MIGRANT FAMILIES IN IRELAND:
UNDERSTANDING THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPES OF TRANSNATIONAL FAMILY LIFE

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SUMMARY OF THESIS

Being 'migrant' in Ireland is often presented in the popular media and academic studies as being somewhat problematic. While this study acknowledges some of the difficulties facing Ireland's migrant population, I attend in particular to some of the more everyday and ordinary things done as part of living here, some of which express a 'migrant' identity, and some which do not. Through the lenses of 'family' and 'home', I explore the cultural geographies of migrant relationships by engaging with Lithuanian, Indian, and United States research participants in Ireland. The key question is: *How does the migration process reconstitute how people who move understand and experience family and home?* Theoretically, I disrupt 'The Family' as a coherent ontological existence. In doing so, I blend a poststructuralist ontology and epistemology of kin and non-kin relationships with a phenomenological way of knowing how relationships are performed in place.

Methodologically, I develop an approach which fuses participatory photography with family album exploration as a means of interrogating what family means to each participant, and where feels most like home. The reflective nature of these questions facilitates an abstract interrogation of the everyday lived experiences of family and home, while I draw from cultural and political geographies of migration and transnational studies, in particular, in order to understand the particularity of the migrant case. The stories gathered are understood as a series of *family landscapes* – the expression of the social and spatial practices that produce families in particular ways, at particular times, and in particular places. The thesis reads, therefore, as a conceptual development of *a landscape imaginary of families.* The 'architecture' of that conceptual framework is presented through a set of 'scapes' in a way that offers the possibility of theoretical abstraction from this particular research for application to other family contexts too.

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INTRODUCTION: MIGRANT FAMILIES IN IRELAND

Migrant Families in Ireland maps the family and home lives of migrants living in Ireland. In doing so, it also traces my personal journey as a researcher through a research process that aimed to understand these lived experiences. What follows tells the diverse stories of migrants' family lives and senses of home through the very ordinary and everyday *practices* that produce 'family' and 'home' as meaningful parts of one's identity and daily life. This is, quite simply, a *geography* of everyday family life. That geographical imagination sets the study in a variety of places – Ireland, the nation-state, the home, the border, the imagination – by way of interrogating embedded social and cultural practices and performances that constitute family. In the discussions that follow, I think through the doings that give the everyday its complexion, and I analyse the processes that connect individuality, relationships, and places across borders and across scales. I view daily life as a myriad of practices, sometimes complementary, sometimes competing, but very often disconnected. In many ways, this thinking shapes this thesis as I weave stories, theories and research practices together in order to best represent the messy realities I encountered in the field. By way of introducing this work, I locate the study in place, in the discipline of Geography, and within wider studies of migration. This then leads to an explanation of the core research question and aims of the study, and I frame my address of that question and those aims around the practices of *storytelling, participating* and *picturing*. Finally, I outline the structure of the thesis signalling the remit of the succeeding chapters.

1.1 PLACING *MIGRANT FAMILIES IN IRELAND*

This study is placed in a number of ways, but there are two placings in particular pervading the chapters that follow: the *Republic of Ireland*

(heretofore referred to as 'Ireland'), and *home*. I unpack, through a consideration of everyday spatial practices, how the study's participants relate to and shape these places. These places are the primary focus of my attention because they represent the physical sites of study, as well as being the places that the participants spoke of most frequently. With this in mind, I set out what kind of place Ireland is for migrants, and consider what kind of a place home might be.

1.1.1 Ireland

Migrant Families in Ireland is in part about understanding how three migrant groups – US citizens, Lithuanians, and Indians – place their relationships in a post-migration context, and how Ireland as a place inflects the textures of family lives. This is one important backdrop to the study. I will contend throughout this thesis that place matters. Place matters because, as Massey argues, it allows us to grasp spatialised social and cultural practices at a particular moment in time (Massey, 2006). I agree with Tilley's treatment of place as "a personally embedded centre of meanings and a physical locus for action"; in other words, something at the very centre of our being in the world (Tilley, 1994: 18). Ireland, as a particular place, can be framed as multi-scalar. The scale at which this place is experienced matters to what kind of place it is understood to be, it can be argued. Ireland, understood vertically as a political scale, and horizontally as a constellation of particular socio-cultural sites, allows this study to acknowledge how patterns of immigration and family formations are regulated from above, but shaped from below at the same time. With this in mind, I will place the study in an Irish context with specific reference to patterns of migration and family formation.

Ireland's migration story is a twofold one. This is because migration patterns in Ireland react to the State's economic conditions, with 'boom to bust' economics, especially over the last twenty years, giving rise to either emigration or immigration. Concentrating on the twenty years leading to the study period for this project – 2008 to 2011 – rates of out-migration were consistently higher than those of in-migration until 1996 (Central Statistics

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Office of Ireland, 2010). In the twenty-five year period between 1986 and 2011, total net migration values (the difference between in-migration and out-migration) peaked in 1989 when the rate of out-migration was 43.9% greater than that of in-migration.   Ireland was predominantly a migrant *sending* country.   However, by 2006 in-migration exceeded out-migration by 71.8% (ibid.).   The evolution of the single European market, a flourishing Irish jobs market, and the accession of poorer eastern European states to the European Union in 2004 in particular, to which Ireland adopted an 'open-door' policy due to labour shortages in lower paid sectors, can be identified as the key factors contributing to this marked reversal in migration trends.   However, a global credit crunch and banking crisis in 2008 had severe impacts in Ireland due to its neo-liberal economic policies, and net emigration returned in 2009 peaking, according to the most recent estimates, at 34.5% in 2010 (ibid.).   In this way, Ireland's recent demographic history is characterised by *moving* and *staying*, a double movement describing how Irish and non-Irish citizens have related with Ireland as a place in the recent past.

Pursuing that particular imaginary, the participants' articulations of migrating to Ireland were very much about *moving* to the country, either directly from the home country, or from a third country, almost invariable moving within Ireland, and then *staying*, for a while. However, before exploring those stories, it is important to acknowledge how Ireland, at the political scale, actively creates the conditions under which one can stay. 2004 is a crucial year in this regard. Firstly, as mentioned already, this was the year that the government decided to formally adopt a liberal policy towards potential migrants from the EU10 (10 eastern and southern European accession states in 2004), although the work permit programme already facilitated workers from these states. Secondly, and rather contradictorily, it was also the year in which a referendum which would remove the automatic right to Irish citizenship for children born to non-Irish parents in the State was held (Crowley et al., 2006: 3). As Crowley et al (ibid.) point out, the four to one vote in favour of the proposed constitutional amendment meant that "Irish citizenship is now primarily defined by blood ties". The combined events of 2004 have particular implications for citizens of the three countries participating in this study, as

U.S. citizens now require formal visas or work permits to remain in the country, with the same applying to Indian citizens. However, Lithuanian citizens can now move more freely than before, and are not obliged to acquire any official permission to live in the State, owing to their membership of the European Union and the Irish government's 2004 decision not to place additional restrictions on the EU10. The vast majority of Lithuanian participants in this study originally came to Ireland between 2004 and 2005.

The Immigration, Residence and Protection Bill 2010 provides an important backcloth to this study insofar as non-EEA immigrations and family reunification rights are concerned. That bill, which has yet to complete its passage through parliament, aims to set a framework for the State's regulation of the entry and exit mechanisms for non-Irish nationals into the State, as well as residential rights and procedures for the protection of immigrants while in the State (Department of Justice and Law Reform, 2010). The fact that the 2010 bill is the third attempt to legislate for this, and has not at the time of writing been passed, indicates the intricacies around regulating migration, and Ireland's rather chaotic approach to this – a point which Chapter 5 will address. As the Immigrant Council of Ireland (ICI), an organisation which provides information, support and legal advice to migrants, points out, this bill is not a set of rules, rather it is a set of procedures (Immigrant Council of Ireland, 2010). In relation to the rights of migrants to family reunification in the State, the ICI argue that the bill does not provide for "effective and enforceable rights to family reunification", rather granting discretionary powers to the minister to adjudicate (ibid., ICI, 2006). Furthermore, the council argues that summary deportation, that is the removal of persons from the State without prior notification, is introduced by this legislation all but in name (ibid.: 2). Thirdly, the bill places limitations on migrants' access to the justice system, with a brief 14 day window in place for accessing the High Court, compared to 3 or 6 weeks for other cases (ibid.: 3-5). Fourthly, it is argued that there is insufficient protection in place for victims of human trafficking, and fifthly, a lack of any permanent immigration status (ibid.: 4-7). A final criticism of the bill points to its provision for administrative fees levied against migrants at every stage of the immigration process (ibid.: 8-9).

The ICI research highlights problems facing migrants' settling in Ireland too. Framed within an integration discourse, their research on making home in Ireland shows how housing provisions and access to services are contingent on the length of time in Ireland, income, legal status and ethnic identity (ibid., 2009). In particular the research highlights overcrowding, the high cost of housing, and discrimination by landlords to be a problem for some migrants (ibid.). This report, together with those mentioned above, shows that those family members who may move to Ireland, stay and settle here is far from clear for non-EEA nationals.

Other work, such as that of Bushin and White, shows how immigration procedures here impact on young people (Bushin and White, 2010). In particular, they show how the immigration system places barriers around their social lives (ibid.). Crowley et al. expose the contradictory approach that the Irish State adopts towards immigration, given Irish people's history of emigrating and recent dependency on migrant labour (Crowley et. al., 2006). In the future, if the provisions of the 2010 bill eventually become enshrined in law, the manner in which they come to shape lived experiences of family will render studies interrogating the family context of migration particularly crucial, especially those that concentrate on non-EEA migrants. *Migrant Families in Ireland*, as it relates to the US and Indian participants, is a small start to this wider research agenda.

This calls attention to a second specificity that makes Ireland a particular type of place, that is – family formations guided by Roman Catholic doctrine. This ideology of family was set in the 1937 Constitution, Bunreacht na hÉireann (Constitution of Ireland). Over time, 'the Family', as embedded in that constitution, has served to 'normalise' the nuclear family formation as the most desirable form ideologically, socially and economically. Bunreacht na hÉireann is explicit in framing the family as "the natural primary and fundamental unit group of society" (Bunreacht na hÉireann, 1937: Art.41.1.1). Furthermore the Irish state regards the family as "indispensable to the welfare of the Nation and the State" (ibid.: art.41.1.2). There is no doubt as to what family formation Bunreacht na hÉireann endeavours to protect:

The State shall, therefore, endeavour to ensure that mothers shall not be obliged by economic necessity to engage in labour to the neglect of their duties in the home (ibid.: art. 41.2.2).

A nuclear family, of a 'male bread-winner' model, where the female's place is presumed to be in the home, is therefore enshrined in the State's Constitution. Marriage is recognised by the Constitution as the institution "on which the Family is founded" (ibid.: art. 41.2.2). Therefore, the institution of marriage, that is heterosexual marriage, is placed at the core of the State's understanding of family. Moreover, this Constitution clearly imagines the home as being the core site of articulation of Irish family life. Therefore family, marriage and home are placed at the very centre of the Irish State's own sense of responsibility towards its citizens.

Placing that particular construction of family in a societal context, the locus around which family is organised at a 'ground' level has constantly shifted. For instance, family formations had already been evolving from a dependence on land availability for the viability of a young couple to marry and start a family, especially in the aftermath of the potato famine, prior to the formally imposed Catholic social doctrine on family in the 1937 Constitution as discussed above (Goode, 1970; Daly, 1999). While that framing was broadly consistent with the fabric of society at that time, the decades since the declaration of the Republic manifested significant social shifts which have been detected by a series of censuses (Lunn et al., 2010). Major shifts include a marriage boom in the 1970s, increased cohabitation of opposite- and same-sex couples since the 1980s, an economic imperative to marry replacing a religious one, an increase in lone parents, and distinctive partnering patterns arising from increased cultural diversity, such as eastern Europeans' tendency to marry younger and Muslim migrants being much less likely to experience marital separation than other faith groups here, since the late 1990s (ibid.). Each change, taken individually, is not unique to Ireland, but taken as a particular sequence of shifts across a particular time trajectory, are indeed specific to Ireland. This clearly demonstrates that imaginings of family at the

political scale (particularly through Bunreacht na hÉireann), are not always realised at the scale of society.

Bourdieu argues that states codify their populations around kin groupings, hence creating a "paper family" (Bourdieu, 1996: 19). The orientation of the Irish census data on family around marriage and coupling shows that understandings of other types of relationships as 'familial' are often absent from the nation-state's imaginary. However, during the lifetime of this study, a Civil Partnership Bill was proposed and passed by the government in order to "provide for the registration of civil partners and…to provide for the rights and obligations of cohabitants" (Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform, 2009: 13). Significantly, this bill, legislating for same-sex partnerships, does not impact on any previous legislation pertaining to marriage, nor does it constitute an extension or amendment to existing marriage provisions. Rather, civil partnership is being framed in law as a new and distinct category to marriage. While this demonstrates that changes at the political scale do happen, it emphasises an incongruent synchrony between state and society in terms of more imaginative ways of doing family ('friends as family' for migrant participants in this study, for instance). This is further emphasised by Nash's work on Irish DNA projects which shows quite explicitly how those who suspect they have Irish heritage mobilise internet and biomedical technologies to (re)construct belongings that are often more imaginary than biological (Nash, 2008). This study has engaged with similarly fluid notions of 'family'. As one migrant participant explained while articulating the multi-textured nature of his own family life: "[family] is not just what might be considered 'normal', it can be many different things" (Jerry, US citizen). On one level, those "many different things" are context dependent, therefore the placing of families is an important lens through which to understand their multiple lived realities (ibid.).

1.1.2 Home

Migrant stories of home set that spatiality as a second significant placing for this study. 'The home' is differentially expressed. In an Irish constitutional

context, it is framed as a female space and a residence. In a societal context, home can be lived in this way but, as the empirical work done for this study shows, it is a far more multifarious and challenging concept, particularly for those who move. Once again, the scale at which home is constructed matters for how it is imagined, as Blunt and Varley assert, "geographies of home traverse scales from the domestic to the global in both material and symbolic ways" (Blunt and Varley, 2004: 3). Home as a lived experience, as expressed by the participants of this study, ranges from being a house, a community, a country, a feeling, a site of relationships (kin and non-kin), as being imaginary, and being in multiple places. Chapter 6 will present all of these articulations of home through a landscape imaginary.

In *Home*, Alison Blunt and Robyn Dowling identify 5 key disciplinary approaches to home in the social sciences (Blunt and Dowling, 2006). Firstly, *housing studies* emphasises house-as-home, while *Marxism* focuses on home as the space of reproductions of power and society (ibid.). Thirdly, *humanism* covers a broad spectrum of understandings including phenomenology, existentialism and psychology (ibid.). All of these view home as a meaningful place. Fourthly, *feminism* has challenged Marxist understandings of home as a site of social reproduction only, pointing out that home is both public and private, a workplace, and experienced differently by men and women (ibid.). The final disciplinary approach to home identified by Blunt and Dowling is that of *cultural geography* (ibid.). These approaches are not mutually exclusive, and while this study's approach is couched within the latter approach, elements of phenomenology and feminism have proven productive in understanding the lived realities of home articulated by participants.

Cultural geographers have done much work to show home as an unstable, and fluid notion (Blunt and Dowling, 2006; McDowell, 2007; Gedalof, 2007). Blunt understands cultural geographies of home as transcending the material and the imaginary around three articulations of home: "residence", "dwelling" and "cohabitation" (Blunt, 2005). Pushing this further, Blunt and Dowling propose that a "critical geography of home" understands home as simultaneously emplaced and unplaced, as being articulated through the

politics of identity construction, and finally, as being inherently "multi-scalar" (Blunt and Dowling, 2006). McDowell, in particular, pushes the political articulation of home through her feminist critique that places a lens on women's complex relationship with home as simultaneously a site of "power relations", work, "love" and "pleasure" (McDowell, 2007: 132). For McDowell, the very basis of home is shifting from resting on "ties of blood" to "economic exchange" (ibid., 130). In this way, home could be imagined as a tension between "absence" and "co-presence", and this has strong resonances for the migrant cases engaged with in this study (ibid.).

Much of this work draws from and challenges Heidegger's notion of "dwelling" (Heidegger, 1971). This thesis is a phenomenological understanding of humanity's existence in the physical world. Dwelling is achieved through the practices of building, preserving and thinking, and these constellate in particular sites to place our being in the world (ibid.). Feminist thinking has challenged the emphasis on building, in the physical sense, and the heavily gendered connotations of this imaginary (Young, 2005; Adler, 2009; McDowell, 2007; Datta, 2008). This body of work can be understood to employ a 'gender perspective' on home. However, not all work within this framing wholly rejects Heidegger's thinking, with Young in particular seeking to highlight the centrality of "preservation" to dwelling (Young, 2005). In this way, contemporary work in cultural geography draws from both the 'dwelling perspective' and the 'gender perspective', and through an attention to practices of homemaking, *Migrant Families in Ireland'*s approach to home can be similarly framed by this intersection.

Home is also understood to garner meaning through the intersecting of material and imaginative practices and objects (Blunt and Dowling, 2006). Cultural geographers tend to focus on the objects and places that make home in tandem with the emotional affects, resonances and memories that those things engender (Tolia-Kelly, 2004b). In this way, materialist approaches to home have been brought into conversation with more phenomenological understandings of home in order to thicken our knowledge of what home is and can be. In Chapter 6 I draw out a series of practices that bring both the

tangible and less tangible contours of home into view as a means of interrogating migrants' ways of belonging in space and place. This represents a tying of migration and home as empirical foci, a trend emerging quite strongly in contemporary cultural geography (Tolia-Kelly, 2004b; Gedalof, 2007).

My conversations with the migrant participants on the subject of home articulated contested understandings of place by emphasising an understanding of home as a place that is fixed and definite ("my home country", "my apartment in Dublin", "the house where I grew up"), yet at the same time as something emerging from performances of place, performances whose outcomes are less tangible ("I can make home anywhere", "home is wherever those I care for are"). I contextualise home in terms of *placing* here in order to highlight these contradictions in how we understand both home and place, which are also constituents of *moving* and *staying*, as migration is understood here. Home, in that context, is also rather *placeless*, and the work that follows will incorporate both ways of thinking about home to offer a useful means of actualising Blunt and Dowling's critical geography of home (Blunt and Dowling, 2006).

1.2 POSITIONING *MIGRANT FAMILIES IN IRELAND* IN THE DISCIPLINE OF GEOGRAPHY

Having already implied how the study can be located within the discipline of Geography, I now want to position, in a more explicit way, *Migrant Families in Ireland* as a particular type of Geography at the nexus between poststructuralist, non-representational and phenomenological traditions in the discipline. Foucault's thinking on order, along with other philosophical contributions from thinkers such as Derrida, Nietzsche, Latour and Deleuze, has been particularly influential on Geography's poststructuralist tradition. Foucault's *The Order of Things* disrupts the taken-for-grantedness of the orders, classifications and taxonomies within which traditional scientific knowledge understands various phenomena (Foucault, 1970). This challenge emerges from Borges' citation of

a rather unorthodox classification of animals found in an ancient Chinese encyclopaedia and the uneasiness this fuelled in Foucault himself around how:

> things are 'laid', 'placed', 'arranged' in sites so very different from one another that it is impossible to find a place of residence for them, to define a *common locus* beneath them all (ibid.: xvii-xviii, italics original).

This interrogation of the ontological existence and the analytical usefulness of categories as ways of knowing has been an important bedrock on which poststructuralism in Geography has been founded (Dixon and Jones, 2004; Peet, 1998). According to Dixon and Jones' reading of Foucault's *The Archaeology of Knowledge,* any way of knowing the social condition is specific to the texture of that condition at a particular point in history, meaning that historically derived frames of analyses always need to be placed in the context of their time, with their salience for contemporary social life always being in question (Dixon and Jones, 2004: 87). This is one way to understand the ontology of family that this study pursues – as a continuation of a strand of work centring temporality and context by disrupting normative accounts of the social.

Poststructuralist philosophies have grown from other, related, concerns too. The pursuit of Truth and binary understandings of reality has troubled geographers for the last number of decades (Peet, 1998). This, in part, is a result of the discipline's move away from positivist and environmental determinist epistemologies, and in part owing to wider societal discourses around diversity, liberalism and equality. Ettlinger describes recent epistemological shifts in applied research as a concern with the "explication of multiple realities tied to different discourses, rather than a battle of theories to find the Truth and evidence it" (Ettlinger, 2009: 1019). In this way, empirical work seeks to reach *understandings* of how reality can be thought about, rather than present evidence of how it *should* be understood. The chapters that follow seek to present understandings of the multiple realities of migrant families, through a landscape imaginary, rather than to define them. This is because defining what something *is* implicitly dictates what it is *not.* Dixon and

Jones call this an "either/or" epistemology which always "defines an 'other'" (Dixon and Jones, 2004: 83). While Massey tempers abject opposition to binary thinking by suggesting that "not...*all* forms of 'binary' are simply 'bad', and they are certainly not all avoidable", the approach here takes from the more prevailing problematisation of this type of thinking within poststructural geography because popular conceptions of 'family' as being based on blood and marital ties prevail to mask everyday articulations of the 'familial', as this study has found (Massey, 2001: 13).

This study's epistemological focus is therefore centred on the individual and the events s/he participates in which texture what a family landscape is. By approaching family in this way, that is, by privileging individual performances and meanings of the 'familial', as part of a relation with others, over preconceived and largely structuralist prescriptions of 'family', multiple family realities are presented as being equally valid and equally real, rather than located in relation to a "centre" that represents an ideal family at odds with "Others" out on the "periphery" (Dixon and Jones, 2004: 83). To a certain extent, I take the lead from a range of empirical research across the social sciences which has moved away from interrogating the "structure" of family in favour of investigating the "*quality*" of a variety of meaningful ties (Williams, 2004: 17, emphasis original). Such work seeks to construct "personal communities" around individual research respondents without necessarily subscribing to the individualisation thesis as put forward by Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (Pahl and Spencer, 2004: 205; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002). That thesis regards the individual as the only ontological unit in society, emphasising those "technologies of the self" which enable the cultivation of one's own way of being; however, I do give familial connections ontological status and allow participants map their own relationships in ways that makes sense to them (Foucault, 1984, cited in Wylie, 2007: 114).

Beyond this rejection of binary thinking, poststructuralist philosophies in Geography have been influenced more recently by the emergence of non-representational theory, and *Migrant Families in Ireland* can be located as being part of that movement too. This body of theory is cognisant of the limits

of what can be known, the impossibility of satisfactorily capturing the ontogenesis of being, as Thrift, the instigator of this body of work wilfully admits: "this is a world we can only partially understand" (Thrift, 2008: 19). This clearly chimes with the imperative to understand the "multiple orderings" of the world that poststructuralism more broadly promotes and, more particularly, the multiple evocations of family that this study argues must be more clearly understood (Anderson and Harrison, 2010: 18). Wylie understands non-representational theory as assuming a world that is "processual and performative", a world to be understood, according to Lorimer's interpretation, through "multifarious, open encounters in the realm of practice" (Wylie, 2007: 164; Lorimer, 2005: 84). Practices are understood by Thrift "as material bodies of work or styles that have gained enough stability over time...to reproduce themselves", and are located as a central tenet of non-representational theory in his own work (Thrift, 2008: 8). Another way to think about this might be simply as a series of tangible 'doings' that emerge from the less tangible realm of the senses to produce recognisable effects in the performance of the everyday. As this thesis will show, this is a productive way to think about family practices in particular.

Non-representational theory's contribution to knowledge has been understood in a number of ways. For many, including Thrift himself, the move beyond constructivist accounts of representation, which "drained the life out of the things they studied", is the most immediate, and obvious, contribution to social theory (Wylie, 2007: 163). Massey, in an enthusiastic appraisal of Thrift's proposal for such a theory, points to the possibility of a practice-orientated approach such as non-representational theory serving to liberate space further from more contained conceptualisations (Massey, 2006: 75). For Anderson and Harrison, the focus on affect, and its politics, has served to reframe the age old issues social scientists concern themselves with, "to introduce all kinds of new actors, forces and entities into geographic accounts" (Anderson and Harrison, 2010: 2). However, this ontology of affect is not unproblematic, as Barnett argues, as it seems to give conceptual priority to action over perception, hence producing a "layer-cake model of the relationship between 'doing' and 'knowing'" (Barnett, 2008: 190). This,

whether accepted or not, points to a fourth intellectual contribution of this body of theory; the re-orientation of phenomenological geography from epistemologies that prioritise the subject over the world, to a much more complex subject-in/-of/-through the world epistemology, where the 'world' starts to gain greater analytical import, albeit through understandings of embodiment therein (Wylie, 2007: 165). This has implications for this study, as it will be shown that structural forces such as the 'nation-state', in all its multiple iterations, need to be understood in their own right, and not exclusively through the lived experience of the subject, for a more rigorous understanding of reality across a variety of scales.

In spite of this, the primary focus of the thesis will be on deeply embedded senses of family and home that many, but not all, participants articulated. In order to think about ways of living family, in the everyday, I draw from phenomenological philosophy, with particular reference to its treatment of the relationships between people and place. I understand phenomenology as being about the relationship of "being" and "being-in-the-world", understanding human action as always grounded in the world, rather than being separate from it (Tilley, 1994: 11-12). In particular, Tilley's landscape phenomenology, influenced by Heidegger and Merleau-Ponty, informs the study's mobilisation of a landscape imaginary (ibid.: 13-14). This complements the non-representational tying together of humanity with environment in the manner in which it tempers human agency-led understandings of the world by positioning thought in action, which in turn happens in nature. This worldview helps to understand the myriad ways in which the migrant participants place their sense of family. Each individual's connection with others and with places can be mapped in part through the imagination, and in part through materiality, and a phenomenological approach offers one way in which to re-materialise 'family' and 'home', not as ontological units, but as differentially experienced and lived landscapes.

I develop a landscape imaginary of families in order to tie the poststructuralist influences on the study with the phenomenological treatment of people's embedded connections with others and with places. My use of

landscape is quite specific as it is used to pursue an ontological understanding of family based around myriad sets of relationships – tangible and intangible connections that are contingent on time and space, some of which are founded on blood ties, others which are not. These, however, are not fixed. In other words, a pre-defined and stable thing called 'family', as an institution, does not in reality exist, though strong representations of this do.   A geography of family derived from an understanding of such a "monolithic" formation is not going to be productive for two reasons (Thorne, 1992: 4). Firstly, such an existence is specific to a particular time, a particular culture, in a particular place (Goode, 1970; Therborn, 2004).   Many of the migrant participants of this study were explicit in this, alluding to the different phases of their lives that determine their own senses of family, and in terms of migration, how detachment from previous contexts and immersion into new ones can alter the texture, even the existence of relationships that were once 'familial'. Evelina from Lithuania, now living in Ireland, spoke of her relationship with her cousin as a particular part of her family life, explaining "I would still consider him family, but with time, especially being abroad, it goes" (Evelina, Lithuanian). This contingency is tied into a second aspect of an institutional family which renders it a limiting focus for a broader geography of families; that is powerful representations of an ideology of family, while reifying nuclear formations, also serve to mask the lived reality of the familial. Here, "familial" refers to the feeling of family. This thinking is not new, being crystallised in postructuralist philosophies by Bourdieu's deconstruction of family in his own writings (Bourdieu, 1996).

In short, my ontology of family and home understands both as things that exist in the world, not as contained orders, but through more rhizomatic practices connecting people – kin and non-kin – and connecting people and places – both real and imagined – which may be corporeally inhabited or not. This is a processual ontology that understands social reality as embedded in practices, in imaginations, in time, and in places, and the instances where that embeddedness is articulated represents a phenomenological being-in-the-world. Epistemologically, those moments are captured at the site of individual bodies through the social and cultural practices that they become involved in,

and through the places where those practices are carried out. This worldview is informed by a non-essentialist ideology of family and home which privileges choice over circumstance, but recognises that the given remains salient in some contexts, but not in others. This thinking shapes the work that follows.

In terms of the theoretical and empirical influences on the study, there are five broad areas of scholarship in Geography within which this study can be positioned. Firstly, *Migrant Families in Ireland* can be understand as part of a burgeoning body of work at the intersection of Cultural and Political Geography which seeks to spatialise accounts of family migration, such as that of Bailey and Boyle (2004), Kofman (2005), and Smith (2011). Secondly, this work is part of conceptual developments around the landscape imaginary in Cultural Geography by scholars such as Wylie (2006a, 2006b, 2007, 2009), Tolia-Kelly (2004a) and Crouch (2010). Thirdly, the study can be located as part of a growing number of studies engaging participatory visual methodologies as ways of knowing about the world, with the work of Rose (2003a, 2003b, 2003c, 2004, 2010), Tolia-Kelly (2007) and O'Neill and Hubbard (2010) being particularly influential on how such approaches are mobilised here. Fourthly, *Migrant Families in Ireland* forms part of Geography's engagement with transnationalism, and many ideas from that body of scholarship – particularly from sociologists such as Levitt and Glick Schiller (2008), Levitt and Jaworski (2007), Khagram and Levitt (2008) and Vertovec (1999), and anthropologists such as Appadurai (1996) – are adapted for the geographical imagination. Finally, this is a study about home, and forms part of the growing body of geographical scholarship on home led by Blunt (2005), Blunt and Dowling (2006), Harker (2009) and Gorman-Murray (2006a, 2006b) in particular. Together, these five bodies of work influence my ways of seeing the stories at the centre of this research, and the substantive chapters that follow weave some of the thinking presented by that work with those stories.

1.3 *MOVING/STAYING*: POSITIONING *MIGRANT FAMILIES IN IRELAND* AS MIGRATION RESEARCH

Through the five bodies of work signalled above, this study can be read as a *geography of migration*. However, given that migration studies spans disciplinary boundaries, it is worth considering how this geography fits within those wider studies. I do this by understanding the various migrant trajectories that I encountered in the field in terms of *moving* across space and *staying* in places, for a time. As one participant articulated rather eloquently, we are all "scattered" and "constellated" in space now more than ever before (Jeff, US citizen). *Migrant Family in Ireland* speaks to this contemporary condition, and the more unstable relationship with place it is characterised by, by mapping some of the ways migrants in particular live in, and between places. This connects with much of the migration literature across the social science disciplines which grapples with the relationship between what has been variously termed "routes and roots", "mobilities and moorings", and "mobility and fixity" – in other words, the conflicts between place and placelessness that migrants confront at different times in their lives (Gilmartin, 2004; Hamman et al., 2006). Accounts of migration have traditionally evolved from a variety of philosophical traditions, the prominence of which varies over time. Boyle et al. place such accounts into five ontological and epistemological positions: positivism, behaviourism, structuralism, humanism and postmodernism (Boyle et al., 1998: 58). More recent work tends to favour either neo-liberal and political economy accounts, or poststructuralist accounts that challenge postmodernism's emphasis on mobility and flow – such as feminism and post-colonialism, or other approaches within a performative and non-representational framing.

Within Human Geography, accounts of migration are presented as economic, political, population, cultural, social or urban geographies, or a combination of these. In all cases, migration is understood in relation to key concepts such as place, time, mobility, territory, citizenship and scale (Samers, 2010). A conceptual understanding has evolved from migration being understood largely as an "event" to accounts of the "migratory process" (Boyle

et al., 1998; Ehrkamp, 2005; Samers, 2010). Within Cultural Geography, Blunt suggests that scholars tend to prefer researching the practices of, and theorisations framed by mobility, transnationalism and diaspora, while Samers sees transnationalism and globalisation as being the most dominant lens through which international migration in particular has been approached (Blunt, 2007, Samers, 2010). All approaches address questions of identity and belonging in relation to some of the core concepts mentioned above. Cultural geographies of migration therefore examine the relationships between place and people who move. Stripping back an understanding of cultural geographies of migration to this level of simplicity is instructive for positioning *Migrant Families in Ireland* as a cultural geography. It is a cultural geography because it places a *spatial* lens on *people who move* in order to understand their lived realities of family and home, and the significance of transnational ways of living for the ways they relate to, and indeed produce *place*. As Chapter 5 will demonstrate, the focus on place and belonging prompts this cultural geography to intersect with concerns perhaps more vigorously conceptualised by political geographers such as citizenship, scale, and bordering in order to understand the migrant participants' encounters at the frontiers of the Irish State in their transnational performances of family and home.

With specific reference to family migration, the various iterations of family in the work that follows speak to Bailey and Boyle's agenda-setting piece on family migration. In it, they contend that those who research and write about such migration need to "grapple with new understandings of the family" in order to "properly inform our work" (Bailey and Boyle, 2004: 239). In an attempt to advance this agenda, Smith sees this being successfully accomplished in two ways; firstly, through a more rigorous spatialisation of accounts of family by way of integrating "the effects of the geographic contingencies of places of origin and destination into accounts of family migration", and secondly, by forging a greater "synergy between the disparate literatures of family migration and processes of change" that re-shape places (Smith, forthcoming). These research trajectories provide an instructive framing of *Migrant Families in Ireland*, with this study concerned in particular

with spatialising accounts of migration and family, from a conceptual perspective.

This is a cultural geography of migration, but it is also a study framed by interdisciplinary *transnational* approaches. Transnationalism, as an intellectual approach, is characterised as being a philosophical, theoretical, empirical, methodological and public pursuit (Khagram and Levitt, 2008). It is therefore a particular way of knowing about how social lives transcend, and often transform borders and boundaries, *and* it refers to those practices that constitute transnational ways of living (ibid.). Transnational scholars imagine these ways of living as taking place in transnational social fields (Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007). These "fields" are understood as constantly becoming, and as a result, the nation-state is perceived as a "historical moment" rather than a naturalized container (Khagram and Levitt, 2008: 5). Such transnational fields are understood by some scholars as "arenas of activity", while others rather think of them as being processual and practice orientated (Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007; Vertovec, 1999). For instance, Vertovec, who adopts a more performative understanding, sees transnationalism as constituting, among other things, the "(re)construction of 'place' or locality", and a particular mode of thinking (Vertovec, 1999: 448-456). Once again, notions of fixity and fluidity coalesce, and this illustrates one way in which transnational theories can converse productively with cultural geographies of migration.

Mitchell has argued that in order for transnational discourse to realise its full potential as a theoretical approach, it needs to become more spatialised by inserting "movement" into its "linear and containing narratives of space and time" (Mitchell, 1997: 101). Almost a decade after that call, a review of "transnational geographies" by Olsen and Silvey characterise the contribution of this body of work to transnational discourse in terms of a "rescaling" of the analytical focus. This reorientation, according to the authors, has placed a critical lens on the "everyday activities" and "place making" practices within and across groups through a range of "innovative methodologies", while always interrogating "institutions" as "key entry points for examining transnationalism" (Olsen and Silvey, 2006: 805-807). Conversely, Gilmartin

shows that incorporating transnationalism into the geographical imagination facilitates the discipline's passage beyond a "unilinear model of migration" by placing the emphasis on sustained mobility and simultaneous multi-sited engagements (Gilmartin, 2004: 20). However, as *Migrant Families in Ireland* has found, mobility for those who come to Ireland is contingent on individual and political circumstances, and the very manner in which the State controls the movement of people across its borders serves to produce a 'mobility hierarchy'. In order to understand this tension between mobility and fixity, and the manner in which it textures performances of family and place, it was crucial to pose a research question which would focus attention on these particular dimensions of migration, and it is to that question that I now turn.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTION AND AIMS OF THE STUDY

Fuelled by my own interest in what happens to close relationships when people move and a desire to interrogate some of the more ordinary practices of moving and staying that migrants in Ireland perform, *Migrant Families in Ireland* came into being as a research project asking: *How does the migration process reconstitute how people who move understand and experience family and home?* In other words, to borrow from Mulder, this study is about the "family context" of migration, or more specifically, the lived experiences of family and home of some immigrants to Ireland (Mulder, 2007). But more than this, it is about ways of understanding these experiences, and what those understandings can contribute to what is already known about family and home from previous scholarship.

There are four specific research aims framing this study. Firstly, I want to develop a conceptualisation of family and home that addresses the spatiality of both. Secondly, through this conceptual framing, I offer understandings of what is specific about migrant families and homes while at the same time proposing a spatial imaginary which can be abstracted to understand other family contexts too. Thirdly, I develop an engaging methodological approach that can create a window on the everyday

performances of family and home.   Finally, with respect to the literature signalled in section 1.3, I aim to augment existing scholarship on cultural and political geographies of family migration, on the landscape concept, on visual participatory research approaches both within Geography, and in an interdisciplinary context, on transnational approaches to migration, and on critical geographies of home.

1.5 ANSWERING THE QUESTION: *STORYTELLING, PARTICIPATING, PICTURING*

To answer this research question, I engaged with migrants from *India, Lithuania* and the *United States*. A total of 34 participants took part in the study, and I met with, or communicated with each on two separate occasions. Reflecting the size of each group relative to the total 'non-Irish' population accounted for in Census 2006, Lithuanians form the largest nationality group with 14 participants, the US group is the second largest with 12, while a total of 8 Indians took part.   In terms of the gender breakdown, 20 females participated while 14 males took part. The age breakdown of the group is 1 *18-20* year old, 3 *20-29* year olds, 21 *30-39* year olds, 4 *40-49* year olds, 4 *50-59* year olds, and 1 *60-69* year old. The heavier concentration on those under forty reflects the youthful nature of Ireland's immigrant population, with 85% of those of Lithuanian nationality enumerated by Census 2006 being under forty years of age, and 67% of those born in the US being in the same age cohort (Central Statistics Office of Ireland, 2006). There are, however, no specific figures for Indian nationals, these details being combined in the 'Asia' category (ibid.). Map 1.1 shows the geographical spread of the participant group. The majority were located in the east of the country with a total of 14 living in Dublin at the time of participation. A further 14 were resident in the other eastern counties of Meath, Kildare and Wicklow. Of the participants located in other parts of Ireland, 1 lived in Co. Cavan, 4 were located in Co. Galway,

Republic of Ireland

CAVAN: *1 Participant*

DUBLIN: *14 Participants*

MEATH: *3 Participants*

GALWAY: *4 Participants*

TIPPERARY: *1 Participant*

WICKLOW: *3 Participants*

KILDARE: *8 Participants*

N
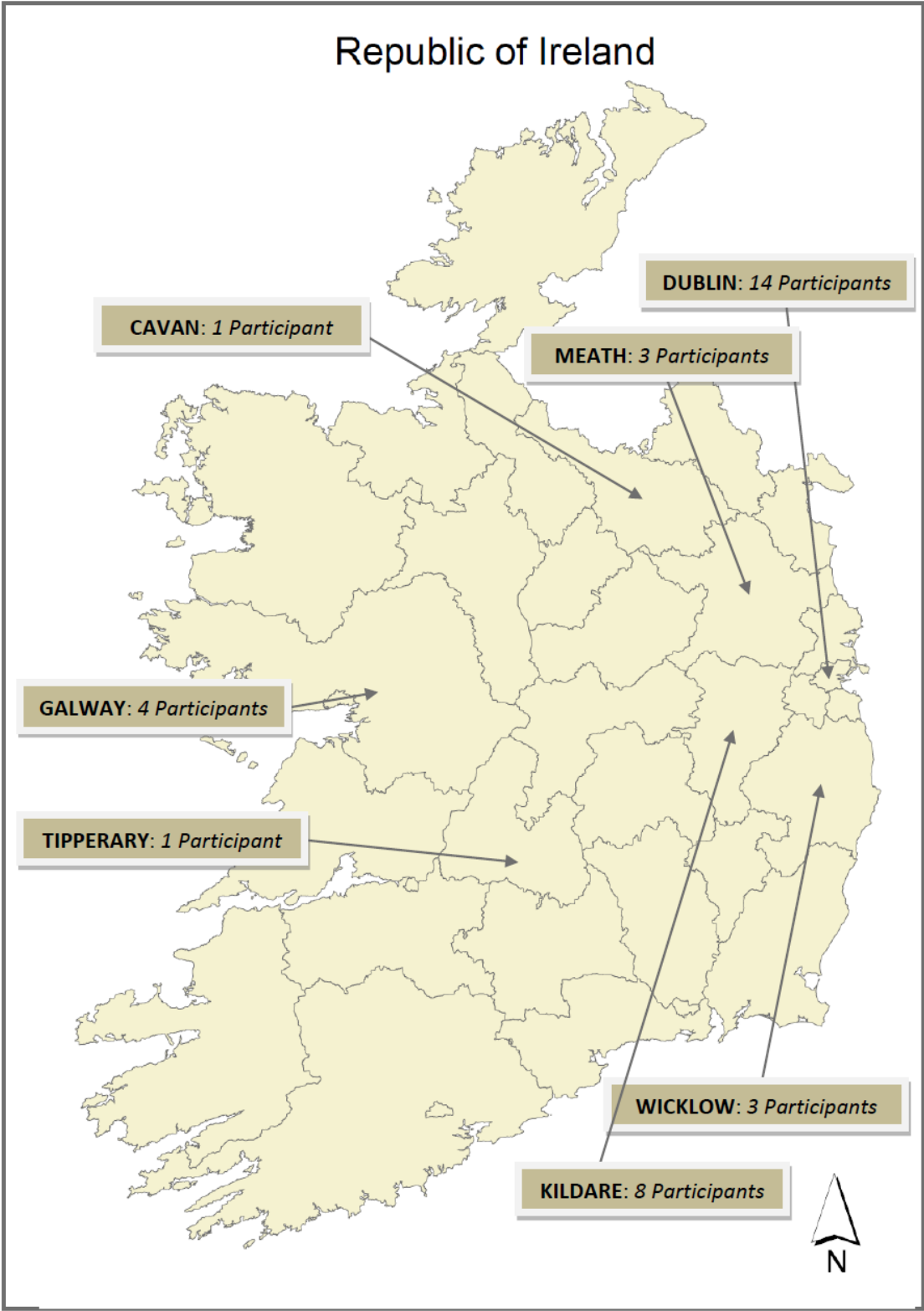
Map 1.1: Location of Participants by County

and 1 lived in Co. Tipperary. Again, Census 2006 shows that at that time, almost 56% of those usually resident in the State, but of a nationality other than Irish, resided in the eastern province, Leinster, and this percentage includes those in Dublin (ibid.). Appendix 1 summarises the participant profile. While it is not my intention to claim that the group of participants are representative of their compatriot groupings in Ireland, or indeed of migrants more generally, this serves to highlight the manner in which my recruitment of participants followed the demographic profile of the three groups, rather than being guided by a pre-determined sampling mechanism. I will address the reasons for this below.

I chose these three groups not for comparative reasons, but because "more nuanced theorizations of family migration" can better draw out the spatial contingencies of family (Smith, forthcoming). In spite of this, I do make some comparisons along national lines, but this is by no means the overarching approach of the thesis. My *raison d'être* for confining the cases to three nationality groups was to ensure diverse cultural and geographical influences on ideologies of family would be present in the study, but I understand these as being just two contours of much more intricate stories, and I always forefront individual understandings of family – an epistemological decision outlined above. This focussed the participant recruitment phase, and ensured that a single nationality would not be privileged as might happen if no parameters had been set. I chose these particular nationalities because according to Census 2006, the most recent census data available at the time this decision was made, these three nationality groups were in the top one third of all non-Irish respondents to the census survey, but yet are the focus of few studies of migration to Ireland (Central Statistics Office of Ireland, 2006). Of the 419,733 respondents who are classed by that census document as "non-Irish", Lithuanians constitute 24,628 (5.87%), US citizens comprise 12,475 of the total (2.97%), while Indians represent 8,460 of the 'non-Irish' group (2.02%).

The participants were purposively recruited to come from one of the three nationalities I had chosen to focus on, and as far as possible, to reflect a

fairly good balance across age, gender, socio-economic, and geographical lines insofar as the demographic profile of each group suggested would be practicable. Two home-country associations were successfully targeted – *The Lithuanian Community in Dublin* and *Democrats Abroad Ireland* – and from there I recruited a number of Lithuanian and US participants. Through a number of these I was able to 'snow-ball'. All of the Indian participants, as well as a number of other Lithuanian and US participants, were recruited through personal contacts – mainly Irish people – and again, having found participants I was again able to snowball. In this way, there is some diversity within each of the three groups as no one group is wholly constituted by a shared social network.

I think of my encounter with these participants being materialised through the practices of *participating, picturing,* and *storytelling.* Stories of family and home are apt to capture moments that reflect the lived experience of moving and staying, and perhaps moving again. Unearthing these situated realities necessitated a qualitative approach. Qualitative research, according to Ragin, is a research strategy adopted where the researcher is interested in "a relatively small number of cases" (Ragin, 1994: 49). Given the number of cases I engaged with, it is clear that a representative sample of the migrant population in Ireland was not necessarily the imperative. Rather, I was more interested in depth, in reaping "situated knowledges", and my approach can in many ways be regarded as involving "multiple *case*-studies" in which I adapted what Small refers to as "sequential interviewing" for a participatory approach (Haraway, 1991; Small, 2009: 24, emphasis original). It was "sequential" because each conversation built on my understanding of the questions of family and home until eventually I found that, while each individual had a unique story to tell, the scope of what was being shared with me was no longer growing. While I could certainly continue to gather more instances of the range of experiences I had already encountered, I decided that a "saturation" point had been reached, and that I had achieved a phenomenological depth in the accounts I already had, this being consistent with the research aims (Small, 2009: 25).

In terms of the questions I would pose to the participants, I decided on a slightly obscure approach which would momentarily de-emphasise a person's 'migrant' identity and delve deeper into ideologies of 'family' and 'home', thus allowing scope to draw in other parts of one's identity. To interrogate meanings and personal experiences of family I asked each participant: *What does family mean to you?* The 'home' focus was chosen as one way to spatialise performances of family, and to prompt reflections on this the participants were further asked: *Where feels most like home to you?* For each question I prepared a brief explanatory note and appendices 2 and 3 are reproductions of the note used for the respective questions. These instructions were augmented with a verbal explanation of what precisely I was asking the participant to do, and s/he could ask me questions of clarification at this point too.

