez-Orozco, M. M., & Suárez-Orozco, C. (2015). Children of immigration. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 97(4), 8-14. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0031721715619911>
- Sugimura, K., Hihara, S., & Hatano, K. (2020). Emotional separation, parental trust, and psychosocial adjustment in preadolescence and early adolescence. *Journal of*

Adolescence (London, England.), 84(1), 165-170. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2020.09.001>

Tali, M. (2022). Transnational therapeutic memories: Remembering forced migration in documentary film. *Memory Studies*, 15(3), 551-562.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/17506980221092875>

Tatarko, A., Berry, J. W., & Choi, K. (2020). Social capital, acculturation attitudes, and sociocultural adaptation of migrants from central Asian republics and South Korea in Russia. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, 23(3), 302-312.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/ajsp.12401>

Tedeschi, M., Vorobeva, E., & Jauhiainen, J. S. (2022). Transnationalism: Current debates and new perspectives. *Geojournal*, 87(2), 603-619.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10708-020-10271-8>

Tewolde, A. I. (2023). ‘The merged researcher’ and ‘Emergent subjectivity’: Complicating reflexivity in migration research. *International Journal of Sociology*, 53(3), 1-11.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00207659.2023.2200620>

Thomas, E., & Magilvy, J. K. (2011). Qualitative rigor or research validity in qualitative research. *Journal for Specialists in Paediatric Nursing*, 16(2), 151-155.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1744-6155.2011.00283.x>

Tsegay, S. M. (2023). International migration: Definition, causes and effects. *Genealogy (Basel)*, 7(3), 61. <https://doi.org/10.3390/genealogy7030061>

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation - Institute of Statistics (UIS)

(2023) International Students.

<https://www.migrationdataportal.org/themes/international-students>

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation - Institute of Statistics (UIS)

(n.d.) Internationally mobile students. Retrieved March 2, 2023, from

<https://glossary.uis.unesco.org/glossary/en/home>

Upreti, R. (2017). Identity construction: An important issue among adolescents. *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 22(6), 54-57. [https://doi.org/10.9790/0837-](https://doi.org/10.9790/0837-2206105457)

[2206105457](https://doi.org/10.9790/0837-2206105457)

Vaughn, M. G., Salas-Wright, C. P., Huang, J., Qian, Z., Terzis, L. D., & Helton, J. J. (2017).

Adverse childhood experiences among immigrants to the United States. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 32(10), 1543-1564.

<http://doi.org/10.1177/0886260515589568>

Vertovec, S. (2001). Transnationalism and identity. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration*

Studies, 27(4), 573-582. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830120090386>

Walsh, F. (2015). *Strengthening family resilience (3rd ed.)*. Guilford Press.

Wray, H., Charsley, K., Kolbaşı-Muyan, G., & Smith, L. (2023). Introduction to special issue: Family migration in times of crisis. *Migration Studies*, 11(3), 363-

379. <https://doi.org/10.1093/migration/mnad026>

Wright, A. J., & Jackson, J. J. (2023). Initiation of drug and alcohol use and personality

development during adolescence. *European Journal of Personality*, 37(4), 375-401.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/08902070221090107>

- Xiang, B. (2001). Structuration of Indian information technology professionals' migration to Australia: An Ethnographic Study. *International Migration*, 39(5), 73-90.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2435.00172>
- Xu, H., & Lee, J. C. K. (2019). Exploring the contextual influences on adolescent career identity formation: A qualitative study of Hong Kong secondary students. *Journal of Career Development*, 46(3), 219-234. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0894845317737380>
- Yin, R.K., (2016). *Qualitative Research from start to finish (Second ed.)*. The Guildford Press.
- Ypi, L. L. (2016). *Taking workers as a class: The moral dilemmas of guestworkers programmes* (2016). In Sarah Fine & Lea Ypi (eds.), *Migration in Political Theory: The Ethics of Movement and Membership*. Oxford University Press UK.
- Zentgraf, K. M., & Chinchilla, N. S. (2012). Transnational Family Separation: A framework for analysis. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 38(2), 345-366.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2011.646431>

Appendices

Appendix A: Semi-Structured Interview

Semi-Structured Interview

1. Where were you born, and how long did you live in India?
2. How old were you when you moved to South Africa?
3. Did you move to South Africa as a family? Explore.
4. What were the reasons for moving to South Africa?
5. How did you feel when you heard about the move to South Africa and were you involved in the decision to migrate?
6. How did you experience the move to South Africa and how did the different members of your family experience it?
7. What specific challenges and stresses did you and your family experience?
8. Did you find any changes in your relationships with your parents and other family members?
9. How did you experience school in South Africa and what challenges did you experience?
10. How did you experience your relationship with your parents, siblings and educators when you moved to SA?
11. How do you think the migration impacted you as an adult?
12. Are you intending to stay here or return to India? Explain.
13. From your experience how do you think migration impacts upon children?