These questions were addressed through *participating,* a way of knowing about lived experience involving a diverse set of "performative and located...research processes" (Pain and Kindon, 2007: 2809). I extend Pain and Kindon's understanding here to link participation to creativity because of such research's strong association with innovative methods. Kesby understands participatory approaches as being inherently spatial in the way that they spatialise power by placing resources with ordinary individuals, through a variety of contexts and scales, serving to re-orientate social relations in the making of knowledge (Kesby, 2007). In this way, participatory research practices involve participants in the research situation in deeper ways than more traditional social science methods, and by generating knowledge through *doing*, those social and cultural practices that constitute the phenomena under investigation, in this case home and family, can be observed. That observation was carried out by asking the participants to *picture* their family and home lives. This involved a combination of the "participatory photo interview" and family album exploration (Kolb, 2008; Chambers, 2003). Kolb defines the photo interview as an approach which "invites participants to answer a research question by taking photos and explaining their photos to the researcher", and this describes my use of that method (Kolb, 2008: 4). The family album exploration method developed within this research situation

but is similar to how Chambers has employed it (Chambers, 2003). Chambers describes a reflexive viewing of her own family albums which helped her to connect the images with personal meaning, and it is that same link, as it relates to meanings of family and home, that my use of family album exploration aims to make using the participants' photographs.

Photographs were used as a means of generating "knowledge of specific situations and events" and "exploring diversity" by "giving voice" to the migrant participants (Ragin, 1994: 39-43). Pictures seemed appropriate because they offer a tangible way of connecting the visual articulations of family and home with the discipline of Geography which, since its inception as a formal discipline, has always engaged with visual representation of phenomena and visual materiality as a way of knowing (Rose, 2003a; Driver, 2003). Owing to this tradition, as Chapter 3 will illustrate, I am able to draw on the work of geographers such as Gillian Rose and Divya Tolia-Kelly in order to make sense of the participants' photographs. I also felt that the use of photographs was appropriate as it allowed me to tap into private practices of photography as a way of extracting the participants' family stories through a medium that they are familiar with, and which is very much connected to the participants' own practices for remembering, reflecting on, and performing family.

In terms of method, I asked each participant to respond to the two questions by taking photographs which would capture their response to each. I negotiated a time frame with each participant, and on average, each had three weeks to complete the task independently of me. The first number of participants felt that this photographic method would limit their responses, and therefore it was agreed that some of the images could be drawn from existing collections, essentially as a way of incorporating distant people and places into the responses. This freedom was then extended to all subsequent participants. I requested that some original photographs be taken for each question too, in line with my original proposal, as I felt that the reflective process necessary to decide what to capture would be in itself revealing. This was agreed to by all of the migrants. While I had secured a supply of digital

cameras for this task, all but one preferred to use their own camera; however I felt being able to supply cameras was important for ensuring that those who did not own their own one would not be excluded on this basis.

I met each participant once again at an agreed time and place, and while it would have been insightful to hold the meetings in the participants' homes given the focus of the study, this was not always possible as many were in sharing situations and preferred a neutral venue such as a café or hotel lobby. In spite of this, several did invite me into their homes. This was the 'interview' phase, but was conducted informally as a 'conversation' in which I asked the two questions once again, and the participants responded verbally with reference to their images, and I followed up on their stories with further questions as appropriate. These conversations were recorded, and the recordings were transcribed. The majority presented their images in digital form, and I was able to take their images away on a memory stick, while those who presented hard copy prints allowed me to take these for a brief period, and I scanned these to create digital copies, returning the collections to the respective participants when copied. Once both questions had been addressed, and the participants had finished showing me their chosen photographs I asked two further questions, and unlike the first two questions, these were not given in advance and therefore were not augmented with pictures. In order to summarise each story, and to draw out the specificities of each individual's 'migrant' identity, I asked: *Would you say that moving to Ireland has changed your relationship with your family in any way?* In order to draw out alternative spatialities to the 'home', I interrogated each participant's experience of crossing the border by asking: *How would you describe your experience of arriving into, and getting established in Ireland from a legal perspective?* The interviews were concluded once that question had been addressed.

At the beginning of each participation, I asked that the individual review, and if agreeable, sign a standard consent form which outlined the ways in which the data which I would glean from their involvement would be used, while I committed to protecting each individual's confidentiality. Appendix 4 is

a copy of that consent form. Honouring this commitment, I have ascribed pseudonyms to each participant and refer to each exclusively under those names throughout this thesis. These were drawn randomly from a list of names typical to each country in order to preserve a sense of their national and cultural identities. Any image reproduced in this thesis depicting human subjects is anonymised by blurring the faces in order to further protect identity. However, each image is captioned by the words of the photographer to counterbalance this 'de-personalisation', as well as to explicitly tie the image with its narration, and this is elaborated on in Chapter 3. That chapter addresses the manner in which this methodological approach answered my research question, as well as its contribution to the conceptualisation of the stories it produced. With this in mind, it is timely to indicate precisely how the chapters that follow address the questions, research aims, and broader social and political issues that I have outlined here.

1.6 THESIS STRUCTURE

Given the processual ontology framing *Migrant Families in Ireland,* the presentation of the thesis merited an approach that would tie theory, practice, and the empirical material together in a manner that would reflect the intricate social realities that the study is aiming to understand. Therefore, an *integrated approach* has been adopted where the substantive chapters 2 through to 6 each incorporate the literature relevant to the thematic scope of the particular chapter, some conceptual development, and some of the empirical material that best informs each developmental stage. This thesis therefore can be read as a conceptual development piece where a landscape imaginary of families is introduced in Chapter 2 and evolves through the remaining chapters. While Chapter 3 can be read in many ways as the 'methodology' chapter, it being part of the conceptual development gives it substantive status within the overall work. For clarity, I will briefly outline the scope of each chapter.

Chapter 2 introduces the landscape imaginary of families that constitutes this thesis' conceptual framework. Here, I tie my ontological approach to family

with the notion of landscape, and begin to add conceptual layers to the landscape imaginary. I introduce some of the migrant stories of family to demonstrate how this conceptualisation has emerged organically from the research encounter.

Chapter 3 positions the study as a participatory visual geography and shows how photographs can be garnered by research in Geography and other visual disciplines for understandings of how people relate to each other, and to place. This chapter also develops a specific framework for understanding the role of images in such research – *Picturing Events*.

Chapter 4 continues the thesis' conceptual development by mapping the textures of family landscapes with reference to time, space and place. This chapter describes some of the more fluid and mobile transnational family practices by moving through three particular 'contours' of family landscapes: *memoryscapes, technoscapes, travelscapes.*

Chapter 5 juxtaposes migrant mobility against more fixed social and spatial practices that constitute transnational family lives through an examination of some of the participants' encounters with the Irish territorial border, as well as the localised networked connections that they become a part of. This draws on responses to all four questions posed to the participants, but compared to the other substantive chapters, focuses most heavily on the final question, that of their experience of border crossing and becoming established within the State. Here the phenomenological understanding of the stories in earlier chapters is brought into tension with a more structural understanding of space. The migrant accounts here are presented through two further contours of the broader family landscapes: *borderscapes* and *networkscapes.*

Chapter 6 concentrates on the question of home, and ties together the textures of the 'scapes' presented so far through an exploration of migrant *homescapes*. Here material and imaginative performances of family are spatialised through the notion of 'home', and home as a concept is understood through a set of practices that make home a landscape. *Belonging(s),*

imagining, positioning, and *feeling* are understood to be intertwined in the performance of homescapes.

Chapter 7 brings the thesis to its conclusion through a double movement of *reflecting* and *projecting*. I engage in these practices as a way of firstly, recalling my own journey through this study as a researcher, and secondly, as a way of revisiting the aims of the study. Secondly, through projecting beyond the confines of this thesis, I draw out the specific contributions to knowledge which the study can make, and outline future research directions which might investigate issues that *Migrant Families in Ireland* does not explicitly address.

What the study does address is the need to balance existing research that problematises migrant lives in Ireland, with explorations of more everyday experiences of living in Ireland. While the work of the ICI (2006, 2010), Bushin and White (2010), and Crowley et al. (2006) highlight real and pervasive difficulties facing migrants here, as outlined in section 1.1.1, I position this study as one that acknowledges these, but also shows that many facets of their daily lives are more positive, and indeed more mundane. I was struck by the manner in which the participants' stories told of very ordinary doings which are not necessarily marked by their 'migrant' identities, but rather connected to the many other aspects of each person's subjectivity. In this way, the study that I present offers something of a counter-narrative to some of the more critical research alluded to above, and in doing so, shows that being a migrant in Ireland, and making home here, is a rather multi-layered reality.

2

A LANDSCAPE IMAGINARY OF FAMILIES

> So the family means for me, everything. Everything that I have. The most important thing that I have in my life is my family (Kristina, Lithuanian).

> My family. We kind of don't have one anymore (Alison, US citizen).

What does 'family' mean to you? Kristina and Alison's responses quoted above are excerpts from much deeper conversations prompted by that research question. When I posed this question to my participants, hour-long discussions around the meaning of family often ensued. These conversations were entwined with photographic responses to the same question depicting the human and the non-human, physical places, objects, events, as well as more abstract representations. Together, these depictions articulated intimacy, closeness, love, distance, absence, rupture, individual and shared anxieties, joy, sadness and even indifference. Accounts of family ranged from the 'everythingness' of Kristina's story to the emptiness of Alison's. While the photographs brought absent others into the conversation, the accompanying narratives not only enabled participants to verbalise their senses of family while 'inviting' the researcher into the meanings of the images, but the very act of being in place with the participant enabled me to experience the emotionality of family life first hand. The research encounter was a multi-sensory engagement.

This chapter begins to develop a way of understanding the verbal, visual and sensorial responses to this question of family through the geographical imagination. To facilitate a thorough interrogation of the meaning of 'family', I begin by disrupting 'The Family' as a coherent ontological existence, not as a means of exposing that unit as being at odds with lived reality but, as Dixon and Jones (2004: 94) suggest, by exposing the "centres" and "peripheries" that serve to normalize cultural forms like the 'family', thus constructing a stable category of 'family' within a binary mode of

thinking that ultimately dictates what is 'not family'. Building on this thinking, Reece Jones suggests that closer analytical attention should be focused on the "inchoate", or always incomplete bounding processes that delineate such cores from the 'Other' of the structural periphery (Jones, 2009). These ontological positions also chime with Foucault's distinction between the easy-to-contain "*Utopias*", and more disruptive "*Heterotopias*" which disturb our taken-for-granted communication codes which, through naming, help reify the centre/periphery and category/boundary dualisms (Foucault, 1970: xviii, italics original). While such a view of family, which would reduce it to mere naming, is not going to be taken here – that is to say biological connections will not be denied – these poststructuralist understandings will play an important role in understanding the interplay of such connections with choice and senses in the lived realities of family. Family will be deconstructed therefore, not to reject its reality, but to expose how the individual, as both an agent and relational being, constructs his and her own way of doing family through space and time and within places. The aim of this chapter is not to propose that the stories gathered for this study represent transnational families more generally, but rather to show how a landscape imaginary of such particularized accounts can open up new ways of thinking about family alternatives, showing how these coalesce with more traditional articulations of family in different places. In other words, while I draw my conceptualization of family from the migrant cases, I use this chapter as a space to think about how that conceptualization can, in abstract terms, help us to understand different types of families, in different places.

2.1 A PHILOSOPHY OF FAMILY(IES)

2.1.1 Landscapes Lived

A useful way to approach a philosophical rethinking of families through a landscape imaginary is to describe some of the lived landscapes that this study engaged with. Rajesh is from India, and is a married father of two living in Galway in the west of Ireland. He articulated a functional understanding of

family when he told me that anybody who performed "the same job [his] parents did" can be family (Rajesh, Indian). These include any "relatives", "well-wishers", and "friends" (ibid.). Part of Rajesh's articulation of family involved an explanation of the ritual around his younger brother's marriage preparation, and used figure 2.1 below to explain what happens during this *Byaha Haath* ceremony where turmeric spice mixed with rice is put on the bridegroom's head.

Fig. 2.1: "this is a ceremony happening in my home with all my family members along with my close relatives" (Rajesh, Indian)

When I asked what this image and narrative tells about his meaning of family he explained:

> Because this is a ceremony happening in my home with all my family members along with my close relatives – so they're all there at this function, and we feel very happy because we meet all in the same house and we can express the emotions – happiness, sadness or whatever (Rajesh, Indian).

This is a story about togetherness, about the emotional support function of family, and the way that these aspects of Rajesh's concept of family come together around a family event specific to his place of origin.

A second landscape experience comes from Alison, whose words opened this chapter. It is clear from her story that imagined landscapes form a part of the 'doing' of family. Many of the photographs introduced to the research conversation by Alison showed various holidays, her daughter's Christening, and her husband and son at Christmas in the United States. These were intended as representations of what she *wants* her "new family" to be, as she struggles with what her "old family" *was*, and *is* (Alison, US citizen). This was emphasized as she explained: "when I'm building the family I have right now with my two kids, I don't even think of that family" (ibid.). These photographs often included friends in an attempt to convey love, togetherness, and an openness to unrelated others as a sense of what she, a thirty-nine year old mother, is fashioning her family to be. In addition to these remembered events, she emphasized her engagement with traditions close to her Native American roots, such as staying in a yurt – a cone-shaped tent – while on holiday. While speaking of these roots, Alison admitted that she "can really skip over all the people that raised [her], skip over all their family" to the Native Americans of her great-grandmother's generation whom she was very close to (ibid.). This turn to the past for a sense of belonging, and her admission that she felt tempted to cut out pictures of other people's families from magazines and bring these to the study as a representation of her family of origin, displays explicit reaches into the imagination for an understanding of family. More recently, her parents' divorce has crystallized her growing feeling of detachment from her family of origin. That family failed to 'do family' in a way that Alison felt it should be done. Therefore she is now consciously constructing, or 'building', a type of family that resonates with her own imagined sense of what family should be.

The confluence of the real and the imagined, of past and present, of attachment and detachment, and of happiness and sadness inflect both these stories. Both Rajesh and Alison speak of the practices of family, the rituals that

are done in order to perform 'family'. Rajesh's marriage preparation ceremony for his brother and Alison's celebration of her daughter's Christening were used to convey their own family realities. These are particular events which crystallize moments of togetherness. These, as particular happenings, are suspended in time, but persist as memories through the photographs brought to this study. Alison's deliberate rejection of her family of origin's mode of family in "building" her "new" family, and Rajesh's continuation of ancient ethnic and family traditions, show the ways in which families are deeply temporal. Of course, the very difference in emphasis – between Christmas celebrations discussed by Alison and many of the other US participants, and the Indian marriage rituals referred to by Rajesh and others – shows that place-specific cultures and traditions help shape how families are practiced too.

I argue that these deeply embodied and emplaced family narratives, which are articulated through the spatial and temporal senses of lived experience, are in fact descriptive of landscape. This rootedness in bodies, in places, and in time is often put forward as a criticism of the landscape concept in Geography (Merriman et al., 2008; Wylie, 2006a). In particular Cresswell and Sheller and Urry express anxiety around the "sedentarist" connotations to the concept (Wylie, 2006a: 476). Such debates tend to suggest alternative frames of analysis such as mobility and place, and question the usefulness of landscape at all (ibid.). The discussion here confronts such criticisms, unequivocally arguing in favour of a landscape conceptualization of family that draws place, movement, change and stasis, the tangible and the intangible together in a single spatial imaginary. In this way, it will be possible to show how the tensions of landscape can be productively weaved together. Wylie's *Landscape* opens by stating "[l]andscape is tension" (Wylie, 2007: 1). Some of those tensions are alluded to here. Abstracting from the migrant case, the discussion that follows will show how a range of family practices, be they rooted in place or more mobile practices, can be productively thought of as part of landscape.

2.1.2 "On the Family as a Realized Category"

So far the concept of landscape has been tentatively introduced, and I will develop my understanding of it in relation to other scholarship below. However, in order to show how landscape can loan to understandings of family, 'family' as a concept needs to be unpacked. The clearly different resonances with the meaning of 'family' in the stories above underscore the necessity of this approach. For instance, Rajesh's framing of his family in terms of functionality and Alison's framing around rupture show how different families are done in different ways. In order for landscape to accommodate an understanding of such diverse ways of doing family, 'family' as a grouping, a category of meaning, and as a container of certain relations needs to be deconstructed.

A useful point of departure for this endeavour is Pierre Bourdieu's essay from which this section of the chapter borrows its title. In it Bourdieu posits that:

> if it is accepted that the family is only a word, a mere verbal construct, one
> then has to analyze the representations that people form of what they refer
> to as the family, of this 'word family' or 'paper family'. (Bourdieu, 1996: 19)

Elaborating on this, Bourdieu describes family as a fiction, but "a well founded fiction" (ibid.: 20). It is "well founded" because, being a "classificatory concept" as he understands it, it is both a "description and a prescription" (ibid.). Family is a social construct, or put differently, it is a "tacit law" based on "*common sense*" which ultimately forms a powerful "mental category" (ibid.: 21, italics original). This constructs a feeling of family, and as Bourdieu argues, that feeling transforms itself into a lived reality through the process of "*naming*" (ibid.: 22, italics original). As a result language, often reinforced from the top down in order to codify populations, endures in such a way as to normalize accepted notions of family within and across different societies (ibid.: 24). Foucault characterizes this linguistic construction as "the non-place of language", a reference to the verbally constructed nature of certain categories

whose constituent elements would not naturally meet in space without this verbal classification, hence artificially containing such elements in an empty void (Foucault, 1970: xvi-xvii).

Bourdieu's reduction of 'family' to a linguistic construct strips it of both substance and meaning, rendering it in some way external to landscape. Anxieties around containerized concepts, such as Bourdieu's, are part of a much wider philosophical debate around categories and boundaries. In Geography, categories such as 'scale', 'economy' and 'neoliberalism' have been recently questioned by Marston et al (2005), Thrift and Olds (1996) and Larner (2003). The work of Jones (2009) is very much in this vein. His argument for intensified theorizations of the always incomplete process of bounding around taken for granted categories such as family is a compelling one (ibid.). This thinking partially influences the landscape imaginary of family being proposed here, because the particular understanding of landscape in this chapter rejects a 'landscape as category' thesis.

Bourdieu's thesis represents one of the more extreme poststructural approaches to family and occupies the opposite end of the spectrum to modernist accounts of family as a given and fixed ontological reality. The development of a landscape imaginary of family begins with a rematerializing of family through an understanding of the relationalities between individuals, and between individuals and environments. Such 'substance' comes from empirically informed theorizations of 'family', where qualitative researchers have engaged with the lived realities of family to understand how family is done, rather than merely reinforcing structural prescriptions derived from more biological deterministic thinking. Performative thinking in the social sciences inflects recent theorizations of family. For example, Becker and Charles' discussion of the "layered meanings" of the term 'family' shows how it becomes defined through practices of family rather than with respect to a given structure, and assumes meaning through "doing" (Becker and Charles, 2006: 103). Strasser et al adopt a similar register in a paper dealing with migrant families in Europe, showing that "doing" family for such families is a strategic performance required to adapt to new contexts and new relationship dynamics (Strasser et

al., 2009). Similarly, Williams shows how what she calls "our networks of affection" are negotiated and crafted over time and space (Williams, 2004: 17).

The particular ways in which families are performed have been theorized differently in the literature. For instance, Thorne's summary of feminist thinking on family shows how this critique has destabilized the "monolithic" family by focusing critical attention on gender, sexuality and class, and how these play out to construct family lives that are diverse, both publically and privately lived, and lived through domestic spaces which are sites of struggle between prescribed gender roles and individual pursuits for women (Thorne, 1992). Collier at al., in their essay documenting historical thought on the family, similarly show that feminist writers have done much important work in disturbing traditional functionalist views which reduce family to a reproductive and nurturing role, and in emphasising women as important actors in "*all* social worlds", and not only the family (Collier et al., 1992: 39, emphasis original). Such feminist critique has contributed much to rethinking family, and in particular the roles of gender and sexuality in different family performativities have been brought into view by this body of work.

Other work, which moves beyond the more traditional feminist analyses, offers useful ways of understanding family as a tangible lived reality in a way that does not reify particular forms of family. In particular, Mason's work on "tangible affinities" provides a useful framework for understanding affinities that go beyond those of kinship in a way that does not privilege biological links (Mason, 2008). Such affinities, or ways of practicing relatedness, include those which are "fixed", "creative", "ethereal" and "sensory" (ibid.). What is interesting about this approach is that even her description of "fixed affinities" rejects biological determinism and the rigidity of given ties, rather centring temporality and the repeated performance of relationality in producing affinities that *feel* fixed (ibid., 36). In a similar vein, Pahl and Spencer's work on "personal communities" grapples with given versus chosen ties, concluding that this dichotomy is analytically unhelpful as "there is a complex process of suffusion between familial and non-familial relationships" (Pahl and Spencer, 2004: 215). They show this by producing a typology that attempts to make

sense of how relationships with, and between friends, family, partners, and professional associates display varying degrees of affinity (ibid., 210).

These sociological imaginations of affinity draw attention to recently popular ways of conceptualizing connection in terms of *relatedness*, a term which is often preferred over 'kinship' or 'kin ties'. This is a term that geographers are beginning to use too. In particular, Nash's *Geographies of relatedness* attempts to understand how naturalized connections are highly spatialised, and often reinforced or curtailed across scales (Nash, 2005). This is pushed further through her work on genealogy projects, in an Irish context, and the senses of belonging to kin groups and to place these both seek, and actively construct (Nash, 2008).

Together, the body of work reviewed here shows the various ways 'family' as given and fixed has been disrupted, but disrupted in ways that acknowledge the salience of kin ties, as well as the choices that people constantly make and the senses of attachment they foster. However, Nash's work adds a crucial constituent to senses of attachment and belonging – that of *place*. This study connects to two types of places – Ireland and home – and shows how the participants relate to those places in a variety of ways. If there is a criticism to be made of the wealth of sociological work on family, which is both rich and informative, it is the lack of prominence given to place. Landscape can bring place and space right back into the heart of theorizations of family. To borrow from Tilley, "[t]he spirit of a place may be held to reside in a landscape" (Tilley, 1994: 26). To push this further, I will show here that the 'spirit' of family can also be understood to rest in landscape, that is, in *family landscapes*.

2.2 CONCEPTUALISING *FAMILY LANDSCAPES*

The performative understandings of family discussed above draw attention to *how* family is done in the everyday, rather than *what* it is. Here I advance these performative approaches by suggesting an epistemological focus on the

'doing' of families expressed as part of the cultural landscapes of family or, as I term them here, family landscapes. Before cementing my understanding of a cultural landscape, I will briefly trace its genealogy as a concept within Cultural Geography as a way of placing this study's use of that imaginary in context. Sauer's essay, *The Morphology of Landscape*, is widely regarded in the literature as providing the genesis for landscape work in Cultural Geography. Sauer proposes landscape as "the unit concept of geography" by showing how natural landscapes and culture can be conceptually morphed into the notion of a "cultural landscape" (Sauer, 1925: 98). This is achieved by understanding the natural landscape as the medium through which cultures, over time and across space, create a variety of forms in the natural environment to produce cultural landscapes (ibid.: 103). Cultural landscapes, as a conceptual lens on this morphology, are a representation of humanity's interaction with nature. Methodologically, when geographers write about such landscapes, they are generalising from particular instances within the landscape, according to Sauer (ibid.). In this way, the notion of cultural landscapes began its life as a representation of the world.

Understandings of cultural landscapes have grown from this to landscape as a "stage", as a "veil", as the visual articulation of the cultural and the political, as ideology, and as way of being in the world (Mitchell, 2007; Wylie, 2007; Rose 1993). As Dubow puts it, philosophical approaches to landscape in Human Geography have ranged from landscape as a set of Cartesian dualisms to poststructuralist interpretations of landscape as a "ceaseless ensemble" of text and language (Dubow, 2009: 126). Mitchell's summary of the various meanings of landscape is quite useful. Landscape can be one, or a mixture of: physical environment, a scale, a sensibility, a form of ideology, an articulation of meaning, a site of struggle, a form of representation, and a context and moderator of human work (Mitchell, 2007). Wylie offers a useful overview of the various ontological and epistemological interpretations of landscape in Geography since Sauer. Landscape, Wylie shows, has been approached as a local and largely historical entity, as a "way of seeing", and a way of concealing cultural and political processes, as materialist, as metaphorical, and finally, as dwelling (Wylie, 2007). Much of

this scholarship regards landscape as a "work", or a construction (Mitchell, 2007: 101). More recent phenomenologies of landscape in particular, such as Ingold's notion of the "taskscape" – that is the repeated performances of human dwelling-in-the-world that actively produce landscape – or Tilley's understanding of landscape as praxis, conjure a sense of landscape as ontogenetic (Ingold, 1993; Tilley, 1994; Wylie, 2007). This chimes with the performative turn in studies of family, and by thinking about actions and practices, it seems possible, even productive, to tie the notion of cultural landscapes with family.

2.2.1 Phenomonological Landscape: Fluid Performances of Family

I use Wylie's interpretation of Deleuze in his writings on landscape as a way of conceptualising family landscapes (Wylie, 2006b).   "The fold" is a topographical metaphor for the ontological contouring of lifeworlds (ibid.: 529-530). Through the processes of "enfolding" and "unfolding", which are not to be understood as opposites according to Wylie's reading of Deleuze, the world is constantly in motion through subject formation, and practice, as they become entwined with their environments through different events (ibid.). This conceptualization is married somewhat to Merleau-Ponty's notion of "intertwining" in Wylie's writing (ibid.: 530).   "Intertwining" describes the eventful co-constitution of body and world (ibid.).   It is an inherently phenomenological ontology. Deleuze's processual understanding of reality, which can be known through the constant folding of bodies in- and of- the world, insists that such folding does not take an already existing 'flat' world – the world is always folding in different ways (ibid.). What is crucial for a phenomenological reading of being-in-the-landscape, according to Wylie, is an understanding of what "the material and epistemological contours of the visible world" might be (ibid.: 527). As shown here, Wylie's own response is to connect the notion of "the fold" with the idea of "intertwining" with the world (ibid.). This chapter pushes that challenge in a slightly different way.

The "epistemological contours" of the family landscapes described here emerge from the participant stories which were permeated with references to

family occasions, moments of togetherness, and the daily performances of family. While events such as Christmas and family weddings were the popular subjects of many of the family photographs brought to the research encounter, the associated narratives were peppered with references to more ordinary family happenings too. Vilte from Lithuania, for instance, told me that, for her, things like "go[ing] for a shopping, clean[ing] the house, just simple things like that makes you family, even if you don't like some of those things" (Vilte, Lithuanian). This is a family landscape given meaning through the very ordinary things that are done as part of that landscape. These mundane tasks are performed with others, others who actively co-produce that family landscape by their very presence and by their participation in performances of 'family'. Therefore, it seems productive to understand family landscapes through the tasks, the happenings, the doings, and the moments that give such landscapes meaning. These family performativities can be conceptualised as *events*. They are 'events' because they are the tangible expression of relationality, the practices required to perform that relationality and the emotions which that relationality conjures up. They are tangible because they happen in *spaces*, in *places* and through *time*. Doing the grocery shopping is an event, as is the family meal, the family quarrel, the loving embrace, the child's birthday celebration and the phone call, to name only a few. These events constellate in different ways to produce those epistemological contours of family landscapes. The particular ways in which these constellations fold within those landscapes will be discussed below.

An imaginary based on events is one way of actualising a non-representational approach, such as the approach of this study, according to Anderson and Harrison (2010). They see that imaginary's potential for such work resting on how "the event" exposes "the contingency of orders" through its ontogenetic or always incomplete nature (Anderson and Harrison, 2010: 19). This work suggests two ways of conceptualising the event. Firstly, it may be productive to understand it as a relational process of subtle "differing" whereby events are "modest" happenings or minor occurances (ibid.: 20). A second way of thinking of the event is as a surprising, transformative and order-disrupting occurance (ibid.: 22). Both understandings capture change

and reject the notion that there is an external, fixed condition acting as a backdrop to the social (ibid.). This thinking fits with other work within a non-representational iteration of a poststructuralist philosophy; Marston, Jones, and Woodward's thesis on a flat ontology of scale is a particular case in point. This is similarly based on what they term "emergent events" which may or may not break existing orders and produce new, temporary ones (Marston et al., 2005: 422-423). At the core of this understanding of events is the always present possibility of change. Marston et al.'s conceptualisation of "the event" seems to combine the "modest" and the "transformative" events that Anderson and Harrison propose. This would seem a more productive imagination of "the event". One way to think about this more fluid notion of the event is to weave it through landscape.

This combination of "modest" and more transformative events both constitutes, and articulates the different ways of doing relatedness that produce family landscapes. This points to a dimension of the event that has been heretofore unmentioned – its *participants*. The body or bodies that relate in a variety of ways to do family are inherent to events – they are both the propagators of family events and the participants in them, collectively they are the event, yet in a strange way they are spectators – as this research shows through the voyeuristic gaze of the camera lens. However, there is no analytical advantage to understanding the bodies in the family landscape as separate from it, looking from afar. Rather, such bodies are the landscape as much as the event, the place, the space, and the set of relations that mark out any particular articulation of 'family'. Therefore what family landscapes are not, are mere ways of seeing – signifiers, cultural symbols, texts to be deciphered in line with much of the work of cultural geographers such as Cosgrove, Duncan and Duncan, and in the earlier work of Rose (Wylie, 2007). While I concur with Rose's argument that landscapes are always visual, the approach here is to understand the work of landscape as coming into view only when we, as participants, step back and reflect on what we have actively moulded through our *practices*, and our perceptions of the outcomes of those practices (Merriman et al., 2008). We, as constituent subjects, are inseparable from landscape in general and family landscapes in particular. Family

landscapes, to draw on Lorimer's understanding of a phenomenological approach to landscape, are given meaning through "embodied acts of landscaping" (Lorimer, 2005: 85).

If family landscapes are to be understood not simply as ways of seeing performances of family, what precisely can they be conceptualized as? Recent phenomenological articulations of landscape have focused on 'landscaping' rather than merely 'landscape'. Similar to the imaginings of family discussed above, critical attention on landscape has preferred to understand what it *does*, rather than what it actually *is* (Crouch, 2010; Wylie, 2007). So, what do family landscapes do? Family landscapes gather those events that form the tangible nexus between the corporeal work of family, and the sensory and emotional realm of family. Family landscapes emerge from those works that articulate senses of family, practices of family, and the outcome of such practices through the events that mark the familial out from other types of relationalities. Those events are the articulations of the interior emotions that foster feelings of family. Those events therefore externalise such emotions in space and over time, and their beginning and their end is not always quantifiable, and often recurs (daily routines, birthday occasions) or can be solitary (a rupture event, death). Such events are relational, that is they garner meaning from how they relate to previous events (a joyful event is such because it has been preceded by a series of mundane, unspectacular events) and it relates subjects in the doing of family. These events create the feeling of family, and place family in particular ways. Families become placed in certain familial spaces through different 'doings' (the home, the supermarket, cyberspace), but this placing is temporary and unstable. Migratory events are obvious examples of unstable placings. Time also matters as these events are rhythmic – they repeat, often punctuated by more fleeting or isolated events in different places (Ingold, 1993). The event can be a brief moment (display of affection) or a concrete happening (a family dinner).

While this processual understanding of landscape partially resonates with the Deleuzian "immanent plane" of events and phenomena which, according to Wylie's understanding, bind the landscape with the gazing

subject, this chapter presents an important difference: place is given as much analytical attention as process in the articulation of landscapes (Wylie, 2006b: 528-529). This is because the family landscapes described here are drawn partially from Ingold's notion of the "taskscape" (Ingold, 1993). Ingold's "taskscape" is inherently relational, as it garners meaning from an array of people working together to perform particular tasks which constitute dwelling in the world (ibid.: 158). It is through this dwelling, the tasks that are performed as part of it, and the events that articulate the various outcomes of those tasks that "each place draws its unique significance" (ibid.: 155). In this way landscape gathers meaning from the world, rather than attaching meaning to it, according to Ingold's thesis (ibid.). Therefore, the constant and collective performances of tasks required to produce events constructs places. Beyond this placing of the landscape, it is instructive to turn to Appadurai's 'scapes' where the subject's imagined engagement with landscapes is centred (Appadurai, 1996). Appadurai's 'scapes' – "ethnoscapes", "mediascapes", "technoscapes", "financescapes", and "ideoscapes" – are cultural flows which gain form through subjects' collective performances of tasks, and subsequent experience of the 'scapes' that those tasks produce in the imagination (ibid.: 33). The key difference between Appadurai and Ingold is essentially one of scale. Whereas Ingold's taskscapes are particular and more local, Appadurai's multiple 'scapes' are imagined and global. Ingold's attention to place certainly helps in setting a key corner stone of a family landscape imaginary, but Appadurai's thinking demands attention be placed on the imaginary realm, and in particular those imaginations of family that ultimately help fashion the family realities that coalesce as landscape.

Bodies in place, imagined space, and time are therefore key constituents of the events through which family landscapes gain meaning. However, in order for the notion of a 'family landscape' to have purchase, it is necessary to push the notion of 'events' a little further in order to understand how they texture family landscapes in different ways, or in Deleuzian terms, 'fold' differently. To reiterate, events come into being through tasks and happenings, but similar tasks or happenings can result in different outcomes for different people in different places, hence producing different events, be

they spectacular or more mundane, which alter the contours of the family landscape. An insightful example of this comes in the stories of Linas and Donna's visits 'home' to Lithuania and the US respectively. The practice of visiting produces a particular event in time and place. For Donna, visiting home is something immanent to her own sense of what doing family transnationally should entail. Therefore, the visit is a necessary event, which Donna enthuses about throughout our conversation, particularly in relation to one particular visit which was represented by a photograph of Donna herself, and her mother:

> It was just a really happy time and I think I associate that feeling, that wonderful feeling of being home and just being loved no matter what, even if you just see people once or twice a year, unconditionally. That picture I would totally associate with that feeling of how exciting it is to go home and see family (Donna, US citizen).

In contrast, the visit for Linas, as a practice, is a type of work that represents the tension between doing family and being an individual. He feels obliged to negotiate his visits home with his mother, who feels that Vilnius should be the 'obvious' destination for all his holidays away from Dublin. Linas told that story as follows:

> When my mother says 'oh you always travel everywhere – you don't go home!'…But I say 'yeah mother but if I was going to Lithuania all the time I would miss a chance to go somewhere else and I want to explore more, I love travel and I say 'why don't you come to Dublin?' (Linas, Lithuanian).

Here similar practices are experienced differently – as a positive for Donna, and as something more troubling for Linas. The experience of this practice is a joyful event of rare togetherness for Donna, it is one way in which she performs a transnational mode of family. For Linas, this same practice is an expensive performance of obligation to his mother at home in Vilnius, at the cost of his own desire to explore more of the world. Linas refuses to frame this event as 'travelling', as Donna does, as this for him is about exploration and discovery.

Rather, the way Linas tells this particular story locates the visit as a necessary part of his performance of home, whereas Donna's narrative spoke of the trip and the visit, which of course intersects with her own way of doing home in a way, but yet is understood primarily as a visiting event and as a travel event. In this way, different family landscapes are shaded and textured in different ways.

2.2.2 Landscape across Scales: Negotiated Performances of Family

These stories describe linear negotiations with space and with others, given that agency and choice are present in both Donna and Linas' practices. However, others articulated more uneven encounters with space and with institutions, particularly institutions of the Irish State. An understanding of landscape built on place, on practices, on events and on the imagination is open to the charge of privileging agency and choice, while ignoring the manner in which migrants often have to negotiate space. To illustrate this, I draw from Tara's story. Tara is a dual US and Irish citizen born in the US to Irish parents, but moved to Ireland when she was 8. During our conversation she recalled the story of when her mother and herself took their first trip back to New York after moving to Ireland, where they were visiting Tara's father who remained in the US for work. The following incident occurred at the US immigration clearance suite at Dublin Airport:

> I remember one time my mum being called into the room – you know those rooms where they question you? Because it was just very awkward to explain our family situation – you know, they're not divorced, but they're not living together for work. They questioned things a lot more back then, even though security is tighter now (Tara, dual US & Irish citizen).

At the family scale it made sense to live like this because Tara and her mother returned to Ireland to look after her grandmother. However, at the territorial scale this is viewed with suspicion and, as a result, Tara's mother had to negotiate the border in that particular room by explaining their family situation.

In order to fully acknowledge the specificity of families which are "scattered" and "constellated", it seems that the notion of a family landscape needs a further conceptual layer that can acknowledge and facilitate an understanding of the differentiated experiences of space that such families must negotiate (Jeff, US citizen). I read Tara's story, and the stories of several other participants, as an articulation of family landscapes which are in some ways *scalar*. In other words, I understand some of the social and spatial practices as culminating in events which involve a scalar relation with space and power. Tara's story, in this imagining, is a performance of familial togetherness through the practice of visiting, a practice which involves the border crossing event described above, an event which positions Tara and her mother in a subversive relation with the US border. Family landscapes then, in certain contexts, need to be understood as intersections between individual or collective agency, and structural ordering.

In order to effectively capture that intersection through a scalar lens, I will propose a very particular understanding of the concept in the context of the 'scale debate' in Geography over the last ten years. Many of the contributions to that debate are positioned in relation to a number of key ways of approaching scale (Brenner, 2001; Paasi, 2004; Marston et al., 2005; González, 2006). For instance, Brenner sees the various theorisations of scale essentially distinguishing between *constructionist* scale and "*processual"* scale, while the more empirical contributions tend to focus on "*rescaling processes*" (Brenner, 2001: 592). Marston et al., in a more critical review of the debate, see the distinction as being between epistemological understandings of scale that are either "horizontal", "vertical" and/or "relational", where descriptions of scale as "*size*" or "*level*" prevail in a manner that always assumes a hierarchical relationship between different scales (Marston et al., 2005: 417-420). Gonzaléz, for her part, characterises the scale debate sequentially as a progression of "scale-scaling-politics of scale" in that order (Gonzaléz, 2006: 837-838). These describe a move from descriptions of spatially-fixed scales, to spatio-temporally fixed scales, to the "social and political construction of scale" (ibid.). However, it is Paasi's reading which offers the most useful summation of the scale debate and it is to that reading that I now turn.

Paasi distinguishes between five approaches to scale which are not necessarily mutually exclusive: *hierarchical* scale, *metaphorical* scale, *materialist* scale, *constructionist* scale, and *relative* scale (Paasi, 2004: 537). These understandings of scale are useful for framing its various theorisations in the literature. For instance, Swyngedouw's "politics of scale" which wrestles the pervasive tensions between "rhizomatic rescaling", or more simply, the reconfigurations of scalar networks, with "territorial rescaling", that is the reconfigurations of scalar hierarchies, can be understood as fusing the hierarchical, materialist, constructionist and relativist work on scale for a much more hybridised mobilisation of a scalar epistemology for understanding social and political power-geometries (Swyngedouw, 2004: 33). Brenner's problematisation of a "politics of scale" approach, which culminates in a proposal for "scalar structuration", can be read more narrowly as exemplifying a 'hierarchical' conceptualisation of scale where enduring spatial fixes obfuscate more topological experiences and understandings of scale (Brenner, 2001: 593). Constructionist understandings of scale are apt to describe Marston's social construction thesis where the role of social reproduction and consumption is placed at the core of a construction of scales, scales which are themselves catalysts for the outcomes of those processes; an argument explicated through a discussion of home as scale (Marston, 2000). This understanding can also be framed as a materialist understanding of scale as it draws discourses of social capital into conversation with a particular areal articulation of scale (household). However, this is just one way in which scale can be understood as a construction, as González argues through her framing of the socio-political production of scale through various discourses which are both social and political constructions, and products of a politics of scale, that is, they are "*scalar narratives*" (González, 2006, emphasis added).

While this very brief overview demonstrates the analytical utility of Paasi's framing of the scale debate, the purpose of applying that lens was to begin to draw out the intricacies of the debate. This, however, ignores one of the more seminal contributions to the debate, that is, the ontological flattening of geography by eliminating scale altogether (Marston et al., 2005). Marston

et al. argue that all of the understandings of scale introduced above are merely "points of view" on the world which represent attempts by researchers to epistemologically and methodologically transcend the totality of existence by assuming the right to draw scalar distinctions (ibid.: 420-422). Rather, the authors argue that scale is not a productive way of seeing the world and that a "flat ontology" comprised of "emergent spatial relations" which are constantly in a state of becoming and unfold as "intermeshed sites" points to an exciting alternative to compartmentalised scalar imaginaries (ibid.: 422-426). While such a strong argument in favour of an ontogenetic understanding of scale is compelling for poststructural geographies such as the processual iteration of landscape presented here, it is nonetheless a troubling interpretation given that so many stories told as part of this research force attention to hierarchical power relations in the regulation of the political border and citizenship in particular.

What can be taken from all of these contributions is a tendency towards 'de-ontologising' scale in an attempt to critically situate it as an epistemology. In other words, as Jones puts it, scale can be more productively thought of as "a way of knowing or apprehending" social and political spatiality (Jones, 1998: 28). Indeed, it is this very move that leads Marston et al. to question its conceptual utility at all (Marston et al., 2005). The majority of the pro-scalist contributions, however, tend to merge political and social power-geometries in ways that acknowledge both the vertical and horizontal theorisations of scale. For instance, Brenner's structuration of scale positions scale as part of *some* "sociospatial processes" rather than being an inherent "property" of *all* such processes (Brenner, 2001: 604). In other words, Brenner implies that not all social, economic and political processes are "internally differentiated into a vertical hierarchy", but where such a relation between spatial units can be understood to exist, scalar structuration arises (ibid.) Taking a more constructionist approach, Swyngedouw similarly attends to the "continuous tension between 'scales of regulation' and 'scales of networks'" in his thesis of "scalar transformations" (Swyngedouw, 2004: 33). Here, networked scales describe those "sociospatial processes" that Brenner suggests cannot be understood as a vertical hierarchy, while regulated scales invoke the notion of

"structuration" (Brenner, ibid.). Swyngedouw uses the example of the European Union to show how the political "territorial 'ordering'" comes into tension with "the competitive reorganisation of economic and social networks" (Swyngedouw, 2004: 33). Such meshing of the social and political iterations of scale seems appropriate for this study, given my argument that a less rhizomatic understanding of migrants' experience of politicised space is required.

Scale matters for migrant family landscapes, however, given the wide variety of ways in which geographers have worked with the concept, it has become rather broad and multiply expressed in theoretical terms. What is needed for *Migrant Families in Ireland,* I suggest, is a particular understanding that chimes with the way scalar stories were expressed by my participants. Tara's story of her mother's encounter with the US border at Dublin airport is one such story, but other stories presented more troubling accounts of the uneven power relations that migrants become enmeshed in. Building on the work drawn on above, scale here will be understood as an outcome of one's *positioning* in place and in society. Quite simply, we position ourselves in different aspects of our own lives (in a family, in a friendship network, in particular communities) and are ourselves positioned in place and in society (from 'above' as a citizen, from 'below' as a boss, and laterally as a co-member of a network, for example). Tara and her mother were positioned as 'migrant' in the story above, and their family situation was in a way 'Othered' by the US immigration authorities. However Tara, while not denying her being 'migrant', positioned herself in a variety of other ways – such as a student for instance – throughout our conversation. Therefore, understanding one's life in its totality necessitates meshing multiple positionalities such as these together so that one is simultaneously part of a variety of imposed, and co-constructed scales. This positioning is ultimately a product of "placing", a notion described by Tolia-Kelly to show how migrants negotiate their competing senses of identity (Tolia-Kelly, 2004a: 285). That notion can be pushed a bit further to extend to how migrants are placed in the geo-political landscape, and this is what I do as part of my development of a landscape imaginary of families. By broadening the conceptualisation of landscape beyond an imaginary of socially

constructed relations through the incorporation of scale into that imaginary, these social relations become repositioned within the contours of a more undulating landscape where relations *of*, and *with,* power can alter the shape of the whole landscape.

2.3 THE LANDSCAPES OF FAMILY LIFE

In order for this notion of family landscapes to be a useful way of understanding family lives, a tangible way of describing these different experiences of landscape is needed. In other words, to draw from Wylie's conceptual anxiety, I need a productive way to make sense of those "material and epistemological contours of the visible world", or of landscape, and the fixed and fluid ways in which they are brought into being (Wylie, 2006b: 527). So far, I have laid the conceptual foundations of this – bodies, places, spaces, times, practices, events, imaginations, and positionings. What would be useful at this stage is a descriptive terminology that might connect these abstract concepts to actual family practices.

I take a cue from landscape work in Cultural Geography here, exemplified quite recently by Irish geographies of health, disability and well being – "inclusive landscapes" (Kitchin, 2001), "landscapes of care" (Power, 2010) and "therapeutic landscapes" (Foley, 2010). This body of work draws from a tradition of '-scaping' phenomena, a practice already alluded to here in reference to Appadurai and Ingold (Appadurai, 1996; Ingold, 1993). Similarly, I find it helpful to understand stories like those of Donna, Linas and Tara as articulations of very particularized 'scapes' that describe the material layers of their family landscapes. Donna, for instance, told the story of going back to the US in terms of a holiday, with all the excitement and enthusiasm one would expect from a typical vacation. Donna's story, therefore, can be understood as an expression of her *travelscape.*   Linas, conversely, did not talk about his trips back to Lithuania in these terms. Rather, it was in more everyday terms with connotations of duty and "kinswork" (di Leonardo, 1987, cited in Baldassar, 2007: 392). It was very much about the more mundane

performances of home. I therefore imagine Linas' story as part of his *homescape*. Of course, Donna's story intersects in ways with her homescape, given that home is not only about work and obligation, but it seems difficult to frame Linas' story as being part of his travelscape given the manner in which he told it. Accounts of the more uneven relations with space and power necessitate 'folds' which place these more fluid practices in the context of positioning is space. Therefore, I suggest that stories like Tara's can be imagined as part of her *borderscape*, a part of her family landscape which calls attention to the manner in which she and her mother are positioned within a more structured space. I show the utility of these 'scapes' in my discussions of transnational family landscapes in chapters 4, 5 and 6.

These imaginings of those migrants' social and spatial practices represent some of the ways in which family landscapes fold, from the empirical evidence of this study. These foldings, or 'scapes', are not to be understood as categories of family life, or as classifications. This is where Foucault's writing is somewhat influential. His *Order of Things*, a response to Borges' work as I described in Chapter 1, considers the transient nature of humanities' ordering of the world through an "archaeology" of knowledge which he describes as "a history of resemblance" – or, grouping phenomena into similar orders (Foucault, 1970: xxiv). Borges, in his own writing, takes a more pragmatic view: "The impossibility of penetrating the divine pattern of the universe cannot stop us from planning human patterns, even though we are conscious they not definitive" (Borges, n.d., cited in Perneger, 2006: 264). Here the tension between our cognitive understanding of categories as being fluid and our performances in space which often serve to reify categories, is once again raised. Jones' work on categories and bounding confronts this same tension, that is, while we now understand the boundaries around categories as being "porous", cognitively we view categories as closed and bounded (Jones, 2009: 179). With respect to this position, and the more pragmatic bent of Borges' writing, the 'scapes' described here should be understood as spatio-temporal encounters between related events and related bodies and, for the purposes of this research, as being conceptual and demonstrative *tools* rather than prescriptions of fixed practices of landscape.

This approach raises the tension between categorizing and boundlessness but, to reiterate Wylie's contention, "Landscape *is* tension" (Wylie, 2007: 1, emphasis added).

2.4 THE PROSPECTS FOR A LANDSCAPE IMAGINARY OF FAMILIES

> The whole value of the concept of landscape…is the precise manner in which it demands that we produce accounts which dapple between interiority *and* exteriority, perception *and* materiality (Wylie, cited in Merriman et al., 2008: 203, emphases original).

Family is very much lived and performed through those four dimensions of our being-in-the-world that Wylie calls attention to here. It is experienced through the 'interior', in that the embodiment of genetic relationality, as well as our own feelings and inner inclinations, are inherent in us as human beings. Family is lived through our 'exteriorities', in that our bodies perform these inner senses of belonging and attachment in space. It is lived through 'perception' because our seeing and our sensing of attachment enables us to both replicate existing ways of doing family, and construct new ways where strong affinities emerge. Finally, family is lived through the 'material' doings and the works that articulate what is interior to our beings, as well as what we perceive of the landscape around us.   In this way, family *is* a landscape.

A brief 'stock-take' of the conceptual layers of the family landscape imaginary can assist in envisioning its prospects for understanding contemporary families, migrant or otherwise. Firstly, landscape is founded on intersections of *spaces, places* and *times*. Familial spaces are articulated at particular moments in particular places; Chapter 4, in particular, will interrogate this interplay in a discussion of some of the more mobile and fluid performances of transnational families that I encountered in the field. That interplay is knowable through the particular *practices* that relate *bodies* to each other and to places in familial ways. These are expressed by my participants through a variety of *events*. Those events fold in the family

landscape in a variety of *material* and *imaginative* ways. These 'folds', or *'scapes',* describe a variety of social and spatial relations which are sometimes horizontal, but sometimes experienced as a hierarchical relation which is given meaning through *positioning.* This represents a negotiation between how one is positioned in landscape, and how one self-positions. I understand this confluence of textures to family life as *family landscapes.*

The final part of the discussion draws out three strengths of a landscape imaginary of family which this chapter has endeavoured to show. Firstly, families are social constructs which produce various cultures of family across space; therefore families have very particular geographies, and landscape encapsulates the social and the cultural in the geographical. Visiting, performing home, and border crossing, being the specific work of family described here through Linas, Donna, and Tara's stories, are events tied into place. I will pursue some more grounded ways of doing family in the following chapters, and this strand will culminate in a focus on dwelling in Chapter 6. For now, I am suggesting that for attachment to have meaning, it must have a tangible context within which it can be realised. Families must be understood through the places they are immersed in. "[E]ach place embodies the whole [of the landscape] at a particular nexus within it", therefore family landscapes will always prompt our attention to place as an epistemological focus where the 'exterior' and 'material' dimensions of our being can be known (Ingold, 1993: 155; Wylie, cited in Merriman et al., 2008). Here, the event has been proposed as one useful way to unpack the coming together of these dimensions of experience in place.

Secondly, there is a prospect to put the geographical imagination into conversation with other disciplines as this placing of families emphasizes different iterations of family across space and adds a layer of sophistication to the wealth of existing work which emphasizes different articulations of family within particular societies. For example Mason (2008) and Pahl and Spencer's (2004) theorizations of family discussed here could be pushed further, from a geographer's point of view, by posing the question: in what ways are those various understandings of multifarious family realties place

contingent? For instance, how can Mason's "tangible affinities" be pushed further into place, and will different places and cultural contexts do such affinities differently (Mason, 2008)? Indeed, can a different context, for example an application of this framework to Indian families, reveal other types of affinities based on religious belief systems? This is of course a speculative question; the point is that understanding such affinities through landscape can prompt such a line of enquiry, bringing into view additional textures to the performances of families around the world.

Finally, and this is the philosophical undercurrent to a landscape imaginary of families, this imaginary can be a productive way of knowing family within a poststructuralist framing, without stripping it of experiential substance. But crucially, it cannot only address phenomenological imperatives, but feminist, interpretivist, and more structural concerns and epistemologies too. The particular approach here is a phenomenological mobilisation of a broadly poststructural philosophy that recognizes moments of structural ordering. The key dimensions of landscape – bodies, places, times, spaces, practices, events, imaginations, and positionings – can be each understood in different ways, each producing different understandings of a family landscape to that put forward here. The travelscapes, homescapes and borderscapes introduced here as folds in migrant family landscapes, in addition to the other family landscapes that I also develop in subsequent chapters – *memoryscapes, technoscapes*, and *networkscapes* – are *moving* landscapes. That is, they are not containers of human practices, and they do not constitute fixed ways of doing family. They are a tool for understanding lived experience, rather than a representation of it.

> In the wider context, we're all children of God; we're all related one way or another. (Tom, US citizen)

> Family is a very strange thing for me and I think my definition of it would be very different from other peoples'. I think family is the connections you make with not-blood relatives, with people in your life, and they become your family. (Carla, US citizen)

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The words of Tom and Carla articulate quite nicely the intrinsic nature of our connections in the world on one level, yet, as Wylie puts is, the "living tapestry of practices, imaginations, emergences and erasures" that particularize these connections at another level (Wylie, 2009: 282). Tom and Carla's understandings of relatedness show exactly why this chapter has argued for a landscape imaginary of families – because it resonates with the way families are imagined and experienced in the world. That, after all, is always the point of theorizing in the first place.

3

UNDERSTANDING FAMILY PHOTOGRAPHS IN PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH

Contemporary social science research on questions of identity and place has preferred innovative methodologies usually involving research subject participation, multi-sensory engagement and an underlying imperative to give voice to those who are cast as 'minority' within wider society (Holliday, 2000; Pain and Francis, 2003; Tolia-Kelly, 2007; O'Neill, 2010; O'Neill and Hubbard, 2010). The research for *Migrant Families in Ireland* involved participants voicing their lived experiences and meanings of family through a negotiation of my proposed participatory photo method. The end result of this process was a fusion of the *participatory photo interview* method, *photovoice*, and *family album exploration* (Kolb, 2008; Wang, 1999; Rose, 2010; Chambers, 2003). The family album is central to the way in which people represent and memorialise the people, places and moments that hold meaning for them. This study fuses that rich resource of personal histories and memories with participatory photography as one way to know about family identities and spatialities. This can be also understood as a means of generating what Haraway calls "situated knowledges", a more particularised way of knowing about the world that transcends both scientific reductionist claims to absolute knowledge, and social constructivist claims to historically contingent "truths" (Haraway, 1991: 188). By placing the participant at the centre of this study, they actively generate knowledge about their lives, and my role as researcher is to locate that knowledge in its socio-spatial contexts as a means of extracting meaning from their stories.

The negotiation with participants revolved around an anxiety common to the three groups – how could distant people and places be brought into the research conversation through participatory photography? This will be read here as manifesting the pervasive tension between mobility and fixity that runs through all of the accounts of family and place. This chapter tells the story of

how those tensions presented themselves in the research process itself, and in the visual materials produced by that process. That story will be one of the family *practices* that allow *Migrant Families in Ireland* to connect with the everyday performances of family (see Wang, 1999). In particular the practices involved in *remembering, imagining* and *reflecting* facilitate a mobilisation of non-representational theory for understanding family lives (Thrift, 2008). This evokes a non-representational approach because, as Anderson and Harrison suggest, the epistemological premise of such theories is that "[t]hought is placed in action and action is placed in the world" (Anderson and Harrison, 2010: 11). Thrift suggests that non-representational theory should capture moments in the "onflow" of everyday life through examining "practices", and the "things" that are part of those practices, through "experimenting" with ways of knowing that can engage with the "affectual" realm of existence (Thrift, 2008). This discussion shows how participatory visual geographies can bring the intangible emotional textures of everyday family life into view through innovative engagement with practice. Having framed the study as poststructuralist and non-representational in previous chapters, this chapter positions *Migrant Families in Ireland* as a visual geography, as well as a participatory geography, before presenting a framework for understanding the images that this approach produced, and in doing so, show why the geographical imagination is apt for knowing about the spaces and places of families.

3.1 VISUAL GEOGRAPHIES AND INTERDISCIPLINARY DIALOGUE

For centuries, indeed, practitioners of the art of geography have been engaged in developing languages and techniques to capture what the eye could or should see in a landscape. Thinking about what to observe and how to observe – indeed, the status of observation itself – has long been integral to the theory and practice of geographical knowledge (Driver, 2003: 227).

Geography is an inherently visual discipline. Observation and understanding observations, as Driver points out, is in essence what Geography is about. To illustrate this, it would be useful to consider the meta-concept in Geography already alluded to by Driver, and forming the conceptual foundation of this thesis – *landscape.* Understanding processes both on and in physical and cultural landscapes is an important thread running through the discipline's diverse subject areas. Rose argues that "there is something particularly visual about landscapes" (Merriman et al., 2008: 200). Cultural landscapes, as a particular type of landscape, are lived in and negotiated through the everyday and, similar to a physical landscape, present themselves as the visual manifestation of subterranean processes and happenings. They help us perceive what we sense and the particular contexts within which we are immersed. This is one particular way of understanding Geography's inherent visuality.

A second understanding of Geography as a visual discipline emanates from the manner in which Geography is practiced. Rose calls attention to the plethora of things that geographers do in their research and in their dissemination and teaching that involve visual materials:

> [A]ll those maps, videos, sketches, photographs, slides, diagrams, graphs, and so on that fill textbooks, lecture halls, seminars, conference presentations and – to a much lesser extent – published papers and books (Rose, 2003a: 212).

Rose's own work involves understanding how the doing of family photographs is heavily gendered by examining participants' family albums, and that work will be drawn on below (see Rose, 2010 for example). Examples of other Cultural Geography work with the visual includes Tolia-Kelly's work on post-colonial migrant identity construction in the UK using participatory art, Laurier's work on the use of video in research, and particularly practices of video editing, and Latham's work on photographic research diaries as a particular research method (Tolia-Kelly, 2007; Laurier et al., 2008; Latham, 2003). Indeed, cartography, which pre-dates the formation of Geography as an

academic discipline, began as a graphic representation of space. Beyond Cultural Geography, Geographical Information Systems, Geovisualisation, Remote Sensing, and the imaging of particular physical features of the landscape within Physical Geography all involve visual analysis and visual representations in space and place.

For this study, I employ a phenomenological approach to visual research, but this is only one way in which visual geographies can be done. Semiotic approaches, for instance, argue that images can be 'read' as text, while constructivist perspectives attend to the manner in which visual material produces new realities and reshape existing ones (Schlottmann and Miggelbrink, 2009). For instance, Rose shows how taking family photographs out of their private settings and exhibiting them in the print media, as happened with the victims of the London bombings in 2005, structures the way in which 'publics' are constructed around the emotional response to that event (Rose, 2010). Visual materials can also be used to empower research participants through facilitating "guidance groups" where lived experiences can be communicated to policy-makers, or those with direct access to policy-makers with a view to effecting action on a particular issue (Wang, 1999: 187). This body of work is frequently referred to as Participatory Action Research (PAR), and much research in this vein has strong visual and spatial elements (O'Neill, 2010). Ways of engaging people in research include various iterations of participatory photography such as that employed here, but also straight-forward photo elicitation (Harper, 2002), photovoice (Wang, 1999), autodriving, and photo novella (Knoblauch et al., 2008: 5); but also participatory art (Tolia-Kelly, 2007), "ethno-mimesis" (O'Neill and Hubbard, 2010), and participatory video (Laurier et al., 2008). While this is by no means an exhaustive inventory of methods, it demonstrates that visual geography entails a diverse range of theoretical and methodological approaches to the visual in research.

Geography has a much more extensive history of visually observing place than it does people. Geographers' earliest engagement with the camera involved building knowledge of different places by photographing them, and

these images were regarded very much as 'evidence' of the sites they captured (Schwartz and Ryan, 2003; Nye, 2003). This was because audiences generally perceived these 'data' as objective depictions of reality, and in this way remote places became "visually and conceptually more accessible" (Schwartz & Ryan, 2003: 2). In the nineteenth century, when mobility was restricted and many uninhabitable landscapes remained untouched by humans, photographs from expeditions became part of the production of popular "imaginative geographies" (ibid., 6; Nye, 2003). Such images became "cultural constructions" of place reaching a wider audience through *National Geographic*, commercial postcards, and poster advertising campaigns promoting particular 'beauty spots' (Nye, 2003: 87-95). However, with the popularisation of photography over the next century, geographers began to understand photographs as "spatial forms" in their own right, and much of the work drawn on in this chapter – particularly that of Rose – takes this as a basic premise of any image (Schwartz and Ryan, 2003: 6). The spatiality of the image is understood in Geography across a range of dimensions including the literal area captured, the site from where a capture is taken, the meaning generated in the capture for the audience, the space producing nature of such images through imaginations, and through employing the camera as a way to know more about the world through research (Rose, 2003c; O'Neill & Hubbard, 2010).

As the previous chapter showed, I understand place as a sort of 'locus' through which subjective immersion in the world is articulated in landscape. Particular sets of individual and relational practices create the events which coalesce at particular times to mark out different spaces from each other; that spatial distinction produces places. Places, in this understanding, can be physical settings or less tangible senses of belonging, senses which are contingent on a specific spatio-temporal positioning in landscape. Places are constituted at a variety of scales from the individual imagination to the "place-making projects of the powerful", projects which themselves emerge from political imaginations of place (Pink, 2008: 4). Conceptualising place, according to Schwartz and Ryan, necessitates "blurring the distinction between the real and the imagined" as a means of unpacking that dynamic, fluid and

multi-layered nature of place (Schwartz and Ryan, 2003: 6). In this way, the manner in which places are photographed by the participants is understood in relation to concrete and imagined articulations of place.

It is instructive to frame this study within an interdisciplinary context given Geography's relatively briefer tradition of imaging people compared to Sociology, Anthropology, Art History and Education, for instance. With particular focus on photography, Art Historian John Tagg's widely cited *The Burden of Representation* rejects the indexicality of the photograph as producing meaning – in other words what is represented by the photograph in a time past is representative of the reality of that time – rather arguing that the physicality of the photography process creates a whole new reality (Tagg, 1993). As shown above, some of Rose's work in Geography has taken a similar constructivist approach. More specifically, Tagg shows how popular photography, in particular family photography, has been regarded as a low brow art form "reducing it to a stultified repertoire of legitimated subjects and stereotypes" in his history of that genre (ibid., 18). Subsequent writings across the disciplines have sought to 'rescue' popular photography such as family photography from such criticism. This has been achieved by seeing such images in new ways. For example, Chalfen sees the family photograph as a communicative event (Chalfen, 2001). Described as the "home mode" of photography, family photography is understood as "a process of interpersonal, small group communication" (ibid., 215). Each element of the photographic composition becomes part of five key production events: planning events, on camera shooting, behind camera shooting, editing events, and exhibition events (ibid.: 216-218). However this approach to family photographs is largely based on 'western' cultural norms (ibid.). In spite of this positionality, Chalfen's emphasis on events indicates potential for the photographic practices of my participants to be connected to the concept of family landscapes.

Sociologist Sarah Pink treats the photograph as a set of relations. It is both the site of "inter-subjective relationship[s]", and a particular type of knowledge that must be explored in relation to "other (including verbal) knowledge[s]". Pink's position is, however, wary of translating "subjective

experience" into "objective knowledge" (Pink, 2005: 95-97). A key way to avoid such a tendency is through the researcher's own self-reflexivity. This concern permeates the discussion below as the approach to participatory family photographs presented here is itself an exercise in self-reflexivity, both in terms of positionality and practice. An understanding of self-reflexivity that mirrors the approach taken here is that of Morawska who sees this as entailing the "critical examination of and accounting for the scholar's own narrative impositions on the course and outcome of the investigation" (Morawska, 1997: 59).

In Education, Johnston develops the notion of "*deep literacy*" as a means of going beyond merely seeing and reading what is visible to consider imaginations in the construction of identity and place (Johnston, 2010). Johnston's particular interest is the imaging of Australian nationhood, but it can be argued that this concept's application to identity and place can equally be applied to family identities for this chapter. The research encounter with migrants was a multi-sensory engagement that went beyond the visual as imaginations of family and home textured family landscapes in particular ways too. In this way, there is a lot of analytical insight to be gained from other disciplines that have developed ways of engaging both conceptually and methodologically with the spatiality of social formations. The methodological and analytical approach to the family photographs in this study is grounded in a geographical imagination, but in such a way that mobilises approaches from other social science disciplines for a rigorous interrogation of how people relate to one another, and to place.

The framework for understanding the family photographs in this chapter is anchored on the work of Rose. Leading geography's reflexive approach to the visual, Rose's recent work on family snaps, already referred to above, also reads as a reflection on her own research with mothers in south-east England, a reflection which prompted her to see what was happening with the mothers' photographic practices in a different way as the field research progressed. This prompted her approach in *Doing Family Photography*, in which family photographs are treated as "objects" as much as images (Rose, 2010). Family

photographic practices produce certain subject positions and domesticities through what gets done with such images (ibid.). It was through entering the interviewees' homes, and watching what the mothers were doing with their family snaps, as well as the way they were viewing them, that prompted Rose's understanding of family photographs. Chambers is similarly interested in the meanings of identity and space that family snaps can reveal, and some of her own work has involved the autobiographical exploration of her own family albums (Chambers, 2003: 113). That exploration, focusing on images from the 1950s, leads Chambers to see her own family's collection as a mythical construction of an idealised family from a predominantly female perspective, where public family pursuits are remembered in the privacy of the photograph album, pursuits which exclusively capture moments of happiness, thereby implying a range of absences and exclusions across the content (ibid.).

Equally attuned to the limitations of family snaps, Rose emphasises the importance of taking images seriously in terms of cultural meaning and power (Rose, 2003c: 2-3). Such meanings can be unpacked through a multi-sited understanding of photographs. It is argued that the meaning of an image is constructed at three sites. These sites include the *site of production* of the image, the *site of the physical image itself*, and the *site of the audience,* together offering a conceptual framing of the relationship between photographs, people and places (ibid.: 16). A critical approach to interpreting visual images must also entail a consideration of "your own way of looking at images", and this can be understood as one key dimension of a self-reflexive approach (ibid.: 15-16). This reflexive engagement with a photograph's multi-dimensionality and its practices, and Pink's particular way of practicing such reflexivity, forms the basis of the discussion below.

3.2 PARTICIPATORY GEOGRAPHIES

By constructing the US, Lithuanian and Indian interviewees as *participants,* rather than respondents, I was able to develop the research method in

negotiation with the participants. That negotiation revolved around the first participants' concern that my proposal that they should answer the research questions exclusively through new pictures suggested a certain immediacy; in other words only those people and places that the participant would encounter over the weeks of participation could be brought into the research process. The three specific sites of negotiation were: firstly, the participants' own vision of how the research questions could be productively approached with this limitation in mind; secondly, their own particular photographic practices; and finally, what could best reflect each individual's own understanding and sense of family and home as migrants in Ireland. Through this process, it quickly became apparent that for the majority, some scope would have to be afforded to drawing from family albums too. This represents the moment where the study became a truly participatory one as the participants were shaping their approaches as much I was (Kolb, 2008). In this way, any potential intellectual 'hierarchy' in the production of visual knowledges of family and home for this study was quickly disrupted, and this facilitated a diverse set of engagements with people, places, memories and emotions which contributed to the ultimate conceptualisation of migrant families as landscape that this thesis presents (Pain and Francis, 2003: 47).

While this approach may still "fall short of the 'ideal' or 'highest levels' of participation to which advocates might aspire", the participatory approach of this study does empower participants to represent family and home in ways appropriate to their own experiences of family, and ways of doing family photography, in spite of the fact that I, as researcher, prescribed the broad research questions (Kesby, 2007: 2815). Participants were asked to consider the questions "what does family mean to you?", and "where feels most like home to you"? The research questions are framed in a way that offers sufficient direction in terms of what photographs should be taken and presented, without restricting participants to think in essentialised terms. In other words, there is a particular 'politics of decision' embedded in the questions that are asked (Mitchell and Staeheli, 2008). More specifically, much of my own uncertainties around defining 'family' and 'home' are implied in the phrasing of the research questions. Even though the terms "family" and

"home" do suggest socio-spatial categories, the use of the words "mean" and "feel" is an attempt by me to encourage participants to reflect on their senses of home and family, thus offering the potential to open up these spatialities to alternative interpretations where appropriate. Ethically, I felt an imperative to leave these spatialities unbounded, allowing my participants to draw whatever lines of differentiation that *they* wished. This is because my own subjective understanding of family is based very much on people I formed affinities with over time. My immediate sense of family is my partner, and our life together is my family life now. As I discuss in Chapter 6, my own sense of home is much less clear than this, and in some ways I feel I do not have one right now, mainly because I live apart from my partner. My lived experience is therefore impressed in the manner in which I framed the questions, and the open nature of those questions facilitated a genuine participatory research approach as the discussion below will show.

Introducing a special issue on participatory geographies in *Environment and Planning A*, Pain and Kindon broadly describe participatory research as "a family of approaches wherein those conventionally 'researched' are directly involved in some or all stages of research, from problem definition through to dissemination and action" (Pain and Kindon, 2007: 2807). It is useful to locate the participatory approach of this study within this understanding, by way of outlining how 'participatory' the approach here is. The aim of the study is to reach an understanding, through an appropriate spatial imaginary, of migrants' senses and lived realities of family, and to develop a conceptual approach to family which is gleaned from this particular empirical base, but that may have utility for understanding other family contexts too. It is immediately clear that the study does not have a particular social action purpose. It has already been mentioned that two broad research questions, which were formulated by the researcher, were posed to participants. Therefore, to return to Pain and Kindon, participants were not involved in "problem definition" (ibid.). This can be understood in terms of what Kesby calls "invited spaces", which are those spaces of engagement into which "people are always 'invited' to participate on terms framed and defined by the sponsoring agency", but which nonetheless attempt to extend knowledge generation beyond the realm of academia to

include those whose social lives that knowledge ultimately refers. (Kesby, 2007: 2821). Therefore, the nature of participation for this particular study can be understood as the affordance to participants of the creative freedom to work through open questions around a particular phenomenon, in their own spaces and free from the researcher, in ways that resonate with their own experiences of that phenomenon, and where the eventual research engagement with the researcher facilitates the participant in projecting his/her 'voice' on the issue. In this way participation is conceptualised here as being *processual, performative* and *creative*.

"Creative freedom", in the context it is placed in above, pertains to the nature of photography and images that participants could bring to the final research conversation. This particular tool was chosen for the scope it would offer participants to bring people and places, both distant and proximate, to the research encounter. Also, given the affective nature of family photographs, or as Rose puts it, the fact that they are "emotionally resonant objects"; this method allowed me to access the emotional textures of the participants' family landscapes through observing their interactions with their images during the interview phase (Rose, 2004: 549). This approach resonates with the work of Tolia-Kelly, who has used participatory art in a project with migrant women in London, arguing that "visual vocabularies recorded through a participatory process can broaden the terms of engagement and also act as a communicative and educative tool for both the researcher and participants" (Tolia-Kelly, 2007: 135). The photographs also added to the quality of communication between the participants and me, as we strove to establish what family and home means to each. In this way, the landscapes described throughout this thesis are shaped from the manner in which those whose landscapes I am writing about themselves pictured their worlds.

3.3 PICTURING LANDSCAPES

More than being a research method, the family photography can be understand as being constituted by, and constitutive of the family landscapes

that they speak about. As Chapter 2 describes, the landscape imaginary here is understood as a meaningful expression of our engagement with the world, as well as a way of knowing about that encounter. Cultural geographers understand landscapes as inherently visual in a number of ways, from Marxist accounts of landscapes as "veil", to structuralist understandings of landscape as "text", and feminist geographers' representation of landscape as "gaze" (Wylie, 2007). I argue that landscape is also something lived in, as well as being the visual articulation of that living through a series of interwoven 'scapes'. These 'scapes' are both real and imaginative and are meaningful through the events that relate individuals to each other and to places in very specific ways. Those events articulate distinct sets of cultural and social practices that produce shared outcomes and these practices have epistemological status in the way that they allow us to grasp the textures of the landscapes they produce. Family practices are multifarious, and this study participates in one particular practice by way of learning how families are performed – family photography.

Doing family snaps involves capturing performances of family, and in doing so, becoming part of those performances, according to Rose (Rose, 2003b; Rose, 2010). She also shows that "practices of looking" are about the "practicing of places" in the way that photography undertaken in particular places imbues those places with meaning for the photographer (Rose, 2010: 22). In this way, photographs, those who take them, and places become intimately connected. The vast array of images collected for this study, some of which are reproduced on the pages of this thesis, capture these connections in a multiplicity of ways. With respect to the philosophical approach of this research, a categorisation of images seems unproductive as the stories attached to each are inherently diverse, evoking a range of emotions. What is needed therefore to garner these material objects as ways of knowing about family and home is not a typology, but something that can draw out a variety of textures of family landscapes through each image. That something is an attention to the *practices* that each image both articulates and becomes part of. The photographs are understood as sets of practices, and in this way, are a part of landscape as much as depictions of it.

The practices of photography – imagining, remembering, creating, viewing, representing, sharing, placing – constellate in different ways to form particular events. In term of family photography, the fairly routine and familiar sets of practices involved in doing holiday snaps for instance – such as creating, placing, remembering, sharing to name a few – are performed as a particular type of event, holiday photography (Rose, 2010). This is an event because the constituent practices collide in time and space in a particular moment to produce a shared outcome. The senses of belonging and identification that inform the capture decision, the photography process itself, and the landscape they become a part of are all drawn together through the photographer's self-positioning in the world, and the manner in which s/he is positioned – what Tolia-Kelly terms "placing" (Tolia-Kelly, 2004a: 285). That "placing" of the photographer frames the particular event and shapes how it folds into landscape. In terms of the landscapes I introduced in Chapter 2 for instance, holiday snaps can be part of the performance of migrant *travelscapes* through the photographer's immersion in a particular setting at a particular time.

In order to understand the photographing of people and places as part of particular family photo events, it is important to unpack the process of photography, or, borrowing from Rose, to map the photographic "sites" (Rose, 2003c). Through 'mapping the sites' of an image, the practices involved in the production and consumption of a photograph, as well as those practices the composition captures and is itself a part of, are brought into view. Practically, this is achieved using an analytical framework that I developed in order to excavate each of the images' sites for the practices that brought them into being. This provides a critical approach to the visual material, while ensuring that the stories of the images are worked through the family landscapes they are a part of, rather than being understood as isolated accounts of isolated moments. While each photograph is understood to tell a story of family and home, there is a specificity to individual captures. In this way, the framework that I use represents a tangible way in which visual participatory approaches can be effectively garnered in the production of "situated knowledges" (Haraway, 1991: 188).

3.4 *PICTURING EVENTS (PE)*: UNDERSTANDING FAMILY PHOTOGRAPHS IN PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH

Picturing Events (PE) is a framework for thinking through the various production, consumption and representational processes that constitute a photograph. Being part of most family landscapes, the processes involved in family photography (be it private photography or participatory photography for research on family) can be understood as a cluster of *events*. This helps to locate family photography within the landscape imaginary being developed here by showing precisely how photographs are part of performances of family in place. Consistent with that landscape imaginary, the particular practices of photography are understood to be realised through the *Picturing Events* that the remainder of this chapter delineates. By approaching the photographs through the multiple events that frame their stories, it is possible to excavate the "sites" of each image for clues about what precisely they can reveal about the lived realities and imaginations of family and home (Rose, 2003c). This serves to open each photograph to an array of possible meanings, rather than to contain the narratives within pre-conceived thematic classifications. This approach emerged organically from my encounter with the participants because, through their narrations of their photographs, it was clear that each had a story more meaningful than could be elucidated from the composition on its own. PE provides a mechanism to bring these wider stories and evocations into the understandings of the images being articulated throughout this thesis.

The cluster of *picturing events* understood here pays respect to a number of the theoretical positions discussed thus far, but will draw most heavily from Gillian Rose in five specific ways. Firstly, the photograph will be considered as an object as much as an image, and the "material affordances" of that image, that is those aspects of the physicality of the photograph that dictate what can and cannot be done with it, will be considered in conjunction with attending to what is done with the image (Rose, 2010: 18). Secondly, the various picturing events will draw together the three sites of a photograph that Rose suggests must be addressed – the production, the image, and the audience (ibid., 2003: 16). Thirdly, Rose's self-reflection on how she looked at

participants' photos in her most recent study, and on how her perception of what was being done with them changed as that research encounter progressed, influences the approach here (ibid., 2010). Fourthly, the affective nature of images, as mentioned in the previous section, will be attended to with particular reference to the manner in which they "articulate absence", by way of understanding how spatial distance, and indeed death can inflect how family is both understood and performed (ibid., 46). Finally, understanding the circulation of family photographs between family members across space can be framed in terms of Rose's adaptation of the idea of a "visual economy", and this will be elaborated on below (ibid., 61).

PE is an inherently reflexive way of looking at photographs as it forces attention not only to the positionality of the photographer, but of the audience as well, and in this instance, to my own multiple positionalities, framed by being a researcher, male, Irish, non-migrant and so on. Understanding these positions sharpens the analytical focus and presents a strong case in favour of using participatory photography to critically understand social and cultural forms, such as family. The picturing events being proposed are: *the participant's ideological framing of the image, the participant's capture decisions, the participant's narration of the images, the researcher's consumption of the image, narration and photographic practices*, and *the researcher's own ideological framing of the image*. PE draws some inspiration from Chalfen's work on family photographs. While Chalfen's communication events deconstruct the physical production of the photograph, much of these technical production events are conflated into the "participant's capture" event in this chapter's framework with the greater emphasis being placed on the understanding of image consumption and particular ideologies (Chalfen, 2001: 215). Figure 3.1 depicts how PE is being conceived. This diagram is for demonstrative purposes, and for reasons of clarity, and its design is not intended to represent a linearity to the process:
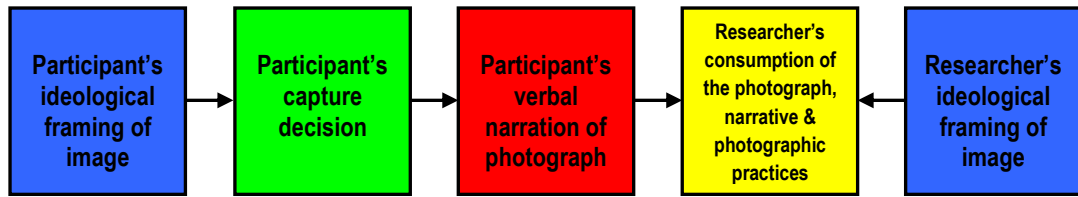
Fig. 3.1: *Picturing Events* (PE)

Each of these events comes into being through a range of practices, however, I emphasise two particular practices that appear specific to how migrants perform family and home, throughout the discussion. Firstly, *remembering* is an important way for those who move to remain connected with spatially and temporally distant people and places. Photographing people, storing those captures and occasionally re-visiting the images is one way in which migrants sustain an emotional connection with those people who are important in their lives. Photographing places involved capturing different meanings of home given this study's thematic focus, with three specific types of home being emphasised: home as place of origin, home as Ireland, and home as being away pervaded the images and the narratives. In both cases, absence emerged as a prominent theme to many images. Rose, who encountered this in her own work, argues that "family photos articulate absence, emptiness and loss as well as togetherness" (Rose, 2003b: 7). In this way, remembering becomes part of a placed performance of family, and photography makes that remembering possible. However, entangled with these memories is the practice of *imagining*. Senses of place, in particular, were often represented by participants as idyllic landscapes in their images. Performing belonging where no prior connection exists involves the "work of the imagination" in the construction of attachment to remote places, or invented places (Appadurai, 1996: 3, italics original). Photography is a key part of imagining because it captures representations of how such places are constructed in the mind, where lived memory of that place is either a fleeting one, or indeed non-existent. The practices of imagining and remembering are connected to the more tangible photographic practices of capturing, sharing and displaying, and these fold into picturing events. I now turn to these events

by way of mapping how people and places were pictured by the US, Lithuanian and Indian participants of this study.

Fig. 3.2: "just as representation" (Aiste, Lithuanian)

3.4.1 Participant's ideological framing of the image

Understanding a family photograph's contribution to research must begin with an appreciation of the photographer's sense of family. This exploration can be understood as a dimension of what Rose calls the "site of production" of the photograph (Rose, 2003c: 16). This event can also be understood as preceding Chalfen's sequence of communication events (Chalfen, 2001). In order to demonstrate how PE can often extract a wider story about family from an individual image, I will move through the five events as they relate to picturing family with reference to one image, figure 3.2 captured by Aiste from Lithuania, while I will draw from a series of other photographs to show how place is pictured. Given that the main aim of this study is to understand how migrating to Ireland challenges migrants' own senses, and lived experience of family, how should figure 3.2 be understood in the context of the question "what does family mean to you?" This raises questions around the

dimensionality of the photograph, that is, is it appropriate to accept the image as being two-dimensional, or as Thomas suggests, does the audience need to interrogate the photograph "for meaning that is not so flat?" (Thomas, 2009: 249). Aiste's narration of this image, as well as observations on what is done with the image, and the emotions it conjures up, help to uncover how Aiste understands family.

An effective means of ensuring that the research question is approached in a participatory manner is to reach understandings of the photograph that are in negotiation with the photographer. In practical terms, this is achieved by affording Aiste the time to tell the story of her image, and in doing so, insights into her meaning of 'family' begin to emerge. By giving Aiste scope to talk about her photographs she was able to convey her sense of family through one event – Christmas. For Aiste "family is the people who I would…go to for Christmas Eve, for dinner, and these are very very close, relatives, but very close, which I would call family" (Aiste, Lithuanian). Here, Aiste's family landscape is given meaning through a particular event that emphasises the togetherness of her kin group and her partner. As our conversation progressed it became clear that Aiste's meaning of 'family' beyond this particular occasion similarly revolves around "bloodline" and her boyfriend. In other words, Aiste's sense of family is in line with a 'western' nuclear formation, which is defined by Goode as a "*theoretical* construction" of a conjugal family norm largely originating through pre-marital freedom and sexual attraction, which functions around loving relationships, and is influenced over time by "equalitarianism", all of which is unequal across space (Goode, 1970: 7, emphasis original). Understanding Aiste's framing of the research question within this particular meaning of family lends to an appreciation of how this image responds to that question.

Thinking about the manner in which migrants picture place, Figure 3.3 is illuminating for the way in which Kristina relates with her country of origin, Lithuania. From my conversation with Kristina, it is clear that her sense of home is placed here, invoking a home-as-nation imaginary (Blunt and Dowling, 2006: 140). This is articulated by Kristina through her *remembering*

Fig. 3.3: "this is Lithuania. Nice places, lakes…what we're missing" (Kristina, Lithuanian)

of home in Lithuania. This is also connected to how she *imagines* that place – as a physical landscape. Here, Rose's insistence that the multiple "sites" of an image need to be "taken seriously" is instructive because in order to "take" figure 3.3 "seriously", it is essential to understand Kristina's own meaning of home (Rose, 2003c: 15-16). This is achieved by facilitating the participants' own framing of their images, without 'artificially' drawing out other parts of its story, given that my framing of the research questions had already 'fixed' meanings on to these images in some way. The composition in figure 3.3, therefore, is about 'home', its physicality, Kristina's absence from that home, and how she imagines it. It is a very particular memory of Lithuania because it not so much captures a particular place there, but an essence – at least what Kristina feels is an essence – of something much more meaningful. It was clear from my observation of Kristina's relationship with this image (which she presented in digital form) that it was an affective object for her (Rose, 2004: 549). It conjured memories of what "we're missing", in reference to her partner and their children (Kristina, Lithuanian). The

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resonance of this composition with 'home as Lithuania' shows how senses of distant places are pictured through practices of remembering and imagining, practices, in this case, that folds into what I will describe in later chapters as *memoryscape* and *homescape*.

3.4.2 Participant's capture decision

The second picturing event which needs to be understood is the photographer/participant's capture decision. It is clear that it was from a specific prompt (the research question) for a specific purpose (the research project) that the object in Aiste's image (fig. 3.2) was captured. Aiste's narration revealed that the object in the image was a Christmas gift to Aiste from her father. It is a photograph of an image that synthesises different family photographs. This is a montage of Aiste herself, her brother, and her father photographed at the same age. Therefore Aiste wanted to represent her understanding of family as "bloodline" in an overt manner. In addition to this, Aiste also indicated her desire "to take [a] picture of old family album" to emphasise the temporality of family (Aiste, Lithuanian). This is intended to show that families evolve with movement and death, and that the family album captures moments in time. This use of montage can also be read as a creative way of showing togetherness, as Rose has argued in her work (Rose, 2004: 556). Therefore, Aiste wanted to capture family history, togetherness and absence in this composition. This lends to an articulation of Aiste's sense of family by bringing the less tangible to the research conversation in a creative way, further emphasising her deepening embeddedness in a new locality – Dublin. Tolia-Kelly's research with migrant women using participatory art was similarly enriched by her participants' creative input, showing how "[m]aking voices and perspectives tangible in a visual form adds scope to unexpected or new grammars…and vocabularies that are sometimes inexpressible in other contexts" (Tolia-Kelly, 2007: 133).

This photograph is also a particularly good example of an instance where my own practice as researcher inflected a participant's capture decision. This forms part of figure 3.2's story too, and my method for recording instances

where I felt my direction to participants at the beginning of their involvement in the project could be influential on the choices they made was to keep a reflexive diary similar to what Pink has suggested in her work (Pink, 2005: 57). This is a simple *Word* document in which an entry is made after each research conversation with a participant. Here, reflections on the conduct of the encounter are briefly noted, and it became routine to regularly review this record during the field research phase of the study where there were notes pointing to issues of practice, particularly around the practicalities of the research, and again during the analysis and writing phase where I may have recorded my own participation across the various "sites" of certain images (Rose, 2003c). In the case of figure 3.2, Aiste had expressed concerns around photographing geographically distant family members in the early stage of her participation. I suggested that there was scope in the project to capture objects that hold meaning, as well as people, and Aiste responded instantly to this with an idea of what she could capture. The outcome was figure 3.2.   Explaining this picturing event is important because, as Pink points out, researchers need to "articulate the experiences and contexts" through which their data was produced (Pink, 2005: 97). Here it is clear that I am as much a participant as an observer and by systematically recording moments such as this in a reflexive diary the precise nature of that participation becomes clearer, and my influence on capture decisions, where it exists, can be brought into the photograph's story.

Understanding why places are pictured in particular ways reveals much about the photographer's relationship with place. Figure 3.4 is about Linas' relationship with two places – Lithuania and Ireland. Here an Irish café bar in Vilnius forms the subject of the image, and when I asked Linas why he took this photograph he explained that it was because he began to see this place in a new way on a recent trip back to Vilnius. Elaborating on this, he told me: "your eye would pick up these things and you want to go inside and you want to have a pint or whatever, and I say 'what am I doing? I am home so just leave it!'" (Linas, Lithuanian). Here, Linas' growing attachment to Dublin, an embeddedness that is becoming more stable, and consequently, more fixed is visualised. This fixity, rather ironically, was captured on a trip to Vilnius,

Fig. 3.4: "that's back home in Vilnius and when I'm back home in Vilnius there are certain places that remind me of home here" (Linas, Lithuanian)

emphasising the tension between mobility and fixity that marks many migrants' lived realities of space. This image also represents a stark visualisation of what Vertovec describes as "multi-locality", a term describing multiple embeddedness in contexts across space, emphasising Linas' relationship with his current 'home', Dublin, through his desire to 'do' a Dublin thing – to take a pint of Guinness (Vertovec, 1999: 450). Here, that place is associated with a particular practice which marks Linas' experience of it out from his experience of Vilnius. *The Dubliner Restoranas* evoked a memory of Linas' current location even though he was only away from it for a brief trip to Lithuania. Remembering, in this instance, is not only a practice around the finished composition as it was for Kristina above, but a practice that is also part of the "site of production" of this photograph (Rose, 2003c: 16). Therefore, performances of memory in photography are often weaved through an image's story and in this instance, the decision to capture this particular site is itself about remembering a distant place.

3.4.3 The participant's verbal narration of the photograph

The verbal narration of the photograph, a process already referred to, is the event that binds the other participatory production events in this framework together. As has been shown, with the participatory photo interview method the 'conversation' stage is open and informal, and always led by the participant. This allows the participant frame his/her photographs around particular narratives in a descriptive and reflective way. During this "phase of decoding", Kolb suggests "respondents introduce the researcher to their world through their photos" (Kolb, 2008: 11). Here, the ways in which particular family landscapes are experienced can begin to reveal themselves through a multi-sensory exchange between participant, researcher and the photographs. Unpacking the previous events drew attention to the ways in which the conversation unearths the participant's understanding of family and home, as well as the reasons for taking a particular photograph. This narration also places the "site of the image itself", to draw from Rose's approach, into focus (Rose, 2003c).

It is instructive to draw on Rose's contention that family photographs articulate both presence and absence (Rose, 2010: 46-47). This is particularly pertinent in relation to migrants, but other types of separation such as divorce and death also constitute "spatial absence", and these are part of the doing of family snaps too (ibid.). This resonates strongly with Aiste's story of figure 3.2, but in this case the person that is excluded from the photograph constitutes a type of 'double absence' which does not sit well with Aiste. As her parents are divorced, Aiste was sad to realise that her mother was missing from this image as she felt it 'made sense' for her to be there, from her own perspective (Aiste, Lithuanian). Of course, Aiste now lives in Ireland so her mother, who still lives in Lithuania, is spatially absent too.

Remember, this object was a gift from Aiste's father, so from his position, the omission of her mother, given their separation, is hardly surprising. This is an interesting aspect to the familial circulation of images, or, drawing on the work of Poole, what Rose sees as the "visual economy" (Rose,

2010: 61). Being understood as a 'gift', this image is part of a visual economy where the indexicality of those it depicts engenders affect through memory and "spatial stretching" (ibid.: 68; 2003b: 12). The intended affective nature of that particular image was clearly the memorialisation of familial togetherness, yet it also reminds Aiste of her parents' separation, an affect which was hardly intended. It is clear that notions of who should be remembered are subjective, and that the gifting of 'memory' images often exposes divergences between family members, a point that shows exactly why the individual is the epistemological focus of this study. This part of Aiste's story of the photograph, which Aiste uses to bring a different image entirely into the research conversation, excavates deep into the site of that image's content to extract particular affects and meanings which could not be gleaned from a more 'remote' audiencing of the image. The complex interplay of presence, absence and memory in the lived reality of one particular migrant comes closer into view. The narration of the photograph is therefore crucial for that photograph's contribution to the research process.

Affording participants the space to tell the stories of their photographs is especially important when places are pictured as imaginings of attachment. Imaginative constructions of place required a verbal as well as a visual articulation and several participants seemed to speak more fluidly about their pictures of places than they did about their pictures of family, especially in instances where the family images were predominantly of people. In these cases I got a sense that many participants felt that the meaning of their photographs was rather obvious. Rosie, for instance, spoke at length when describing her feeling of belonging around Kells Bay in south-west Ireland (figure 3.5 below) as follows:

> I felt there that…I would have actually moved there in a heartbeat. I felt at one with God. I never felt that way about any other place in my life…am I just…and that picture doesn't even do it justice, it's just the most peaceful place on earth, am I've never seen anything like it (Rosie, US citizen).

Fig. 3.5: "this is the place in Ireland that struck me" (Rosie, US citizen)

Rosie feels that "that picture doesn't even do it justice", a sentiment which is echoed in Nye's work on photographic constructions of the Grand Canyon where he suggests from his analysis of advertising images of the site that the photographic image of a place like this is a mere "trace" of it, and is "always inadequate to the immensity and complexity of the scene" (Nye, 2003: 85). Figure 3.5 was brought to the research conversation as a means of showing a meaning of place that forms part of Rosie's story of home, and the narration of this image is Rosie's way of negotiating the 'inadequacy' of the still image. Rosie took this photograph while on a trip there, and as Rose has argued about many of the photographs in her work, there is nothing extraordinary about the composition itself – it is like any other landscape image that most of us capture and store in our collections (Rose, 2010).   However, by framing this image as part of the practice of *imagining* place, its contribution to the research dialogue becomes significant in the way that it expresses how a particular sense of belonging is performed.   The practices of visiting, photographing and imagining collide as a sensory event in which strong feelings of attachment emerge, and that layers alongside Rosie's other senses

of home – as house, as place where family are, as the old neighbourhood in Arizona – to texture that particular *homescape*.

Photographs can also be used in a very creative way to show how one imagines their relationship with a particular type of place. Antanas narrates figure 3.6 as a commentary on his own relationship with the city. This image captures the docklands area of Dublin, and in his narration, Antanas draws attention to the horizontal lines crossing the scene, these being part of the bridge that the composition depicts. It turns out that these are central to the meaning Antanas attributes to this image. Of course, he views his own photo from a particular position – as its photographer, and as an architect. This position fashions a particular "gaze" on the city, and Antanas' "way of seeing" the cityscape is shaped by that position (Wylie, 2007: 82). That "gaze" is a

Fig. 3.6: "you can see through [the lines], but you're kind of keeping a distance [from the city]" (Antanas, Lithuanian)

distant one for Antanas, as he employs the opening and drawing of curtains as a metaphor to describe how he controls his view on the city. As he puts it, "I am always looking through lines if you like…that you can look but through

something – you can see through, but you're kind of keeping a distance" (Antanas, Lithuanian). Through this particular photograph, Antanas is able to demonstrate an imagined vantage point on the city in which he now lives, and while he does not actually live or work near this particular part of Dublin, it nonetheless becomes part of his imagination of the city, and an articulation of his self-distancing from that place. This picturing event – Antanas' verbal narration of figure 3.6 – expresses a much deeper meaning to the image than the aesthetics of the cityscape, demonstrating precisely why unpacking that event is crucial to the visual research of people and places.

3.4.4 The researcher's consumption of the photograph, narrative and the participant's photographic practices

This picturing event involves my engagement with the participants' photographs, stories, and the emotional resonances that they engendered during our conversations, as well as extending beyond that encounter to my treatment of the images thereafter. Once again, this draws from Rose who premises her own approach to family photographs on the understanding that:

> Different things are done with photographs, in different places, and it is not until family photographs are thought of as assemblages of *both* a certain kind of object *and* a certain kind of practice that their importance can be fully appreciated (Rose, 2010: 12).

This notion of the image as an "assemblage" suggests a certain multi-dimensionality to the image which visual researchers needs to be attuned to. In this instance, Aiste's image in figure 3.2 was printed on photograph paper, so she was physically able to handle it as she told its story. This "material affordance" means that because she can physically touch the image, Aiste was able to show the meaningfulness of the image more (ibid.: 18). This chapter is suggesting that the engaged researcher needs to be able to pick up on this, as this interaction with the image is part of its story too. Secondly, Aiste indicated that the original object that the image captures hangs on the wall of her apartment in Dublin. In this way the image's referents, as well as

the absence of Aiste's mother, are clearly visible in Aiste's domestic space, and by bringing those far away near, the image constitutes what Rose terms a sort of "spatial stretching" out beyond the home (Rose, 2003b: 12). Therefore, integral to understanding this photograph is an understanding of a composition which was not brought directly into the research encounter, but gaining presence through participatory photography.

Beyond unpacking the research conversation itself, this participatory event stretches in time as my own consumption of the image, as the researcher in this instance, is an ongoing process. The inclusion of figure 3.2 in this chapter exemplifies one of the ways in which that image is being constantly revisited through the lifetime of this study. In terms of method, the analytical practice applied to all photographs is to always review them in conjunction with the associated narrative in the interview transcript. Each photograph is numbered, and the corresponding numbers are flagged on the actual transcripts for convenient cross-referencing. This conditions my viewing of the images, as it forces attention to the story of the photograph as well to the image itself. As the consumption of the images is ongoing, a final 'truth' of a photograph is neither achievable, nor desirable. As Thomas puts it – "[t]he photograph is a moment in time and space, but that space is unbounded, multidimensional, and even contradictorily experienced and produced" (Thomas, 2009: 251).

To an audience removed from the research context, figure 3.7 simply depicts an urban landscape typical of a European city, and is possibly a holiday photograph. Such an assumption, if it were made, would arise precisely because it looks like your own holiday snaps (Rose, 2010). Given my participation in the research moment, a particular story has been articulated to me which frames that image. In disseminating this image, I am re-framing it, not by altering the photographer's meaning, but by suggesting a way of seeing this photograph and its narrative as a picture of a particular

Fig. 3.7: "This is more home, a city (Prague)" (Alison, US citizen)

place. Through understanding this photograph of Prague as a construction of a home place through *remembering*, I am projecting a very specific meaning to the reader that articulates my consumption of the image and associated narrative. However, this understanding of the image is premised on Alison's (the photographer) own framing of the image in the first place. For Alison, senses of belonging in places often emerge in locations where she spent only a short time, mainly places she visited on holidays. Here, home is articulated as being 'away' in a particular setting where the very brevity of the relationship with the place conjured a romantic notion of belonging to that place, triggered in part by her memory of growing up in various hotel penthouses in US cities, as a result of her father's career as a hotel manager. Through her memories of growing up, and the role of those memories in her decision to picture this particular place while on holiday there, a remembering event is created that articulates Alison's sense of belonging to place through the holiday album. In this sense, Alison's memory of feeling at home in Prague is part of her fractured "sense of place now", opening "continuous dialogue between multiple

space times" fashioned by her 'nomadic' attitude to home, an attitude that pervades her story of home as being unfixed, and multi-located (Tolia-Kelly, 2004a: 284). Those "space times" are brought into dialogue by the very presence of photographs, such as figure 3.7, in Alison's domestic space – a process Rose refers to as "spatial stretching" (Rose, 2003b: 12). Therefore, understanding figure 3.7 as the product of a remembering event which connects disparate "space times" illuminates Alison's wider sense of place as it was articulated to me, however, that framing remains a product of my consumption of the photograph and the story, and this cannot be ignored for an honest representation of the participants' photographs in this study (Tolia-Kelly, 2004a: 284).

3.4.5 Researcher's ideological framing of the image

My framing of the research questions and my consumption of the resultant photographs, associated narratives and observations of photographic practice are all influenced by my own cultural ideologies, and this is the final picturing event that shapes the role of photographs in research. As shown throughout this discussion, my own self-reflexivity informs how I both see and represent the narrated images throughout the study, and such self-reflection must attend to personal ideologies around family and home as well as to my own practices as a researcher. Again, maintaining a reflexive diary proved quite useful in locating my own position on ideas of family and home. Through this exercise, it gradually became clearer that the approach taken for this study was based on the fluid understanding of family, and the rather inconclusive sense of home which I spoke about above. This manifested itself in the deliberate open framing of the research questions, and in the manner in which I elaborated on those questions with the participants during our first meeting. This, I suggest, is not problematic because by writing about it, that fluid approach can be placed in the context of my own positionality. This finds resonance with Rose's dissemination of her research encounter with mothers in England in *Doing Family Photography,* which reads, in part, as a reflection on her own shifting understanding of what family photography is. As she sat with the women, Rose admits – "I started to find it useful to treat family snaps less as meaningful

images, and more as objects embedded in practice that produces various effects" (Rose, 2010: 17). By moving beyond her original preconceptions, Rose was able to treat the images in new ways, and this realisation that the photographs are also objects with which certain things are done guides the approach in that book. This reflexive practice does make a difference, and it is for similar reasons that reflexivity is systematically practiced for this study too.

The reflexive diary includes reflections on gender, age, sexuality, family relationships, nationality, position in the research field, and physical location. Writing about these was a means of figuring out how precisely my treatment of the photographs of family and home was inflected by these various identity markers. In many ways, my own lived experience of family since leaving home has moved increasingly away from the nuclear formation, and as mentioned above, I understand family, as it relates to my life now, as being constituted through choice. Similarly, at this moment in time, home for me is something from the past, and a new type of home is yet to be achieved. In other words, I feel a sense of 'limbo' right now. Apart from these subjective feelings, which are partly fashioned by life stage and sexuality, I considered if my experience of an 'Irish family' growing up, and witnessing a wider shift in that model of family through events such as the legalisation of divorce in 1997 and the provision of civil partnerships in 2010, both occurring in my life time, shaped my viewing of the photographs through a keen attention to digressions from nuclear articulations of family and bounded senses of home. In many ways, I think my greater sense that family formations are evolving informed my initial reception of many of the stories. However, through privately writing about these anxieties, I forced my own critical attention to my positionality, and this partly shaped the approach to the participants' stories that I eventually adopted for the study, that is, a practice-based epistemology through the lens of landscape. This has allowed me to appreciate the many articulations of family and home that I encountered, without privileging more 'spectacular' stories. However, this also informed my original decisions to avoid categorising families, and as this thesis shows, the manner in which the participants expressed meanings of family and home, as well as my theoretical approach to their stories, negates the usefulness of a more essentialist approach.

This framework offers one way to make sense of the epistemological significance of photographs in understanding families and family places. The majority of the stories of family addressed the relationship between people and place, and the question of the meaning of family drew out as much of this current of the conversations as did the question of home. In many ways, this emphasises the specificity of a transnational way of living and the implications of this for family life; that is the constant negotiation of emplacement and "multi-locality" with the mobile lifestyles that some migrants live (Vertovec, 1999: 450). Place is an important lens through which transnational ways of living can be understood as transnationalism is inherently about simultaneous embeddedness in particular locales across international borders (Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007). Vertovec suggests that one way to conceptualise transnationalism is in terms of a "(re)construction of 'place'", and the discussion thus far has shown some of the ways that a selection of the transnational migrant participants in this study endeavoured to do just that (ibid.: 455). Furthermore, by connecting this study with social practices, in this instance the practices around family photography, the potential for it to resonate with the lives of those it seeks to capture is enhanced. Of course, the outcome of that engagement is always framed by certain ideologies, and in this instance it is those of the photographers and the researcher. This is why the sequence of picturing events employed here as an analytical framework begins and ends with these positions. That is a key strength of this approach, and that approach is all the more crucial given the deeply personal nature of the subject matter.

3.5 THE CHALLENGES AND PROMISES OF FAMILY PHOTOGRAPHY IN PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH

In the final section of this chapter some of the challenges and promises of engaging family photography in social science research hinted at so far will be discussed in a more explicit manner, and some additional challenges and promises will also be introduced. This discussion relates particularly to research informed by poststructural, non-representational and

phenomenological philosophies as these ways of knowing are interested in the particularities of lived experience, and this study's epistemological focus on the specific and the situated mobilises photographic practices in a way that complements this particular epistemology. Such critical reflection on the limitations and promises of visual knowledge is important here because, as Haraway argues, "it is precisely in the politics and epistemology of partial perspectives that the possibility of sustained, rational, objective enquiry rests" (Haraway, 1991: 191).

Firstly, and most obviously, the potential imposition of unintended meanings on participant generated photographs is a challenge hinted at throughout the discussion, and one to be mindful of with any photographic method. There are two aspects to this particular challenge. Firstly, there is the temptation to see the family photographs of others as laden with the same meanings and practices that those who are audiencing the photographs hold. This is particularly important because, as Rose admits, family photographs are a limited form of photography with a certain "sameness" which marks them out as family snaps, and this identification with the photographs of others may prompt the audience to see them as they see their own (Rose, 2010: 23). Secondly, as with any piece of photography, there may be a tendency to read certain captures as abstract representations of something else, where the photographer did not have that "something else" in mind. The argument here is that reaping the meanings of the photographer is paramount because harnessing visual data in research is primarily about understanding the positionality and lived experiences of others. The *Picturing Events* framework for making sense of participatory images proposed here is enveloped by the ideological positions of both photographer (research participant) and researcher (participant and audience), and this framing brings the positionality of others into view. This inherently reflexive and meaning-orientated framework, therefore, holds a significant promise for the contribution of family photography in poststructuralist, non-representational, and phenomenological works.

Within that promise, the promise of understanding multiple positionalities, lies a second challenge – how are the similarities and differences in the positions of the researcher and the participant to be confronted? With particular reference to family photographs, attention to "ethical looking" is instructive here (ibid.: 112). Rose draws attention to this in her work, and emphasises a sort of 'de-cluttering' of one's own gaze on an image by constructing a more "modest witness" (ibid.). This, Rose argues, can lead to a more open-minded viewing of others' images, and even though "[j]udgements may be reached through this reflexive work...they remain open to further exploration and evaluation" (ibid.: 114). This is imperative because, as Haraway posits, our own eyes are "active perceptual systems" that constitute "specific *ways* of seeing" (Haraway, 1991: 190, emphasis original). Rose's "ethics of looking" can, therefore, facilitate an understanding of one's own relation to another, and the self-reflexivity exercised above shows how that awareness can release the understandings of the experiences of others from the heavy shackles of a situated gaze (Rose, 2010: 112). This does not mean that an all-knowing, all-seeing gaze can be constructed, as this can never really be achieved; rather a more 'innocent' way of looking can see what an ideologically laden viewing may miss. This is achievable through constantly reflecting on one's own position, and the reflexive diary employed for this study has facilitated a signalling of my own understanding of family and home and the manner in which that feeds into this research process. Here similarities and differences become less important as it is the particularity of each story that actually lends to a more detailed understanding of *families* and *homes* – where the plural is all important. Therefore, self-reflexivity and understanding the positions of others is inherent to a non-representational approach, and a reflexive mobilisation of visual materials in research can complement that approach rather well.

Family photographs, as previously noted, are limited in content and tend to capture happiness over and above any other emotion (ibid.). This presents two challenges to the use of this form of photography in research informed by poststructuralism. Firstly, could this emotional bias skew the articulation of the multiple textures of family as a lived reality? This chapter has argued that

Fig. 3.8: "this is a little different version of a family" (Jerry, US citizen)

participatory photographs as images must be understood in relation to the stories of family and belonging they conjure, as well as the emotional treatment of the physical image as a particular object. *Picturing Events*, as an analytical framework, constructs the narration of the images as a particular event in participatory photography, and this often unlocks hidden or more abstract meanings of particular images, meanings which very often digress from the apparently 'happy' picture that the photograph immediately depicts. Figure 3.8 illustrates this quite effectively. While on first viewing, this photograph depicts a mother feeding her infant child in the kitchen, a rather ordinary familial event, Jerry, the research participant and photographer, reveals that he included the photograph to show "a little different version of ...family" (Jerry, US citizen). The narration of the image afforded Jerry the opportunity to highlight the fact that "there's no man in the picture", and the significance of this (ibid.). This is significant, because his sister, whom the photograph depicts, conceived through artificial insemination, or as Jerry

himself phrased it – "did it all on her own" (ibid.). This image therefore tells a more challenging story than the scene it captures reveals in its own right. Also, by constructing that story as "different", it further highlighted Jerry's own understanding of family in terms of a nucleation of related kin, hence building on what is understood of the participants' own sense of what family is through his sister's story. In addition, the placing of this familial moment in the kitchen reveals something of Jerry's placing of this family – in the domestic realm.

A second, and related, challenge arising from the 'sameness' of many family photographs, for this study, has been to ensure that the numerous photographs of families at Christmas, or at Indian marriage ceremonies for instance, do not essentialise these events' placing at the core of all families. The purpose of most family albums after all, as Chambers notes, is to "record" and "celebrate" key family events (Chambers, 2003: 109). Events, as the epistemological contours through which family landscapes are being understood here, are being defined in a much broader way, to encapsulate the mundane and the fleeting, as well as the occasional and the spectacular. Methodologically, understanding the position from which a photograph is taken, its story or stories, and the positions from which it will be audienced, as this chapter is proposing, moves the gazing eye beyond the occasional to the more everyday doing of families, through the narrative. A useful way to understand the potential of this type of analytical framework is by adapting O'Neill's idea of "non-identitarian thinking" (O'Neill, 2010: 228). Such thinking is achieved by combining image with narrative as a way of penetrating the lifeworlds of participants to a degree that exposes "identity thinking", a process where unlike things are homogenized as being alike (ibid.: 212). This in turn facilitates an empirically supported rejection of the essentialisation of group identities. This is a useful way to destabilise categories such as 'family', 'migrant' or a national identity, and hints at yet another promise of such an approach to identity research more broadly.

Similar concerns emerge around the photographs of homes and of places. Many of the images captured idyllic scenes. The narration event, which accompanied the family album snaps as well as the participatory

photographs, is equally important here as the story of figure 3.3 exemplifies. While Kristina's visually stimulating skyscape viewed on its own may suggest that the aesthetic qualities of the place captured were at the centre of that story, the discussion above shows that sadness is a more immediate meaning for the photographer as the photograph becomes part of the practice of remembering what she and her family are "missing" (Kristina, Lithuanian). In this way, photographs can tap into particular practices that migrants perform in ways that other methods may not so directly glean. This is possible because, as Rose has argued, photographs in general are extremely affective (Rose, 2004). They evoke emotional affects and physical reactions which can be often more telling than verbal reactions.   This was exemplified through the discussion of figure 3.2 showing how Aiste felt her mother's absence from that image, and how it troubled her. This, in turn, brought absence, as a particular texture to Aiste's family landscape, into the research encounter.

Picturing Events draws out different ways of connecting to place, with Antanas' relationship with place shown as being at odds with the more phenomenological accounts of being-in-place articulated by Kristina, Linas, Alison and Rosie. Of course, engaging with particular experiences of being-in-place, through a performative lens, is only one way to know how people relate to place. As Antanas' story attests, place can also be a "way of seeing" a particular "space time", understood by geographers such as Cosgrove, Duncan and Duncan and Rose in terms of what Wylie calls "a critical-constructivist paradigm" (Tolia-Kelly, 2004a: 284; Wylie, 2007: 95). People engage with places in a variety of ways, as Nash shows through her empirical work on genealogy projects as a particular way of "understanding belonging", for instance (Nash, 2008: 8). The photographs here show that place is brought into being through "simultaneous, multiple, parallel, perhaps competing, and sometimes interwoven forms of place-making", as Pink articulates it (Pink, 2008: 4). In this way, the images become involved in "making geographical knowledge" of particular types of places (Schwartz and Ryan, 2003: 6). The examples here lend to an understanding of how place is brought into being through *remembering* and *imagining* in particular, but it is also produced through materiality, through dwelling, through 'viewing-upon' and through

multiple connectivities. This list is not exhaustive, it merely points to the dynamism of place, and consequently understanding how people relate to it must continue to be a key concern for geographers. Photographs are one productive way to pursue that project, and participatory photography in particular lends to an interrogation of the very meaning of place.

A more practical promise of photographs in the research context is the manner in which they can be effectively employed as communicative tools where the particular topics under discussion, the language competencies of participants, or the abilities of certain participants necessitate something more than a mere verbal exchange. For this study, English was not the first language of many of the participants, therefore a visual referent stimulated discussion where a traditional interview may have been more challenging. For instance, Martynas from Lithuania did not speak English, and with the help of an interpreter, his photographs played a particularly prominent role in that communicative event as the interaction between me and Martynas rested almost entirely on the very presence of the compositions. While this can be a resourceful way of using photographs, it would be rather limiting to cast this as their only role in research, given the richness of the visual as sources of information in their own right.

Indeed, it is that richness that prompts a return to Johnston's "deep literacy", as family photography, it can be argued, can be an effective method for fostering a "literacy that transcends the reading and writing of both words and images to stretch into ideas about imaginations, dreaming and story as part of the construction of identity" through place (Johnston, 2010). If the approaches to participant-generated photographs proposed here are effectively applied, the confluence of the visual, the verbal, and the sensual can be garnered to hear, see and feel the migrant stories of family and belonging in place which often originate from particular imaginings of what family should be, and where home could be. Rosie's story of her sense of belonging in Kells Bay in figure 3.5 already showed the promise of such deep excavation into a photograph. Alison's participation in this study further exemplifies this, where her anxiety around the imperfections of her family of

origin, which remain in the US, prompted her wish to be able to cut out magazine photographs of other peoples' families in order to graphically illustrate to me her imaging of what a 'good' family ought to be. Beyond this, the images of her "new family" capture Alison's husband and children, and she verbally expressed how that family is being constructed as the antithesis of her own family of origin, during our conversation. Those photographs depicted togetherness through family events such as the childrens' birthdays, Christmas and family holidays (Alison, US citizen). To fully engage with Alison's story, it is important to understand the context within which these images were taken, and that context emerges from the stories of her 'other' family and the emotional articulations of that family's story in the conversation that surrounded the more 'happy' family snaps. This is a "deep literacy" of Alison's story.

Alison's story draws attention to three final and interrelated promises of participatory photography in research that should be explicated here. Firstly, participant generated photography is apt to garner the visuality of identity, very often articulated through images of place. Secondly, understanding such visuals makes engagement with those textures to one's identity or senses of belonging which may be difficult to articulate verbally possible, as highlighted above through Tolia-Kelly's work, and throughout this chapter through the various family stories discussed. Finally, the very methodological and epistemological basis of this study and of the framework being proposed is that of *participation*. This is a mode of enquiry that facilitates a process whereby different positionalities can be engaged, where empowering effects are shared between researcher and participant, where knowledge creation is negotiated, and where multi-sensual communication can flourish by allowing those outside of academia to shape the way those of us within work to reach deep understandings of the textures and spatialities of social and cultural phenomena. That approach resulted in the particular method used for *Migrant Families in Ireland* where two different modes of photographic practice were brought together resulting, through happenstance, in a sharp tension between fixity and mobility across the participants' stories.   This kind of participation, according to Kesby, should always be what "advocates of participation" strive

for; that is, appropriate methods and frames of analysis should "release researchers from continually rehearsing the finite limits of knowledge and offer opportunities to collaboratively negotiate partial meanings and practical action in fieldwork praxis" (Kesby, 2007: 2814). Understanding participatory photography through the *Picturing Events* framework certainly pushes the boundaries of what can be known about others' lived experiences through their photographs, and its potential in social science research rests in its ability to know the lives of others, and the places where those lives are lived, in deeper ways than more traditional social research methods have previously allowed.

4

MOVING THROUGH LANDSCAPE: FLUID PERFORMANCES OF FAMILY

In his work on millionaire migrants, Ley shows how affluent families who move adopt a strategic approach to space, time and citizenship in their "deployment of human agency to optimise family objectives, negotiating and where necessary evading containment by national governments" (Ley, 2010: 22). In doing so, Ley connects this tension between "agency" and "containment" into a wider discourse around how migration is both experienced and understood. What is interesting about Ley's work is his focus on family, and his description of how both short and long term goals persist through the process of migration, and very often inflect the nature of that moving, staying, and moving again. As I have found, not-so-affluent families have longer term "objectives" too, and similarly adopt strategies to realise these in a post-migration context. So far, I have introduced a spatial imaginary of families, and I have shown how this imaginary emerged in part through the use of photographs in *Migrant Families in Ireland*. In the remaining substantive chapters I want to begin to focus on migrant, or 'transnational families', thinking about how their realities in particular can be productively understood through landscape, and in doing so, to interrogate what Ley identifies as the "uneasy tension between there and here, between routes and roots" (ibid.: 28). I begin in this chapter by mapping material and imaginative "routes" to distant people and places by way of emphasising some of the more fluid performances of migrant families. In order to set the scene for the final chapters, I now locate *Migrant Families in Ireland* as a study of migration.

4.1 "WAYS OF SEEING MIGRATION"

There are a plethora of "'ways of seeing' migration" across Anglophone social science literature (Samers, 2010: 119). Several scholars have attempted to synthesise the various migration literatures into a concise inventory of substantive foci and conceptual approaches. The most recent of these exercises is carried out by Samers who distinguishes between "determinist" and "integrative" theoretical approaches to international migration (Samers, 2010). This understanding of ways of knowing migration draws from, and largely accepts, the classificatory approach of Boyle et al. published a little over a decade earlier (Boyle et al., 1998). One notable difference between the two works, however, is the latter's separation of "humanist" approaches out from Samers' two categories (ibid.). Within these overarching sets of theory, Boyle et al. neglect to recognise "gender-sensitive" analyses and transnational approaches as particular types of "integrative" or humanist approaches (Samers, 2010: 98). This would appear to point to the proliferation of such approaches to international migration between 1998 and 2010 to the extent that, by the time Samers published his work, such approaches had become widespread enough to merit recognition in their own rights.

While both understand mobility as a focus of migration studies, particularly within globalisation and social network approaches, neither Samers nor Boyle et al. identify "the new mobilities paradigm" as a particular conceptual framework within which migratory processes can be understood (Urry, 2007). A significant body of literature focusing on the socio-cultural experiences of migration in particular seems to employ a mobility lens to do so (see Hardill, 2004; Walton-Roberts and Pratt, 2005; Conradson and Latham, 2005; Conradson and McKay, 2007). Similarly, diaspora, as a substantive focus and set of theories, is not acknowledged as a distinct body of integrative work within migration studies, when plenty of studies across the social sciences appear to mobilise theories concerned with transnationalism, identity, place, mobilities, and governance in a particular way to understand diasporic networks (see Gray, 2002; Adamson and Demetriou, 2007; Sreberny, 2000). In brief, while these writers between them recognise structurationist, social-

network, biographical, transnational and gender approaches as being the principal "ways of seeing" migration within an integrative theory approach, there is a case for adding 'the new mobilities paradigm' and diaspora in order to complete a more rounded inventory (Samers, 2010: 119).

In relation to what both Samers and Boyle et al. refer to as "determinist" accounts of migration, there is greater agreement between both texts that these include theories that are based on 'push/pull' factors, neo-classical economics, behaviouralism and structuralist approaches (Samers, 2010; Boyle et al., 1998). However, distinguishing between "determinist" and "integrated" bodies of theory is only one way to make sense of migration studies (Samers, 2010). Massey et al. prefer to delineate "initiation" focused approached from "perpetuation" focused accounts, where the former is concerned with why migration happens in the first place while the latter examines its continuity and circularity (Massey et al., 1994). This classification takes broadly the same sets of theories as Samers and Boyle et al., but orientates them towards those which better explain the initiation and continuation of various trajectories of migration. In this way, neoclassical economics, segmented labour market theory and world systems theory are understood to be concerned with why people migrate in the first place, while network theory and cumulative causation are presented as being "perpetuation" focused (ibid.). Portes and DeWind, however, illustrate a third popular way to describe the breadth of migration studies by thinking in term of the most prevalent topical or substantive foci that pervade the literature (Portes and DeWind, 2004). Here the political context of migration, transnationalism, immigrant enterprise, unauthorised immigration, generation migration, the religious context of migration, and immigrant incorporation are understood to represent the major concerns in North American migration scholarship at the moment that this paper, based on a conference on international migration, was published (ibid.). That list is by no means exhaustive, and I would suggest that race is another important means by which migration is approached in the social sciences. This is highlighted by a recent edited collection which connects both the politics of migration and the everyday experiences of migration to questions around race, racism and belonging (Dwyer and Bressey, 2008).

The raison d'être for this overview of migration studies is to work towards a positioning of *Migrant Families in Ireland* within that body of scholarship. Samers argues that none of the paradigms mentioned above are on their own sufficient to understand migration; rather, a combination of the more compatible sets of theories can better interrogate the various dimensions of the migration process (Samers, 2010: 116). This seems convincing because, as the stories recalled by participants in this study show, one is not just a 'migrant', but a daughter, a father, an architect, a photographer, a student, a sports enthusiast and so on. In brief, those that are classed as 'migrant' are people with much more variegated identities who happened to move to new places and settle, for a while. Therefore if the core focus of this research project is family identities, it would be rather limiting to frame the participants as solely being immigrants in Ireland, which they all happened to be, because the argument so far has been illustrating that family is a performance in space that incorporates a range of ways of living into the doing of relationships – migrancy being but one of these ways. The imperative for the chapters that follow is to understand how migrating plays out with ways of doing family that are not unique to people who move. In terms of the approaches mentioned here, there are a number which would command an overly narrow purview on the lives of the participants given that thematic interest. Economic and 'push/pull' approaches such as neo-classical economics, new economics and dual labour market approaches would skew the analysis towards the "initiation" of the particular migrations given that most participants came to Ireland to work or study, and given that the main concern here is with the *process* of migration – that is the migration decision, the act of moving, and the post-moving context – that would ignore much of the experience of that process in favour of a more rigid 'before and after' analysis (Samers, 2010; Boyle et al., 1998). Something that can thread through the migration process is needed, and landscape has been employed thus far as a more rounded lens on migrant ways of living.

The landscape imaginary has, to date, focused on understandings of families who happened to have experienced migration. This chapter inverts the landscape focus to show how it, as a conceptual tool, can lend to

understandings of migrants and migrancy and will hone in on the family context of that process. Therefore, landscape needs to be developed here for a more rigorous conceptualisation of migration in its own right. In essence what is needed to understand the experiences of the migrant participants in this study is a conceptualisation of landscape that pays attention to the changes wrought through migrating, as well as the continuities. Secondly, given the poststructuralist approach has thus far problematised the codes and orders through which we understand the social, the stories of border crossing in the next chapter will necessitate what Samers terms a more "structurationist" approach which maintains that focus on individual ways of living, but attends to the structural ordering of that living at the same time (Samers, 2010: 104). Heretofore the term "transnational-" has been used interchangeably with "migrant-" as a prefix to "family". This has been deliberate and it is now time to mobilise 'transnational' as something more than a descriptive term. The integrated theory approach to migrant landscapes in this chapter will be framed as 'transnationalism'. This will understand transnationalism as a set of theories rather than a separate approach distinct from landscape or scale for instance.

Transnationalism as a conceptual approach is defined by its proponents as being "the process by which immigrants forge and sustain *multi-stranded social relations* that link their societies of origin and settlement" (Basch et al., 2008: 263, emphasis added). This is a definition broadly adhered to across the transnational literature with Levitt and Jaworsky similarly understanding a transnational way of living as being "simultaneously embedded in the *multiple sites and layers* of the transnational social fields" (Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007: 130, emphasis added). Both understandings seem to imply a multi-scalar optic as the added emphases serve to highlight. This chimes with my conceptualization of family landscapes as being in part premised on how one becomes positioned in space and place, an idea I use to understand scalar relations. Geographers' mobilisation of transnationalism has sought to "bring geography back in" to transnational discourse, to borrow Mitchell's words, and the development of 'transnational studies' by scholars across the social sciences such as Vertovec, Crang et al., Levitt and Jaworski and Khagram and

Levitt has contributed to that project (Mitchell, 1997; Vertovec, 1999; Crang et al., 2003; Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007; Khagram and Levitt, 2008). Indeed, Khagram and Levitt, writing from a sociological perspective, argue that transnationalism is about knowing the "actual *topography* of social life" (Khagram and Levitt, 2008: 6, emphasis added). This spatial metaphor is telling in that it points to a contemporary iteration of transnationalism grounded in questions around why space matters in analyses of people and things that move. Pushing this further, Olsen and Silvey emphasise "place making" across nation-state boundaries as being a growing concern for transnational scholars, and this appears to be a development of Vertovec's conceptualisation of transnationalism in terms of understanding social processes that are "anchored in places" (Olsen and Silvey, 2006: 805; Vertovec, 1999: 455). Crang et al. suggest that the spatialisation of transnationalism should broaden its conceptual scope to a more diverse range of trans-border phenomena; they refer to this as "transnational space" (Crang et al., 2003: 452). This should widen the substantive focus beyond migration and diaspora and this is demonstrated through their application of a transnational framework to commodity culture (ibid.). For the purposes of this discussion, the idea of "transnational space" is worth pursuing for the potential it has to incorporate all dimensions of the migrant participants' lives beyond their 'migrant' identity (ibid.).

"Transnational space" can garner three existing premises of transnational studies for a more rigorous understanding of the research participants' variegated lives through landscape (ibid.). Firstly, the notion of the "social field" draws distinction between "ways of being" in space, referring to the actual practices involved in social relations which do "not identify with any label or cultural politics associated with that field", and "ways of belonging" which refers to "practices that signal or enact an identity" (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2008: 287). This is a useful way to separate one's identity as a migrant, or as being from a particular place, from other facets of one's identity such as gender or sexuality for instance. This is also a useful way to distinguish migrants' mobile and fluid social and spatial practices from the more fixed and contained. Secondly, and related to the notion of a social field,

is the manner in which the transnational optic brings those who do not move into its purview (ibid.: 286). This is critical here for a rigorous understanding of family lives, as those who stay continue to perform a family role with those who move, even if the nature of that role changes. Thirdly, and key for understanding how research participants from Lithuania, India and the United States differently encounter the Irish State as immigrants to that state, is a transnational ontology that assumes a borderless world exists with the emergence and salience of nation-state borders being "historical moments" suspended in time, and varying from place to place (Khagram and Levitt, 2008: 5).

By bringing ideas from transnational studies into conversation with cultural and political geography, I am able to mobilize an integrated theory approach to the migrant stories the study has encountered (Samers, 2010). What this approach illuminates is the diverse encounters with space that migrants experience, and the varied degrees of mobility they can harness. I continue to develop a landscape imaginary of families here by taking the conceptual premises set out in Chapter 2 to show precisely how this imaginary can facilitate an understanding of simultaneously emplaced and placeless belongings, strong attachments and detachments, reality and imagination. I take as my starting point some of the more fluid and mobile practices of family that my participants spoke about, and locating these within three of the fundamental bases on which the notion of landscape rests – time, space and place – I start to map the specific transnational family landscapes that *Migrant Families in Ireland* engaged with.

4.2 TRANSNATIONAL FAMILY LANDSCAPES

The 'scapes' that I describe below are the visible and tangible contours through which I am imagining the migrant families' performativities. Those contours gather meaning through the familial events that mark the relationships with those kin or non-kin with which one feels a family relationship exists. These events, in turn, are the product of particular practices, and what follows is a

conceptual understanding of the practices involved in remembering, communicating and imagining which many of the migrant accounts of family alluded to. My approach here is to map each of these sets of practice as particular contours of wider family landscapes, conceptually linking each to time, space and place in order to emphasise the participants' being-in-the-world. In other words, I mobilize a distinctly phenomenological approach to their particular family landscapes.

4.2.1 Families over time: Memoryscapes

The practices of remembering shape family landscapes in distinct ways. Conceptually, I connect this particular practice to *time* as a way of fleshing out the notion of family landscapes at a conceptual level. I do this by firstly considering family as something fundamentally temporal, and then I show this by drawing out how acts of remembering can be understood as a particular set of memory events which give meaning to migrant family landscapes. These events fold into landscape as *memoryscapes*, I argue.

4.2.1.1 The temporality of families

Examining different normative family landscapes over *time*, it is clear that different social groups have constantly been constructing and reconstructing various family identities which have never remained static. By examining the temporality of family landscapes at two scales this will become clearer. Beginning at the scale of society, with what sociologists term the 'universal family' in the 'western' world, which was by no means a ubiquitous formation itself, mutual obligation to a broad spectrum of kin was perceived as being the sole premise on which 'family' rested. The only definitive boundaries observed were those between generations, therefore marriage was permitted between any kin except across generations. As a result of widespread sexual promiscuity, descent was only traced on the mother's side. However, a growing need for indisputable descent began to re-shape this universal family as the problem of the linear distribution of wealth on the man's side emerged (Engels, 1972). This prompted a new phase of family where social status,

wealth and public perception shaped the performance of family. However, when this began to change, the 'modern family' emerged. The modern family was more of a companionship family than an institutional family. Here individual relationships, love, care and nurture formed the foundation of families. Marriage was never more important than it was in the age of modernity. This was the nuclear family (Burgess, 1948).

By responding to new requirements as they arose (for example the requirement to ensure a child's paternity is traceable), families over time have clearly demonstrated flexibility in the manner in which they were constructed and performed. Family has always been a 'doing'; this is not an exclusively postmodern phenomenon. The constructed nature of family is highlighted in a fascinating way through the work of Nash on contemporary DNA technologies. Here, Nash shows how Irish ancestral projects, particularly by members of the Irish Diaspora, uncover "degrees of connection and collective relationships" in what are essentially projects about the "construction of self and identity" (Nash, 2008: 17-18). This construction arises from a desire to establish belonging to a time and place removed from one's contemporary reality. What is interesting about such projects is that the results of DNA testing are not absolute, rather showing "degrees" of relatedness which allow scope for what Nash terms a "playfulness" around such ancestral projects (ibid.: 243). This can be understood as the construction of imagined and often romanticized landscapes through which individuals garner a sense of belonging through an exploration of past relationships. This is one way in which a memoryscape can fold within the family landscape.

Much recent social scientific endeavour, rather than exploring how belonging and relatedness is performed, rather argues that a sort of "post-familial family", the antithesis of the nuclear family, is beginning to emerge (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002: 86). The emergence of this post-familial family completely disrupts the normative modern family, and its inherently relational nature, as being the fundamental group in society, instead placing the individual as the primary social entity. Here individual agency is thought to be more salient within society than that of families. The individual can now

identify those members of the given family, who are kin, with whom he or she will carve out a relationship. Moreover, families of choice emerge where non-kin, especially friends, become identified as part of an individual's family circle (Pahl and Spencer, 2004).

This individualization thesis was first articulated by Beck and Beck-Gernsheim who suggested that "the individual is becoming the basic unit of social reproduction for the first time in history" (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002: xxii). More recently however, the individualization thesis has been challenged by sociologists such as Smart and Shipman who suggest that "the presumptions that people are making easy, selfish choices and abandoning the hard work of commitment and care" is not being supported by recent research (Smart and Shipman, 2004: 493). In her report on changing families in Britain, Williams similarly takes issue with the individualization thesis (Williams, 2004). Her own research on changing practices of parenting suggests that "the picture of self-actualising pioneers or selfish individuals fails to capture the moral texture of family lives and personal relationships", in a British context (ibid.: 41). Indeed, Williams' study found that parents were more concerned with the "proper thing to do" as they approached daily decision making (ibid.). This sentiment is echoed by Smart's study of divorce and the role of grandparents in the lives of their divorced children and their former spouses, post-divorce, where grandparents were found to "struggle to overcome their emotional desire to take sides or to interfere because they feel that the 'proper thing to do'…is to be impartial" (Smart, 2004: 406).

Such a desire for 'propriety' resonates strongly with many of the stories of family collected for *Migrant Families in Ireland*. Donna, whose story was introduced in Chapter 2, locates her own place in her family in terms of a 'membership'; and being "a good family member" was very important for her. Donna told me:

> I think if you're a good family member, or a strong family member the
> commitments that you make to your family are the ones you make sure
> you always keep – and that if a family member needs you, whether that's

an actual family member or a chosen family member – that there's nothing more important than that, than to be there for them. And to expect them to be there for you. (Donna, US citizen)

Donna's framing of her own understanding of family is based on "the proper thing to do" for the good of other members of her family, in line with Williams' (2004) and Smart's (2004) findings highlighted above. Moreover, she expresses a somewhat fluid understanding of family by equating "chosen family" with "actual family" in her approach. As Spencer and Pahl argue, this highlights the complexity of family identities in the twenty-first century (Pahl and Spencer, 2004). Therefore, research on family appears to have arrived at a point where change and continuity, diversity and normativity collide. Indeed, Williams, in her report on twenty-first century British families suggests, far from being an age of individualization, contemporary families are being framed by a new policy induced normative formation, albeit manifesting as a more "democratic" normative than before (Williams, 2004: 18-19). Regardless of whether one's understanding of family comes from an individualized or a relational ontology, what all of this demonstrates is that ways of doing family are constantly being negotiated and renegotiated over time. This assertion is captured rather simply by one participant in this study, Emilija, who said of her relationship with her family – "it didn't really change, it just evolved" (Emilija, Lithuanian). This emphasises the fact that the constant becoming of family forms is not only manifested at a broad societal scale, as has been the primary focus of this section, but at the scale of particular families too.

4.2.1.2 Memoryscapes: Landscaping the practices of remembering

By switching the analytical lens to the scale of individual articulations of family then, it becomes possible to demonstrate how the temporalities of families and of landscapes are especially evident in one particular contour of transnational family landscapes – memoryscapes. Time, of course, imbues all foldings within the landscape, not just memoryscapes. The inclusion of these 'scapes' in the discussion of time is merely an attempt to push the conceptual utility of family landscapes further by emphasising this important dimension of the

geography of families through a tangible imaginary. The notion of memoryscapes here will draw from Ingold's use of "temporality" (Ingold, 1993). "Temporality", for Ingold, is a rhythmic process produced through social practices in the landscape which manifest as events or "tasks" (ibid.). Such "tasks" give the landscape a temporality here and now, as well through the past (ibid.: 157-158). Therefore it is the spread of events across a particular contour of family landscapes, in this case the constellation of remembering events, which may be understood as memoryscape. It is this spread of events too, being both chronological and topological, that imbue memoryscapes with temporality.

Alison's story of the contrasting articulation of family within the landscape she experiences was highlighted in Chapter 2. Developing that story further, I noted during my research encounter with her how she relies on her early childhood memories of family events in Oklahoma for a sense of the 'idealised' nuclear family formation she feels her family of origin has moved far beyond. Remembering holidays, or memories of her mother's cooking which brought all the family around the table, helps Alison foster a sense of what family *should* be. These memories carry extra meaning now that her parents are divorced and Alison no longer lives in the US. Alison's sense of family can be said to garner much meaning through a memoryscape which folds alongside a travelscape and a homescape which were also prominent in her account of family life. In many ways, the methodological approach of this study is highly conducive to the excavation of memory-space as photographs by their very nature memorialise people, events and places. Therefore, the extent to which memory plays a role in constructing a sense of family may have received added emphasis by the participants because they were asked to use photographs to answer the research questions, but there is sufficient evidence right across the three participant groups to suggest that memory does indeed play something of a role.

Jeff is in his early forties and comes from Ohio, US. He currently lives in Dublin. This participant was quite explicit about the role of memories in the construction of his meaning of family:

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well for my immediate family, my biological family, memories play a lot because we're not together that much so the big gathering at Thanksgiving was the first time we were together in 10 years in one place…has to play a role in constituting a sense of family…I mean I see my parents a couple of times a year, but I haven't seen my brother or siblings, I'm in communication with them to a certain extent so it's more memories of childhood, realising family is there but we're sort of a scattered or constellated family and that's why memories probably fill those spaces because we're not physically together (Jeff, US citizen)

Jeff articulates quite effectively the ways in which memories of his own childhood are now called into play in order to fill the void left by his physical separation from his biological family, post-migration. Here memories become both the replacement for corporeal interactions and the anchor on which Jeff now understands his relationship with his family. Indeed, Jeff recalled how a recent holiday to Greece brought back memories of the time spent as a child in southern Italy. The particular apartment complex in Greece had many of the physical attributes of the small town in Italy where Jeff and his family spent some years, years when his family of origin, away from extended family, were brought closer through their sense of isolation – a stark contrast to the current family landscape shaped by rupture (parents' divorce) and "multi-locality" (Vertovec, 1999: 450). Imagining Jeff's story through a transnational framework, Appadurai's contention that transnational living is as much constituted through the "work of the imagination" as it is through physical 'scapes' resonates here (Appadurai, 1996). Jeff has to imagine a sense of family, constructed in part by firm memories of the past and in part through the *ideal* of family such memories produce, in order to address the question "what does 'family' mean to you?"

Jeff's memoryscape here is constituted through two particular events. Firstly, there is the Thanksgiving gathering which forms the tangible 'substance' of the memory. This event was a rare moment of togetherness, and both the event itself, and its endurance in memory give that event meaning. To borrow from Mason, this event is the articulation of Jeff's "fixed

affinities" (Mason, 2008: 33). These are "fixed" not only because they are given, in that this is a biologically linked family, but they are also reinforced through the particular 'doing' that is this event, and gain the feeling of fixity through the very performance of this event and other similar events. This ensures the durability of this particular set of affinities over time, and crucially the fact that this event resides in memory shows "how time and longevity are important in consolidating fixity" for Jeff (ibid.: 35). Secondly, the consumption of the photograph that prompted this particular reflection in the research dialogue, as well as other shared and more private viewings, are events within the memoryscape. The research encounter certainly prompted this particular memory event, but this is one particular moment which may have been preceded by, and most likely will be succeeded by, similar acts of remembering. Of course, Jeff and others spoke of love as being part of the fabric of family too, therefore the performance of memory can also be read as a performance of love, as Wylie suggests – "remembering *is* a sort of loving" (Wylie, 2009: 278, italics original).

Bhadra is from India, and she described to me how fond memories of past family occasions prompt replication through some of the gatherings she organises here in Ireland. One particular example is *Onam*, an annual festival in Kerala when families gather together for food, games and storytelling. During our conversation she told me of *Onam*:

> On that day we are gathering together all the family and sitting on the floor
> and we eat, and the rice and everything is there, and we eat together and
> we have plenty of games on that day you know. So we miss that every
> year when we are here (Bhadra, Indian).

Missing *Onam*, Bhadra marks the festival in Ireland with other Indian friends from Kerala. Figure 4.1 is a capture of one such *Onam* celebration here two years ago. This event is quite revealing of the nature of migrant family landscapes more generally in that it exposes how compatriot friends come to directly replicate the roles family members would normally play. More specifically, this image in itself is a memory prompt for this particular event,

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which itself came into being through Bhadra's own happy memories of *Onam* back in Kerala. Here, remembering past events produces new events, revealing how the temporality of migrant family performances is given meaning through a succession of related events. These related events constitute Bhadra's memoryscape.

Fig. 4.1: "*Onam*"

Bhadra's memoryscape, given meaning through the event photographed in figure 4.1, is also part of her performance of home in Ireland I suggest. Therefore, it is an event in her homescape as much as it is in her memoryscape. Similarly, it can be argued that Jeff's memory of being in the US for a recent *Thanksgiving* celebration intersects with his travelscape as, for Jeff and other migrants, the visit and the plane journey form regular events in the living of a transnational family life. And of course in this story, this event becomes a particular memory over time. The point here is that for many, memoryscapes layer alongside, and become entangled with more concrete family landscapes in the performance of migrant family life. The 'scapes', or

folding sets of events in family landscapes, cannot be understood in isolation, as the manner in which the research participants' stories were presented to me was highly synthetic.

4.2.2 Families across space: Technoscapes

Very often moments of remembering lead to a longing to hear the voice, or see the face of a loved one. In this way, remembering becomes a precursor to communicating with a distant family member, and many of the participants of *Migrant Families in Ireland* told me about their interactions with those in the country of origin, and the importance of making regular connections back there. Conceptually, I connect communicating to the notion of *space* as a way to think about the spatiality of migrant family landscapes, and anchored on a discussion around communication technologies, I show one way in which families perform a distinctly transnational way of living through the idea of *technoscapes.*

4.2.2.1 The spatiality of families

In terms of the spatial dimension of family then, a Masseyian understanding of space which forces attention to the "stories-so-far" that constellate to construct space is an instructive one (Massey, 2006: 9). This is an ontogenetic understanding of space that perceives space as a constant becoming that is always incomplete. Ontogenetic space must be "imbued" with temporality and the traditional dichotomy of space and time must be abandoned, Massey argues (ibid.: 47). In this way, the discussion of temporality above can be understood as being inherently spatial, in that it drew on memory space and imaginary space, and the account of the spatial here will be temporal in that the rhythms of family performance, in cyberspace in particular, will come clearly into focus. And similarly, when the analytical lens is cast on place below, space and time will again be present, as places are "spatio-temporal events" according to Massey's spatial imaginary (ibid.: 130). However, such events in space are multifarious, contingent and processual. They cannot be essentialised, as Tilley points out "what space is depends on who is

experiencing it and how", therefore the event in space, and through the landscape is also differentially experienced and understood (Tilley, 1994: 11).

Masseyian space therefore chimes closely with the processual understanding of landscape being garnered for this geography of migrant families. This ontogenesis of space and landscape is characterised by Wylie as "the ongoing shaping of self, body and landscape via practice and performance" (Wylie, 2007: 166). "Practice" and "performance" *of* space as well as *in* space is articulated through the event, and a collection of relational events with particular outcomes produce landscape (ibid.). However, because space is always becoming, so too are events and, inevitably, so too is the texture of landscape. Landscapes are inherently spatial. Crouch suggests that "landscape and space *might* be conceptualized relationally", but the thesis here is that landscape and space *must* be conceptualized as such (Crouch, 2010: 6, emphasis added). His own metaphor for the experience of landscape as a sort of flirtation is a useful way of emphasizing this necessity. For with our own lived experiences, as with flirtation, "[s]uch possibility of becoming, the implicit if possibly agonizing playfulness; the very combination of contingent enjoyment, uncertainty and hope would seem to thread across living" (ibid, 5). This 'threading' of "uncertainty" yet promise across our subjective and shared experience of living describes quite nicely how we experience space, and when this flirtation finally produces more tangible effects, we experience landscape. Therefore, a spatial experience extends into an experience of landscape when, unlike before, we can now see the effect through an event as well as feel it more abstractly.

Very often personal emotions and feelings become spatialised in landscape through the medium of technology, which is itself constitutive of, and constituted by, ontogenetic space (Thrift and French, 2002; Mackenzie, 2003; Dodge and Kitchin, 2005). A body of literature around the geographies of software and code emerged in the first half of the last decade where the notion of "transduction" was developed as one way to make sense of how code constantly constructs and renews particular spatialities (Mackenzie, 2003; Dodge and Kitchin, 2005). Transduction is defined by Mackenzie as "an

operation in which a particular domain undergoes a certain kind of ontogenetic modulation" producing form in a reiterative process (Mackenzie, 2003: 10). This understanding of space, according to Dodge and Kitchin, points in more general terms to an interpretation of space as "a practice, a doing, an event, a becoming – a material and social reality forever (re)created in the moment" (Dodge and Kitchin, 2005: 172). This connects very much with the processual understanding of family landscapes that I am developing here, and points to a way in which the practices involved in tele- and internet communication produce spaces of becoming, spaces which in turn help to give the landscape its ontogenetic form. The migrant participants spoke of telephoning, e-mailing, *facebooking* and *skyping*, and while I do not attend to the physical technicalities of these communications, I do refer to their "technicity" – that is, the mediating role of the technologies on which those interactions are based, and the manner in which the virtual becomes actual at the moment when a real connection between people is made through that medium (Mackenzie, 2003, 16; Dodge and Kitchin, 2005: 169). However, for this to speak to the concept of a family landscapes, I describe how technicity produces certain outcomes that enhance the performance of family, folding in the landscape as *technoscapes*.

4.2.2.2 Technoscapes: Landscaping technicity

Migrant technoscapes are shaped by the communications that preserve family relationships across space. There are two dimensions to this particular 'scape'. Firstly, there is the nature of the communication itself, and secondly, there is the physical infrastructure that supports it. The intersection between the two is the technicity of the communicative event, as described above. Here mobility and immobility intertwine to produce migrant technoscapes. This is because, as Urry argues, "almost all mobilities presuppose large-scale immobile infrastructures that make possible the socialities of everyday life" (Urry, 2007: 17-19). Connecting this to landscape then, the physicality of the PC, the telephone, the wires and the transmitters are the physical manifestation of the communication event that becomes such a vital part of migrants' reconstituted family connections. These sites of communication,

and the texture of the exchanges they facilitate, fold into landscape, because by their very nature these often distant sites depend on connection events between people in different places in order to have meaning, and in the words of Mitchell, "*interconnectedness* is the key to landscape", and the interconnectedness of people and the subjective emotions and practices that they each bring to the relationship is central to the performance of 'family' too (Mitchell, 2002: 381).
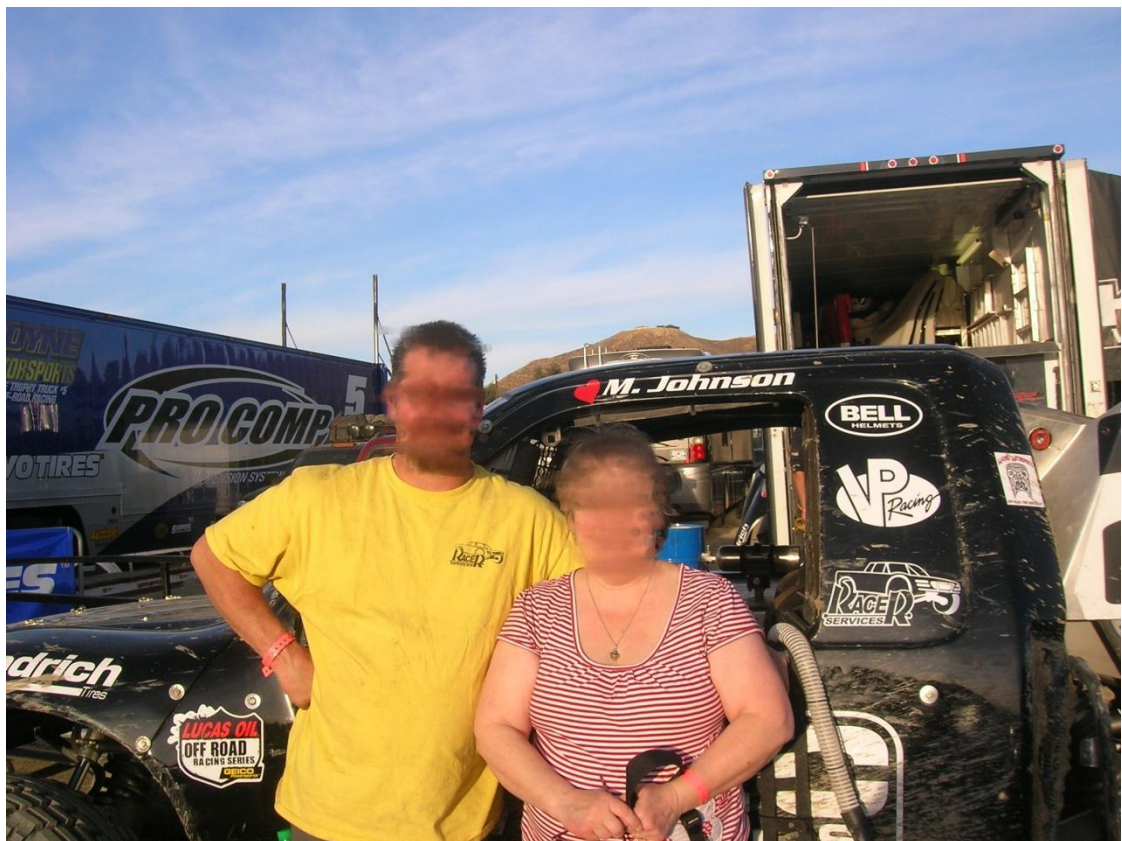
Fig. 4.2: "[He] found me on *Facebook*…" (Dorothy, US citizen)

By way of animating technoscapes, I will introduce Dorothy, a woman in her sixties from California in the US. Dorothy's sense of family is based on biological relationships, understanding her own family as being "everybody [she's] related to". Unconditional love is central to family too. This is not a static sense of family however, as Dorothy explains that her sense of family became "coloured" in different ways over time. When in high school in California, Dorothy gave birth to a boy and gave him up for adoption. A couple of months prior to my conversation with her, Dorothy had been

contacted by that child – her now forty year old son. While she had consented to the release of her contact details, it was through the medium of the social networking website, *Facebook*, that Dorothy was contacted. This event, and the subsequent face to face meetings with him, and his family, which was visually represented by a photograph reproduced in figure 4.2, loaned heavily to the 'colouring' of Dorothy's sense, and practice of family.

Dorothy's story is one of the more extreme accounts emphasising the transformative role communication technology can have on one's sense of family. Being contacted through the social networking website, *Facebook*, by the son she gave up for adoption forty years ago, completely disrupted Dorothy's understanding of her own family, "colouring" what her sense of family is in a very drastic way. *Facebook* afforded her son a medium through which he could, through speculative searching, locate his birth mother. On finding her, his own family world, that of his adoptive parents, his wife, and his kids, as well as that of Dorothy, her former partner and father to their son, and Dorothy's parents' was completely transformed as two previously separate family formations became connected through kinship. The moment of reconnection was played out in the virtual space of *Facebook*, and this was extended to the corporeal by the face to face meeting which happened very quickly after. For Dorothy, her family landscape was altered forever.

The manner in which the specificity of place inflects itself on ways of doing family will be dealt with more explicitly below, but for now Sarish's understanding of his family life in terms of particular practices unique to his family on one level, yet the strive towards conformity with traditional Sanskrit beliefs on the other, serves as an interesting example of the confluence of space (virtual), place and time in the making of family. While the influence of cultural tradition is not to be taken as stable, given that the social and cultural fabric of India is woven from a plethora of tribes, castes, subcastes and languages which manifest in different family patterns, Sarish outlined his own particular belief system as an immediate response to what family means to him, and later demonstrated how this shapes his family practice through his technoscape (Goode, 1970: 203-204). Explaining that Sanskrit belief is

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arranged around a hierarchy of gods which include, in order of primacy, the mother, the father, the teacher, and the guest, Sarish demonstrated his practice of this teaching through a narration of a photograph of his "priest", who is regarded as 'teacher', and therefore part of the hierarchy of respect that frames family (Sarish, Indian). Alluding to his daily *skyping* with family during our conversation, Sarish proceeded to search an electronic folder on his laptop dedicated to images of family members captured in *Skype*, eventually producing a photograph of the "priest". "I feel he is also one of my family members...he's our teacher" Sarish told me (ibid.). This is an important relationship within Sarish's family landscape given that he continues to connect with this man post-migration. That connection is an important means of performing his faith, and the centrality of this in his life is highlighted by the act of photographing 'the teacher', and storing that image in the same place that he stores photographs of kin. Virtual space now mediates all of these relationships through the technicity of *Skype*. *Skype* therefore forms the 'architecture' of Sarish's technoscape, a contour of his family landscape that facilitates the ongoing performance of relationality, post-migration.

An account more typical of the migrant technoscapes articulated for this study comes from Aiste from Lithuania. Aiste tells the story of her relationship with her grandmother in Lithuania, post-migration. Aiste's father lives with his mother, and owns a PC. Using *Skype*, Aiste's father gets his mother to sit in front of the webcam so Aiste can both hear and see her grandmother. However, as Aiste's grandmother does not know how to use the technology herself, not only is their regular communication mediated through the technology of *Skype,* but Aiste's father must also mediate the transaction as he becomes an additional facilitator in the communication process. As a result, what used to be, pre-migration, a one-on-one conversation between Aiste and her grandmother, is now, post-migration, a three-way conversation as Aiste's relationship with her grandmother now depends on the contribution of her father, inevitably colouring this relationship by his very presence. In other words, Aiste's father is drawn into her "kinswork" as it relates to her grandmother (di Leonardo, 1987, cited in Baldassar, 2007: 392). Here, the technicity of *Skype* is not in itself sufficient for the successful interaction

between Aiste and her grandmother as Aiste's father is also required to ensure the connection happens. That relationship is therefore reconfigured, highlighting one way in which the performance of family is reconstituted by migrating.

Technoscapes enable continuities in the performance of family, while at the same time engendering change. Virtual spaces mediate the connection events between family members, and these events introduce new temporalities to the performance of separated families in particular. Technoscapes are multifarious folds in landscape. They can be the expression of the mundane doing of family across space, but folding in new ways when new connections are fostered as in Dorothy's story. Of course, technoscapes can have wider conceptual utility beyond this study. For example, Nash's work on Irish DNA projects shows how these were actualised online in virtual forums (Nash, 2008). Searches for belonging to people and places in cyberspace represent a particular iteration of the notion of technoscapes being proposed here, I would suggest. Therefore, this concept need not be restricted to routine intersubjective communications, but can extend to more creative interactions with space in the construction of family landscapes.

4.2.3 Families in place: Travelscapes

For most of the migrants that participated in this study, mere photographic memories of those people and places that they left behind, or even regular communications with them, were poor substitutes for propinquity. The majority of the participants told me about visits back to their places of origin. These stories highlight the importance of freedom to travel for a transnational way of living, and why being in place with those important people in one's life is so crucial. For this reason, I link the practices involved in travelling to *place*, in conceptual terms. This is productive for showing the importance of place to migrant family landscapes more generally, as well as bringing the particular ways migrants perform belonging into view. Place is also present in practices of remembering, imagining, and communicating because as Corcoran puts it,

"[o]ur unique, human responses to places and the associations they carry in terms of memories and fantasies are the roots of attachment" (Corcoran, 2010: 2542). For this part of the discussion, I frame performances of attachment within the notion of *travelscapes*.

4.2.3.1 The placing of families

"[L]andscape" is defined above all in terms of contact, immersion and immediacy" (Wylie, 2009: 278). This understanding of landscape begs the epistemological question, how can we know about such phenomenological being in the landscape? The contention here is that understanding place is key to this discovery. The articulation of the connection between mind, body and landscape is emplacement in the landscape. Here, the temporality of particular events that mark out different spaces from each other by forming particular subjective, as well as collective attachments and resonances with those spatialities over time constructs places, both physical places and senses of place. Our interactions with place through concrete attachments, affinities, memory, and through the senses can be understood as that "immersion" in landscape that Wylie refers to (ibid.). That understanding frames this chapter's approach to the 'dwelling perspective' of landscape, where human beings are thought of as integral and inseparable from landscape and place (Heidegger, 1971; Wylie, 2007: 157). Tilley's landscape phenomenology pushes this thinking further by asserting that "the meaning of place is grounded in existential or lived consciousness of it", thus highlighting the performativity of place, and rejecting a view of place as a pre-existing container waiting to be filled by social practices (Tilley, 1994: 15). Massey's work takes a similar performative interpretation of place. Place in geography is best understood as the "articulation" of spatial stories, or as the setting for spatial performances (Massey, 2006: 130).

Geographers have always argued that place matters. Therefore, migrant family landscapes are understood through place as a means of unpacking transnational attachments and belongings. The placing of the visit in migrants' travelscapes can help conceptualise the importance of place to

family performativity. Of course, these travelscapes can also enfold with the imagination to produce senses of belonging to places where no physical attachments exist, as in the case of Rosie from the US who was "struck" in a very deep way when she visited Kells Bay in south-west Ireland. This place resonated with Rosie as a homely place, a place she would have moved to "in a heartbeat" (Rosie, US citizen). This is an imagined landscape even though it is a physical landscape. It is imagined because it holds meaning for Rosie through an imagination of home. Therefore, place in this chapter is not restricted to physical settings, but also imagined senses of belonging. Tolia-Kelly's work on the importance of place to the south Asian and east African diasporas in the UK plays with this idea too (Tolia-Kelly, 2004a). In particular her use of the notion of "*placing*" reveals "a matrix of textures" from the sensory to the material which show how "we situate ourselves and in turn are ourselves *positioned*" in place and in the landscape (ibid.: 285, emphases added). In particular, she shows how *placing* "is involved in the figuring of identity for migrants" through an exploration of the sensory landscapes of the women she worked with, revealing the ways in which smell, sounds and tastes patterned those landscapes (ibid.).

Places texture families. Goode's *World Revolution and Family Patterns* offers a comprehensive account of the variations of family formations over time and across space (Goode, 1970). Decentring the 'western' conjugal family, Goode shows how local cultures and histories weave with more global industrialisation and urbanisation processes to produce a myriad of family formations and values in different places over time (ibid.). For instance, the historical role of determining land ownership and succession rights in patriarchal families in Ireland, the influence of Confucian doctrine in commanding filial piety in Chinese families, and Hinduism's emphasis on knowing one's place in the family in India, have been long since colliding with drives towards industrialisation and globalisation which have resulted in increasing attention on more individualised goals, hence challenging traditional iterations of families in these local contexts (ibid.). In spite of this, I argue that the specificity of place matters for migrants' performance of belonging and attachment, therefore moving from place to place becomes

necessary for performing a "way of belonging" that is distinctly migrant (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2008: 287).

4.2.3.2 Travelscapes: Landscaping the longing for propinquity

Fig. 4.3: "travelling, and airports and airplanes – it's just all so connected with my feeling of about to be home, on my way home…" (Donna, US citizen)

Speaking of home as a site where her family is placed and performed, Donna chose to represent one particular sense of home in terms of the journey between the two places she regarded as being her *homes.* Figure 4.3 introduced into our conversation a representation of a kind of 'mid-space' between homes – the skies through which Donna travels to visit her US family of origin, and then back through to return to Ireland. Of course, what is not seen in the photograph is the physical "site of production" of this particular image – the aeroplane in which Donna is travelling and from where she took the photograph (Rose, 2003: 16). If this journey between homes is understood as one contour of Donna's travelscape, the aeroplane is an

important linking device in the transnational network on which Donna's family life is built. The aeroplane becomes an important point of connection between migrant and non-migrant in the performance of a transnational family landscape.

Engaging further with Donna's family story reveals additional foldings in her travelscape. Particular places are important to Donna. Throughout our conversation, Donna presented several photographs of the neighbourhood in which she grew up in Virginia. The family house, since sold as part of her parents' divorce settlement, remains an important placing for Donna's sense of family and several photographs captured family moments in this house. Another important contour to this travelscape is the visit, and reconnecting with the family neighbours from this old neighbourhood emphasised for Donna the fact that, in her own words – "family is not just who you're born in to, it's who you let into your life as well" (Donna, US citizen). Telling the story of the photograph of one particular neighbouring family, Donna revealed that "I'm not related to them by blood…they're very much my family" (ibid.). Donna's language is interesting here. While several participants described non-kin as being 'like' family, Donna employed the verb 'are' quite directly to describe that family's place in Donna's own sense of family. Here Donna does not feel constrained by the boundaries of consanguinity, and so it is as important to Donna that she sees these people on her visit, as it is to visit her kin and the place of her upbringing, Virginia, where much of her sense of family is placed. Donna's story reveals a meshing of affinities it can be argued. The corporeal connection with the neighbouring family, as a particular event in this travelscape, can be understood in terms of Donna maintaining those "fixed" and "creative" affinities that render that family a part of Donna's (Mason, 2008). They are "fixed" because they have endured over time "through a slow burn", and "creative" in that they evolved from a "negotiation" of kin attachment (ibid.: 36).

Travel, for migrants, takes on added importance when important family events are about to take place. An event that pervades participants' stories of travelling 'home' is Christmas. Preparation for Christmas, for migrants living in

Ireland, often begins in the summer when it becomes necessary to book the December flight home before the prices become unaffordable, as missing Christmas with family for many of the participants is simply not an option. Vilte from Lithuania was quite explicit about this, asserting: "if you're not with your family at Christmas there's no way to actually celebrate it" (Vilte, Lithuanian). Therefore careful planning, which includes negotiating time off work, marks the build up to Christmas for some migrants, and this is before they begin the search for gifts, a process which marks most non-migrants' principal preparation for that event. In this way, there is a particularity to the migrant travelscape that marks it out from landscapes of non-migrant families.
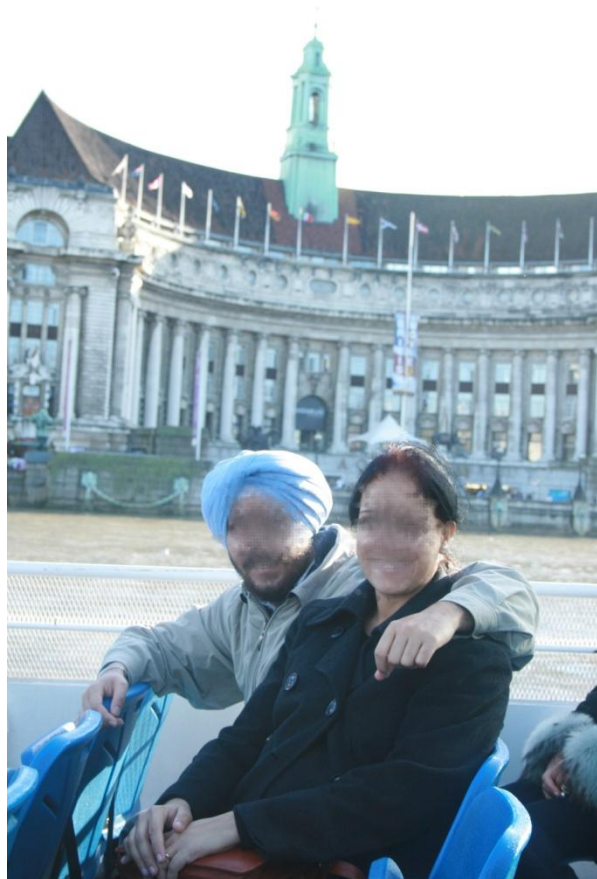
Fig. 4.4: "I think that is part of the relationship, to go around with your siblings" (Kareem, Indian)

Migrant travelscapes are apt to describe the ways in which doing family changes through migration. While many stories suggested that the visit is a poor substitute for being in place with family, other stories were more positive towards the reconstitution of relationships, post-migration. Imagining Kareem's family life through a travelscape shows how his relationship with his sister has become reconstituted by both their migrations. Kareem's sister lives in Cambridge, UK, and Kareem, who lives in Galway, frequently visits her there. As he explains, "she's also moving around. Still the contacts are there, the chains" (Kareem, Indian). But the way in which he performs his relationship has transformed, as Kareem, not very familiar with the UK, likes to take trips with his sister to parts he has not visited before. Figure 4.4 shows one such trip to London visualising exactly how migrants' travelscapes can be experienced as positive encounters with kin and places. Therefore, these migrants become tourists, and through touring together, they are doing a new type of family, different from when they were both in India. In Kareem's own words "I think that is part of the relationship, to go around with your siblings" (ibid.).

Not all migrant travelscapes entail assuming a 'tourist' role, as Monika's story shows. Going beyond travel as part of a routine visit, Monika's reflections address precisely why communicating is an inadequate substitute for propinquity, and why, at certain times, being *in place* is a necessity. Monika is from Lithuania, and she still considers it to be her home. She told me that for certain events, and at certain times, she has to travel back to Lithuania:

> There are moments when I need to go home, when my grandmother passed away for example, and my parents needed me, my sister needed me there, and it didn't matter how much the ticket cost or wherever the flight was to, or how far I got to go there, I need to go there, I need to be there and if I need them as well I'm going to go there no matter (Monika, Lithuanian).

Monika's travelscape goes beyond leisure travel, and the occasional visits to family and friends. Travel is an ever present possibility in her family

landscape, as it was with her grandmother's passing when she had to organise the trip back to Lithuania at short notice, regardless of what financial resources she had available to her. However, the way Monika told this story suggests that this, as well as other occasions where she might be "needed" here, is something she embraces, and is open to. I suggest that Monika's strong connections with her kin have found continuing salience through her travelscape, and that particular layer of her wider family landscape has come to prominence as a result of her migrating. Furthermore, the concept of travelscapes is a useful way of framing her post-migration mobility by forcing attention to those practices that involve circular movements between two places. Migrants move through landscapes in varying motions, and with varying frequency, but for all my research participants it is clear that many of those movements are rather fluid and uninhibited.

4.3 MOVING THROUGH LANDSCAPE

Cresswell argues that "mobility is the dynamic equivalent of *place*" (Cresswell, 2006). One way to understand this argument is that mobility is not necessarily about free movement across space; rather, it seems Cresswell is arguing that mobility is part of the performance of multiple attachments across space. If this interpretation is accepted, then it seems mobility is an important part of being a 'migrant', for some people. The cases I discuss here emphasise a variety of trajectories through which people who move live their everyday lives. By placing the focus on agency, and momentarily sidelining the bounded nature of certain spatialities, I have shown that some migrants can negotiate space rather effectively to continue the performance of family after moving. Kareem, for instance, has found a new and exciting way to perform a sibling relationship with his sister, while *Skype* has been effectively mobilized by both Sarish and Aiste to overcome some of the difficulties of separation. Layering alongside this, it has also been shown that things still happen, and things are still done that do not involve performing a migrant identity. Alison's memoryscape, as described here, does not come into being because she is away from her family of origin necessarily; rather, it is because

of her current problematic relationship with that family – something that is not directly tied into the fact she has moved away. The 'on-off' relationship with her mother that she alluded to throughout our conversation is a part of her "way of being", and is not necessarily a part of her migration story (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2008: 287). Migrants face challenges that are not necessarily a product of their migrancy. This is an important counter-narrative to much of the work that connects the difficulties migrants face with their identities as 'migrant' (see Ackers, 2004; Kofman, 2005; Crowley et al., 2006; Bushin and White, 2009).

By thinking through some of the ways in which my participants move both physically and virtually through their own landscapes, and by centring their individual practices and emotions in the construction of those landscapes, I have described 'scapes' that are in many ways phenomenological. I have connected those bodies who live in the landscape to the world around them through attending to the manner in which their practices are spaced and placed over time. There is an underlying sense here that Ireland's immigrant populations enjoy boundless space and uninhibited movement. However, this is not the full story. To bring the mobility motif a little further, to what Kaufmann and Montulet describe as "re-embedded mobility", many of the stories I encountered were framed by multiple and fleeting attachments in a variety of places, the salience of which shift over time (Kaufmann and Montulet, 2008: 41). Very often this is choice, and very often it is the product of restrictions being placed around one's new reality. To return to the foundations of the family landscape concept that I laid in Chapter 2, what is needed to think through these more difficult movements through landscape is a consideration of how one becomes positioned in landscape, and self-positions. Chapter 5 will address this imperative.

5

LANDSCAPE ACROSS SCALES: NEGOTIATED PERFORMANCES OF FAMILY

I'm waiting for the next move, it's actually not in my mind to stay put in one place...the kind of person I am (Tara, dual US & Irish citizen)

I'm kind of a traveller at heart (Rosie, US citizen)

Understanding the movement of individuals from one place to another, across a variety of trajectories, and the impact of such movement on relationships, is in essence about interrogating the ways in which the Indian, Lithuanian and US participants experience space. Tara and Rosie, cited above, represent some of the more mobile lifestyles with which this project has engaged. However, in Chapter 2 I hinted that Tara's experience of moving between countries has not always been fluid and trouble free. This signals the remit of this chapter; that is, understanding the more negotiated encounters with space that some of the participants articulated. This chapter will therefore extend the thesis' juxtaposition of mobility and fixity by focussing on movements across borders, and the manner in which this reinforces academic discourses of hypermobility on the one hand, yet serves to reinforce discourses of immobility on the other hand through various accounts of unrelenting attachments in multiple places, and "structural" and "institutional" restrictions to mobility (Samers, 2010; Urry, 2007). I suggest that in order to flesh out that paradox, a way of thinking about how people become placed and ordered in society through nationality, race, and gender for instance, yet can strategically position themselves in certain contexts at certain times for some purposes, is required. In response to this, I now re-introduce my understanding of scale as *positioning*, as outlined in Chapter 2, locating it firstly as a way to understand uneven spatial relations, and secondly as a particular layer of family landscapes.

An instructive way to frame this chapter within the thesis' overall treatment of space is in terms of Lefebvre's "production of space" (Lefebvre, 1991). The migrant stories of family life grounded in fluid concepts such as *memoryscapes*, *technoscapes*, and *travelscapes* in Chapter 4, and through multiple imaginings of place in Chapter 3, for instance, can be understood as 'ground-up' "spatial practice" as well as "representational spaces" (ibid.: 33). In other words, my spatial lens thus far has focussed on the lived and perceived realities of space. This chapter will similarly attend to these "situated knowledges" of space, but will introduce "representations of space", that is conceived spaces, into the mix (Haraway, 1991; Lefebvre, 1991: 33). More specifically, I will show how articulations of attachment and belonging play out with discourses of citizenship at nation-state borders, and that moving across space and staying in places is not always done in ways that migrants would like to be able to do.

5.1 SPATIALISING ACCOUNTS OF MIGRATION

I have already located my particular way of thinking about migration through an integrated approach tying together ideas from transnational studies, cultural geography, and political geography, and I now want to mobilise this approach by foregrounding the 'migrant' identity of my participants, and their "ways of belonging" in, and performing, spatial relations (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2008: 287). Contemporary migration involves crossing territorial borders, but I argue that earlier migrations, such as those by the earliest civilisations who moved across continents to places which had climates conducive to producing food, did not face political boundaries as we understand them today; rather, they were confronted with more localised tribal boundaries. For this reason, I agree with transnational theorisations of the nation-state, and similarly regard borders as temporally contingent and always subject to reconfiguration. I therefore argue that any attention to political boundaries needs to be historicised, and the boundary at the centre of this chapter – the nation-state border around the Republic of Ireland – must be understood as a particular part a much longer border story. Ireland, as a post-colony, is an island that

was once bounded only by its shores, then it was divided into micro kingdoms, to be later subsumed into the territorial space of the United Kingdom, and today, divided into two territories – the Republic of Ireland, a nation-state in its current political form since 1949, and Northern Ireland, a political entity since 1922 and a part of the UK. I argue that Ireland must be understood as a dynamic political space for the manner in which it has been contested over time. In considering movements across its border then, I need an optic that can acknowledge that dynamism, and its temporal contingency. In spatialising my participants' accounts of migration, I need to locate the border as a site for uneven spatial relations.

5.1.1 Understanding Uneven Spatial Relations

Theories of territory, borders, citizenship and government are mobilised by cultural and political geographers in order to understand migrants' experience of uneven spatial relations and power relations. I deliberately conflate these individual bodies of work in order to tease out some threads that might best complement the landscape imaginary of family, as well as speak to the dynamics of my particular participants' relations with space and power. Territory, as a concept, necessarily involves thinking about borders and demarcation, who belongs in a certain space, and who doesn't, and what political, economic and social processes are involved in producing territorialised spaces (Painter, 2010; Cox, 2008; Swyngedouw, 2004; Kofman, 2005). Territory is predominantly approached from either a Marxist position where the relationship between power, class, accumulation and regionalism are the main theoretical and empirical foci, a politics of belonging approach where the social production, negotiation and experience of belonging in place, and across scales is the primary concern, or a more nuanced politics of scale approach which encompasses elements of both perspectives (ibid.). According to Painter, who draws from all three positions:

> [t]erritory is not the timeless and solid geographical foundation of state
> power it sometimes seems, but a porous, provisional, labour-intensive and

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ultimately perishable and non-material product of networked socio-technical practices. (Painter, 2010: 1116).

Territory, according to this view, has become a rather 'gloopy' and malleable concept. This is reinforced through theoretical contributions describing the reconfiguration of territories in terms of either "deterritorialisation", or more commonly, the "re-scaling of territoriality" (Samers, 2010: 257; Brenner, 1999: 50; Swyngedouw, 2004, 37). Empirically, this is observed by political geographers through economic and political re-scaling, where the regulatory realm, that is the effective territoriality, is either extended spatially through "up-scaling" or spatially concentrated through "down-scaling" (Samers, 2010).

With specific reference to migration, the territoriality of the nation-state is simultaneously challenged and reasserted through constant trans-border flows. Theoretically, transnational and translocal perspectives in particular serve to disrupt the epistemology of state-centrism, showing how belonging and attachment transcends such spatial demarcations. Understandings of territory vary from acknowledging the salience of their boundaries, but recognising their time-contingency, to an altogether postnational thesis where the only perspective on reality is that from "subaltern positions" (Khagram and Levitt, 2008: 5; Mignolo, 2000: 737). Territories, and their boundaries, are regarded as negotiable at the social scale, while being conceived as more solid at the political scale. Regardless of the substantive focus, what seems to persist across much of the literature on territory is the interplay of scale, belonging and power that territories ultimately spatialise (Swyngedouw, 2004; Kofman, 2005; Delaney, 2009). Within Political Geography, other bodies of work address not so much the nature or meaning of territories, rather, they are concerned with territorialising processes, and it is to one of these that I now turn.

Border Studies, according to Newman's overview, consist of empirical and theoretical contributions ranging from boundary as demarcation, to trans-boundary functionality, territory, cyberspace, identity formation, scale, and of course, borderlessness (Newman, 2006). Kolossov, in a similar contribution,

adds to these by identifying "security" and "boundaries as social representations" as additional foci across this literature (Kolossov, 2005: 620-625). Much of this work uses the border as a focus for considering the processes around citizenship and governance at both a theoretical and empirical level (Kofman, 2005; Rumford, 2008). For example, Kofman shows how states in the European Union, through the governance of citizenship, manipulate the porosity of their borders by granting different status to different immigrant groups depending on how 'desirable' that group is for the economic and cultural functionality of that state (Kofman, 2005). Ways of knowing the working of borders have shifted across three paradigms over time, according to Paasi, from a "spatial science" perspective, through a "behavioural approach" which eventually paved the way for "more sensitive ethnographic approaches" (Paasi, 2005: 664). The latter focuses on the constructed nature of boundaries at all scales through what Newman and Paasi call "boundary narratives" (Newman and Paasi, 1998). Rumford, in particular, shows how what he terms "borderwork" can "take place at any spatial scale from the geopolitical...to the local" through a consideration of the European case (Rumford, 2008: 3). This work both comments on, and is part of a tendency by political geographers in particular to understand "the process of bounding" at the regulatory and social levels through a scalar lens (Newman, 2006: 148).

A processual understanding of borders/bordering/boundaries/bounding, which I term *bordering*, necessarily involves empirical focus on the "border scenes" where boundaries "imposed from above" and "evolving from below" meet (Newman, 2006: 154). However, such an ontogenetic understanding of borders cannot be regarded as the current orthodoxy in theorisations of borders and boundaries, a fact brought into sharp focus by a robust debate in a recent issue of *Progress in Human Geography*. In it, Jones proposes an understanding of bounding as always incomplete, going so far as to suggest that geographical enquiry of the "inchoate process of bounding" should take precedence over analyses of the nature of the categories that such bounding delimits (Jones, 2009). However, Schaffter et al., in a stern rebuff of such a proposition, argue that this is tantamount to a spaceless understanding of the world (Schaffter et al., 2010). In response, Jones signals his intention is to

achieve the opposite – to materialise and spatialise boundary studies (Jones, 2010). In being pressed on his argument, Jones appears to turn to the notion of "historical contingency", an idea borrowed from transnational studies as noted above, for an understanding of categories such as national identity (ibid.: 265). This introduces *time* into the debate, and therefore signals an important way in which landscape, as understood in this thesis, can be garnered as a way of thinking about the role of political borders in the transnational lives of some of my participants.

The interplay of bounding and categories is a useful way to think about citizenship. Gilmartin understands citizenship broadly as the "universalistic democratic rights to/of participation" (Gilmartin, 2004: 23). It is that relationship between the determination of "rights" (bounding) and the participatory practices within the geopolitical space of the nation-state (category) that those rights facilitate, or not, that Newman is getting at in his prescription for more rigorous border studies (Newman, 2006). Ong's work has contributed much to rethinking citizenship through her notion of "flexible citizenship" (Ong, 2006). Her thesis suggests that citizenship is a negotiation between subjects and states with the terms of negotiation constantly shifting in response to economic and political imperatives (ibid.). In particular, Ong uses the concept of "flexible citizenship" to describe how states and subjects "respond fluidly and opportunistically to changing political-economic conditions" (ibid.: 6). The notion of "graduated sovereignty" describes the differential regulation of groups and practices depending on the interests of the state at a particular point in time (ibid.: 7). What both of these ideas show is that borders, as well as citizenship, shifts and becomes increasingly porous in some senses, yet remain solid in others. This thinking has inflected recent work on citizenship, particularly work within a transnational frame. Samers identifies a typology of citizenship which presents four interlinked iterations that pay respect to Ong's thinking – citizenship as *legal status*, as *rights*, as *belonging* and as *civic and political participation* (Samers, 2010: 243-295). That typology is understood by Mitchell through her notion of "the technologies of citizenship" that states and actors employ in order to construct belonging (Mitchell, 2006: 390). These "technologies" refer to the state policies around

citizenship and the mechanisms through which they are implemented, but as Mitchell emphasises, political theorists must also explore the "bottom-up...responses to new technologies" too, an idea which echoes that of Ong (ibid.). Kofman, taking a different approach again, rather than imagining different types of citizenship similar to Samers and Mitchell, focuses on the ever changing "scales of governance" that produce these various citizenships (Kofman, 2005: 454). Citizenship is becoming increasingly stratified as a result of this multi-scalarity and this produces a hierarchy of belonging according to Kofman.

In accepting that "technologies of citizenship" are made available and mobilised at different scales, I am arguing that one's position in place and society determines one's access to such technologies (Mitchell, 2006). For instance, the Lithuanian participants in this study are able to garner their EU/Lithuanian passports for the *right* to travel to, work, and live freely in Ireland – this is a particular technology accessible to that group since 2004 where they were positioned as EU citizens as well as Lithuanian citizens. Conversely, participants from India and the United States must *apply for permission* to work in the State through the various visa instruments and routes to Irish citizenship in place – these are a very different set of technologies which, as the rest of this chapter will show, resulted in their positioning as 'non-EU', a designation engendering very different experiences with the Irish border than those of the Lithuanians. This calls attention to the manner in which citizenship is governed, and it is to the governing of migration in Ireland that I now turn.

"Geographies of governance" marks an evolution from a concern with "government" to a broader concern with "governance" in political geography (Hubbard et al., 2002). Governance refers to the fragmentation of policy implementation among state, market and social actors (ibid.). However, when it comes to regulating migration, particularly immigration, it seems that more participatory models of policy formulation and delivery are still non-existent, particularly in the Irish context. At its simplest, the responsibility for formulating immigration policy in Ireland rests with the Department of Justice

and Law Reform, the Department of Enterprise, Trade and Innovation, and the Department of Foreign Affairs – all departments of central government – coordinated by the *Irish Naturalisation and Immigration Service* whose responsibilities incorporate visa, asylum, repatriation, reception, and integration policies and procedures (Irish Naturalisation & Immigration Service, 2011). Responsibility for the implementation of policies relating to entry rights for non-EEA (European Economic Area) citizens, asylum and illegal trafficking lies with the Garda National Immigration Bureau (GNIB). This is a division of the Irish police force, *An Garda Siochána*. This narrow regulatory regime constituted by the three government departments and the State's law enforcement arm, An Garda Siochána, can be said to represent a 'government of immigration', rather than a 'governance of immigration' (Gray, 2006). The Garda National Immigration Bureau represents the frontline of the State's control of immigration as it constitutes the physical presence at its borders, in its police stations, and in that organisation's public office in Dublin. These three sites of encounter with the Irish border pepper the stories of US and Indian migrants who participated in this study. However, while these institutions formally control the "technologies of citizenship" in the case of Ireland, Sue's story below will show that there are other 'technologies' available to circumvent this 'government', exemplifying a sort of unorthodox "down-scaling" of migration control (Mitchell, 2006; Samers, 2010: 196).

In terms of the specific entry routes into Ireland through which the participants of this study arrived, most of the Lithuanians benefitted from the mobility provisions of the European Economic Area (EEA), and Ireland's decision to adopt an 'open door' policy to the 2004 EU accession states, as most arrived post-May 2004, while a small number benefitted from the *Work Permit* scheme which operated prior to EU expansion. The EU mobility provisions represent a partial "up-scaling" of migration control from the national to the supra-national level, but EU member states do retain a certain amount of discretion for policy formulation, especially with regards to family reunification, an arena of policy migration particularly pertinent for this study as far as the US and Indian citizens are concerned (ibid.: 199). As Samers explains, "a citizen of any European country [in the EU] is a citizen of the

European Union, but it is national governments that determine the citizenship of 'third country nationals'" (Samers, 2010: 258). Within this framing therefore, the other two groups – US and Indian citizens – represent "third country nationals". With regard to the Indian participants, two entry routes into Ireland were employed; some entered using an *Employment Visa* while the remainder benefitted from a *Study Visa*. There are two types of employment visa; one is attached to a specific employer while the other is a *Green Card Permit* attached to the individual migrant.   It was the former; the visa issued conditional on the applicant's receipt of a job offer from a prospective Irish employer that the Indian participants in this study possess (Department of Enterprise, Trade & Innovation, 2011).   The *Study Visa* is similarly conditional on the applicant having received an offer of a place on an approved course (ibid).

Some of the US participants entered the State with a Study Visa also, but a significant proportion benefitted from rights to citizenship secured over time. For instance, some participants are spouses of Irish citizens; therefore they availed of *post-nuptial citizenship* prior to the abolition of that provision in 2005. More, who initially entered on the now discontinued *Work Visa* scheme, intended, at the time of their participation in this study, to apply for a *Permanent Residence Card*, which holders are entitled to apply for after receiving sixty stamped months on that visa. For a small number of migrants, entering and living in Ireland was exercised as a right owing to their *dual citizenship status* acquired as children of Irish citizens. Being the most desired 'type' of migrant by the Irish State, along with Irish return-migrants, the latter group of participants represent the apex of a hierarchy operating at the heart of Irish immigration policy (Gray, 2006: 357). However, there is an irony in the fact that some of the most challenging encounters with the GNIB occurred for US citizens who were also Irish citizens, a point explored below. In addition to this, not only are different groups stratified according to national, EU and ethnic identity, as well as by economic dependency, but policy is clearly time contingent given that many participants are in Ireland via instruments no longer available. In terms of the existing entry instruments, it is clear that they discriminate *temporally* (the Study Visa is issued on a year-by-year basis and

finally expires on the completion of study, while the Permanent Residence Card is obviously indefinite, for example), *spatially* (different labour market mobilities afforded to those on an Employment Visa to those who entered as a result of EEA mobility provisions, for example) and across *scales* (those from any EEA states are free to enter and leave while those from particular nation-states outside that supra-national block are regulated).

5.1.2 Migrant Positioning in Landscape

Listening to the first hand experiences of obtaining and being bound by these particular citizenship and residence technologies, I was struck by two things in the participants' stories of family and home. Firstly, the implications of legal status were not framed as insurmountable obstacles to their family lives here in Ireland. Secondly, when this was directly addressed, participants did not speak so much about government and state, but more of how occupying particular positions in space, at specific times, prompts differential relations of power and senses of belonging. Chapter 4 described a processual understanding of landscape as a way of expressing the experience of family as a social relation which is contingent on space, place and time. An inherently phenomenological approach was taken which privileged the ways in which those landscapes are part of one's very being in place, space and time. While not abandoning that perspective, this chapter complicates that way of seeing lived reality by introducing a certain scaling or 'rescaling' to that landscape through a juxtaposition of "scales of regulation" with "scales of networks" as one way to bring these different positions into view (Swyngedouw, 2004: 33).

The remainder of this chapter mobilises this idea of *positioning* as a way to think about migrant experiences at, as well as within the borders of the Irish State. The work reviewed above adopts a scalar perspective on power and belonging I have suggested. Here, I adopt a very particular understanding of scale that I suggest resonates with what were in many ways scalar stories of belonging both within, and at the Irish border. A juxtaposition of being positioned and self-positioning emerged from the stories, with the former

expressing the 'vertical' processes of bordering and group stratification by states, while the latter articulates the 'lateral' processes of kin and group networking within state borders. I work through this juxtaposition as yet another way to draw out the pervasive tensions between mobility and immobility at the heart of the migratory experience. This approach resonates with the work of Ong in particular, whose work is very much about understanding "the politics of imposed identity and the politics of self-positioning" (Ong, 2006: 23). The relationship between landscape and scale, as I understand it here, rests on two assumptions. Firstly, as Chapter 2 outlines, landscape is not a scale in itself, rather it spans a variety of scales. Secondly, the manner in which one positions oneself in landscape, and becomes positioned across scales renders *positionality* in place and in time as the conceptual thread that binds scale to landscape. This is so because landscape is often about being multiply immersed in a range of contexts at the same time. This, I argue, is an iteration of the landscape imaginary that can productively respond to Samers' call for a spatialisation of migration research (Samers, 2010).

Landscape is being understood throughout this work as being the articulation of practices through the spatio-temporal events which give related sets of practices meaning as a particular type of landscape. That landscape, in turn, becomes contoured by interrelated events which can be understood as 'scapes' of lived experience. Lived experiences of border crossings and the extent to which one's relationship with those borders limits or facilitates transnational ways of living necessitates a 'scalarisation' of the spatial imaginary of landscape I have suggested. This scalar lens, through the concept of positioning, renders landscape as sometimes a site of tension between a way of being in the world (phenomenological) and a way of being placed in the world through a particular ordering (structural), or to return to Lefebvre, between "representational space" and "space of representation" (Wylie, 2007; Lefebvre, 1991). That tension will be worked out through a development of two new contours in migrant landscapes which facilitate an understanding of how migrants and technologies of citizenship are connected

in a scalar relation as I have been discussing here. I now turn to the notions of *borderscapes* and *networkscapes* as a means of understanding that interplay.

5.2 LANDSCAPES ACROSS SCALES

5.2.1 *Borderscapes*

As argued above, the geopolitical border between nation-states can be understood as a temporally-contingent part of "transnational space" (Khagram and Levitt, 2008; Crang et al., 2003: 452). It is a spatiality that must be encountered for certain performances of transnational ways of living (visiting family for example), but not all (*Skyping* family members for example). It is instructive to think of the political border within Crang et al's. broader conceptualisation of transnationalism, "transnational space", because this border is also a space that other movements of people (tourism for example) and things (trade products between countries) must negotiate (Crang et al., 2003: 452). My particular conceptualisation of borders, however, focuses on migrant border-crossing as one type of border encounter. The particular spatial imaginary of borders being proposed here can be located within wider border studies as exemplifying an "ethnographic" approach which attends to, to draw from Jones, the processual nature of bounding, rather than the spaces it delimits (Paasi, 2005; Jones, 2009). *Borderscapes* will be understood as the spatial expression of "borderwork" (Rumford, 2008). "Borderwork" is the totality of "bordering activities" spanning the political, the cultural and the social, according to Rumford (ibid.).

One of the arguments presented above in favour of framing this chapter within an overall transnational approach was the attention that that imaginary places on those who stay as well as those who move. The border stories told for *Migrant Families in Ireland* are in part about the performances of family with kin and non-kin who have not moved, as well as with those who have moved, but to somewhere else. The migration trajectories of those who took part in this study were not exclusively linear, with the majority of participants having

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lived in 'third countries' prior to moving to Ireland, and very often this was punctuated by a period in the country of origin resulting in what the literature often refers to as "circular migration" (Samers, 2010: 10). In many instances, the participants were not the only members of their kin group to have migrated, with many telling the story of their relationships with siblings, in particular, who live in other countries. Kareem's story, presented in Chapter 4 in terms of his *travelscape*, highlighted this particular pattern when he presented images of one of his trips to visit his sister in the UK. This was presented in terms of a mobile performance of family that reconstituted the nature of that particular relationship. However, closer attention to Kareem's story challenges this view of his family reality.

Casting a different lens on Kareem's story, the impression of highly mobile youths freely performing family across space becomes disrupted. Thinking of that story as part of a *borderscape* then, a 'scape' that intersects with his *travelscape*, draws attention to Kareem's parents' border experience and the implications of their positioning as tourists as opposed to visa holders, as is the case with their children. This is illuminated through Kareem's recalling of their trip to visit his sister in Cambridge, UK. Kareem told me of his inability to bring them to Galway, where he currently lives:

> When they [parents] were in the UK my sister had small kids and she can't take them around that much, so I went [there] and took them to Edinburgh - so we were in Edinburgh for three or four days. So that was good also because I couldn't take them to Ireland because of the visa problem. So three of us – me, my mother, and my father – we had three days there together (Kareem, Indian).

The "visa problem" arises because being Indian citizens they cannot apply for a visa for Ireland from the UK. For a moment, they are "fixed" in place, their mobility is curtailed (Samers, 2010: 222-223). This is where a hierarchical understanding of scale resonates more closely with the lived reality of space as the securitization of the borders of the nation-state acts as a barrier to mobility. However, by switching back to the optic of travelscape, touring

around the UK with his parents represents a restoration of mobility, and a new way of doing that family's "kinswork", to borrow di Leonardo's term (di Leonardo, 1987, cited in Baldassar, 2007: 392). By travelling to the UK to spend time with his parents, Kareem is taking a conscious decision to position himself as his parents are positioned, that is, as a tourist too, thus representing a negotiation of border control by employing a particular technology available to him as a holder of an Irish visa – the right to apply for a UK tourist visa. This, ironically, represents a kind of 'controlled mobility'.

While that story concentrates on rights of entry, rights to remain are also negotiable and operate across scales. Sue, from the US, originally entered Ireland with a Study Visa, but having formed a relationship with an Irish man, wished to remain in the country after the completion of her course. This required "borderwork" at two scales through two positions (Rumford, 2008). Her first approach, what she terms the "by the book" route, was to find an employer who is entitled to sponsor non-EEA citizens for an *Employment Visa* (Sue, US citizen). Sue's qualifications and work experience falls outside the list of designated skills where employers are allowed to hire non-EEA employees, meaning that she must wait until a position has been unsuccessfully advertised through the government's employment agency, *FAS*, before she is eligible to be hired. In many ways this exposes a paradox at the heart of Irish immigration control; that is, obstacles such as those Sue faced are placed in front of migrants from states where Ireland actively promotes and celebrates close political and cultural ties (the US in this instance), while people from other States where, historically at least, political and cultural ties are weaker (Lithuania for instance), enjoy free movement and rights to remain. As Gray points out, EU migrants are the "next 'most favoured' immigrants after returning [Irish] migrants" as far as immigration policies are concerned (Gray, 2006: 357). Even when Sue eventually found an organisation that was willing to employ her, they had advertised the position in a category where employers are not allowed to hire non-EEA citizens, resulting in what she describes as "three or four months of back and forth – 'we'll hire you…we can't hire you...this has happened...'" (Sue, US citizen). Here, Sue

who dutifully occupied the position that the State created for her, that is a non-EEA citizen, encountered what seemed to be impenetrable borders.

However, Sue switched her efforts to secure a visa to the local scale and repositioned herself as the *defacto* partner of an Irish citizen. To put this differently, she exercised a sort of "flexible citizenship" (Ong, 2006). As she explains:

> It definitely took the intervention – you know I really had to learn how Ireland worked at a microcosm level – and [Sue's partner] eventually just phoned up the local TD [Member of Irish Parliament], changed the decision, and I had the Visa the next day (ibid.).

Strictly speaking this does not constitute a "down-scaling" of immigration control given the rather informal and unorthodox route employed. However, Sue did employ the "technologies of citizenship" available to her partner, that is access to his local member of parliament, in order to engage with the Irish State and negotiate a right to remain, through the formal vehicle of the Employment Visa (Mitchell, 2006). In this way, it becomes clear that borderscapes are multi-scalar, and by understanding the events that expose how one is positioned, and self-positions within that landscape, its various contours come into sharper focus. It also becomes somewhat clearer from this story that borderscapes also manifest through events which take place away from the site of the physical border, and that this often necessitates learning how "Ireland work[s] at a microcosm level" through having lived here, and having formed attachments here (ibid.).

However, border events which unfold at the physical sites of immigration control dominated the narratives of US and Indian participants. One such border 'site' is the Garda station where Study Visas are annually renewed, for a fee. Carol's story can be situated within the Irish State's discursive framing of the granting of 'status' to non-EEA migrants in terms of a gift for which the recipient should be grateful, a gift ironically, which must be paid for in the form of an administration fee.   This discourse is reinforced

through the phraseology employed in immigration legislation. For example, the *Immigration, Residence and Protection Bill 2010*, a piece of legislation still being processed through the *Oireachtas* (Irish houses of parliament) at the time of writing, cites a 1986 Supreme Court ruling which frames the State's "control of foreign nationals":

> While steps taken by a State are often restrictive of the movement of foreign nationals, the State may also exercise its powers so as to take actions in a particular situation where it has been determined that the common good is served by giving *benefits* of residency to a category of foreign nationals — as a *gift*, in effect (Department of Justice and Law Reform, 2010: 2, emphasis added).

In many ways, the "gift" attitude penetrates down to the policy implementation and administration scale, hence inflecting the border experience of some migrants, as Carol's story starkly demonstrates (ibid.). Carol is a student from the US studying in Ireland with a *Study Visa*. While she did not recall the application and granting of that visa as being particularly problematic, the annual renewal procedure has caused her a lot of stress and upset. Exploring other parts of her identity during our conversation, Carol portrayed herself in a number of ways: as a young person optimistic about the future, as part of a number of friendship networks, as a daughter to her parents, and as a partner to her Irish boyfriend – all in very positive terms. However, when it came to exploring her identity as a *migrant* in Ireland – particularly through her borderscape – the tone of the conversation changes. Therefore, in terms of the transnational space Carol occupies, it is insightful to distinguish her "way of being" in space (her social network, for example) from her "way of belonging" (her position as a migrant in Ireland, for example) in order to understand the emotional contours of her life here (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2008: 287).

With reference to the latter, the "borderwork" which articulates one particular "way of belonging" as a US migrant constitutes a rather challenging borderscape (Rumford, 2008; Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2008). Carol's Study Visa must be renewed annually at her 'local' Garda Station. That designation

of 'local' has itself been problematic for Carol, as she explains that she lives in a rural area of Co. Meath at the border with the neighbouring Co. Kildare. The town which she is physically closest to, and in which she lives a large part of her life is across the border in Co. Kildare, but for the purposes of her visa renewal, she must present at the Garda Station in a town which is approximately a twenty-five minute drive away, simply because it is in Co. Meath and she falls within that jurisdiction. Again, the tensions of positionality – how she is positioned geographically and positions herself geographically, in this case – form part of the landscape. Carol explains the practical difficulties this entails as she does not drive and there is no public transport option, and the lack of accommodation she received because of this constraint. Indeed, recalling her first visa renewal, which should necessitate one trip to the Garda Station, pre-arranged by appointment, Carol explained how this took four separate trips as the immigration officer at that station repeatedly broke their appointments. Each trip required the arrangement of transport, as well as time out of her studies. On attempting to negotiate the procedure on the third unsuccessful trip in such a way that would enable her to fulfil her obligations in a more convenient manner, Carol once again encountered the rigid procedures which form part of the immigration process in Ireland. Her request to leave the appropriate paperwork with an alternative Garda officer who would pass it onto the immigration Garda was rejected:

> Oh well you know, we're not in the habit of taking your paperwork because we don't know what will happen to it if it got lost. You know, you better not leave it here (Garda, cited by Carol, US citizen).

Here, boundaries are placed between Carol's circumstances and the State's mode of regulation and that boundary is unbending. Here also, scale matters because there is an uneven power-geometry in operation, not least because the particular "border scene" where the two meet is in the most austere of regulatory sites – a police station (Newman, 2006: 154).

That particular border scene is also a site of discrimination. Carol's exasperation around the inefficiency of the renewal process was expressed to

the same Garda officer in a moment where a number of lines of prejudice crossed:

> I said 'listen, this is the third time I'm after coming down here, this is the third time I've had an appointment, and it's not been kept'. I said 'I don't have a car, it's very difficult for me to get down here' and the fellow in the Garda Station said 'looks like it's time to get a car love' (Carol, US citizen).

Apart from the contempt being shown to Carol as an immigrant, as the wider story obviates, her gender identity, her student identity, and being a non-driver all become the subject of contempt on the Garda officer's part. These facets of identity are challenged through her borderscape, a challenge which left her "taken aback" and "quite upset" (ibid.). However, it is important to examine the significance of this Garda officer being male, and the pejorative and rather sexist address – "love" – for a moment. This is crucial, because as Walton-Roberts and Pratt show, it is important to "spatialise" and "specify" patriarchy in migration studies (Walton-Roberts and Pratt, 2005: 193). They argue that it is more productive to understand the gendered dimension of migration within particular places and contexts, rather than framing it within more generalised discourses around patriarchy. While this episode represents that individual Garda officer's discriminatory attitude towards Carol, it also raises questions around state patriarchy and the manner in which such an attitude to gender relations becomes socially reproduced within its various institutions. This points to a facet of migration control that shapes how female migrants in particular are not only positioned by their nationality, ethnicity and status, but by their gender too. This clearly has real effects because as Carol admitted: "I felt attacked. I felt like a second class citizen" (Carol, US citizen). Here, it becomes clear why an understanding of multiple positionalities through a scalar imaginary is a useful approach for capturing the many textures of the migratory experience.

If Carol's position as a partner in a long-term relationship with her Irish boyfriend is brought into view, in other words, if the same story is viewed through the family scale, then the borderscape becomes an even more tense

landscape. The stresses of negotiating this borderscape both on a day-to-day basis, and annually when her visa must be renewed, have ramifications for her relationship. Carol referred to the "huge amount of tension in terms of day to day living" that the restrictions around employment and benefit entitlement, as well as the pressure to show the authorities that she can be self-sufficient, places on that relationship (Carol, US citizen). In addition to this, she recalls the "absolutely God awful row" between herself and her partner on the day when they had to wait seven hours in the car park of the Garda station for the immigration officer to return on the fourth, and ultimately successful attempt to renew her visa for the first time (ibid.). Such stories help to "materialise the border", in Burrell's words, by infusing it with the performativities and lived realities that take place around it as a physical site, and as a psychological site where its omnipresence in Carol's case is a source of constant strain and worry (Burrell, 2008). This materialisation accommodates an understanding of the "intersection between the political and personal at borders", an intersection which appears in this story to be a scalar relation with a distinct hierarchical posture (ibid.: 353). This also offers something of a concretisation of what Swyngedouw casts as the "continuous tension between 'scales of regulation' and 'scales of networks'", and in this instance, the former seems to overshadow the latter (Swyngedouw, 2004: 33). Families also become negotiated at that scale as Carol's story testifies. A borderscape imaginary helps in 'reading' this particular story across scales thereby spatialising it in a different way to some of the other readings, or 'scapes' proposed in earlier chapters.

Bordering events at the entry points to the State – at its airports and ports – can be equally as tense and discriminatory. Rosie's story in particular shows how the site of the airport becomes a site of contestation and fear. Like Carol, Rosie is from the US, signalling an important theme that emerged as the study progressed – US citizens' borderscapes are experienced as being far more hostile than those of the study's other non-EEA group, Indian citizens. This may arise due to the quite different expectations of the immigration process of the two groups, however the persistent negative stories from the US group, in addition to the less negative, but nonetheless critical stories of

the Indian group, do point to problems around the management of the Irish border by the GNIB. Rosie recalled her daughter's experience of coming to Ireland to visit her parents – a typical part of the doing of that particular transnational family – as a rather harrowing experience on one particular occasion. As Rosie and her husband, Jerry, who also participated in the study, both possessed Irish passports at the time of this event, because Jerry is the direct descendent of a person born in Ireland, their daughter was in a position to complete a *foreign birth registration*, which she did, and attempted to enter the State with that certificate. However, the validity of the certificate for entry into the State was disputed at immigration control, as Rosie told me: "he [GNIB immigration officer] said to her that it meant nothing and he could put her back on the next plane to the United States, and that her parents weren't here legally" and that any of the three "could be stopped on the street and arrested" (Rosie, US citizen).

Of course, the accusation here is false given that both her parents possessed Irish citizenship at the time of this event. Apart from this, the *Foreign Birth Registration Certificate* constitutes proof of Irish citizenship therefore should, legally, allow entry into the State (Department of Foreign Affairs, 2011). While this event concluded with Rosie and Jerry's daughter being allowed entry, she emerged into the arrivals hall of the airport "in tears" (Rosie, US citizen). Again, a power geometry was played out between a female and a male immigration officer, and again a hierarchical power relation is manifest. Furthermore, the resources mobilised by this officer in the exercise of power are called into question as his articulation of Rosie's family's legal status is technically incorrect. However, this appears irrelevant as his 'better positioning', relative to Rosie's daughter, "to successfully manipulate resources in order to produce effects" lends authority to his role in that particular encounter, regardless of the actual legal situation (Kesby, 2007: 2815). In this particular sense, scale does matter and scalar hierarchies do shape our being in the world.

The effects of such border events on the actual performativity of family vary. Rosie's daughter's experience did not ultimately prohibit the visit from

taking place, but it did texture the nature of that visit which became dominated by Rosie's upset of her daughter's treatment, and her resolve to take action. However, as Carol's story shows, her relationship with her partner was put under strain as a result of her border experience. In this way, borderscapes do matter for the performances of transnational families. However, to persist a little more with the gender theme, it is notable that male participants' stories of Irish border sites were not expressed as hostile; rather these stories emphasized the inefficiency of the visa renewal process. Jeff, for instance, speaks about the process of having his *work permit* renewed in the GNIB office. On entering the State for the first time, Jeff's passport was stamped for 6 months and he was advised he would need to have it re-stamped at the end of that period by the GNIB. Quoting the immigration officer, Jeff tells how he was advised that he should "bring a book" on that occasion as he would have to wait in a queuing system for some hours (Jeff, US citizen). This materialised, as Jeff revealed his first renewal entailed a twelve hour wait. This is a story common to many non-EEA participants, and emerges because the GNIB have only one office to cover the Dublin metropolitan area. Unlike in Carol's case, those resident in that area cannot attend their local Garda station for this purpose and must attend the GNIB office instead. A ticket system operates here, and it has become convention that clients will arrive several hours before the office opens in order to secure a place far enough forward in the queue to ensure they will actually be attended to that day. However, there is no guarantee that if one presents at that office on a particular day that they will be processed before close of business.

Geography is important here, as Kareem's story highlights, because when he was asked about his immigration experience he described the visa renewal as a "headache" and "costly", but living in Galway he is able to arrange this through his local Garda Station. It was interesting to note that Kareem paid greater attention to his friend's experience in the GNIB Dublin office during our conversation, describing himself as being somewhat fortunate not to have to organise his Study Visa renewal through there. That story echoed Jeff's in terms of extremely long waits from early in the morning. However, Kareem articulated a sort of 'controlled mobility' by expressing

frustration that Study Visas are issued as *single-entry visas* in Ireland, therefore any short trip outside of the State necessitates a *multi-entry visa*, and for this Kareem must travel to the GNIB office in Dublin in advance. This requires prior organisation and additional expense. The costliness of visa application and renewal was criticised by most non-EEA participants in the study, thus suggesting that borderscapes are also constituted by material barriers being placed in front of immigrants to Ireland. This financial materiality can be read not only as a revenue generative mechanism, but as a further assertion of 'power over' people who move into the State, thickening the border from a mere 'line' around the territorial space to a much denser expression of uneven power relations between the territory and those it positions as 'alien' to it (Kesby, 2007: 2818; Paasi, 2002: 200).

Borderscapes are not only produced by the geo-political border and its institutions, but also by labour market accessibility. In striking contrast to his wife Rosie's story of their daughter's trip to Ireland, above, Jerry's border-crossing experiences are relatively straight-forward as he possesses an Irish passport. However, on arriving to Ireland for the first time, Jerry told me of his difficulties in securing a PPS (Personal Public Service) number, a unique social security number which all workers are obliged to have to work legally in the State. However, for migrants a difficulty arises as proof of permanent address is required to secure a PPS number, and finding both a permanent residence, and proof of it through a utility bill for example, takes time to secure. Indeed, these may be dependent on receipt of one's first pay, which cannot in many cases be processed without a PPS number. Sarish's story highlighted an added complication in that many employers now pay staff electronically, which of course requires an Irish bank account, which in turn can only be set up with a PPS number and proof of permanent address. Sarish was fortunate to be accommodated by his company who issued him with a pay advance in the form of a cheque, thus enabling him to rent a property, which meant he was in a position to apply for a PPS number and a bank account. What is noteworthy here is that Sarish's situation was resolved at the discretion of his employer, but this is by no means a legal obligation and points to a practical barrier facing some migrants to Ireland. It is interesting to note that the

Lithuanian participants reported no such difficulties around securing their PPS numbers, finding the process efficient and "surprisingly easy", to borrow Ruta's words (Ruta, Lithuanian). In most cases, knowing other Lithuanians who arrived before them, or simply having employment secured before arriving in Ireland, meant that negotiating the PPS procedure was assisted by compatriots or employers. The significance of friendship networks will be brought into focus in the next section.

It is instructive to push the contrasting borderscapes of the Lithuanian and non-EEA participants a little further by way of emphasising how the "rescaling" of migration control from the nation-state to the European Union has material impacts on those who are differentially positioned according to citizenship status (Swyngedouw, 2004). Regina's story draws this out rather effectively. Regina is from Lithuania and therefore benefits from EU mobility provisions. Her fiancé, whom she met in Ireland, is from Uganda. While Regina can travel back and forth to Lithuania with freedom, her fiancé's *single-entry visa* means that he must stay in Ireland when Regina takes their children to visit their grandparents in Lithuania, thus placing restrictions on how that family performs a transnational relationship with kin. This becomes a particular strain at Christmas, as Regina told me that they only managed to spend one Christmas together as a family in Lithuania since she moved to Ireland. Regina's family borderscape is further complicated by the fact that her brother lives in Norway, a country outside of the EU. While she would like to visit him there, she is reluctant to do so without her fiancé whose mobility is restricted because of his visa status in Ireland. Furthermore, her brother cannot leave Norway as he has allowed his visa there to lapse and must wait until he can secure a new one. Here, the boundaries around the EU, as well as those within the EU serve to immobilise Regina's fiancé and her brother, and the constraints placed on them in turn immobilises Regina herself because she would prefer to travel with her family, even though she is not legally restricted from moving around within the EEA area. In this sense a 'knock-on' immobility is manifest, further complicating Regina's borderscape.

Borderscapes texture migrant family landscapes. The argument here is that using this particular imaginary brings the contours of the border into sharp focus, and it is through exploring those contours that an understanding of how migrants' border experiences in turn texture their family landscapes can be reached. Borderscapes offer a conceptual lens through which geographers can unpack what Mitchell articulates are the intricacies of borders:

> Borders are...differentially porous, varying not just by nation or by political regime, but by types of flows and by particular narratives of the nation transpiring at different moments (Mitchell, 1997: 105).

Here, the Irish border is 'differentially porous' for migrants depending on one's national identity. However, the border experience is further differentiated through a stratification of entry mechanisms ranging from the freedom of mobility granted to EU passports, to the controlled mobility of Study Visas or Employment Visas, as the accounts here show. That experience is further textured by one's gendered identity, as Carol's story so blatantly demonstrated. Borderscapes also incorporate the boundaries around the labour market, and the differential ease with which the various national groups engaged with for this study were able to negotiate that boundary is evident here. All of these boundaries impact on family performativities in some way, and while no border story recalled here told of impeded togetherness, some articulated how they were frustrated in that endeavour. Migrant family landscapes are partly textured at political and economic borders. Those borders do have real effects on migrants' lives, and an important way to understand how those effects are experienced requires an understanding of how one is differently positioned, and self-positions within different contexts, to put it simply – by casting a *scalar lens* on migrants' experiences.

5.2.2 Networkscapes

Understanding how migrants to Ireland position themselves within various groupings both within Ireland, and across nation-state boundaries, evokes an alternative understanding of scale. If the discussion of borderscapes above

emphasised migrant "ways of belonging" in the transnational social field by centring the participants' national identities, the understanding of migrants networks brings their "ways of being" – those practices in space that do not necessarily signal a particular identity – into conversation with the former (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2008: 287). Levitt and Glick Schiller argue that the idea of the transnational social field, which distinguishes between both of these sets of practices, disrupts the hegemonic local-national-transnational-global scalar imaginary through understanding the global and the transnational in their local articulations, a notion referred to by Appadurai as "translocality" (ibid., Appadurai, 1996: 192). In their reading of translocality, Conradson and McKay see it "emerging through both geographical mobility and multiple forms of ongoing emplacement" – an understanding which draws out that tension running through many of the participant stories in *Migrant Families in Ireland* (Conradson & McKay, 2007: 168). These 'bottom-up' perspectives on scale and place which disrupt the hegemonic division of space might be identified as conceptualisations which pay respect to Mignolo's notion of "border thinking" (Mignolo, 2000). This refers to an epistemic shift where colonial separatism as the hegemonic spatial imaginary is replaced by "the perspectives of people in subaltern positions" (ibid.: 736-737). It has been argued that an understanding of positioning is productive for knowing how scale operates, and similarly, focusing on individuals and social groups' self-positioning can lend to Mignolo's epistemological project by bringing the lived spatialities of everyday life into view with particular attention to the ways in which imposed boundaries are negotiated. The migrant networks described here are both local and translocal, joining migrants with each other and with non-migrants, and serve as a counter-narrative to the borderscape's emphasis on mobility and immobility by reintroducing *place* as a particular articulation of migrant belonging.

One instructive way to approach the notion of *networkscapes* is to map the connectivities among the participants and unpack what the nature of those connections reveals about translocal ways of living. Table 5.1 shows the range of networks within which some of the participants are connected. This table maps the various networks that this project was able to tap into in order

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to recruit participants. It excludes other networked connections that these participants may be involved in but were not used as a basis for recruitment, and it also excludes several participants who were approached on an individual basis and had no connection with other participants. The designation of 'family' in the table pays respect to the manner in which each participant described their relationship to the other, and does not necessarily imply a blood tie, in line with the ontology of family being pursued in this study.

At a glance, it can be seen that these migrants in Ireland are part of kin, workplace, friendship and home-country association ties. I was given the opportunity to experience some Lithuanian Community Dublin meetings as well as one US Democrats Abroad meeting. The latter is part of an international network of nationally-based organisations that offers US expatriate supporters of the Democrat Party the opportunity to meet and organise fund-raising events for that organisation. In both cases, these gatherings were attended by approximately twenty to thirty people. These were used as overt participant recruitment opportunities for *Migrant Families in*

NETWORK	PARTICIPANT
Work-based Friendship (Compatriots)	Vilte, Regina, Donna, Emilija, Daiva, Kristina, Carla, Sue
Work-based Friendship (Non-compatriots)	Kareem, Monika
Family (Cohabiting)	Jerry, Rosie, Aiste, Jonas, Antanas, Daina, Bhadra, Prahalad
Family (Non-cohabiting)	Tara, Tom
Friendship Network	Kristina, Antanas, Daina, Aiste, Jonas, Linas
Lithuanian Community Dublin Organisation	Aiste, Linas, Jonas
US Democrats Abroad Organisation	Jerry, Rosie, Dorothy

Table 5.1: Overview of participant group connectivities

Ireland. In relation to the family and friendship networks in table 5.1, these grew from a 'snowballing' method of participant recruitment. In these cases, being able to identify others who the participant felt might be interested in taking part in research indicates a certain depth to the relationship between these various groups. From my meeting with each participant, it was clear that these were more than mere acquaintances. This points to the meaningfulness of networks of association for migrants, and it is to the dynamics of these networkscapes that the discussion now turns.

The Lithuanian Community Dublin and the US Democrats Abroad associations articulate migrant "ways of belonging" (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2008: 287). However, other ties, such as those with work colleagues, are expressions of Levitt and Glick Schiller's "ways of being" in "transnational space", or the transnational social field (ibid.; Crang et al., 2003: 452). That is to say, they are not founded on national or ethnic affinities, or other markers of identity. For example, Rosie spoke about her co-workers as being a significant support network since she arrived in Ireland. She told me that they "have been a major support system for me …. and made adjusting to a new life, a new job, really easy" (Rosie, US citizen). This *support* theme permeated participant stories around family and friends in the migration context. This constitutes one meaningful contour of networkscapes. As Rosie's case shows, she is part of other networks too – she lives with her husband and their daughter, who moved to Ireland after them, she is also part of Jerry's broader kin network in Ireland which he spoke a great deal about, and of course, she and Jerry are involved in the Democrats Abroad organisation in Dublin. She is differentially positioned in a variety of groupings through circumstance, affinity and family ties in a system of interrelated networks which in many ways provides the 'architecture' of her social life here in Ireland. In this way, networkscapes can be understood as the spatial expression of a person's group connections which may or may not be themselves interconnected.

Alison's story of her family's life in Dublin emphasised localised connections which form an important part of their social network in the city. Alison is from the US, her husband is from the west of Ireland, and their

children were born in Dublin and are of school going age. Alison and her husband have formed friendships with the parents of some of their children's classmates, and these families form part of their "community" (Alison, US citizen). These connections were brought to the research through an image of her young son's birthday party, which these friends attended with their own children. Alison explained that this event was a deliberate attempt to "bring in more community" to their family life, hence extending the family scale to the scale of community as a way of making the children's "world bigger" (ibid.). Here, Alison and her husband position themselves as members of the local community, participating in practices which are not necessarily specific to migrants. This is a particular "way of being" in place, a spatially concentrated way of being that does not have a transnational or translocal dimension (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2008: 287).

While it is possible to conceive of families as a network of people who identify with each as being kin or kin-like, the landscape imaginary is used here to offer a thicker understanding of why people relate in familial ways to each other, and where those relations are articulated. However, if some of this "thickness" is stripped back momentarily, it is possible to map families as networked groups. This may be an insightful way to understand how friendship networks come to substitute traditional family functionalities of support and togetherness for migrants. This is how Rajesh described his relationship with his friendship circle with other Indian migrants in Galway. Rajesh lives in Galway city with his wife and children, who moved to Ireland with him so he could study in the university in Galway. Figure 5.1 captured a day trip taken by Rajesh and his family with that group, and was used to express the centrality of these people in their life in Ireland rather than to bring the actual gathering it depicts into the conversation. Rajesh narrates his images as follows:

> These are my best friends – they don't think they're from different parts of India or something like that, but once we met in Galway since two years we are very friendly and we help each other so we go to his house, his house or his house and then they came to here [Rajesh's house] and we

don't feel we came to other people's house – so we are very friendly and help each other so for me when I'm in a group I'm in a home safe place (Rajesh, Indian).

Rajesh and his friends perform a relationship that somewhat replicates the ways in which Indian families, traditionally organised around *joint families*, emphasise the role of the extended family (Goode, 1970). This is manifested through the 'open door' policy each adopts for their friends and the support role played when any one of the group needs assistance. Rajesh elaborated on this by telling me the story of the friend who took this photograph. In the winter prior to Rajesh's participation, that friend developed a respiratory problem and the group jointly accompanied him to hospital and remained there "as support for him" (Rajesh, Indian).

Fig. 5.1: "These are my best friends" (Rajesh, Indian)

The depth of this friendship network, exemplified through their shared sense of home in each others' houses, and this particular story about helping a friend in need, suggests that networkscapes fold into the family landscape in

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quite material ways, and are not merely loose affinities based on a shared ethnic and national identity. Such affinities might be understood as "creative affinities" in that they garner their shared national and ethnic identity to perform a familial relationality (Mason, 2008: 36). However, Rajesh's photographs and stories were dominated by kin, with this group of friends entering the conversation through one image introduced at a later stage of the research encounter. This suggests that 'degrees' of affinity and responsibility operate. Returning to the notion of self-positioning, Rajesh clearly placed himself in a number of family contexts – his own nuclear family in Galway, his extended family in India, his friendship circle in Galway. The emotional attachments to each of the three groups varies throughout Rajesh's narratives, with senses of intimacy and closeness at their most intense when he speaks about his wife and children. This story evokes a sense of scale based on 'degrees of affinity' to groups that are differentially spatialised. In this understanding, power is not the marker of scales, as it was in the previous section. Rather, multiple belongings appear to be demarcated from each other by degrees of intimacy in a scalar relation where the depth of Rajesh's involvement differs at each scale. Scales are therefore lived in different ways in different spatial and social contexts, and privileging hierarchical meanings of scale over networked scales seems at odds with how it is lived on a daily basis.

Levitt and Jaworsky, in their mapping of the domains in which transnational ways of living are performed, identify religious-based transnationalism as an important infrastructure for multiple attachments across international borders (Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007: 140-142). As they point out, "religious networks, celebrations, rituals and organizations serve as an important way for individuals to build social capital" (ibid.: 141). This resonates with Antanas' and Daina's stories, an engaged couple who participated separately in the study. Both are from Lithuania and are practicing Catholics. Both identified the Lithuanian language Sunday Mass in Dublin that they both regularly attend, and the congregation at that mass, as being significant in their lives in Ireland. Reinforcing what the transnational literature highlights as the importance of compatriot groups in the host country, Daina told me that herself and Antanas first met at this church, and will now marry at that same church.

The Mass is not just something that both attend every week, and leave once it is over, rather there is a community built around the event and every Sunday is an opportunity to meet with other Lithuanian friends. Similar to Rajesh's story, this congregation offers practical support to their compatriots, especially new arrivals to Ireland. Daina found her first long-term accommodation in Dublin through a contact she made at this Mass. Here, through positioning herself as a member of a particular national group, Daina networks with other Lithuanians as one way to settle in Ireland.

Fig. 5.2: "the picture that represents, even for me, where is the family start – because that was my first step" (Antanas, Lithuanian)

The individual is the epistemological focus of *Migrant Families in Ireland* so that subjective understandings of family can be voiced without privileging a 'pre-identified' family unit, and while Antanas and Daina participated separately, each bringing their own sets of images to the research conversation which we held at their home, both contributions were made in the presence of the other and very often the 'observing' partner would make a brief contribution. This proved insightful as the discussions around the role of the church in their lives in Dublin prompted a joint engagement in the conversation

with me. Antanas added to Daina's framing of that particular network by showing that the church (figure 5.2), as a physical site, is the placing for a wide range of events, and not just the weekly Mass. For instance, Antanas explained how the Lithuanian priest facilitated him in arranging a series of seminars for the Lithuanian faith community exploring the connection between church and society. Here, the church is the site of convergence of a particular community; it is a placing for this particular network but does not bind its practices or its spatiality. Daina explained how she is involved in concerts organised by the faith community, as she herself is a musician. Therefore the church becomes an outlet for her to practice music, and the community around it become part of a music group in this way. Finally, figure 5.2 depicts a special blessing that Antanas and Daina received to mark their engagement. This was carried out in the same church, therefore momentarily that place becomes a site for the performance of their own relationship. Antanas used this image to express how union between two people marks "where family starts" (Antanas, Lithuanian). This is a networkscape because the religious, group, and personal practices of this community find expression in a landscape that is contoured by the events that articulate those performances. It is a landscape because Daina and Antanas are deeply embedded in the community, as their encounters with it extend far beyond the weekly Mass. It is instructive to think of this church as being the locus of that networkscape because it expresses local belonging to the particular community in Dublin that constitutes it, yet paradoxically, a global belonging to a faith-based community which is not so fixed in place (Ehrkamp, 2005: 354). This paradox is part of the tension of landscape and it is by capturing contradictions like this that landscape becomes an analytically insightful spatial imaginary (Wylie, 2007).

The notion of *translocality* can be understood as the convergence of localities across "transnational space" through the movement of people and things between them (Appadurai, 1996; Conradson & McKay, 2007; Crang et al., 2003: 452). This is an important strand of networkscapes too as Rajesh, introduced above, shows through his story. One of the activities that his group of Indian friends in Galway engage in is fund-raising for developmental investment in India. Every month, each member of the group contributes ten

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euro to a fund which is repatriated to their villages of origin in India to provide for the education of orphans. The group calculates that each ten euro provides education for one month, hence the monthly interval of their donations. This is referred to as "social remittances" in the migration literature, and points to another way in which participants in this study actively live transnationally in ways that do not involve corporeal border crossing (Samers, 2010: 82). It is also expressive of a lateral connection across borders between localities that evokes a topological imagining of scale where this group of migrants position themselves as *locals* helping *fellow locals* at the *local* scale; that is, cross-border activity is not always multi-scalar. This is in sharp contrast to the borderscapes explored in the last section, thus complicating how we understand scale as sometimes *hierarchical*, as sometimes *lateral*, as sometimes *areal scope*, and as sometimes *level*; but by *always* understanding it from various *positionalities* scale is understood precisely in the same way it is experienced 'on the ground'.

5.3 WHY SCALE MATTERS IN "TRANSNATIONAL SPACE"

The argument that this chapter has advanced is that when one's positioning in space matters to one's experience of and freedom within it, scale becomes an important way of understanding that spatial experience. While this chapter has argued that scale matters, it is important to temper that claim by acknowledging that sometimes it hardly matters at all. For instance, meanings of family can be constructed in the imagination, where memory and place seem unbounded and always accessible, as the concept of memoryscape showed in Chapter 4. However, this chapter has articulated a counter-narrative to that by showing how national identity and gendered identity can become sites of negotiation across scales, especially in relation to citizenship and belonging. The stories recalled here show that scale does hold significance for certain spatial performativities, and understanding such performativities in "transnational space", in particular, demands a scalar imaginary (Crang et al., 2003: 452).

I suggest that scale matters in "transnational space" for three reasons (ibid.). Firstly, scale matters because the migratory experience is very often marked by the *uneven spatial and power relations* that the migrant's positioning in space engenders. This has been articulated here in a number of ways. For instance Rajesh's story showed that through conscious self-positioning, degrees of connection to kin, community, and national groups emerge which can serve to either demarcate or open up space in different ways. The focus on bordering practices illustrated a different type of uneven spatial and power relation. "Border scenes" are often experienced as a hierarchical scalar relation where uneven power-geometries mark the boundaries around scale and Carol's story in particular showed how that geometry of power can be played out when one is positioned along national, ethnic, and gendered lines (Newman, 2006: 154). The differential rights to mobility afforded to the participant groups further emphasised such uneven relations with space and power. Sue's difficulties around extending her stay in Ireland after her Study Visa expired arises because the United States is considered a 'third country', meaning the Irish State decides if she can stay or not. In contrast, the Lithuanian participants are free to come and go because they are from an EU State, and therefore their mobility is secured at the EU scale. Here different groups are positioned in terms of national identity, and scale matters for the extent to which movement is regulated.

A second reason why I argue that a scalar lens is important for understanding transnational ways of living is its ability to bring *"ways of being" and "ways of belonging" in space* into view (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2008: 287). Here, the landscape imaginary was used to think about networked connections, and the spatial expression of these – networkscapes – brought both sets of practices into view. Rosie's networkscape, for example, showed how she belongs to a variety of groups here in Ireland, some of which express her identity as a US citizen (Democrats Abroad) while others describe social practices which do not necessarily articulate identity (friendship network from work). Here, Rosie positions herself differently in each group, and that positioning is expressive of her affinities to her national group and a locally situated group, in a more topological iteration of scale.

Thirdly, and with specific reference transnational families, scale lends to an understanding of the *differentiated spatiality of family*. Family can be experienced as a scale in itself, yet it can also be experienced across scales, and that multi-scalarity can disrupt how family is performed and understood. In relation to the former, Rajesh's understanding of family revolved around degrees of affinity to kin and non-kin groups, but the manner in which he spoke of his relationship with his wife and children articulated an intimacy that was materially and spatially distinct from how he described his family of origin in India and his Indian friendship circle in Galway. In this way, family is in itself a scale. However, as the borderscapes described here show, particularly in Carol's case, her right to remain in Ireland is dependent on proving that she can fund her own studies here, and not on her relationship with her Irish boyfriend, a relationship that her wider story expressed as a family relationship. In this way, Carol's own sense of attachment to Ireland centres that relationship, yet at the scale of the State it is meaningless in terms of citizenship and belonging. In this way, family is contested across scale with Carol's own understanding of family being dismissed at the territorial scale because it is not recognised by the State in any way.

A scalar lens mobilised through an attention to positioning helps *thicken the landscape imaginary* of transnational families. By applying a scalar lens, a 'celebration' of moving landscapes, such as those presented in Chapter 4, is tempered by focussing on enforced immobility, and place-specific connections which do not necessarily articulate a transnational way of living. Scale tempers a 'hyper-mobile' and 'hyper-transnational' understanding of migrants' lives by further grounding their spatial experiences in specific contexts. Borderscapes, and some articulations of networkscapes add analytical thickness to travelscapes and memoryscapes, for example, by juxtaposing mobility against fixity in space, place and time. Conversely, more fluid landscapes expose the ways in which subversive scalar relations can be negotiated and re-constituted. The participants of this study occupy a "transnational space" that is "multiply inhabited" and "multidimensional", as Crang et al. put it (Crang et al., 2003: 451-452). Such multiplicity can only be understood by geographers if our attention to space is focussed on place and

scale, movement and rootedness.   The landscape imaginary that I employ simultaneously mobilises place and scale to untangle messy realities, helping us to comprehend what exactly is happening when people move, and what is specific about transnational families as distinct from more spatially proximate families.

6

MIGRANT HOMESCAPES

> I think home is not only a particular place, a town, city, but what you do there or if you're happy with your job, your workmates are nice people...and then people after work, you have to have someone – it doesn't matter how beautiful the place is, the city, if you don't have these people around you I think you might feel bad inside...you know, so you have to build a life somewhere and that is what I have done I believe (Linas, Lithuanian)

By affording the opening words of the chapter to Linas, I am inadvertently highlighting my own confused sense of home. This is because home for me is such a broad and sometimes contradictory concept, that I hardly know how to begin speaking of it. I find myself using the term 'home' in a whole variety of ways, none of which seems absolute, fixed or ultimate. This, in some ways, explains the simplicity of the 'home' question which I posed to my research participants: *where feels most like home to you?* In hindsight, I might have replaced 'where' with 'what', or even 'when' or 'who'. In any case, it seems irrelevant because the phrasing of the question did not limit the graphic and narrative responses. Linas' words, as well as the stories that follow are testament to this. Did this question answer my own subjective confusion around the concept of home? I certainly received many *answers*, some similar but not completely identical articulations of home, and some completely at odds with others. The participants' responses not only varied between each individual, but also between different photographs belonging to the same person. In an immediate sense then, they did not clarify the meaning of home for me. However, on reflecting on the material I received, what did become clear was that home *is* a subjective and intricate *way of belonging in space*. Moreover, I began to read the home stories as unstable, fleeting and time-contingent, but, at the same time, as very real and lived *geographies of home*. This chapter will map these geographies of home in a way that resonates with

their original raw articulation to me, and in a way that can reconcile my own and the participants' variegated senses of home.

6.1 WAYS OF BELONGING IN SPACE

> Home is...a spatial imaginary: a set of intersecting and variable ideas and feelings, which are related to context, and which construct places, extend across spaces and scales, and connect places (Blunt and Dowling, 2006: 2).

Linas' narrative above articulates a "spatial imaginary" of belonging across scales in particular places such as the workplace and the city, belongings which are a prerequisite for happiness, and consequently, a sense of home (ibid.). What Blunt and Dowling show here is that ways of belonging in space, such as Linas', can be mapped from material places and less tangible constructions of belonging at a variety of scales. Belonging is multi-modal; we belong in different contexts in different ways and these evolve over time (Corcoran and Share, 2008). This is one way to understand home. Geographers have understood home in a variety of ways from home as a contained spatiality, to home as integral to our very being in the world (Douglas, 1991; Busch, 1999; Latimer and Munro, 2009). Others adopt a more holistic approach which understands home as in some ways spatially-bound by the house, or the nation, and in some ways connected to our identities and senses of selves and senses of connection to others (Tolia-Kelly, 2004b; Blunt and Dowling, 2006; Cieraad, 2010).

A geographical imagination of home understands it as a particular type of space in which identities are formed and negotiated, stretching between geographical scales or remaining contained at a singular scale. However, as Blunt and Dowling show, other disciplines have viewed home in different ways and much of Geography's work on home draws certain ideas from those fields (Blunt and Dowling, 2006). For instance, *Housing Studies* assumes a house-as-home approach where home is contained within the physicality and

economic functionality of the built form (ibid.: 6-10). Here questions of design, function and policy are at the core of critique with the day-to-day experience of home beyond that of its financial running being rarely questioned (ibid.). Geographers have pursued research on the everydayness of the household by way of connecting the contained space of house to the wider social and cultural conditions that they both produce and are produced through. Busch, for instance, unpacks the spaces of the household – the kitchen, the closet, the front porch, the garage among others – because she argues that "writing about rooms is a way of writing about people" (Busch, 1999: 25). Blunt locates this kind of work within Cultural Geography as a "residence" approach to home (Blunt, 2005). Datta's work on Polish builders in London represents an alternative perspective on the house-as-home, or residence approach, showing how the "building act" is integral to the construction of homes and identities through her tying together of thinking from Cultural Geography, Anthropology and Architecture (Datta, 2008: 529).

Other geographers, such as Blomley, have focussed on house as 'property' thus invoking a legal-centred focus around rights of ownership for those who own a house as well as those who don't (Blomley, 2009). While many social and cultural geographies of home seek to complicate bounded understandings of home, it is important to acknowledge these more contained approaches because this is the way many people continue to understand what home is. Martynas' image of home, depicted in figure 6.1 (below), is a graphic illustration of this. For him there was no question but the house he himself built in Lithuania continues to be the only place that feels like home. Martynas' home is material and bounded and the fact that he now lives in a different house in a different country does not alter where home is. This will be important in unpacking the notion of *homescapes* below as it will be shown that our compulsion to position ourselves in space and to locate belongings in place forms part of how we both understand and perform home.

Marxist critique locates home as the private residence through which capitalism and the social become reproduced through the care and nurturing of present and future workers (Blunt and Dowling, 2006). This immediately

Fig 6.1: "He's very proud of his house because he built it himself, literally himself...so that's why that means a lot to him, that's why it represents home" (Martynas, Lithuanian, through an interpreter)

suggests gender divisions – home is a site of comfort and pleasure for men and a site of work and servitude for women. Alternative critiques such as those within feminist or humanist approaches have consistently problematised this dichotomy while offering alternative, more identity sensitive ways of understanding home (see Domosh, 1998; Young, 2005). Two particular philosophical approaches to home that are worth pursuing here for their pertinence to the ways home is understood by the migrant participants of this study is the 'dwelling-perspective' and the 'gender-perspective'. These are two perspectives that are frequently brought into conversation in 'home' literatures (Young, 2005). Cultural Geography engages both perspectives and therefore serves as a useful intellectual site in which to base a more dynamic critique of home than those offered by Housing Studies, Architecture or Marxist theorisations. Beginning with the dwelling perspective, it is noteworthy here that many social scientists writing from a social and cultural perspective use Heidegger's *Building, Dwelling, Thinking* essay as a point of departure for

their own work (see Buttimer, 1976; Latimer and Munro, 2009; Schillmeier & Doménech, 2009). Heidegger's phenomenological understanding of one's place in the world rests on the concept of "dwelling", a condition which expresses our very being in the world (Heidegger, 1971). We dwell by "constructing" and "preserving", and through building we both construct a location within the "fourfold" of earth, sky, divinities and mortals, and preserve the fourfold (ibid.). Materiality gathers the fourfold together by providing a "*site*" for it, and this emerges from building. However, building alone is not sufficient for dwelling – "thinking" is necessary too (ibid.). Dwelling therefore is both material and imaginative. While Heidegger does not explicitly mention 'home', much work has used dwelling as a way to broaden the concept.

Ingold, for instance, adds an autobiographical note to his work by showing how his own thinking on home has shifted from a "building perspective" to a "dwelling perspective" through an analysis of how all living organisms make themselves at home in the world (Ingold, 2000). Expressing his dissatisfaction with the imagined separation of perceiver and world that the building perspective invokes, Ingold turns to Heidegger's notion of dwelling for a more unified view of being where world, dwelling and dweller are intermingled, or more simply, where dwelling is not understood to be preceded by an already built world (ibid.). In this view, we are all actively involved in the environment, and the built forms in which we dwell are but a "fleeting moment" in the life of any living thing (ibid.: 188). Latimer and Munro similarly develop Heidegger's notion of dwelling, with their concern focussing on how it can be renewed for relevance to the contemporary mobile world (Latimer and Munro, 2009). Rather than merely thinking about how we root ourselves in place through dwelling, the authors suggest that we need to extend this to consider how dwelling "takes place" through our shifting relations with things, and the manner in which the material is part of our belonging through our attachments to things (ibid.: 318). This is given conceptual meaning through the idea of "relational extension", providing a useful way of thinking about the centrality of objects to our ways of living in general, and the importance of some of the things that were brought to *Migrant Families in Ireland* in pictorial form, more

specifically (ibid.). This will inform the idea of *belonging(s)* as a particular contour of *homescapes* later in this discussion.

Feminist critique has similarly engaged with Heidegger, particularly focussing on what feminists see as the devaluing or sidelining of the role of preservation in dwelling. Young articulates feminists' rejection of the dwelling perspective, as Heidegger expresses it, in terms of a hierarchical relation between male-dominated building and female-dominated preservation, with the woman cast as a passive subject and the man the active builder (Young, 2005: 130). However, Young uses the notion of preservation to argue why home continues to be a positive place for the performance of identity. Home, according to Young, represents the "materialisation of identity" but does not fix identity, in contrast to the argument of much feminist critique; rather, it is a physical "anchor" that connects past and present (ibid.: 140). Such continuity gives the home a temporality, and time and history become central to the meaning of home (ibid.: 141). Displaying a similar concern, Adler pushes for a historical perspective on home as a way to broaden the gender analysis beyond the 'home as site of oppression' discourse (Adler, 2009). Others have focussed on what might be termed women's economic and social 'liberation' from the home, in a similar 'positivisation' of women's relationship with the domestic space. McDowell, however, questions the implications of what sociologists call "individualisation" for care in a discussion based around the tensions between absence and presence (McDowell, 2007; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002). In particular, McDowell questions whether "replacement care" has rendered the concept of home as a site of belonging and love obsolete, and should home now be understood as a more fluid "locus of exchange" between the present and the absent in different spaces and at different times (McDowell, 2007: 134).

Far from celebrating a wholly positive relationship between gendered identity and home, contemporary feminism points to the varied lived experiences of house and home (Blunt and Dowling, 2006: 21; Mallett, 2004: 76). For instance, Rose shows how the presence of family photographs in the home can, through their referentiality, offer comfort in the manner in which

those absent (and missed) are brought back into the domestic space, as well as being reminders of the "suffocating qualities of the family" by emphasising the home as a prison for the women who view the displayed photographs all day, every day (Rose, 2003b: 6). This is one way of mobilising a materialist approach to home by paying attention to the meaningfulness of the objects that are part of homes. Other work, particularly from a postcolonial perspective, examines the relationship between gendered and racialised bodies and home. Tolia-Kelly, adopting a similar material focus, shows how Asian women use objects in the home as markers of their religious, ethnic and national identities (Tolia-Kelly, 2004b). However, Gedalof demonstrates through her work how migrant women's performances of identity in the private space of the home serve to reinforce the gendering of citizenship and belonging in favour of a more 'publicly visible' male who, through his very involvement in the public realm, is perceived as a 'better' citizen than the 'hidden' female (Gedalof, 2007: 90). Blunt and Dowling suggest that such a dichotomy is part of a series of dualisms which contemporary gender studies of home are attempting to disrupt, including: home/work, domestic/civic and reproduction/production (Blunt and Dowling, 2006: 17). They argue that this problematisation of dualistic thinking has produced a feminist geography that "recognizes the fluidity of home as a concept, metaphor and lived experience" (ibid.: 21).

Thinking about the pertinence of these various approaches to home to *Migrant Families in Ireland* begins by extracting a thread that runs though all of the participants' stories of home. Quite simply, and to begin with, it is being suggested that all of the participants' stories of home are understood as articulations of *spatialised performances of belonging*. However, the manner in which belonging is both spatialised and performed by the US, Indian and Lithuanian participants is very particularised and contingent on the textures of the family landscape, migrant identity, gendered identity, ethnic identity, sexuality, time and place. Home is rarely fixed by this constellation of identity markers, with most of the migrants showing that they have developed flexibility towards where they consider home, and how they do home. For instance, Sarish, understanding home as dwelling, told me "where I live, I try to make it

as my home" (Sarish, Indian). Here the verb "try" suggests that some work is necessary to be at home in the place where he lives. It is a doing rather than something that is pre-given. Linas' articulation of home at the opening of the chapter not only pointed to its constructedness – recall his words: "you have to build a life somewhere and that is what I have done I believe" – but also the fact that home is 'built' on his relationship with others as well as in a particular place or a particular city. In this way, and as shown in much of the literature, home and belonging not only cross space, but cross spatial scales too (Morley, 2001; Blunt and Dowling, 2006; Everts, 2010). Morley, writing from the perspective of cultural studies, captures the essence of how home has come to be understood by social scientists over the past decade:

> When I speak of home I mean both the physical place – the domestic household – and symbolic ideas of *Heimat* – the 'spaces of belonging' (and identity) at different geographical scales – the local, national or transnational communities in which people think of themselves as being 'at home' (Morley, 2001: 425).

This resonates with Blunt and Dowling's "*critical geography of home*" which understands home as being "multi-scalar" and simultaneously "material" and "imaginative" (Blunt and Dowling, 2006: 2-29, emphasis original). In this way, home is imagined as being multi-layered by scalar imaginaries of home as well as by tangible and less tangible articulations of belonging in place, in social relations and with objects.

The multi-scalarity of home in migration studies is most commonly expressed as being simultaneously a tension between, and a confluence of, house-as-home and nation-as-home (Tolia-Kelly, 2004b; Datta, 2008; Harker, 2009). This work encapsulates both the material and the imaginative with Tolia-Kelly in particular showing how British Asians employ religious iconography in their British homes as well as concrete memories and more utopian "re-memory" of 'homeland' to construct senses of belonging (Tolia-Kelly, 2004b: 322). Using the concept of "positioning" to articulate how post-colonial people construct such identities, Tolia-Kelly argues that the manner in

which religious identity and national identity is harnessed as a marker of identity constantly shifts in time and is largely context-dependent (ibid.: 321). In this way, spatialised performances of belonging can be read as articulations of cultural and national identities, while at the same time such performances actively serve to "reproduce the discourses, everyday practices and material cultures of nation and empire" (Blunt and Dowling, 2006: 142). This reciprocity emphasises home's relational nature (ibid.). Glick Schiller historicises the relationship between nation, race and belonging by showing how the conflation of 'nation' and 'race' evolved as recently as the nineteenth century as an imperative for European statecraft, and therefore is a particular moment in time rather than a 'natural' view of the world (Glick Schiller, 2005). Taking a more contemporary focus, Harker, placing a cultural geography lens on Palestinian homes, shows how the geopolitical optic more commonly cast on this spatiality masks much of the daily productions of domestic space, which, he argues, can be more effectively gleaned by attending to particular meanings of home and the practices that create and maintain the domestic (Harker, 2009).

Other empirical work has linked home with identity in ways that go beyond gender and national or ethnic identity. For instance, Gorman-Murray examines home through the lens of sexuality and shows how gay and lesbian people, either as individuals in their own right, or as part of a couple, make home and make selves through the production and maintenance of shared, private space, as well as the appropriation of individual spaces within that private dwelling (Gorman-Murray, 2006a, 2006b). In particular, this work shows how the physicality of the space and the objects arranged within it "narrate" the occupants' identities (Gorman-Murray, 2006a: 151). Fortier, adding migration as a focus to queer homemaking, shows how home can be very often a "destination" rather than a point of origin for gay and lesbian people, and that memories are often employed for self-identification in ways that do not necessarily re-construct an original home where such identities may have been suppressed (Fortier, 2001). Other work on the relationship of identity and home examines the relationships of disabled bodies with home, showing that homes can be exclusionary spaces for people with physical and

mental impairments (Imrie, 2004; Varley, 2008). Scholars such as May, Cloke and Johnsen, and Blomley, for instance, contribute an important counter-narrative to much of the academic works on home, which assume that everybody has some sort of affinity with, and concrete placing called 'home', by focussing attention on the condition of homelessness and on homelessness as an identity in its own right (May et al., 2007; Blomley, 2009). Finally, disrupting the view that human agency is all powerful in the making of home, Hitchings suggests that "an array of intimate non-human strangers" ranging from plants and animals to self-regulating technologies also texture the home space, thus competing with humans and their specific identities in the shaping of the domestic (Hitchings, 2004: 183).

These various ways of approaching home range in spatial scope from the realm of the nation to a particular space within a house. Returning to Tolia-Kelly, the notion of positioning in space is instructive here, as is Harker's downscaling of home from the realm of a contested political area to particular domestic practices (Tolia-Kelly, 2004a; Harker, 2009). Both recall the particular scalar imaginary employed in the previous chapter which emphasises how one self-positions and is positioned in space. Home as a scaled space can be similarly understood in these terms, and the discussion here will serve to enhance the core argument that positioning is a productive way of thinking about scale. For the purposes of this chapter, positioning can open up home to spatially diverse performances of belonging as well as containing it as a scale in itself. Marston, developing a social constructionist understanding of scale, argues that the household, as a part of home, is a scale which is distinct from "other scales of social life" (Marston, 2000: 235). Here, home becomes bounded by the realm of a physical dwelling and by scalar demarcation. While much of the literature since Marston published this work has emphasised home's fluidity, her work is an apt reminder that not all of us understand home as open and multi-layered all of the time. Figure 6.1 (above) already illustrated this point.

In spite of the bounded sense of home that Martynas articulated through that image, many of the stories of home told for *Migrant Families in*

Ireland suggested spatial *boundlessness*. Tara told me "I don't have one place that I consider home"; rather, she recalled a mixture of places where she has previously lived and where she has connections to (Tara, dual US & Irish citizen). While scale is one way to conceptualise the different ways home can be spatialised, some geographers prefer to think in terms of "spatial stretching" as a more fluid imaginary to scale (Massey, 1999; Rose, 2003b: 12). Rose's work, introduced above, uses this notion to describe the manner in which domestic space becomes extended beyond the home through family photographs (Rose, 2003b: 12). This can be a useful way of thinking about how objects more generally bring people and places far away back into the home. Similar to Tolia-Kelly's work, home becomes spatialised both materially and through memory (Tolia-Kelly, 2004b). In her writings on globalisation, Massey questions how one's sense of home is produced by materials which originate from somewhere else entirely (Massey, 1999: 160). This is "spatial stretching" resulting from the "spatial upheaval" wrought by the globalisation of capital (ibid.: 157; Rose, 2003b: 12). Regardless of the substantive focus, it appears geographers are increasingly concerned with where home both begins and ends. Of course, there is no definitive answer to this; rather, as this discussion will now show, it is more instructive to attend to the many ways home is performed, through the spatial imaginary of landscape, than to contain it spatially and temporally.

6.2 CONCEPTUALISING *HOMESCAPES*

An ontology of home as a constant doing, a processual performance of belonging in space and time specific to particular individuals and relationships, has developed through this research project. The participants' images and associated narratives certainly depicted houses and particular places by way of responding to the question *where feels most like home to you?* Very often though, the narratives burrowed deeper into the physicality of place to expressions of home in terms of feelings and relationships with others. Listening to the stories, and observing how the participants related with their images, it occurred to me that home is something we do, it is a practice, and

may be better thought of as a process of *homemaking*. This was most commonly articulated through photographs of moments of togetherness in a family dwelling, and normally depicted familial events. Chapter 2 has already described how particular practices constantly produce events, which are marked out in time and space as articulations of a family landscape. Landscape gathers these events into folds where outcomes are shared between people for a particular purpose. For instance, transnational families mobilise transport and communication technologies to sustain connections between those with whom a familial relationship exists in different places. The notion of a *technoscape* was used to describe one epistemological contour of family landscapes, and it was through this imaginary that these communications were understood. This is one way to articulate senses of belonging and attachment. Other performances of belonging are not so specific, and cross scales. Such belongings are produced through memories of past attachments, projections of future idealised ways of belonging, and are nearly always placed in some way, either permanently or fleetingly (Cieraad, 2010). Such ways of performing belonging can be described as part of a family landscape where many different foldings – *technoscapes, memoryscapes, travelscapes* – collide; such ways of belonging can be productively spatialised through *homescapes*.

Homescapes are textured by *practices* which stretch across space and time. These practices are part of our being-in-space and describe both building practices and practices of preservation, with an emphasis on how men and women participate in both, thus complicating more traditional gender distinctions between the two (Heidegger, 1971; Young, 2005). The concept of homescape draws from work that has previously thought about belonging through the things we do. In particular, Everts, in an ethnographic study of how immigrant-owned corner shops become important spaces in the lives of their customers, shows how his gathering of "the 'situated vocabulary'...of practice by letting it emerge within the research situation" resulted in imaginings of "belonging", "remembering", and "socialising" that articulate the participants' relationship with the shops (Everts, 2010: 851). This particular mobilisation of a practice-based epistemology has strong echoes of the

approach employed for *Migrant Families in Ireland* as the discussion that follows similarly evolved from the participants' own ways of understanding their homes and their relationships with home. Drawing on the work of other cultural geographers such as Rose, Tolia-Kelly and Harker is also instructive for thinking about what people do with things in domestic space, and the manner in which those things help produce that space very often by reproducing belongings elsewhere (Rose, 2003; Tolia-Kelly, 2004b; Harker, 2009).

Homescapes are therefore partly textured through *materiality*. Here, Gorman-Murray's idea that objects "narrate" identity, as mentioned above, will be a useful way to think about some of the material possessions that were photographed for this study (Gorman-Murray, 2006a). These materials not only connect the present with the past, but become part of how the home is imagined into the future; therefore, homescapes, just like the family landscapes conceptualised in Chapter 4, have *temporality*. Tolia-Kelly's notion of "re-memory" – the idealised reconstruction of past places – and Cieraad's focus on projections of future homes based on shared memory can both be applied to an imagining of the migrants' stories which told of past, present and future (Tolia-Kelly, 2004a; Cieraad, 2010). Not only do homescapes extend over time, but they 'stretch' across space, and Rose's concept of "*spatial stretching*" can be employed to describe how the photographs brought to the research conversation by participants, as well as some of the objects they depict, texture migrant homescapes in particular (Rose, 2003b: 12, emphasis added). The practices of home described here will represent both *material and imaginative* ways of performing belonging in line with Blunt and Dowling's "critical geography of home" (Blunt and Dowling, 2006). It will be suggested that homescapes are one way of mobilising a critical geography of home because they force attention to tangible and less tangible ways of belonging in space and across scales, as well as to the relationship between home and identity.

6.3 MIGRANT *HOMESCAPES*: MATERIAL AND IMAGINATIVE PRACTICES OF HOME

The remainder of the discussion will move through four sets of practices of home that constitute migrant homescapes, but can describe other homescapes too. All four are mutually constitutive but are discussed separately primarily because the participants' stories emphasised each in different ways, and partly because they are instructive for demonstrating how a homescape imaginary might work. Through utilising a practice-based approach that harnesses broad sets of practices rather than more particular ones, the potential to apply the notion of homescape beyond migrant homes will hopefully be opened up. *Belonging(s), imagining, positioning* and *feeling* are sets of interrelated practices which produce homescapes and it is to the first of these, *belonging(s)*, that I now turn.

6.3.1 Belonging(s)

This broad-ranging practice is inherent to those developed in subsequent sections but is discussed separately because many of the migrant stories told of specific doings that articulated how they perform belonging. The addition of the 's' in parenthesis is used to invoke both the verb form of the word 'belonging' as well as the noun form 'belongings', which I take to mean 'possessions'. This double meaning captures the two dimensions to belonging that participants spoke of – feeling a sense of belonging, and producing belonging through material objects. Belonging is performed through our *relating with* people and places and *to* things. *Relating-with* describes the more enduring relationships, both real and imagined, based around kin and non-kin ties, place of birth, and other sustained affinities with a broad spatial scope. We relate with people and places across scales from the individual to that of the nation. *Relating-to* describes more particular connections with the objects or non-human things that are close at hand, in other words, our belongings, and these can endure over time or be more fleeting. These belonging(s) are moved by us and with us and are things that are always kept nearby. In contrast, what we relate-with need not necessarily be close at

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hand, and in the migrant case, frequently is not. One productive way to think about *relating-to* is in terms of Latimer and Munro's notion of "relational extension" as described above, an idea that helps us to think about the way in which feelings of belonging are fostered through our "giving...room to things" (Latimer and Munro, 2009: 318).

Fig. 6.2: "it's my favourite thing – it was in my kitchen in the United States and it kinda helped put the seal on for 'home'" (Rosie, US citizen)

An interrogation of some of the participant photographs can ground the idea of *relating-to*. One of Rosie's photographic responses to the question of where she feels most at home was figure 6.2 above. Rosie told me that this is an original signed piece by an Arizonan artist and was a gift from her husband, Jerry. She explained that "I couldn't leave it...I actually brought it back with me" specifically to place in her new kitchen in Ireland, as it originally hung in her kitchen in the Arizona house, where it was "perfect" (Rosie, US citizen). Rosie also showed me an image of a large painting which was similarly removed from Arizona, at considerable expense, so it too could be re-placed in her new home. Both these objects "put the seal on" home for Rosie, they

made the house in Ireland home. Here, the mobility of these objects serves to emphasise the non-fixity of dwelling given that they are, according to Rosie, intrinsic to her feeling at home (Latimer and Munro, 2009).

It is interesting to note that the piece of art in figure 6.2 was bought for Rosie by her husband Jerry, after she had expressed her wish to buy it, but felt it was too expensive. However, comparing Rosie's response to the question of home to that of her husband, who also participated, it is noteworthy that Jerry's photographs were quite different in content and included no single household objects similar to Rosie's art pieces (some were included as part of larger scenes however, for example a Christmas tree). Of the nine images Jerry brought to the research conversation, eight depicted various outdoor scenes capturing buildings, people, animals and landscape. Rosie also presented nine photographs but included four which were of the domestic interior. Rosie's greater emphasis on 'domestic' things compared to her husband would suggest a gendered distinction in terms of the particular part of the physical home that each feel greater affinity to. This is partially reflected by the fact that four of Jerry's images captured the outside of either his own house or the houses of his cousins in Ireland taken during summertime gatherings, while Rosie had two photographs of the house exterior introduced to talk specifically about its setting. While this may have shades of Heidegger's building/preservation dichotomy, and the gender distinctions drawn from this by much feminist critique, the manner in which Rosie told her story of home implied a 'refuge' like feeling to the small farm cottage, especially as she works full time outside of the home (Heidegger, 1971; Young, 2005). Moreover, the objects Rosie discussed gave her a feeling of comfort, she took pleasure from them. In this way they are a meaningful part of her dwelling, and as Gorman-Murray points out, part of her own individual marking of the private domestic space (Gorman-Murray, 2006a).

The things that people *relate-to* not only offer a sense of comfort, but as suggested by Rosie's story, become a part of the person. Aiste's photograph in figure 6.3, capturing a part of her large book collection, articulates this quite
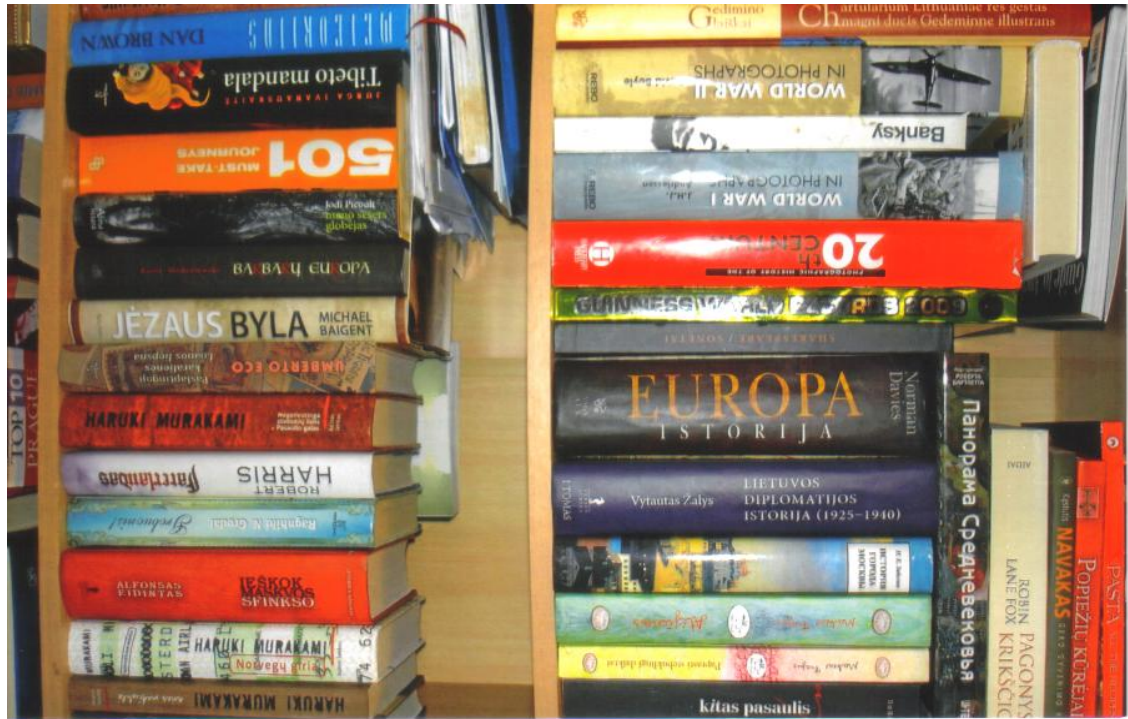
Fig. 6.3: "where my books are...it's a place where I can call home" (Aiste, Lithuanian)

explicitly. She told me that she is gradually moving her collection to Ireland, and in doing so, making the apartment she now lives in feel "cosy" (Aiste, Lithuanian). Her desire to have her books with her stems from two imperatives. Firstly, there is the creation of this sense of comfort in Dublin, but second, and more urgently, was her mother's attempt to discard the collection to accommodate household renovations in Aiste's Lithuanian home. This upset Aiste, who felt in some way she was being banished from that house, and her mother's life. As she put it: "I felt that she throws me away" (ibid.). Here, Aiste's books are a part of her identity, but they are also what make a place home (ibid.). They are a 'narration' of self in home that transcends space and time (Gorman-Murray, 2006a: 151). Aiste also suggests that they have added importance for her as a migrant, because she is reluctant to buy new books as "next year you might live somewhere else you know, so it's always very difficult to buy something when you know you have to carry that somewhere else" (ibid.). Here, objects that link back to the birth home continue to form part of home in Ireland to become "points of signification of enfranchisement with landscapes of belonging, tradition and self-identity" (Tolia-Kelly, 2004b: 315).

Fig. 6.4: "I feel them also as my family members and their house as my home – my family are very comfortable in their home" (Rajesh, Indian)

When I asked Rajesh where he feels most at home he spoke about people and places rather than things. This can be understood as an articulation of belonging in space that gains meaning through *relating-with* others. I use 'with' in this instance to emphasise the agentic nature of people as opposed to objects, thus emphasising reciprocation and mutual performances of belonging. Figure 6.4 is a capture of what Rajesh referred to as his "friend family" in Ireland. This is an interesting improvised phrase to conflate kin and non-kin, drawing attention to the manner in which migrants develop "creative affinities" through networkscapes in the host country (Mason, 2008). In this instance, Rajesh considers this particular family in his network of Indians in Ireland as part of his sense of home here. Explaining the relevance of the image to the question of home, Rajesh told me: "I feel them also as my family members and their house as my home – my family are very comfortable in their home" (Rajesh, Indian). Here 'house' and 'home' are used interchangeably, and what makes that particular house 'homely' is its

association with a sense of family, and a feeling of 'comfort'. Rajesh's family landscape becomes textured through his own family's association with another kin group in a particular place, and in this way his homescape and networkscape become co-constituted in the wider family landscape through a performance of belonging that depends on how himself and his family *relate-with* the 'friend family' photographed in figure 6.4. Home is produced through performances of belonging with others, both kin and non-kin.

Fig. 6.5: "GAA is...a feeling of home, a community" (Tom, US citizen)

Not only do migrants create their own networks, but they also make connections with others through pre-existing associations. Tom moved to Ireland in 1994 from Chicago and now lives in a rural part of Ireland. He and his family are active members of their local Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) hurling club. Tom's involvement with the club is at the social level of the club's activities, and he described, through his narration of figure 6.5, how he arranges a barbecue for all the club members and supporters at the end of each hurling season in early autumn. Tom describes the connection between the club, this particular event, and feeling at home as follows:

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I usually end up cooking and that guy (on the right, fig. 6.5) would usually end up helping me, that type of thing and you know it's feeling at home, you know it's a structure, it's a feeling, it's a number of things but when I'm behind the barbecue and people are going through and they end up satisfied and happy and the camaraderie is cool, and the community that goes along with that, that's a feeling of home for me... (Tom, US citizen).

Here Tom draws attention to the physical infrastructure ("structure") and the less tangible senses of belonging ("feeling") that constitute home in this instance. Home is articulated through a set of *practices* (socialising, cooking) that produce a particular *event* (the GAA club barbecue) that is simultaneously part of his networkscape and his homescape. Once again, these 'scapes' are enmeshed in each other revealing the intricate connectivities of family landscapes more generally. Tom's story also shows how home is partly material, partly imaginative, and partly connected to belonging to a "community", or as the argument here is suggesting, partly emerging from his relations with others (Blunt and Dowling, 2006).

Family landscapes are constituted through the practices performed to produce events which construct and maintain familial relationships. A familial relationship always evokes either a sense of belonging to a group, or imposes an obligation to belong. Therefore belonging is a key way of thinking about how families are 'done'. The preceding part of the discussion has highlighted how belonging is similarly key to understanding how families relate in space through home. Home garners meaning in part through the manner in which we relate *with* others and *to* things. However, belonging is just one way of thinking about the meaning and performance of home. While this section touched on imagined connections to others, it privileged the material and the corporeal. Belonging, articulated as it has been thus far, still does not tell the full story of home. This is because much of how we understand and construct homes is done in that less tangible realm of the *imagination*.

6.3.2 Imagining

Chapter 3 illustrated how *imagining* can be a productive way of thinking about the relationship between people and place. Here, I want to push that motif further by thinking about the way we imaginatively construct *home places* in particular. This will be done by connecting the imagination with the temporality of home, something which cannot be separated out from its spatiality, because as Young points out, "a main dimension for understanding home is time and history" (Young, 2005: 141). Young connects the temporality of home to Heidegger's notion of "preservation" because, as she argues, the work of preserving the home, particularly through the things needed for that preservation work, are often intergenerational (ibid.). For the purposes of this discussion it is instructive to think about time through the imagination because this is precisely how the participants drew the past, present and future together in their stories. Again, imagining describes a set of practices, as with *belonging(s)*, but the two that emerged most strongly from the research participants' photographs and stories were *remembering* and *projecting*. These represent temporal and "spatial stretching" into the past where memories of past homes help shape present homes, as well as remaining in the imagination as senses of home in their own right, and extensions into the future where respondents spoke of "ideal" or "dream" homes (Rose, 2003b: 12; Blunt and Dowling, 2006: 246; Mallett, 2004: 63). This double movement of remembering past homes and projecting ideal homes draws inspiration from Cieraad whose work with Dutch students shows the manner in which their fantasies about their first 'proper' homes are both inspired by, and reactions against their memories of growing up 'at home' (Cieraad, 2010).

Migrants' visits home very often involve remembering particular places where they spent their youth by visiting sites there. Emilija discussed one particular trip back to Vilnius, the place that remains her immediate sense of home. However, the fact that Vilnius remains home does not necessarily
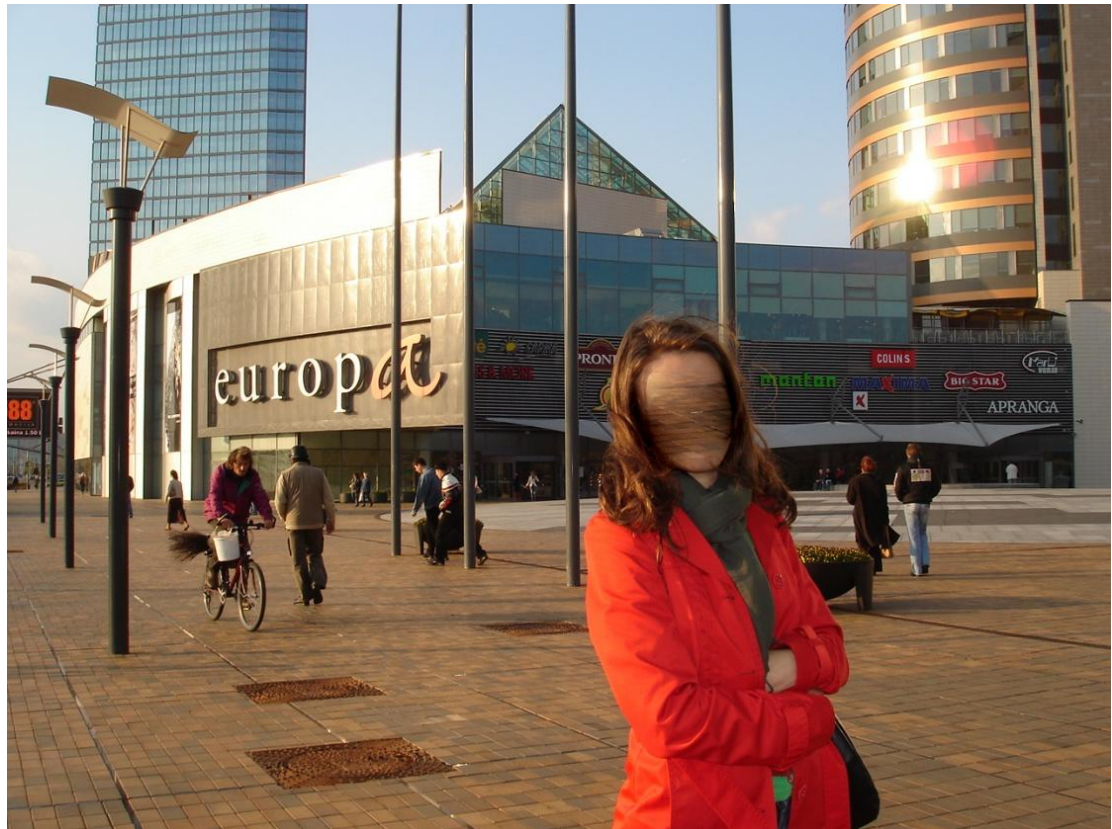
Fig. 6.6: "it's more showing the change – what happens is – certain area of town – I grew up in one place and you remember that and you have it in your head and they change it completely" (Emilija, Lithuanian)

mean home is static, as Emilija articulates through figure 6.6. Rather, "change" is a part of this home and the particular urban site in this image was brought to our conversation to illustrate this theme (Emilija, Lithuanian). Throughout our conversation Emilija articulated detailed memories of particular parts of Vilnius city where she spent her childhood, but these memories are disrupted by the new development that now stands on one particular site. The old buildings which formed part of the urban landscape in which she spent her youth exist only in Emilija's memory now. Emilija stands in front of this development in the photograph which was taken "just to show the change" that has occurred there. This redevelopment has implications for Emilija as she explained to me that she "would be less associated to this [site] than the old one" (ibid.). In spite of this imposed detachment, the memory of the old site still holds firm, a fact highlighted by its very inclusion in her narrative. Other images captured parts of Vilnius which have remained largely

unchanged since her childhood, and were all taken on a visit back to the city as an adult. Emilija's reconnection to these 'home sites' is done through her corporeal visits there, and her memories of them. This homescape intersects with Emilija's travelscape and memoryscape, and as the story of this particular photograph attests, it is a moving landscape. Rather than being suspended in time, it moves with it.

Tara's approach to the question of home rested entirely on memories, and the images she brought to the research dialogue were drawn exclusively from her family album collection. When I asked her if she had any photographs of 'home' she explained:

> I do, well not so much of home but I do have memories, because the whole home thing…I think of memories rather than an actual place, like an actual building or something (Tara, dual US & Irish citizen)

Tara mapped out her memoryscape to articulate her sense of home through particular things she used do in the US when she was younger, and more recently in Ireland. Activities such as playing in the park, horse-riding and dancing all happened in specific places, but Tara emphasised the meaningfulness of the activities, and the moments of togetherness with kin and non-kin that these events facilitated over the significance of the places in which they were performed. Such an imaginary challenges place-based representations of home and signals why a critical geography of home must necessarily attend to fluid articulations of home in memory space. A further challenge posed by this story is to geographers' imperative to show why place always matters. One way to reconcile this dilemma is through the lens of time. It can be argued that Tara's relationship with place is indeed strong, but emerges over time. It is almost as if she needs to move on from a particular place for it to hold meaning in her life. Place, in this sense, is temporally contingent. This can be productively understood through a mobilisation of Tolia-Kelly's use of "re-memory" (Tolia-Kelly, 2004b: 316). This I take to refer to the imaginative reconstruction of individual and collective past experiences as part of the creation of an idealised "re-memory" of that past in a continual

process of self-identification (ibid.). The places Tara referred to in the US and Ireland "are site-specific signs linked to experienced events", but these 'sites' did not feel so homely when she lived in them (ibid.: 316). On reflection, however, her being in those places through the things she did there gives her a sense of home *now*.

Fig. 6.7: "window" (Antanas, Lithuanian)

Thinking about the temporality of home through the imagination opens the possibility of engaging with future homes. *Projecting* is a useful way of understanding how homes are produced in the mind for some time in the future as it forces attention to the role of memory in home planning, as well as extending the temporal lens beyond retrospect. Antanas makes an explicit link between retrospect and prospect by articulating his understanding of home as "always connecting with your yesterday and connecting to your today" (Antanas, Lithuanian). He elaborates on this through the motif of the 'window', which he represents in his photograph in figure 6.7. Here the 'window' is "see[ing] in the future" and this vision forms part of the conceptual and literal planning of homes. For Antanas, this projecting to the future enables him to

make the right choices now so that home will always be something that mirrors his own identity.

Several of the photographs brought to this study read as reflections on the past and were used to tell the story of present homes. Projecting future homes often depended on lived memories of past homes and the homeliness those memories engender. Here the past is used as a template for planning the future. Carol's house in Ireland represents a negotiation of her wish to recreate something of her grandmother's home in the US with her boyfriend's visions of a new home for the young couple. Echoing Gorman-Murray's work with gay and lesbian couples where he found that joint home-making must always ensure "that each partner's sense of an individual self is sustained by the allocation of individual spaces for personal life-projects", Carol's story about her kitchen shows how the imperative for creating spaces where individual history and identity can be imprinted on extends to heterosexual couples too (Gorman-Murray, 2006a: 153). Narrating figure 6.8, Carol claimed "this is my place" (Carol, US citizen). It is her "place" because for her home and family are more deeply infused in each other in the kitchen than in any other home space. Negotiating the design of the house – a countryside bungalow built by the couple – Carol told me that she was "adamant" that the kitchen would contain an oak worktop because her grandmother had an oak worktop in her house, and as Carol's wider story revealed, that kitchen has always represented a strong sense of home for Carol. Her reasoning for this is simple, as she explained: "that was a connection, like a connectivity type of thing for me about building my home" (ibid.). Making such connections in the design of the bungalow helped to make it home: "that's my space, that's my home" (ibid.). In this way, Carol's kitchen mirrors her identification with the Italian-American kitchen back in the US that holds such warm memories, and through thinking about the design of her Irish kitchen, it becomes possible to understand something of Carol's sense of home. This is what Busch is referring to when she argues that understanding homes is understanding people (Busch, 1999: 25). Her arguments resonate strongly with Carol's story because, as she posits, "[d]esign...may be about finding this sense of fit between people, places and things", and for Carol that "fit" was made by

projecting an imagination of her new home based on memories of a past home.

Fig. 6.8: "that's my space, that's my home" (Carol, US citizen)

Conversely, making new homes is very often about ensuring that they are just that – new – bearing no resemblance to past homes. Daina articulated a vision of her 'ideal' home as a place that is unique to her own special affinity with rural locations where she can feel in touch with nature – something very different to where she grew up and the rented Dublin apartment in which she now lives. Daina's ideal house is modest, it should not be too big and it should have a simple design. This house should be a place for certain family "actions", and once it can comfortably accommodate these doings it will be a home (Daina, Lithuanian). This echoes Monika's sense of home as a place where one feels simultaneously loved, happy, safe and secure where she "live[s] through a mixture of good and bad emotions and it still feels like the best place to be" (Monika, Lithuanian). To create such a space, memories of past homes need to be sidelined:

> You have to let that go though, it's nice to remember some things but you
> have to move on and move to new things and make home wherever you

feel well and where the people that you love are – not to be attached to a certain house or something, or a country (Monika, Lithuanian).

Here, a sense of belonging *now* necessarily involves a detachment from the past and from particular places. Alluding to "nice" memories, Monika reveals how here idealised home partially emerges from home in Lithuania, but rather than using that home as a template, she converts her experience of it to "re-memory" so that the home she builds, while creating new moments of happiness, will provide the same love, comfort and security that she experienced there, but in a way that is specific to her adult life (Tolia-Kelly, 2004a).

Emilija, Antanas, Carol, Daina and Monika's stories of home all emphasise home's temporality in different ways. All alluded to places – kitchens, houses, localities, cities and countries. These places can be static for migrants, such as Carol's grandmother's kitchen in the US, but they also evolve through time as Emilija's Vilnius neighbourhood reminds us. Of significance for a critical geography of home is the different scales through which these participants expressed their understandings of home, and at each scale imaginations of home come into play with material homes. Each dimension of this critical geography is time contingent as this part of the discussion has shown. In this way, imaginations of past and future homes form an important part of migrant homescapes.

6.3.3 Positioning

I have used the idea of positioning in previous chapters as a way to think about how scales become lived through the double movement of self-positioning in particular contexts and being simultaneously positioned by others. Here I want to develop this notion to think about home as something we both position in place and become positioned by through *building, creating, placing* and *connecting*. *Building* is inspired by Heidegger's phenomenology of home and refers to our setting down in the world through the physical structure of the house (Heidegger, 1971). *Creating* refers to the tangible

practices that are part of dwelling and serve to make the physical building home. *Placing* draws out the interplay between identity and places beyond the physical house and *connecting* describes the relationships with people and with places that produces a sense of home. Each of these practices are interconnected but are distinguished here because as I viewed the participants' photographs and engaged with their narratives it became clear to me that migrants position their belongings in space in distinct ways.

One way of thinking about *building* homes is through the work of the beaver. This metaphor for constructing a dwelling formed part of Antanas' articulation of a sense of home. Extending the idea of building beyond human practice suggests that it is something more natural and inherent to how all living things find belonging in the world. Antanas elaborated on his thinking by explaining that "they are builders... without any drawings, without any project manager they can work the rivers, they can build so many complicated things" (Antanas, Lithuanian). They build through necessity because like human beings, they are part of families and these families need shelter and a place in the environment. Ingold employs the same metaphor to show how the 'dwelling perspective' can be a productive way of understanding how all living things make themselves at home in the world (Ingold, 2000). For Ingold, making home is a processual pursuit which builds on the work of our predecessors and creates a living environment for the next generation (ibid.: 186). The beaver "inhabits an environment that has been decisively modified by the labours of its forbears, in building dams and lodges, and will in turn contribute to the fashioning of an environment for its progeny" (ibid.). Ingold uses this as an analogy for how humans carry skills and tendencies in their bodies which are brought to building projects in the very same way as the beaver builds its lodge (ibid.). Animal and environment are embedded in each other's processes, culture and nature are inseparable. Such an ontology of home tempers some of the more human agency-centred accounts of making home to show how homescapes fold environment and culture into each other, positioning one as integral to the other.

Many migrant stories, such as Carol's above, told of positioning home through the literal building of a house. Tempering the language of sensuality and performance which pervades this discussion, the demarcation of a physical space in the form of a residence is central to understandings of home for many. Tom, a US migrant, told me that he could not feel at home in Ireland until he built a house here that was his. Up until this point, Tom and his family lived in several rented properties, moving every few years as landlords would decide to sell as property values began to rise in Ireland. This physical and imposed re-positioning reinforced the temporariness of such accommodation and when the family finally had the resources to construct their own house they choose to deliberately position *themselves* in the Irish countryside both physically, and imaginatively through modelling the design on "an old country farmhouse" (Tom, US citizen). Figure 6.9 is a capture of that house which Tom consistently referred to as "our home" throughout our conversation (ibid.). An interesting intersection between this self-positioning in place and memory

Fig. 6.9: "That is home" (Tom, US citizen)

is revealed in this story because Tom has the ashes of his deceased father and sister mixed into the concrete in the walls, ensuring that they will be "always there with" him in his Irish home. Moreover, Tom revealed that he has expressed his own wishes to be cremated and have his own ashes sprinkled "out on the backyard of that place" on his own passing (ibid.). Here memories are permanently positioned quite literally in the physical fabric of home, and the permanence of this place as home is reinforced by Tom's idea for him to remain there posthumously. Home, in this case, is something that is built to accommodate dwelling. It is a material structure carefully positioned in place.

However, for an incorporation of the practice of building into the homescape imaginary, the practice of *creating* must be simultaneously considered for the manner in which it emphasises how the forms that we build are not static positionings, but require constant creative works to sustain that feeling of home that becomes housed within them. For instance, the story around figure 6.4 above told of Rajesh's feeling of being at home in his friend's home. Elaborating on this, Rajesh told me that typical events such as cooking together, eating together, playing music and debating the issues of the day relating to India all foster a sense of home in this particular house (Rajesh, Indian). Here the practices that form part of our living (eating, interacting) culminate in events that mark that space out as a homely one, and this home as part of Rajesh's homescape. Similarly, Kristina positions home in her apartment in Ireland through the things that she and her husband and children do there to make that space home. Telling the story of the family's Easter traditions, Kristina explained how they mix the Lithuanian and Irish cultures around that feast by painting eggs and decorating the home with them, as well as having chocolate eggs in the Irish tradition. Here national identity is impressed on the residence by engaging in a practice typical in Lithuania, and in this way home is not only positioned in an apartment, but through the nation and through creative practices that sustain a sense of home there.

Senses of belonging to the nation are frequently articulated through the physical dwelling as a means of constructing identity (Tolia-Kelly, 2004b; Blunt and Dowling, 2006). Migrants' homes can often come into being through

placing their own identities in distant lands and replicating a sense of that nation's culture in the production of new homes. I alluded to Sarish above who feels that home is something you have to work at. Speaking to Sarish in his home, I was able to observe how that work is done. Sarish showed me where he replicated the "prayer room" from his Indian home around a small window in his apartment in Ireland. Figure 6.10 is the family prayer room in India and figure 6.11 is Sarish's own prayer room. I asked him how this connects to a sense of home and he responded "it will give you a certain feeling" of home (Sarish, Indian). By placing markers of the Hindu faith in his place of residence, Sarish is connecting back to India through a process of "spatial stretching" (Massey, 1999; Rose, 2003b: 12). Through "follow[ing] the customs that [his] forefathers followed" in his Irish living room, Sarish is also stretching back through time to position that time and that place in his current residence in an effort to make it feel like home (Sarish, Indian). However, the "motherland", India, remains his strongest sense of home and this was highlighted by the fact that figure 6.10 was brought to the conversation in the same manner as all the other photographs, as a response to the question of home, while figure 6.11 was captured after our meeting on my request (ibid.). While it was never my practice to request specific images, I made an exception in this instance so that a visual representation of 'home' which Sarish wanted to show me could be shared with a wider audience given that it is a visualisation Sarish himself brought to the study.

Fig 6.10: "This is our prayer room in our house" (Sarish, Indian)
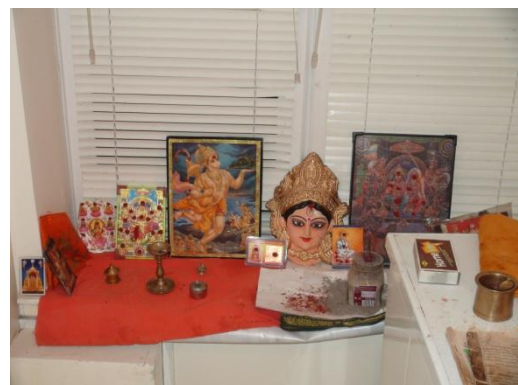
Fig 6.11: Sarish's prayer room in Ireland

Nitai is also from India and his story represents an interesting juxtaposition to Sarish's. Nitai told me that Ireland "is my home, it is truly my home and I'm comfortable, very comfortable with the circumstances and the surroundings, I am just myself and it is a fair society" (Nitai, Indian). Being "himself" was a theme that pervaded Nitai's story. The manner in which he described his feeling at home in Ireland, and his difficulties with Indian life, can be thought of as a re-positioning of home from one nation-state to another. Nitai's sense of home seems to be about the social, cultural and political environment in which he is placed rather than a specific location such as a town or a particular house, thus evoking a home-as-nation imaginary (Blunt and Dowling, 2006: 140). In spite of feeling that he could not express his identity in India, Nitai does long for many of the Indian ways of life that are specific to that country – "the cultural programmes, the dancing and all that" – and in this respect, Ireland is no substitute. It seems that Nitai's re-positioning of home away from the reality of day to day life in India is not a straight-forward transposition onto Ireland-as-home, but also involves a "re-memory" of his own experience of particular cultural events in which he participated in India, which are now substituted by the multi-cultural festivals in Ireland which he takes part in (Tolia-Kelly, 2004a). In this way he is re-placing India as home, at least the culture of India, in specific locations and at specific times in Ireland, where he can perform his cultural identity against the backdrop of a 'fairer' society. Of course, these events are not entirely adequate to replicate the Indian experience, but are the "price" for his "freedom" in Ireland (Nitai, Indian).

Doing home is often about building *here* and *now* while placing affinities *there* and *then*. However, these are not mutually exclusive practices of home, as Tolia-Kelly in particular demonstrates through her work with Asians in the UK where home is imagined as "a prismatic device" through which other places and landscapes can be brought into view (Tolia-Kelly, 2004b: 324). Hewage et al. think about this transnational experience of home as a locus for various connectivities – "connection, reconnection, and disconnection" – between people and places (Hewage et al., 2011: 217). Drawing from this, it seems that home is also performed by our *connecting* with other people and

places, both near and far in tangible ways. Connecting is a part of positioning because it is premised on fixing identities and belongings to particular sites, for a time. This is one way to view transnational homes; if *relating-with* others is understood as a part of the creation of a sense of home-now through our connections with others and *remembering* a part of a sense of home formed through our connections with people and places in the past, *connecting* is about temporarily positioning those linkages in specific places.

Tara, who I introduced above, articulated a transient sense of home and was introduced to the discussion through the practice of remembering. However, as is the case with all the migrant stories of home told here, there are other ways of understanding Tara's sense of home, and *connecting* can equally illuminate her particular experience. This is because Tara told me about her feeling of being at home as a tension between the imagination and the material. While 'home' is a feeling for Tara, it is also a way of belonging and belonging is "having my own permanent space" (Tara, dual US & Irish citizen). For Tara, her bedroom in her parents' house in Ireland is that "space" because it houses her memories. Being a university student, the room can "gather dust during the year" but when she returns it allows her not only to re-connect with those memories, but also with her parents, something particularly important given that the three were separated for large parts of her childhood for the purposes of work (ibid.). However, Tara emphasises her intention to move from place to place so this connection may not always hold strong, but for now, it is an important way in which she can perform home. That performance is done by *positioning* her connection with her parents and her memories of past homes in one site – her bedroom.

Home is about positioning ourselves, our relationships and our memories in particular settings for periods of time. We position in different ways, from setting down literal roots in one particular place and making it 'home' through creative practices which reproduce ideals of home, to articulating our attachments to other places in our current homes, and finally by embedding our senses of belonging to others in particular spaces. These particular practices evoke senses of belonging and imagined senses of home

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as discussed in the preceding sections, demonstrating that the many ways of doing and knowing home are entangled. This is because all of these practices are precisely that – ways of knowing home – and a final way of knowing home is through the practice of *feeling* through the sensual realm. Of course feeling is part of the other practices too but for some participants it was their most immediate experience of home.

6.3.4 Feeling

'Feeling at home' is a phrase pervading my transcriptions of the research conversations. The context in which the phrase was used transcends nearly all of the articulations of home discussed to now. However, for many such as Alison, "feeling" was the entry point to the question of home:

> So to me home has to be a feeling of comfort so often it could be like food, or weather that would make me feel like home, do you know what I mean? Or an occasion again, or a holiday, so I don't have like a picture of a house (Alison, US citizen)

Acknowledging that "a picture of a house" would probably be a standard response to the question, the framing of the question – *where feels most like home to you* – ensured Alison could express a less tangible sense of home. In this instance, home is "a feeling of comfort", but for others, such as Linas cited at the beginning of this chapter, it is 'a feeling of happiness' (ibid., Linas, Lithuanian). Similarly Rosie, articulating multiple senses of home, included a feeling of "peacefulness" as part of her meaning of home (Rosie, US citizen). Feeling secure creates a sense of home for Donna, but that sense of security is not spatially bound, rather it is dependent on being with her fiancé, and wherever they are together is home (Donna, US citizen). There is a specificity to migrant senses of home which seems to rest around the strong role of feelings over spatially fixed forms of home. Certainly, these feelings are performed in particular places – in Dublin city in Linas' case or on the beach in Donna's case – but these migrants' relationship with place is spatially fluid and temporally specific.

Fig. 6.12: "the kids grew and flew the roost so these became the kids" (Rosie, US citizen)
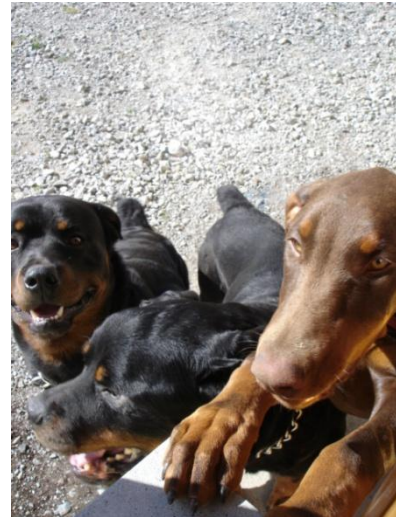
Fig. 6.13: "my family" (Carol, US citizen)

Home as a feeling very often emerges from outside the body. Rosie and Carol both photographed their pet dogs by way of showing how these domestic pets being in their respective dwellings lends to a feeling of home within that space by their presence there, and both participants' *relating-to* the dogs. Rosie used the motif of the "roost" to describe her homes. For her, home is a familial space and the absence of children empties the home of its meaning. She told me about the place of the dogs in her home in Ireland: "the kids grew and flew the roost so these (dogs) became the kids" (Rosie, US citizen). So, in addition to the inanimate objects that Rosie has placed in this house to create a sense of home there, such as that depicted in figure 6.2, the dogs in figure 6.12 generate a feeling of home too in the construction of a multi-textured homescape. Similarly, Carol described the feeling of home when she is greeted by her pets, captured in figure 6.13, at the gate. She explains: "when I walk through my gate, in my space, it's my space, my family" (Carol, US citizen). Again, home and "family" are conflated, and the sense of family that the presence of the dogs creates marks this house as home. It is home because it is Carol's ("my") space. This folds in with the *building* lens through which Carol's story of home was viewed above, and with the notion of *creating* home, because in order for this house, designed by Carol and her boyfriend, to be home it needs not only the 'oak worktop' in the kitchen but

other forms of life to give it a lived in, familial *feeling*. That feeling is one layer of Carol's homescape, and as with all homescapes described here, there are a variety of contours through which those 'scapes' can be known.

Emphasising the manner in which each practice employed here as a lens on landscape is implicated in each of the others, Daina told me in response to the question of where feels most like home: "I think the feeling of home is where you created something yourself" (Daina, Lithuanian). This chimes with the understanding of Carol's story articulated above in the manner in which it ties 'feeling at home' in with the myriad practices of *creating* home. For Daina, 'creating home' is about constructing a dwelling place that has that feeling of home, which can be anywhere as long as it is with someone special, and in Daina's case that someone special is her fiancé, Antanas, a participant in this study also. Recalling how Antanas' allegory of the work of the beaver expressed his notion of home as *building*, an interesting comparison with his fiancée's emphasis on *creating* emerges which in turn echoes Rosie and Jerry's differential relationship with the idea of home between the interior and the exterior. Again, a juxtaposition of building/preserving along gender lines can be suggested (Heidegger, 1971; Young, 2005). However, it is worth noting that Antanas is an architect by profession and in this instance his training in, and practice of that profession engenders a worldview around humanity's placing in the environment which informs his approach to this research question, it can be argued. Therefore, it should be emphasised that while home can be spaced in different ways by men and women, other aspects of one's identity come into play too, and these should always be brought into view for a thorough understanding of the relationship between people and their homes.

While many participants spoke of 'feeling at home' in a variety of contexts, Dorothy alluded to 'not feeling at home' in any place. Dorothy was born in the US and has lived in several places in that country and in Ireland. On being asked where feels most like home to her, she explained:

> To be perfectly honest in one sense too though, I've never really felt at home anywhere, you know where I could unequivocally say 'this is where I feel at home' (Dorothy, US citizen).

This came after telling me about the various places in which she has lived, and the connections she made there. However, through observing her emotional engagement with this question, it appeared to me that she was rather uneasy about 'committing' to any single place and calling it home. Rather, particular environments give something of a sense of home, but that something is fleeting. Being "near water" is essential to a feeling of comfort in place, and for Dorothy, this is the closest she ever gets to a sense of home. This is one illustration of the manner in which moving across space disrupts senses of home, and the mobility afforded to those who have the opportunity to migrate constructs a certain relationship with place which is specific to those who move. However, this understanding of Dorothy's relationship with home is thickened by considering aspects of her identity other than 'migrant'. Her current relationship with her girlfriend, as well as her past relationship with her son's father being understood alongside this sense of 'homelessness', chimes with Fortier's notion of home as "destination" rather than point of origin for those whose sexuality cannot neatly be described as "heterosexual", because as Dorothy herself declared in relation to her uncertainty of home: "I better figure it before too long because as I get older I'll feel the need to find somewhere" (Fortier, 2001: 405; Dorothy, US citizen). In this way, home is an aspiration for the future rather than a reality of the past or the present.

This difficulty in identifying a solid meaning of home resonates with Alison's story, who could locate a sense of home around particular senses – smells, feelings – but who similarly felt that to name particular places would be a false representation of her lived experience of home. Much of Alison's sense of home was constructed in the imagination, and she told of feeling at home in holiday destinations such as Prague and Morocco, fleeting encounters with place which have nonetheless endured in the imagination. In this way feeling at home can be an imaginative construct, as well as a sense emanating from concrete relations-with people and relations-to things and

places, but also, as Dorothy's story demonstrates, it can be an almost entirely elusive sensation too.

6.4 'HOME HOME': THE SPECIFICITY OF THE MIGRANT CASE AND THE POTENTIAL FOR ABSTRACTION

On being asked about home, going home, visiting home, or staying at home I find myself distinguishing between 'home' and 'home home'. The double emphasis in the latter describes the place of my birth which, strangely, doesn't feel so much like home anymore. I think my use of the term 'home home' is for clarification, to identify my place of origin as distinct from the place where I currently live – 'home'. That 'home' doesn't feel much like home either, yet I feel socially conditioned to identify that place where I reside as such. I alluded to "my own confused sense of home" at the beginning of this chapter, and this is a small peek into that confusion. In many ways I can be identified as a domestic migrant, having moved from one place in Ireland to another on two occasions. To me, this is a technical description as I myself do not feel much like a migrant, especially after hearing the stories of the international migrants who participated in this study. Perhaps this is because Ireland is quite a small, and in many ways parochial country. However, this was momentarily disrupted by two of the Lithuanian participants – Regina and Emilija – who similarly articulated their distinction between home in Lithuania and home in Ireland in terms of 'home home' and 'home'. On one level there is something about this that signals the specificity of migrant senses of home, and on another level, this is something much more ubiquitous than that – as my own experience shows. Here, I will put this paradox in direct conversation with the homescape imaginary by way of unpacking its purchase for thinking about transnational homes as well as more spatially concentrated homes.

The homescapes conceptualised here rest on an ontology of *homemaking* as a processual performance between different people, and between people and the world around them. Home is not exclusively fixed in space or time, and people and animals create their own specific forms, while

some never really perform something called 'home' at all. The epistemological contours of homescapes are the practices which bind people to each other and to nature, and through this optic it is possible to know 'home' within a processual ontology. The particular way of conceiving of such practices for this chapter was through the phenomenological engagement of the research participants with places and imaginations through their photographs, their stories and what these reveal about their everyday encounters with home. This is a philosophy of home which has currency for the interrogation of any amount of homes, but in this particular study, it is applied to the case of migrant homes.

Homescapes are one way to conceptualise our *ways of belonging in space*. That belonging was revealed as being at times bounded, and at times something more fluid. Belonging is performed in material ways through buildings, through objects, and through the tangible practices that express our relations with others. It is also performed through our imagination of pasts, idealised presents, and dream futures which incorporates people and place through time. Indeed, homescapes are inherently temporal, and it is with respect to this that the particular stories told in this chapter are mere snapshots at the moment that each participant engaged with this research project. Home connects people and place across scales, and the stories here referred to rooms, houses, cities, and nations. Home also connects people with their identities, and "narrates" those identities in particular places (Gorman-Murray, 2006a). These are the textures of homescapes.

Many of the migrant homescapes described here can be thought of as articulations of what Vertovec calls "multi-locality"; the multiple attachments to places cognitively understood as "home away from home" and being simultaneously "here and there" (Vertovec, 1999: 450). This is precisely what Regina, Kristina and I are demonstrating when we think of 'home home' and simply 'home'. However, this is a deeply personal imagining in spite of the shared meaning expressed here. For instance, Regina spoke about feeling disorientated when she visits 'home' in Lithuania, and eventually feeling the need to go 'home home' to Ireland (Regina, Lithuanian). Conversely, Emilija

consistently used the term 'home home' to talk about her home in Lithuania during our conversation whereas the place in which she lives in Ireland is "home now", that being the place where she will "go home tonight" (Emilija, Lithuanian). However, Emilija admitted she may never return 'home home' permanently, rather it is the "emotional attachment" to Lithuania that makes it endure as an immediate sense of home. In this way, both participants *position* home at the scale of the nation, and through *remembering* those homes in different ways while being away from them, present quite subjective senses of home. These practices of positioning through placing, and imagining through memory, are specific to the process of migration *as they are articulated here*. However, we all position ourselves differently in space, and we all employ the imagination in that endeavour, as Blunt and Dowling show in relation to the construction of "ideal homes" by non-migrants (Blunt and Dowling, 2006).

The notion of positioning offers one productive way to extend the homescape imaginary beyond transnational homes to homes more generally. This chapter presented particular ways of practicing *building*, *creating*, *placing* and *connecting* as means of positioning ourselves, and being positioned in space. To some extent we all move across space, and the extent to which this constitutes migration is subject to a range of diverse definitions of the term (Samers, 2010: 52-120). Regardless of how moving across space is conceptualised, the tendencies to position oneself in space, as highlighted by stories such as Tom's literal self-positioning in the Irish countryside and Sarish's positioning of India as home through the materiality of his Irish residence, is something more universal than the stories here suggest. This chapter shows how focussing on the practices involved in self-positioning in space can extract the textures of migrant homescapes but it is also the case that these can aide an understanding of other homescapes too. By thinking about where and why we build our living places, what we do to create a sense of home in those places, and those elements of other places, either near or far that we inflect in the fabric of these new homes can reveal so much about what home means to all of us, migrant and non-migrant, and what in turn those homes can tell about our identities.

Home is in many ways a spatial repository for identity markers and performances. Much work on the cultural geographies of home, including that of Rose (2003b) and Tolia-Kelly (2004b) employs a materialist approach in order to understand the relationship between people, places and identities and this chapter has sought to continue that line of enquiry. Rosie's art works and Sarish's prayer room are understood here as referents to identification with distant times and places, and the use of photographs allowed these to be become part of this research dialogue. Identities carry visual markers and offer a tangible entry route to what can be quite complicated and variegated attachments. Of course, one does not have to have moved across space to imprint their identities in their surroundings. Think of the posters that very often adorn teenage bedroom walls or the flying of flags in gardens to signify support for a particular team during a sports event. These equally express particular identifications with other people and places that may have never been corporeally experienced. Yet, these are carefully placed in and around homes at particular times. These constitute real and imagined senses of belonging at a variety of scales. These layer alongside the physical dwelling itself, the *relations-with* others it spatialises, and the *feelings* that the place conjures in the form of home. These are homescapes too.

> A large component of the identity of that place called home derived precisely from the fact that it had always in one way or another been open; constructed out of movement, communication, social relations which always stretched beyond it... (Massey, 1999: 171)

Examining a "place-called-home" through a postmodern lens, Massey comments that globalisation, and the market liberalisation and proliferation in mobile technologies that it engendered, did not encounter bounded forms of home which it actively sought to unlock (ibid.: 163). Home, according to Massey, has always been "open" to externalities (ibid.: 171). Home is constantly stretched spatially, Massey suggests, and this chapter has argued that it is temporally 'stretched' too. Blunt and Varley similarly suggest that "[g]eographies of home influence, and are influenced by, social relations not only within, but also far beyond the household", and this chapter has sought to

show how some of the social relations described through travelscapes and networkscapes in previous chapters often find spatial articulation through home (Blunt and Varley, 2004: 4). In this way, homescapes are a way of thinking about the (temporarily) fixed spatialities migrants perform. Finding a temporary place to 'bed down', a private yet externally shaped space, is not something unique to these times and those particular people whose meanings of home formed the building blocks of this chapter. Our very being-in-the-world, at any point in history, whether we tightly place ourselves in a permanent setting, or whether we move around within it, cannot be fully understood without reference to space and time, mobility and fixity, and certain externalities. Landscape is a spatio-temporal imaginary that helps us conceive of the myriad ways of being-in-the-world, and the particular iteration of landscape conceptualised here – *homescapes* – forces attention to the spatio-temporal practices and events, both experienced and imagined across scales that construct this "place-called-home" (Massey, 1999: 163). It is this geographical imagination of home that provides the building blocks with which even the most confused senses of home can be in some way laid back together, if only for a moment.

7

CONCLUSION: REFLECTIONS AND PROJECTIONS

Migrant Families in Ireland can be read as a geography of the everyday encounters of some people with their own family lives and the spaces and places where those lives are lived. If, for a moment, Lefebvre's understanding of this "condition" called the 'everyday' as something "universal" but yet "unique", "social" yet "individuated", and rather "obvious" yet well "hidden" is accepted, then the everyday is so lacking in specificity and ubiquitous that it is a rather banal, and unfocussed research subject (Lefebvre, 1987: 9). The everyday becomes so unspectacular precisely because, as Lefebvre puts it, when social scientists come to study it we almost always face "the great problem of repetition" (ibid.: 10). It is repetitive because it is structured by the interplay of natural cycles and human linear rationality (ibid.). If this structural lens on the everyday is replaced by a more processual one, this "problem of repetition" does not necessarily go away (ibid.). Rather, seeing daily happenings as part of the work of being-in-the-world, while being non-essentialist and perhaps attuned to more diverse phenomena, still throws up repeated patterns of difference to a point where it must be considered if all these particularities are actually variants of the same kind of things.

In many ways this captures my initial reception to the collection of photographs and stories of family and home that I gathered for this study. There were clear repetitions to the collection of images (group pictures of a nuclear family, for example) as well as more unusual captures (a dog, a cake, for example) in response to the question of the meaning of family, and each image, especially once I revisited the associated narrative, began to seem like a variation of the previous one. Thrift's description of what non-representational theories might be proved to be a more productive way of understanding these pictures and stories, and I soon began to consider them potentially forming a part of *the geography of what happens* when people move (Thrift, 2008: 2). The preceding chapters map some of what happens in

the family and home lives of the particular group of participants that engaged with this study, and that mapping has attempted to make a case for the value of "situated knowledges" in knowing about transnational families and their relationships with place (Haraway, 1991: 188). In seeing the predominantly ordinary images and narratives in a way that made the everyday a rich source of knowledge about the cultural and the social through a practice-based epistemology, given meaning through landscape, I formed a new relationship with the vast volume of stories that I had collected. With this, however, came a new challenge: how could I avoid overstating the ordinariness of many of the accounts of family and migration, because after all, I am arguing that the everyday, as it is lived, is something worth knowing about; but at the same time, make a meaningful contribution to knowledge? This concluding chapter addresses that question through the double movement of *reflecting* on how the research process addressed the aims of the study, and *projecting* how its outcomes might be productively positioned academically, and what further study might augment this piece of research.

7.1 REFLECTIONS ON THE RESEARCH AIMS

I introduced this work in Chapter 1 through a series of practices with which the study is either part of, or seeking to know about. By *placing* and academically *positioning Migrant Families in Ireland*, as well as locating it as a piece of research about *moving* and *staying*, brought into being through *storytelling*, *participating* and *picturing*, I set out to develop a spatialised understanding of families, through the migrant case, and in doing so, to attend to the positive and the negative experiences of migration, the ordinary ways of doing family as well as the more extraordinary, fluid family practices and more fixed performativities, while always highlighting what is specific to the migrant case, as well what is more ubiquitous. To achieve this, I set out four research aims to ensure that these goals are achieved. I reflect on the first three of these in this section, considering how each is addressed by this thesis.

7.1.1 Developing a Spatialised Understanding of Family and Home

The family landscape imaginary I develop here seeks to accommodate diverse ways of doing family, and the tensions that mark the everyday experience of family and home life. Adapting the notion of the cultural landscape as a way to make sense of the wide range of family stories I gathered, space and place is brought to the heart of my understanding of the performance of family. The outcome is a cultural geography of families. That geography is premised on a fluid understanding of family where I challenge normalised and institutionalised ideologies of family as a means of acknowledging that not everybody recognises these as their 'norm'. In a way, I have inflected the philosophical approach of this study with my own attitude to family. Epistemologically, the family landscapes I describe gain meaning through the site of the body, its performances, and its placings. I argue that this is one way of opening up the meaning of 'family' without fully subscribing to the individualisation thesis (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002). Family landscapes, therefore, are a way of seeing how relationships are performed and what meanings they hold – regardless of whether they are based on kinship or not. In order to bring these into view, I drew out those practices that produce familial events, events which are understood as 'familial' because that is how they were articulated to me by participants.

Migrant Families in Ireland casts a geographical lens on families. Space is one of Geography's most contested concepts, making it difficult to fully understand how it works. In order to overcome this difficulty, I spatialise my understanding of the events that the participants spoke about within particular contours of the family landscape. Both the range of stories told here, and my particular understanding of them, are expressed in conceptual terms as articulations of *memoryscapes, technoscapes, travelscapes, borderscapes, networkscapes*, and *homescapes*. These offer a tangible means of grasping the many facets of family life. However, they are not fixed and they are not mutually exclusive. They represent the familial spaces that the participants brought to the research encounter through their stories and their photographs, and they also provided a coherent way for me, as researcher, to write about

those spaces in a way that makes them accessible and insightful. A useful way to grasp these concepts is to imagine them in a sort of scalar hierarchy; that is, certain types of practices performed in time and space produce events, and the manner in which each event relates to and shares an outcome, or an effect, with other events produces particular 'scapes'. While this is somewhat simplistic, it nonetheless offers an entry point to these landscapes. Once 'inside' these 'scapes', the messiness of everyday family and home life becomes clear, and in this way, the landscapes I present become a set of lenses, a range of vantage points, or more simply, different ways of looking at particular lifeworlds.

I articulate the 'messiness' of these stories as a set of tensions between voluntarily moving and staying, as well as more conditioned mobility and fixity, or as one participant put it, as symptomatic of families that are "scattered and constellated" (Jeff, US citizen). Conceptually, some of the landscapes I describe here are seen through a phenomenological lens, while others are viewed through a scalar lens as a means of bringing structured spaces into view. One way in which these tensions are teased out is through place. Relationships with place, given meaning through the imagination, as well as through the corporeal being-in-place facilitated by travel, were juxtaposed with some migrants' experience of Ireland as a bounded territory where one's entry into and right to remain is contingent on nationality, educational attainment and skill. In these instances, travelscapes and borderscapes collide, and it is by looking at the specificities of the places which 'ground' these 'scapes', that they become real and lived. Place also brings ethnic, religious and gendered identities into landscape, and in this way become very much connected to the notion of *positioning*, as I understand it here. By considering the difference one's performance of identity and space makes to one's experience of family life and place, it becomes possible to understand the tension between agency and structure. This tension is lived by some on an everyday basis, while others enjoy more mobile and imaginative ways of doing family. The strength of a landscape imaginary of family lies in its ability to capture all of these lived realities.

7.1.2 Migrant Specific Landscapes and the Potential for Abstraction

Some of the landscapes described in this thesis are useful for understanding the migrant case in particular, while others offer the possibility for wider application. For instance, while most of us cross borders, there is a difference between doing so for a short trip or holiday, and doing so with the intention of staying. In other words, for proximate families, political borders do not matter so much; therefore, a borderscape imaginary would be of little use for understanding their lived realities. In contrast, homescapes are a part of most families I would argue, and therefore offer potential for abstraction to many different family contexts. Another way of reading these different 'scapes' might be as 'prompts' for imagining family life. Families who perform togetherness around cooking and dining together, for instance, might be understood through the optic of 'foodscapes'. However, it is important to relate such imaginaries to other contours of the family landscape too, so, to pursue this particular example, foodscapes would most likely mesh into homescapes because understanding each in isolation would be analytically unhelpful.

Chapters 4 and 5 interrogated the specificities of migrant families through a transnational lens by taking some of the premises of that body of work such as the transnational social field, ways of belonging and ways of being, and a temporal approach to the nation-state, and bringing them into conversation with the landscape imaginary (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2008; Khagram and Levitt, 2008). This is a useful way of thinking about the variegated identities that my participants articulated, as well as the difference moving and staying makes to feelings of belonging and attachment. However, these chapters built on the conceptual foundations of family landscapes set out in Chapter 2, a chapter I used to 'launch' this study's spatial imaginary of families. Here I set out the components of family landscapes – bodies, places, spaces, times, practices, events, imaginations, and positionings – components which in isolation, are rather abstract things. I began at this transcendental level as a way to set out a conceptualisation of families that would not become rooted in the transnational case, rather, using that case to illuminate how this broader imaginary can work. In this way, understanding these as constituent

elements of all family types gives the landscape imaginary broader application, I argue.

7.1.3 Developing an Engaging Methodological Approach

The family landscapes I present here were brought into view through *participating* and *picturing.* On reflection, my approach to participatory research shifted demonstrably through the research process. Chapter 3 detailed the manner in which my attempt to present the participatory photo interview method as a *fait accompli* was soon disrupted by the everyday reality of being a migrant. In particular, the ongoing tension between mobility and fixity, and the physical distance that results from this, means that addressing questions of family and home must incorporate distant times, spaces and people. This produced a learning curve, where I as researcher soon realised that social science research cannot always be conducted using rigid and pre-defined research methodologies. Dyck and McLaren share a similar experience in a paper based on a study where the research subjects, female refugees, moved away from the researchers' intended emphasis on family to talk about personal health and financial issues, resulting in the forced reframing of the research focus (Dyck and McLaren, 2004: 520). Participation, therefore, is a negotiated way of researching the world, and is processual, performative and creative at the same time.

Participation complements, and in the case of *Migrant Families in Ireland*, forces attention to positionality. Positioning is an important way of thinking about the research situation that brought the lived experiences at the heart of this study into focus. This contributes to an 'effective' research approach precisely because it frames those divergences from my proposed approach as a negotiation between positions, rather than a failure of method. The *Picturing Events* framework that I develop is very much about the positioning of participant and participant-researcher, as well as the space between them from where the understandings of family and home life are formed. I have already shown how positioning is an important way of looking at migrant family life, as distinct from the research process, but pushing this

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further, by giving the individual epistemological status, I show how a lived reality of the same family was differently expressed by the couples who took part in the study, thus highlighting the influence of one's positioning in family and home. In this way, the study maps family realities which are in part constituted by concrete relationships and lived events, and in part by how these realities are understood by individual participants. For instance, Chapter 6 demonstrated how the married couple, Rosie and Jerry, both had different senses of home *now*, even though they lived together. This is the type of "embodied objectivity" that Haraway advocates for feminism's future (Haraway, 1991: 188). The greatest variations between articulations of family and home seem to come between individuals, and not between the genders, the national groups, or between different age cohorts.

This study's participatory methodology is mobilised through photography, therefore *Migrant Families in Ireland* is about *picturing* people and place, both as a particular type of research method, and as a social practice in its own right. It was only as the study evolved that I began to realise the extent to which this fusion of participatory photography and family album exploration is actually part of family landscapes, and not just ways of seeing them. Family snaps are a particular way of binding relationships between people, as well as between people and place. Each photograph is itself a spatiality which in some ways loosens the binding around the corporeal dimension of familial relationships and physical embeddedness in place through spatial and temporal "stretching" (Schwartz and Ryan, 2003: 6; Rose, 2003b: 12). The discussion around Alison's photograph of Prague reproduced in Chapter 3 (figure 3.7) drew out that particular image's spatiality by showing how a sense of belonging to place is created through her viewing it. Martynas' story of his house in Lithuania (figure 6.1, Chapter 6) facilitated an excavation into his ongoing relationship with that 'home' when he revealed to me that he has installed a CCTV system there which allows him to download still images of various rooms in the house every evening, and in this way he can check that everything is in order, as well as 'visit' the homely space on a daily basis. Photographic captures need to be understood as active agents in people's daily performance of space, and the particular cases here illustrate that their

significance is magnified for people who move, suggesting that the use of photography in studies of transnationalism and migration has much potential – a point which I will revisit below.

7.2 PROJECTING *MIGRANT FAMILIES IN IRELAND* BEYOND THIS THESIS

Here I set out a number of avenues through which this study can make a contribution to academia as a means of addressing how the final aim of this study, that is its contribution to knowledge, is met. While it is important not to overstate the importance of this research, I believe that there are 'prompts' in how I have approached family, migration, the notion of landscape, participatory and visual research, transnational theories and theories of home for how future research might approach these phenomena theoretically and methodologically. Some future research directions also emerge from this study, and I outline these here too.

7.2.1 Contributing to Existing Scholarship and Debates

There are five broad areas of literature that I suggest *Migrant Families in Ireland* can contribute to. Firstly, the study offers empirical and theoretical augmentation to cultural and political geographies of family migration through its particular way of drawing out the tension between mobility and fixity, a concern manifest in much existing work (see Samers, 2010; Ehrkamp, 2005; Kofman, 2005; Walton-Roberts and Pratt, 2005; Tolia-Kelly, 2004a; Gilmartin, 2004). Furthermore, by broadening how migrants' identities are represented, that is, by emphasising practices which do not necessarily evoke their 'migrant' status, or negative experiences of place, an important counter-narrative to more problematised representations of migration is produced (see Baldassar, 2007; Immigrant Council of Ireland, 2009; Crowley et al., 2006). With regard to geographies of family more broadly, the landscape imaginary, as one way of spatialising family, can feed into contemporary debates in the discipline around

how best to develop a spatialised understanding of family (see Smith, 2011; Rose, 2010).

Secondly, this research makes a theoretical contribution to how cultural geographers understand and use landscape in their work (see Wylie, 2009; Crouch, 2010; Power, 2010). The notion of family landscapes offers a new way to theorise landscape. By developing an approach to landscape based on the practices and events that give meaning to our being-in-the-world, this work can speak to contemporary phenomenological approaches to landscape by suggesting specific ways in which this understanding can be mobilised. To this end, I used the notion of 'scapes' as a way of materialising Wylie's notion of "The fold" (Wylie, 2006b: 529-530). To complicate this view, I highlight the need for an understanding of landscape that is not so tied to subjectivity, but shows how landscapes can be in some ways structured too. For that purpose, the notion of 'positioning' is developed as a particular way of introducing scale to the family landscapes described here.

Thirdly, through its methodology, this thesis can be brought into conversation with the debates around participatory visual research approaches across the social sciences. Thrift's notion of non-representational theory places emphasis on being "experimental", and I argue that *Migrant Families in Ireland* has been experimental in its use of family photographs (Thrift, 2008: 12). It is "experimental" from the moment that the original proposed method was disrupted by those participants who were about to become the photographers and the storytellers of their own lived realities (ibid.). Experimentation itself is not a novel contribution to make to visual studies of course, but *Picturing Events* as a particular way of making sense of images for the purposes of social science research is developed specifically by this study in response to the problem of looking beyond the 'ordinariness' that sometimes renders amateur photography as "severely restricted on the technical plane" and compositionally "narrow" (Tagg, 1993: 17-18). *Picturing Events* spatialises the photograph through the five events that are understood as part of its performance in research. This approach speaks in many ways to Rose's

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(2003a, 2003b, 2003c, 2004, 2010) work in Geography, as well as to Holliday's (2000), and Pink's (2005, 2008) work in Sociology, for example.

Fourthly, *Migrant Families in Ireland* forms part of a significant body of work on transnationalism. Much of this work grapples with way of imagining the various domains or iterations of transnational activity (see Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007; Vertovec, 1999; Crang et al., 2003). The landscape imaginary offers one way of making the multifarious ways of living transnationally tangible, with the possibility of describing variegated lives across space, as well as in specific places. In addition, I advance Levitt and Glick Schiller's (2008: 287) formulation of the transnational social field by emphasising how some migrant practices articulate "ways of belonging", while others are better understood as "ways of being". Here, landscape is a useful 'anchor' for these specifically transnational imaginings, further emphasising potential for new ways in which cultural geography can engage with transnational scholarship from other disciplines.

Finally, *Migrant Families in Ireland* can also be read as a critical geography of home, and as such, contributes both theoretically and empirically to recent work which seeks to broaden and complicate how home as a particular type of space is understood (see Blunt and Dowling, 2006; Gorman-Murray, 2006a, 2006b; Harker, 2009). To this end, Chapter 6 shows how a 'home as landscape' approach might work as a way to bring multiple material and imaginative practices of homemaking into view in a way that spatialises such practices, while drawing attention to how home is placed, and in some cases, placeless. Homescapes also offer potential to understand migrant homes in contexts other than that of this study, given that attachment to place is such a central, yet challenging concept for people who move.

Given that this thesis is presented as a conceptual development work, I believe that the greatest potential for this study to make a meaningful contribution to knowledge lies with the landscape imaginary of families. *Migrant Families in Ireland* offers a firm foundation for this conceptualisation of family, leaving it ripe for abstraction and application to other cases, in other

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places. Picturing Events, as an analytical approach to photographs, has similar potential I believe. It offers an organised and methodical way of extracting meaning from photographs, and as I have discovered, these meanings can be rich, insightful and inexpressible in verbal form. Of course, there is also potential for these contributions to be adapted to other contexts, rather than replicated, and to be challenged and contested. This is to be welcomed because it is through being challenged that our thinking and our approaches are bolstered, refined or even changed. This is the real strength of academic knowledge production.

7.2.2 Future Research Directions

This study has raised a number of issues which merit further research I believe. In particular, I identify four future research directions emerging from my work. Firstly, a study that extends the family focus to indigenous Irish families would offer interesting contrasts to the migrant case, as well as help develop the notion of family landscapes beyond transnational families. Secondly, there is potential to use the landscape imaginary of family and home to consider how both kin and non-kin offer material support to each other, especially given the changed economic context and reduced level of State benefits. Such research could highlight landscapes of dependency which could speak to policy makers on the need to adopt a more fluid approach to welfare. Thirdly, questions around the meaning of family and home could be productively posed to kin groups, as opposed to unrelated individuals, as a way of burrowing deeper into the meaning of contemporary nuclear families in particular. Finally, given that this study engaged mainly with heterosexual people, a similar study focussed on same-sex families would be timely in an Irish context, given the legislative changes currently being implemented around civil partnership registration and taxation and benefit rights. This would expand on what is already known about different ways of doing family in Ireland. It is important that social scientists continue to interrogate the lived experiences of family, because as I have shown here, family is something that evolves, adapts and very often, ruptures.

If this research process has revealed anything to me as a researcher, it is that the everyday houses quite a lot of knowledge about the world and the people and places that interact to texture it. Proposals for academic research, such as the one on which this study is based, or the suggested areas of future study outlined above, do not need to have exciting thematic foci, but what they will require for an insightful contribution is ways of seeing the everyday that explores beyond its banal veneer for what it can say about what happens and where it happens. Through the *family landscapes* imaginary and the *Picturing Events* framework for understanding the contribution of photographs to social science research, *Migrant Families in Ireland* has taken the ordinariness in most family and home lives as revelations about how exactly we relate to others, why we call them family, and where we understand those relations to hold the greatest meaning. This is important because it connects to two things we all live in our lives – family and home – and offers one new way to understand something so inherent to our lives that we hardly think about it at all. What this study shows is that when we actually step back and think we begin to see things not noticed before, things which sometimes can "take us aback" to reveal emotions and understandings that we did not realise we had (Sue, US citizen). To capture moments of self-discovery in others is something rather special to me as a researcher, but also revealing of the sheer latency in the meaning of family. Of course, this "self-discovery" is not limited to the participants' journey through this study, but my own journey too. Having already alluded to a very loose sense of family, and an almost absent sense of home, I have not necessarily reconciled this, but what I have done is understood it in a new way – as my way of being-in-the-world, as my particular *family landscape*.

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APPENDIX 1: PARTICIPANT PROFILE

NO.	PARTICIPANT PSEUDONYM	NATIONALITY	AGE GROUP	GENDER	LOCATION
1	Aiste	LITHUANIAN	30-39	F	DUBLIN
2	Linas	LITHUANIAN	30-39	M	DUBLIN
3	Jonas	LITHUANIAN	30-39	M	DUBLIN
4	Vilte	LITHUANIAN	30-39	F	WICKLOW
5	Regina	LITHUANIAN	30-39	F	WICKLOW
6	Emilija	LITHUANIAN	20-29	F	DUBLIN
7	Daiva	LITHUANIAN	30-29	F	MEATH
8	Kristina	LITHUANIAN	30-39	F	MEATH
9	Antanas	LITHUANIAN	30-39	M	DUBLIN
10	Daina	LITHUANIAN	30-39	F	DUBLIN
11	Ruta	LITHUANIAN	30-39	F	KILDARE
12	Monika	LITHUANIAN	30-39	F	GALWAY
13	Martynas	LITHUANIAN	50-59		KILDARE
14	Jurate	LITHUANIAN	40-49	F	DUBLIN
15	Jerry	US CITIZEN	50-59	M	KILDARE
16	Rosie	US CITIZEN	50-59	F	KILDARE
17	Dorothy	US CITIZEN	60-69	F	WICKLOW
18	Jeff	US CITIZEN	40-49	M	DUBLIN
19	Carol	US CITIZEN	20-29	F	MEATH
20	Alison	US CITIZEN	30-39	F	DUBLIN
21	Donna	US CITIZEN	30-39	F	DUBLIN
22	Carla	US CITIZEN	30-39	F	KILDARE
23	Sue	US CITIZEN	20-29	F	KILDARE
24	Tara	US CITIZEN	18-20	F	CAVAN
25	Tom	US CITIZEN	50-59	M	TIPPERARY
26	Marina	US CITIZEN	40-49	F	KILDARE
27	Asif	INDIAN	30-39	M	KILDARE
28	Kareem	INDIAN	30-39	M	GALWAY
29	Rajesh	INDIAN	30-39	M	GALWAY
30	Sarish	INDIAN	40-49	M	DUBLIN
31	Nitai	INDIAN	30-39	M	DUBLIN
32	Bhadra	INDIAN	30-39	F	DUBLIN
33	Prahalad	INDIAN	30-39	M	DUBLIN
34	Hamir	INDIAN	30-39	M	GALWAY

APPENDIX 2: RESEARCH QUESTION 1

Research Question 1:

What does 'family' mean to you?

Explanation:
What does the concept of 'family' mean for you? What people, places, things, or feelings represent that meaning? Your photographic responses can include people or places or objects, or a combination of these. Remember we will be having a chat about the photographs, so you will have a chance to tell me the stories of your images!

Requirements:
5-15 images should be brought to the next meeting.

Please use a digital camera: prints produced on standard printer paper or photograph quality paper, or soft copy of prints on a DVD or USB memory key acceptable. A laptop will be available during meetings.

Next Meeting: ___/___/___ at _____
Note: please bring your photographs as directed above.

In the mean time, if you would like to discuss anything relating to your photography, please do not hesitate to contact me:

John Watters: **Office Tel**: 01 708 6727 **Mobile**: 086 3052316 **E-Mail**: john.j.watters@nuim.ie

Image Sorting
Please label your images for this question numerically as follows: 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, 1.4 etc. Please note the number on the back of each print, or in the case of soft copy images, name the individual files using this numbering system.

If you wish to note some key words that describe each of your images please do so here. This may act as a prompt for you in our next meeting.

PHOTOGRAPH	KEY WORDS
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APPENDIX 3: RESEARCH QUESTION 2

Research Question 2:

Where feels most like home to you?

Explanation:
Where do you feel 'at home'? What is it about that place that gives it that homely feeling? Your photographic responses can include people or places or objects, or a combination of these. Remember we will be having a chat about the photographs, so you will have a chance to tell me the stories of your images!

Requirements:
5-15 images should be brought to the next meeting.

Please use a digital camera: prints produced on standard printer paper or photograph quality paper, or soft copy of prints on a DVD or USB memory key acceptable. A laptop will be available during meetings.

Next Meeting: ___/___/___ at _____
Note: please bring your photographs as directed above.

In the mean time, if you would like to discuss anything relating to your photography, please do not hesitate to contact me:

John Watters: Office Tel: 01 708 6727 Mobile: 086 3052316 E-Mail: john.j.watters@nuim.ie

Image Sorting
Please label your images for this question numerically as follows: 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.4 etc. Please note the number on the back of each print, or in the case of soft copy images, name the individual files using this numbering system.

If you wish to note some key words that describe each of your images please do so here. This may act as a prompt for you in our next meeting.

PHOTOGRAPH	KEY WORDS
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APPENDIX 4: RESEARCH PARTICIPATION CONSENT FORM

NUI MAYNOOTH
Ollscoil na hÉireann Má Nuad

RESEARCH PARTICIPATION CONSENT FORM

Project Title: Migrant Families in Ireland: Transnational family formations and identities

RESEARCHER'S DETAILS:	SUPERVISOR'S DETAILS:
Name: John Watters, ISSP Doctoral Fellow	**Name:** Dr. Mary Gilmartin
Address: NIRSA, John Hume Building, NUIM, Maynooth, Co. Kildare.	**Address:** Department of Geography, Rhetoric House, NUIM, Maynooth, Co. Kildare
Tel: 00 353 1 708 6727	**Tel:** 00 353 1 708 6617

Purpose of the study and participants' role: The purpose of this study is to profile migrant family life in Ireland in terms of the impacts of migrating on the identity and the form of the family. Participants will be asked to answer a research question by taking photographs over a period of approximately 3 weeks. At the end of this period participants will be asked to discuss these photographs in an interview with the researcher, on a one to one basis. Participants may use their own cameras if they wish, or alternatively, the researcher will supply a camera for this purpose.

Confidentiality: The researcher commits to ensuring that all data gathered for this study will be kept in a locked cabinet at NUIM. Furthermore, this data is available to participants at their discretion (i.e. tapes or transcripts/notes can be accessed at any time).

Data Usage: The study results will be analysed by the researcher, and this analysis will be included in a PhD thesis which will be put forward for examination at NUIM. Certain data will be used in research papers which will be put forward for publication. The data will be deposited on the Irish Qualitative Data Archive (IQDA) on completion of the thesis. Personal information will remain strictly confidential at all times.

Right to Withdraw: Participants have the right to withdraw from this study at any time, or they may withdraw their data up until the work is published.

Nature of participation: Participants should be aware that interviews do not constitute any kind of counseling.

If during your participation in this study you feel the information and guidelines that you were given have been neglected or disregarded in any way, or if you are unhappy about the process please contact the Secretary of the National University of Ireland Maynooth Ethics Committee at pgdean@nuim.ie or 01 708 6018. Please be assured that you concerns will be dealt with in a sensitive manner.

I, the undersigned, agree that the data produced by my participation in this study may be used for the purposes of this study, as outlined above.

Signed: _____   Date: _____
            Research Participant

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Knowledge, Innovation, Society and Space
Eolas, Nuáil, Pobal agus Spás