Appendix B: Participant Information Sheet

UNIVERSITY OF THE
WITWATERSRAND,
JOHANNESBURG



SCHOOL OF HUMAN AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
PSYCHOLOGY

Participant Information Sheet

Dear Sir/Madam

My name is Rekha Kangokar Rama Rao, I am a student in Masters in Community-Based Counseling Psychology at the School of Human and Community Development at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. As a part of my studies, I must undertake a research project, and I am investigating the impact of emigration on young Indian adults who migrated to South Africa as children. The title of the project is “Young adult Indian immigrants’ experiences of Adverse Childhood Experiences”. I am being supervised by Prof. Maria Marchetti-Mercer.

As a part of this project, I would like to invite you to take part in an interview. This will involve a single interview which will be between 45 and 60 minutes long. With your permission, I would also like to video record the interview on my computer. This recording will be stored in a folder on my personal laptop that is password protected and only myself and my supervisor will have access to this recording. It will be deleted after 5 years.

There will be no personal costs to you if you participate in this project, you will not receive any direct benefits from participation but there are no disadvantages or penalties if you choose not to participate or if you wish to withdraw from the study at any time. You may withdraw at any time or not answer any question if you do not want to. The information

shared in the interview will remain confidential. When I share the results of the research study, I will not include your name or anything else that could identify you. The information you share with me will be held securely and disclosed only with my supervisor. If you experience any distress or discomfort at any point in this process, we will stop the interview or resume another time. If you need some support or counselling services following the interview, these are available free of charge through the SADAG helpline 0800456789.

If you have any questions during or afterwards about his research, feel free to contact me on the details listed below. This study will be written up as a research report. With your permission the data collected from this research project may be used by other researchers in an anonymised format. If you have any concerns or complaints regarding the ethical procedures of this study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical), telephone 011 717 1408, email hrecnon-medical@wits.ac.za

Thank you

Yours sincerely,

Rekha Kangokar Rama Rao

Researcher: Rekha Kangokar Rama Rao 2438283@students.wits.ac.za

Supervisor: Prof Maria Marchetti-Mercer, Maria.Marchetti-Mercer@wits.ac.za

Appendix C: Informed Consent



**SCHOOL OF HUMAN AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
PSYCHOLOGY**

Informed consent

Date:

I, _____ (Full names) have read the research information sheet pertaining to “Young Indians immigrated as adolescents and their adverse experiences of family and parent relationship”.

I hereby give consent to participate in this research study.

The research study was explained to me. I understand what this study is about

YES No

I understand that I can volunteer to take part in the study

YES No

I agree that the interview may be audio recorded or video recorded

YES No

I agree that direct quotations from my interview may be used by the researcher in their research report

YES No

I agree that my participation will remain anonymous (my name will not be used by the researcher in their research report)

YES No

Signature:

Name:

Appendix D: Ethics Certificate



SCHOOL OF HUMAN AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
ETHICS COMMITTEE
CONSTITUTED UNDER THE UNIVERSITY HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS
COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE:
MACC/22/05

PROTOCOL NUMBER:

PROJECT TITLE:

Young adult Indian immigrants'
 experiences of Adverse
 Childhood Experiences

INVESTIGATOR
 Rekha (2438283)

Kangkar Rama Rao

SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT OF INVESTIGATOR

SHCD/Psychology

DATE CONSIDERED

13 May 2022

DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE

Approved unconditionally

RISK LEVEL

Low Risk

EXPIRY DATE

31 December 2024

ISSUE DATE OF CERTIFICATE

23 May 2022

CHAIRPERSON

(Dr Vinitha Jithoo)

Cc: Prof. Maria Marchetti-Mercer (Supervisor)

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Chairperson of the School/Department ethics committee.

I fully understand the conditions under which I am authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure